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**HOUSING IN NABLUS: SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND
HOUSING SATISFACTION OF THREE PALESTINIAN SUB-GROUPS**

City University of New York

PH.D. 1985

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HOUSING IN NABLUS : SOCIOECONOMIC
CHARACTERISTICS AND HOUSING SATISFACTION OF
THREE PALESTINIAN SUB-GROUPS

by

ADIB EL-KHATIB

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Sociology in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
University of New York.

1985

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

HOUSING IN NABLUS : SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND HOUSING SATISFACTION OF THREE PALESTINIAN SUB-GROUPS

by

ADIB EL-KHATIB

Advisor: William Kornblaum

This thesis offers an empirical investigation of the socioeconomic characteristics and the relative housing satisfaction of three different Palestinian sub-groups, who live in the same locality, Nablus. They are differentiated based upon the place of birth of the head of household: traditional urbanites, rural migrants and Palestinian refugees. Rural to urban migration generally affects the spatial distribution of populations, the social, and economic characteristics of a city. In Nablus, except for the involunteer Palestinian refugee camps, and the volunteer Samaritans, I did not find definite ethnic clusterings. Population distribution and sub-grouping within the city will be investigated in the light of the socioeconomic variables, the quality of housing, and housing satisfaction of the three Palestinian sub-groups under study : traditional urbanites, rural migrants and

Palestinian refugees.

Because of the selectivity of rural migrants, their early exposure to city life, especially during high school, the relatively high education and income, and the relatively shared traditions, made it possible for the migrants to integrate easily into the system. Therefore, the Nablusians' socioeconomic characteristics seem to be prevalent. The central area is still the center of administrative and economic activities. The city reflects the Islamic influence. The city's ecology shows also some preindustrial characteristics.

Generally, housing in developing countries lacks in both quality and quantity. Nablus and the surrounding areas are no exception. Generally, housing quality of rural migrants falls behind that of the urbanites. Thus, throughout the study, when comparing the quality of rural housing to that of the traditional urbanites, within the city of Nablus, surprisingly, I found that the quality of rural migrants' housing is superior to that of the two other Palestinian sub-groups. Housing conditions for the three Palestinian groups are variable. Palestinian refugees houses are less livable than the other two sub-groups. The empirical core of this research is a survey of five districts in Nablus, conducted by the author during the period March -September, 1983. The respondents were asked to fill a questionnaire which contains questions about : (a)

Socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents, (b) Demographic conditions, (c) Housing conditions, and (d) Satisfaction with housing and neighborhood variables. These variables were cross-tabulated and the findings are presented statistically ,in percentages, frequencies, mean or median or in an indexical form.

TO:

Fawzi, the deceased father, who lost his home,
Hisham, the son, who did not live to see our home,
Iqbal, the sister in exile , and
Ismail, the brother, who dreams of a home.

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INTRODUCTION

Housing in Nablus, the socio-economic dimension, and the relative satisfaction of three different Palestinian sub-groups, is the field of inquiry or subject matter of this dissertation. This is a subject which is rarely investigated in the Middle East, and especially on the West Bank of the Jordan River, the site of the research proposed here.

On the West bank, each ethnic group is differentiated from the other by the place of birth of the head of household ,i.e..rural born versus born to Nablusian parents, and refugee versus non-refugee status. This third group, the refugees, refers to the peoples who reside on the periphery of the city of Nablus and who were displaced from former homelands. The urbanites or those who were born in the city of Nablus or in any other Palestinian city in the so called West Bank and Gaza Strip. The rural migrants are still another important social category in this study. They are people who were born in any village in Palestine and migrated to the city of Nablus either as children or as adults.

Nablus traditionally attracts people from rural areas because of the promise of an easier , more prosperous life, and the availability of schools and educational institutions. But above all, migration to Nablus

represents the chance to escape from the rigidity of life in the surrounding rural areas. In this regard, the forces which pull migrants to the city, and serve to keep them there once they establish their residential base, are not different from those analyzed by Simmel and Durkheim, and the Chicago School urban sociologists. But Nablus is not a typical urbanizing city in many other respects. Its special situation in the Middle East, and the difficulties it has experienced in providing housing for its older settlers and newcomers alike, makes this research an especially important case study of housing and community in the Third World.

Nablus is an ancient city; it is the West Bank's second main urban center . It succeeds Jerusalem - Al Quds- in importance. Nablus is known locally for two activities, commerce and industry, but it is also an important educational, financial and tourism center. Its political influence, because of the uniqueness of the prevailing circumstances in the area, (occupation and martial law since 1967 War) permeates all political entities and segments - the West Bankers, the Jordanians, and the Israeli military governor. This political influence affects every facet of the city's life, though it is not my intention, however, to explore the political phase of the city and the political structure underlying the socio_economic conditions of the groups under study, nor do I assume or try to document any

political differences between these groups.

Every phase of the West Bankers life is shaped and molded by politics; occupation, military governor issuing orders for security reasons for settlers safety and benefit, laws that hinder the daily life and movement of the people. The Jordanians still have influence in some aspects of the daily lives of the people and besides some of the laws are enacted during the Jordanian period. Nineteen hundred and seventy six War and its concomitants had a blessing besides its negativeness: It marks the birth of Palestinian Nationalism. The Palestinian Liberation Organization is perceived as the symbol, the savior , and the protector. The majority of the Palestinians living under occupation are influenced by and supportive of the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

The differences among the actors are clear and could not be ignored in any economic ,social and political action to be taken by any West Banker individually or collectively. But in this study these political issues form the social environment in which housing issues are played out, rather than the issues for direct analysis. In the West Bank housing consists primarily of single_ family dwelling units made of underground , polished stone and cement blocks. The construction process is highly labor intensive and is financed primarily by the private sector except refugee housing in the camps which was financed by the U N R W A .(United Nations Relief and Work Agency).

Because of socioeconomic differences and political circumstances, and martial orders , the private sector , finds it difficult not only to construct new housing units but also to upgrade the existing ones. Public housing is still in its genesis because of the absence of a national government and the lack of a definite national housing policy during the Jordanian mandate and presently , under the Israeli occupation.

Housing in Nablus has been the result of a large variety of physical, historical, cultural, political, and economic factors organized to form the present housing conditions and to mold residents' tastes and satisfaction with such conditions. Growing up in such an environment did not only facilitate my work but, made it easy for me to make use of this knowledge in analyzing the interrelationships that exist between them. .

Housing development and construction in Nablus and other West Bank cities confronts new challenges which will be looked at in the light of the following forces: First, because of rising expectations, present day generations have different standards and requirements for their housing than did their ancestors, -separation of functions- and new introductions, such as the introduction of specialized furniture; bed room, living room , dining room, kitchen..etc., lay out, and sex separation_ conditions which were acceptable in the past are no longer

tenable_. Second, the continued and ever-increasing demand for new housing caused by the natural population increase, 3.5 % , and the constant struggle to meet this demand . Third, community instability is created by the transformation of viable desirable neighborhoods into undesirable blighted areas as rapidly as the worst, undesirable areas are cleared. The impassable old central area , the refugee camps areas , the high slopes , and the newly built areas surrounding the military compounds are not only disattractions but residents of these areas seem willing to change their residence. Therefore, changing the characteristics of their communities. Finally, regulations on housing construction and licensing thereof are too rigid and dilatory and they tend to retard housing development and increase construction costs because of the inordinate amount of time involved in securing a building license. To show the impact of regulations and licensing in the housing construction process in the West Bank , Sabri Nidal wrote " Housing development and construction in the West Bank is tied to the political situation; that is housing quality and quantity is related to politics, and construction of new dwelling units fails to keep pace with the increasing need for new houses ,"

Although new housing construction in Nablus has a long history, there is ample evidence that for a large segment of the population the new housing trend has not produced satisfaction. New housing regulations intended to improve

the quality of housing, in effect hindered construction of new housing units by tending to increase construction costs and by establishing an elaborate, tedious beaurocratic process of construction approval. This, in a city where the residents strive to own their homes since they consider renting undesirable.

The surveyed areas encompassed the impoverished, the wealthy, the old, the new, the modest, the luxurious, the crowded, and the spacious .

Much has been written on rural migration and housing satisfaction or dissatisfaction, however, there is a definite lack of a detailed analysis of the relationship between them in Middle Eastern cities. This situation is of special significance in the geographical area of this study since man has added other dimensions to the natural factors he is confronted with in arriving at this satisfaction or dissatisfaction with existing housing.

The study will be of importance to those who have interest in Middle East, to policy makers as well as city and town planners, who will find usefull information on a city with a people who live under unique and difficult circumstances; who are restricted on obtaining building permits and when obtained the newly built home does not entitle the owner to own the land on which the house was built , in other words people are barred from land ownership.

The study consists of seven chapters. The first chapter deals with the hypotheses, the literature together with a brief description of the historical, geographical and economic conditions of the city under study . Chapter two explains methodological tools used in obtaining data and analyzing them. The ecological organization of Nablus is dealt with in chapter three . The body of the research is clear in the chapters four to seven which deal with the existing housing conditions, housing quality and residential satisfaction, socioeconomic characteristics and finally the relationship between socioeconomic characteristics and residential satisfaction. Summary of the findings will appear separately in a sub-chapter.

CHAPTER ONE

A. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Nablus attracted people from rural areas because of the promise of an easier , more prosperous life, availability educational institutions, and above all freedom from the rigidity of life in the surrounding rural areas. Another group , involuntarily resided in Nablus: Palestinian refugees who were pushed out of their homes and land, were attracted by employment opportunities in an attractive urban center.

Place of origin of heads of households, and its concomitants have been the subjects of many sociological studies over the years, (Gans, 1961). Rural migration in a specific setting went also under study, (Abu-Lughod, 1961). The spatial distribution of three groups of the same ethnic background, in a unique socioeconomic and political setting , and the place of birth of the head of household and its relativity to his or her satisfaction or dissatisfaction with his or her housing conditions and neighborhood, has not been investigated empirically from a sociological point of view.

Not a single study has investigated empirically the relationships among socio-economic status, ethnic clustering and housing quality in Middle Eastern cities, or

in a city under military occupation for seventeen years where the future of the residents is uncertain. In a city where irrespective of their financial means people are restricted in their intra and inter city physical movement.

This comprehensive study focuses on three different groups of the same ethnic background, living in the same locality. They are differentiated based on the birth place of the head of household. The groups include, the urbanites or those who were born to Nabulsian parents, the villagers ,those born in the surrounding villages who migrated to the city and , the refugees ,those born in other cities and areas of Palestine taken over by Israel in 1948 who later migrated to Nablus, thereafter called refugees.

This study will examine the interrelationships between housing stock, socioeconomic characteristics of the dwellers and housing satisfaction of those dwelling within as well as the tendency of each group to cluster or to disperse. Who lives where? The relationships between the aforementioned categories and the district of residence of each ethnic group , will also be explored.

This dissertation is a study of the spatial distribution of three sub-groups of the same ethnic background . The place of birth of the head of household and its relativity to his or her satisfaction with his or her existing housing conditions and neighborhood is the focus of this research. The pattern of resident's projected or intended movements within the city of Nablus will also

be examined.

Each of the surveyed districts is considered by Nabulsians a neighborhood, the selection of these districts aimed to give a true picture of the historical development of the city. The interrelationships between socioeconomic variables and satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the residents in each district with their housing and their tendency to move or remain in their districts comprise the largest share of this research.

A series of questions were asked, the answers to which collectively will elucidate the matter. Who resides where and why? What is the socio-economic status of the residents of each district? What is the socio-economic level of the Nabulsian born (hereafter called traditional urbanite) versus those who migrated to Nablus (hereafter called rural migrants). Another category includes Palestinian refugees who occupy three camps at the periphery of the city of Nablus. As mentioned earlier the three groups are Palestinians, the city of Nablus " Nabulsian " born group, the country born group or Fallaheen; rural migrants, and those born in other Palestinian cities born or the Palestinian refugees.

Rural migration to Nablus did not completely resemble the Egyptian rural migration to Cairo , the latter as described by Abu-Lughod as having two characteristics: high magnitude and high tendency to cluster. The case of rural

migration to Nablus differs in the following:

1. High magnitude of rural migration to Cairo does not follow the same pattern that occurred in Nablus which was not as intense. The only exception is the massive displacement of Palestinian refugees from both rural and urban areas.

2. Rural migrants to Cairo tended to cluster in sub-communities. In Nablus this tendency appeared in the rural nuclei and refugee camps within the city, but the duration of such clustering was relatively short. The economic prosperity of any member of the family and sometimes of a relative in another area broke such clusterings. The increased demand on labor in the Arab oil producing countries also broke ethnic clusterings.

Since it is expected that most migrants have moved to Nablus for economic reasons, it is anticipated that the migrants will strive to achieve economic success. But the fact is, some of the migrants were economically better off where they were. This holds true for the majority of the Palestinian refugees and some of the rural migrants. Some of the migrants were governmental officials who had a secure income; others were adventurous businessmen; some were forced to move for political reasons; and some moved for economic reasons. Most of them had the means to acquire good housing in different districts within the city. In the case of rural migration to Cairo, Abu-Lughod concluded that rural clusterings have developed the protective

pattern of physical proximity and certain social institutions which help minimize the difficulties of transition (Abu-Lughod, 1961).

The rural migrant settlement pattern in Nablus does not produce sub-groups in any section of the city, except for those rurals who live in the adjacent villages which were recently added to the city. The city has only one sub-group, the Samaritans, whose existence is based on religious affiliation. As the son of their "Kahin", who keeps a portrait of King Husein in his house, put it "we are Palestians". They are integrated into the Nabulsian society except for religious practices which enhance some traditions. The Sabath observation, some food habits, intermarriage and other life aspects are the same. The study will not address this group separately, although some of the households interviewed were of this group.

The study will focus upon the housing conditions under which rural migrants live, as well as differences between them and the other two Palestinian sub-groups, and where they concentrate geographically and occupationally. The respondents were asked questions about their place of origin, their socioeconomic conditions, their housing conditions and their satisfaction with their housing conditions.

Groups were differentiated according to the place of birth of the head of household. Questions such as these

were posed: How is the quality of housing affected by the place of birth of the head of household and is he/she satisfied with his housing and neighborhood? How do people perceive their residence and freedom to move within the city of Nablus. Where would they move to? Are the levels of satisfaction with housing and neighborhood between the common pattern single unit dwelling resident and the new trend multiple dwelling residents different? What are the differences between their projected movements within the city? The study will examine the driving forces existing in every district under study. What are the characteristics preventing district residents from moving to another district which might be more appealing? At the same time the forces from other districts will be examined to show the trend of social mobility of every sub-group within the city as a whole. The research will impose these questions and try to clarify them in the light of the data collected in respect to the city of Nablus, to what extent the rural migrants differ from the urbanites in respect to socio-economic statuses and to what extent these differences affect satisfaction with their housing quality. Do rural migrants form sub groups distinct from urbanites? Is the city divided into sub_cities , i.e. a rural clustering within the city distinguished from that of the city born or urbanites and that of the refugee camp dwellers. Another question this study will try to impose, whether the city divided into distinct districts? Did this division, which

is based on socio-economic status result in the creation of relatively modern sections exclusively occupied by upper class groups, a liveable section occupied by middle class , a traditional urbanite section populated by urban born Nabulsians with various socio_economic background or finally, the impoverished areas which are inhabited by the destitute ?

A full description of the historical development of the city coupled with its geographic , social , demographic and economic data will be provided to enhance the understanding of the city. Residential differentiation within the city will also be explored. In sum, this study will investigate the relationships among socio_economic statuses , ethnic clustering , housing quality, and residential satisfaction in Nablus , a city that shares a lot with other Middle Eastern cities but lives under unique circumstances.

The research will focus on the following hypotheses ;

Throughout this research I will focus on : Can spatial distribution of Nabulsians sub-groups be adequately explained by knowing residential head's birthplace and degree of housing satisfaction ? In other words : What is known about a person's place of birth and his or her satisfaction or dissatisfaction at the housing level and how this knowledge will be used in explaining the spatial distribution of the different Palestinian sub- groups in

regard to the head of the household's place of birth, within the city of Nablus.

Four other sub_hypotheses will be examined ;

1.Traditional urbanites are more likely to have higher socioeconomic status than rural migrants.

2.Traditional urbanites are likely to be more satisfied with their housing conditions than the rural migrants.

3.Income levels and occupations of urbanites are different from those of rurals or refugees, thus housing types and housing conditions are different .

4.District of residence and housing conditions are positively correlated.

Upgrading housing conditions and eliminating undesirable conditions is highly related to educational level, income and family prominancy. District of residence is not merely a product of such economic achievement , it is influenced by family name as well. Financial problems , though serious , are only one of several causes of the dissatisfaction with existing housing, and neighborhood.

The study will be of importance to those who are interested in Middle East, to policy makers as well as city and town planners. Each will find useful information on a city with a people who live under unique circumstances, where restriction procedures prevent them from obtaining building permits and when obtained do not assure the ownership of the land on which the house is built on.

Significance of the Problem

The relationships among socioeconomic conditions and place of origin of head of household were the focus of many western sociologists. These relationships and associated housing quality in Middle Eastern cities have rarely been investigated ; (Abu-Lughod, Cairo, 1961 and , Doxiadis Household Sample Survey, Riyadh, 1968). The situation in Nablus , the city under study is unique. Nablus never had a national government; policies were made by outsiders; it has been under military occupation for seventeen years, and the political future for the residents is uncertain. The elected mayor and the city council were replaced by an Israeli officer and some followers who knew nothing about the city and its people. The residents are living under severe economic conditions . The increased decline in job opportunities coupled with severe military orders retard any possible trial by both residents and outsiders to invest in the city. A recent example of economic impeding military orders : persons crossing the Jordan bridge could not carry more than a 1000 Jordan dinar of their own money . People in Nablus irrespective of their financial means are restricted in their intra and inter city physical movement.

The present study is an attempt to clarify the following concepts ; (a) Place of Origin and its spatial distribution , (b) Satisfaction with housing quality,

(c) Differences in socioeconomic characteristics between three Palestinian sub-groups in an urban center, and (d) the morphology of urban growth. The relationships among them will be examined. It is believed that the relationships among these concepts are reciprocal . Two of them ; Place of Origin and Residential Satisfaction act dependently and independently .

Rural migrants are expected to be disproportionately disadvantaged in their income level . A situation that will force them to accept and work at low status , low paid jobs. As a result they will cluster in enclaves away from the rest of the population (Lieberman, 1939). Since rural migrants are expected to occupy lower socioeconomic statuses , it is expected that their housing status is linked to their socioeconomic status. As a result of these expectations ; rural migrants' clusters are in undesirable areas, lacking some or all of the basic needs, and having unsanitary conditions prevail, in comparison with the traditional urbanites clusterings, which are expected to be the opposite.

The driving forces of the city coupled with the hardships in the country side and the politics in the area forced a great number to migrate to the city. The rural migration was not intense. The massive migration was from Palestine before 1948 , and the urban invasion of adjacent rural communities , has been responsible for the growth of

the city on one hand , and for the limitation of this growth on the other hand . A large proportion of adjacent land was owned by villagers , who consider land ownership as a source of prestige . The three refugee camps, Balata, Askar in the East and Ein Beit Elma' in the West , were built in an era of political and economic turmoil, 1948-950. They helped the city to expand in the fifties, in these directions . At the same time they prevented the growth outside of their area for long period thereafter.

This study constitutes a significant problem because of:

1. Place of Origin was a determinant factor in the success of any person in public life or business life . The urbanites contained the Ottoman Law of 1861 Ottoman Law that restricts rural migration to Nablus. The Nabulsian businessmen feared the Fallaheen's competition in business and the loss of other Fallaheen as consumers and political affiliates for the new businessman or the Fallah (plural Fallaheen) . Influential urbanites were appointed by the Turkish Emperor to collect taxes and dues from the Fallaheen in their district. Any massive migration of rurals would cause those urbanites a loss in revenues. This could be another factor causing the Nabulsians to resist rural migration to the city. Family name , family ties and traditions were strong in rural areas , it was difficult for a person to escape all these obstacles and move to the city.

The study will examine their socioeconomic conditions,

their housing conditions and their satisfaction with their housing. It will compare them to those of the traditional urbanites to see who is more likely to integrate into the urban life . Their spatial distribution within the city will also be helpful in determining the continuing migration and the tendency of new migrants to live closer to their relatives.

2. Housing satisfaction is a psychological variable that differs from one individual to another , as needs differ. The examination of residential satisfaction or dissatisfaction and its relationship to socioeconomic variables, will lead to a better understanding of the differences between rurals and urbanites . This understanding will help in explaining social mobility of each sub-group, their future intention movements which will affect the city's ecology.

B. Review of the Literature

" The chronic miscarriages of life in the city might well have led to a wholesale renunciation of city life and all its ambivalent gifts, but for one fact; the constant recruitment of new life, fresh and unsophisticated, from rural regions, full of crude muscular strength.....These rural folk replenish the city with their blood and still more with their hopes." (Mumford, 1961)

Mumford pointed out the fact that cities are mainly

the product of rural to urban migration. Life in the city is not at all easy, so for mutual help , migrants tend to cluster in ethnic quarters, a phenomenon which has long been recognized as characteristic feature of Middle Eastern cities(T.H. Greenshields, 1972).

Ethnic quarters emergent within the city are viewed as the spatial clusters of members of ethnic groups who maintain a particular identity based on racial, religious, linguistic or cultural status , tribe, subtribe, family, region, town or village of origin.

In West End, Boston, Gans found that old generation had adjusted to lack of space instead of relocating to a more spacious dwelling. He concluded that the adjustment was not necessarily made by adding another room but by adapting certain lifestyles such as using outdoor space for entertainment. The same happens in Nablus but the street is also used for daily social life.

In every country, contrasts between urban dwellers and rural residents exist in social class rank, educational achievement, future occupation, occupational prestige income levels, ethnic composition, size of settlement and demographic characteristics. These contrasts have important consequences and effects on rural migrants (Fischer, 1976). The effects and consequences do not only affect assimilation and acculturation but sometimes bring ruralization of the urban center (Halpern, 1965,

Cornelius, 1971). Almost none of the aforementioned differences which exist in the West , are applicable to Nablus.

Village of origin is viewed as a generator of ethnic clustering or ethnic quarters collectively these quarters make the city (Hurani,1970). Middle Eastern cities contained ethnic quarters or ethnic clustering the origins for which could be explored through a quick review of the available literature. People who share an identity tend to cluster accordingly in a quarter; quarter structure of Damascus and Aleppo was attributed in large part to insecurity in medieval times (Sauvaget, 1968).

The Al_Asima quarter in Baghdad is mainly occupied by rural migrants. The low standard of living and the different traditions of these rural migrants have been the reason for the concentration of poor migrants in this poor districts (Baali, 1966, p. 361). Clusters of rural migrants have been noticed in Tropolli, Lebanon. There are two groups in the city; one is called the Alawites, who migrated from Mount Answariyah in Syria, and the other is the Maronites, who came from Mount Lebanon. These groups still have strong and frequent ties with their villages . They operate their own shops and they have definite jobs (Gulick, 1969, p.149). Dissimilation into the city's life brings migrants together, (Le Tourneau, 1970). Kinship is a clustering force, (Mansur, 1970) ,though Prothro and Diab ,1972, did find a weakening link between kinship and

place of residence. Sometimes ethnic clustering occurs in the suburbs bordering the road which led from their region, (Marty,1970). Ben_Arieh regards the tendency to cluster around holy sites as the main principal of the spatial organization of Jerusalem's population before 19 th. century, Hopkins, 1974, added security and wealth as distributing factors. Abu Lughod in her study of Cairo took occupation rather than ethnicity itself in determining ethnic clustering. She also believed that rural to urban migration tended to be localized in the city according to the village of origin. These sub-groupings can expand , contract or shift their location within cities. Location in an urban area is almost entirely relative. Location of the residence is of significance to one's everyday activities. Some people are satisfied with their location and residence, others are not and have the propensity to move. There is a strong relationship between propensity to move and actual mobility. In the United States for example, one fourth to one third of families desiring to move actually do so within a year. (Rossi, 1955). The emphasis on the propensity to move because ;

- 1.Propensity to move is a direct response to deficits in the housing environment.

- 2.Families reporting a propensity to move do so at higher rates than families who do not have a propensity to move.

Not only the propensity, but space cost and neighborhood

are also related to mobility, (Rossi,1955). Dissatisfaction with housing increases mobility, (Butler et al, 1969). Crowded families were more likely to move than the uncrowded families, (Lansing and Berth 1964). Renters are more likely to move than owners, (Rossi 1955, Lansing et al, 1964, Speare 1970) and are also renters are less likely to upgrade their residence, thus upgrading their neighborhood.

Location of residence within a city has been used in several American studies as a criterion to determine a person's socio-economic status within an urban community,(Warner et al,1960). A strong positive correlation between the quality of the home and the social status of its inhabitants was found, (Chapman,1955). Minority groups tend to cluster in low socio economic areas, (Bell, 1955), and those who were financially better off tended to locate farther away from the central business district, (Burgess, 1925).

Housing type and housing conditions usually coincide with occupation and income. It is expected that a high proportion of rural migrants will have poor rented homes. Beyon found that more than 72 % of the migrants in Flint, Michigan, rented their homes, and 14% did not have running water. In contrast Beyon found that nearly 46 % of all Flint, Michigan families owned their homes, and only 6% of the total population did not have running water (Beyon , 1938).

In the United States there are basic housing norms widely agreed upon, (Belcher, 1970, Williams, 1971, Michelson 1967, Hinshaw and Allot, 1972). There are also extreme differences in housing segregation. Income is the prime determinant of differences in achieved housing (Michelson 1967). These norms can be think of as universal norms, they are defined in the following manner:

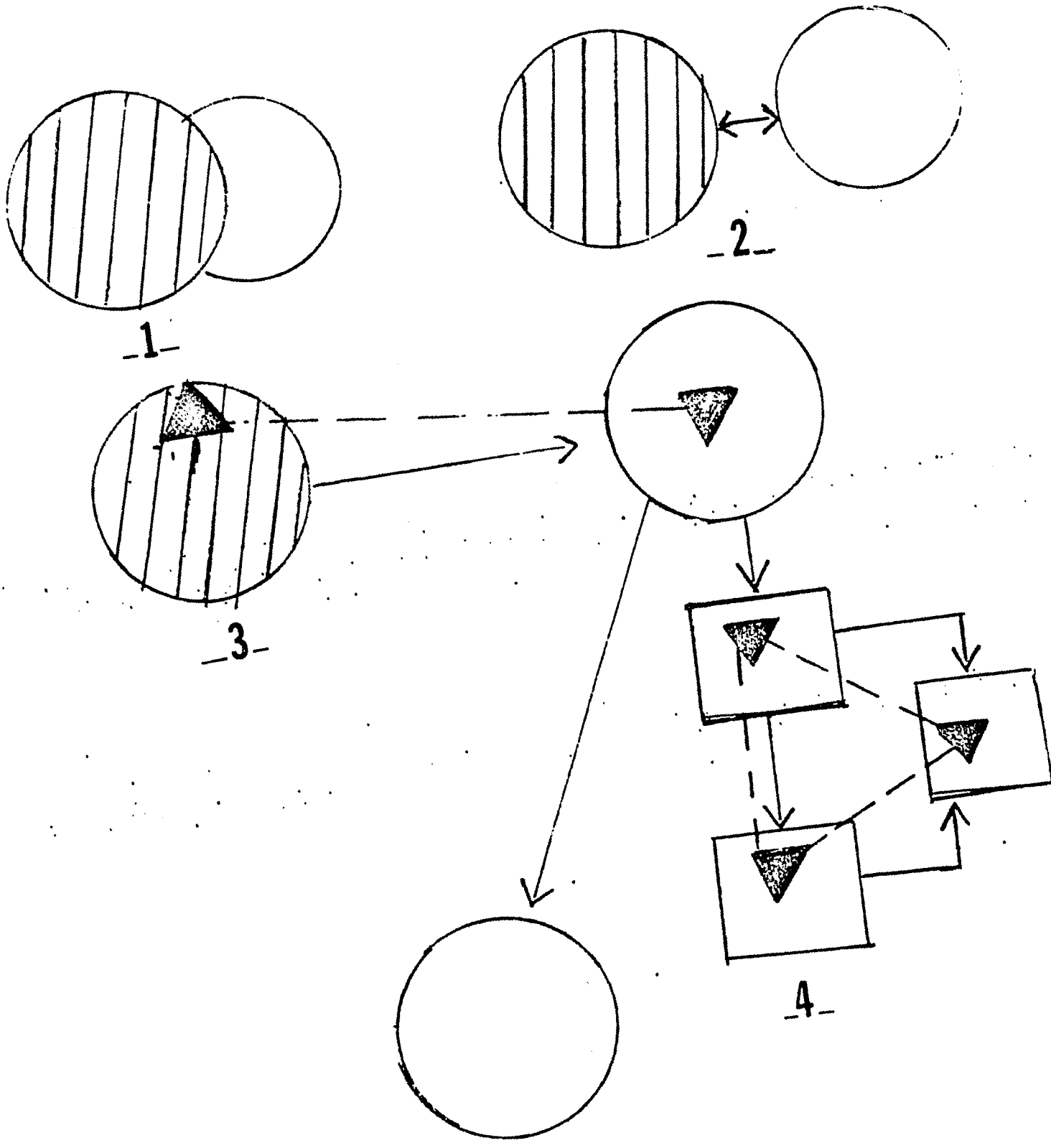
1. They are owned by the occupant (Rosow, 1948, Branch 1942, Hinshaw and Allot 1972). The same holds true for the Nabulsians but to a greater degree because of the undesirability of rented houses and the prestige homeownership brings. Rent laws are on the side of the renter so homeowners avoid renting .If they decide to rent there are many restrictions observed in the signing of the lease . Renters' freedom is restricted so each person directs his savings to invest in a house of any size . Home owners continue to add rooms to accommodate the increasing family.

2. They are single family detached structure (Michelson 1967, Gladhart, 1973), with substantial out door space separating them from other dwellings (Foote et al, 1960). Privacy is highly desired by the Nabulsians but social gatherings require the nearness of relatives for mutual help and reduced costs in buying land and utilities installation. The prefered norm is the single family detached house.

3. They have sufficient indoor space, primarily bedroom space, for the age and sex familial composition (Greenfield and Lewis 1969, Morris 1972, Gladhart 1973). Indoor and outdoor spaces are highly desired norms ,the layout of the indoor space is of great importance to secure privacy especailly for the women. Walled outdoor space " the Housh" is the place for family gatherings during the hot summer nights and for day socializing of women.

The study will focus on the determinants of the district of residence for each group . The theoretical focus is on place of residence, place of origin, housing quality, and how the satisfaction or dissatisfaction with residence will rearrange or alter the existing neighborhoods or reaffirm their identity.

Figure 1-1 explains the theoritical approach to this study. Earlier , there was insignificant differences between rural and urban areas, and rural mode of living prevailed even in urban centers stage 1. Latter, dense areas developed their urban identity away from the surrounding rural areas , but the relationship based on conflict for dominance. Urban centers won dominance over rural areas and the gap between them grew wider stage 3. Thus, changing social and economic relationships . The wider the gap was the more rurals moved into the urban center, thus socioeconomic characteristics, housing quality, and personal relationships were expected to alter dramatically. The imbalance between socioeconomic



Key to symbols

	Rural
	Urban
	Rural Migrants

characteristics and housing quality for the three Palestinian sub-groups under study is expected to produce variable levels of residential satisfaction stage 4, Level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction will eventually, together with the knowledge of "who lives where- stages 2 and 3-?" help explain the core of a sociological question: why is the movement going to take place , and who is moving and where is he or she moving to? " The focus of this research". The longer the migrants stay in the urban center , the more likely they are to integrate into the urban life and differences are expected to disappear, stage five.

The framework for this discussion is provided by the realisation that sub-groupings must originate and grow through population redistribution, either through migration to the town or redistribution within it. The forces underlying the socio economic and political migration will not be explored but population distribution will be investigated in the light of the socio economic variables of both rural migrants and urbanites and the quality of housing for the two groups .

origin of persons now living in the city of Nablus has affected both their choice of residential location, type of abode, and their degree of satisfaction with each. Further it will investigate causes and effects of ethnic clustering within the city and will offer rationale to explain

economic restrictions and ramifications of that clustering. It will also investigate the relationship between the district of residence and housing satisfaction in the light of the socioeconomic characteristics of the three sub-groups.

C. Nablus in History

The current panorama of any city is a derivation of its socio_economic, political and historical evolution, and its interrelationships with the physical environment, Nablus is no exception.

Historically, Nablus was mentioned in Tel A Amarna records as a Caananite city, this was confirmed by , an Egyptian Pharaoh, " Tahutmas " (*). The Old Testament called it " Shakim " while, according to Yousifious it was called " Mabartha " (**). Pliny was in disagreement with Yousifious, he contended that it was called " Momartha ". The Araminians designated her " Maborakhats " or the holy city. " Shakim " remained the apex of the Jewish kingdoms until the Jews were forced to relocate to " Sabistia " in the North. Subsequently " Shakim " or Nablus perished as a result of the Roman invasion of the Holy Land under the leadership of "Cirialious " in 67 A.D. Early in the year 70 A.D., " Vasbisanious " a Roman leader ordered the removal of the city's remains to a western site and the construction of a new city named " Flavia Neopolis " therein. Flavia was his family name and Neopolis means the new city. Hence, this was the genesis of the city's present name, NABLUS.

* Dabagh, Mustafa, Biladuna Palestine.

**Ibid.

The dilapidation and ravage left by the Jewish kings upon their departure coupled with the devastation consequential to the Roman invasion were contributing factors to the city's deterioration and eventual loss of supermacy to "Sabistia". Following this downfall, during the Roman mandate, Nablus reverted to its previous superiority. This return to power was attributable to several factors. As Christianity flourished, Nablus became the geographical center between Nazareth and Galilee in the North, and Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron in the South. It dominated the trade routes between the Jordan Valley, the Eastern part of Palestine and the coastal cities in the West. It was at the pivotal point in agriculture and trade. It held a strategic location vis-a-vis the Mediterranean ports in the West.

In the fourth century Nablus was the seat of the Catholic Archdiocese. During this period the city advanced in all aspects of human activity. This was short-lived, because the Samaritan Jews ousted the Christians. This expulsion of the Christians from Nablus did not occur smoothly. "Zeno", the Roman emperor, issued an order expelling the Jews who had been burning and demolishing Christian houses in their eagerness to expell the later group. Additionally the Emperor mandated the construction of the Church of Mary in an effort to prevent the Christians from fleeing. Furthermore, he reinforced the wall of the city to prevent intrusion by outsiders and to

control the exodus of Christians to other locations. Finally he intensified Roman control thereby increasing their influence in the daily lives of the Nabulsians.

Moslems captured Palestine under the leadership of Omar Ibn Elaas during the Caliphate of Abu Bakir in the seventh century. Since then, Islam has become the primary religion and Moslems have exceeded every other religious group in the area. The ethnic composition has changed slightly however, Arabs continue to be the predominant ethnic group there.

Nablus' position among Palestinian cities declined at the inception of the Islamic era, since Ramla , a port on the sea, (4), became the new seat of government. This changed the influence of Nablus and its regions to the southern regions. During this period Nablus was known as the second " Damascus" because of the abundance of water springs, the fertility of its soil and the traditional industry (5). Two centuries thereafter it enjoyed prosperity and regained its locational preeminence.

During the Islamic period, Nablus developed identity as an administrative center and as a mediatory force between the Bedouins in the East, the Fallahin or the peasants in the North and the South, and other cities dwellers in the West. As businessmen they were accepted by the Bedouins who wanted to exchange their animal products for city goods. They were also accepted by the peasants who

wanted to exchange their farm products and buy goods from the city. The Nabulsians traded the accumulated goods from the hinterlands with other cities. The Nabulsians gained economic profits as well as political influence which remained until the British Mandate. Contemporary Nablus is a product of Islamic influence. This is exemplified by the physical arrangement of the city around a central point, "The Big Mosque" not far from the piedmont in the "Hai" called "Khan Al Tujar" or the merchants district. Nablus developed along a valley with the inhabitants clustering along religious lines. Moslems concentrated in the northern sections while Christians and Jews did so in the south .

The British made use of such political prominence . They encouraged some prominent families in the city to ally themselves with other prominent families in the surrounding villages to create rifts between families both in the city and the surrounding villages in accordance with their policy " Divide and Conguor " .

During the Islamic period the Nabulsian commercial district expanded until it reached " El Mahata " or the train terminal in the East; whose operation was stopped in 1944. The area had machine shops, bazaars and khans or motels. The city's location- in a valley between two mountains- impedes further northern or southern expansion , hence a new sub-market was established south of and parallel to the existing central one. The new sub-market

was set in an East-West direction. The low income residences did not extend further than the periphery of the marketplace, however the middle and high income residential areas spread to the slopes of " Jerzim " and " Ebal".

The " Crusades " took over Palestine for a short period 1100-1178 A.D. The economy suffered many setbacks during these years as did the construction process. By 1178 A.D. Moslems drove back the Crusaders and once again the city came under Islamic rule which continued until the Turkish seizure of the area.

During this period in history, under the Turkish Empire rule, the residents of Nablus were grouped in particular neighborhoods and clusters within those neighborhoods according to their occupation, work site, the market place, and their religious affiliation. Hence the existence of different clusters " AHIA" and neighborhoods " HARAT" in Nablus was common. Harat El Massabin was the neighborhood of the soap factory workers and Harat El Sagha was the jewelery neighborhood. Some of these Harat took their names from a land mark or a physical feature, Harat Naba El Asal , a geographical location, El Jabal Eshamaleh , or a historical site, Balata. Seven of these Harat and Ahia still exist in the central area.

The Turkish rule brought the conversion of Nablus to a governmental seat giving her the Notariety and economic progress. The city's economy slowed down during the Egyptians mandate 1832-1841. This was coupled with a severe

earthquake in 1836 which destroyed most of its structures. During the Turkish rule the British counselor witnessed the prosperity of Nablus.(7) He wrote in 1853 " Nablus is the capital of the central area of Palestine, it preceeds Jerusalem in importance, it has an advantageous defensible location...". Britain, France and Germany had their consulate missions in the city.

During the Turkish Rule , in the year 1869, Nablus had its first Municipal Council . This Council was composed of seven members. They were elected for a two year period. This was the first time in the city's history that the Nabulsians elected their own representatives to plan and implement plans for the prosperity of their city.

Rifts in Nablus were based on family lines, which the Turks enforced by appointing Aal Abd Elhadi; the members of the family of Abd Elhadi to governmental positions. Other prominent families did not like being deprived of their share of the local government, so they engaged in local disobedience and disturbances. The Turkish Emperor intensified Turkish control, bringing stability and economic prosperity.

This relative stability was short-lived , because the British took over Palestine in 1918 A.D.. Trade routes shifted and its sole industry, " Soap " was heavily struck. A severe earthquake in 1927 added to the city's misfortune. A six month general strike in 1936 and the effects of the

second world war slowed the growth of the city.

By 1948 the British mandate ended creating a complex situation. As a result, Palestine was divided into three completely separated entities ;

1. The coast line, Northern mountains, Galilee and the Palestinian desert became Israel.

2. The Western mountains and the Eastern valley " Nablus " included, were now called West Bank, and were confederated with Jordan.

3. The Gaza Strip was linked to Egypt.

Nablus, besides losing its markets and some of its hinterland, experienced a great influx of Palestinians who were forced to leave the Israeli part . Nablus had to house them, feed them and

help them integrate into the city's life. Those refugees occupy three large camps, two in the East and the third in the West, blocking the only open sides for any future expansion of the city. These camps not only impeded the expansion of the city in an East/West direction but created new sub-markets competing with the existing ones and tightening the employment opportunities. In 1955 the Jordanian Government passed the Municipal Law, and increased the city council to ten elected members, giving the government the right to appoint two other members.

High demand on land for housing and commercial use added to the already existing economic misery of the city. After 1951, new employment and consumer markets for the West Bank

products opened in the Arab Oil producing countries. The revenues and the personal transactions from these employment opportunities and consumer markets helped in the development of the city's economy especially in the housing industry.

By June, 1967, Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip, depriving the city of its employment and trade markets in the Arab countries. Nablus has since been under martial law . The city lost many industries and thousands of young people fled the country for either political or economic reasons. Israel linked the West Bank to its economy which suffers from three digit inflation, (8), and unpredictable devaluation of the monetary system. The city's industry suffered a big blow because it is privately owned and sincethen individuals are unwilling to take risks.

The political uncertainty, the Israeli settlement policy and the difficulty in obtaining building and industrial licenses forced possible investors to look elsewhere for potential business ventures . Therefore the city's efforts to attract businesses are invain

Nablus is an ancient city undergoing massive structural, morphological, economic , social and demographic changes like many other Middle Eastern cities .Nablus approximates the rest of the Middle Eastern cities in its social , economic and cultural characteristics but

it has a unique situation because of its under military occupation. Semi locked and restricted in its economic development. The significant political influence which intermingles in every aspect of the people's lives.

The intention of this study is not to trace the history of the city, for it is not the focus of this study to analyse the city's historical development . Although a brief discussion is essential to get acquainted with the city. The main emphasize of this study is to investigate the present situation, and conditions in the city from a social and economic point of view and the satisfaction of different groups with their housing.

D.THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

For a better understanding of the city of Nablus it is necessary to examine the physical features , environmental factors and factors that encourage or discourage the growth, development and well being of the city .

Nablus is 42 kilometers East of the Mediterranean Sea,56 kilometers North of Jerusalem and 45 kilometers West of The Jordan River (*). It is located in the Northern part of the West Bank, between two high mountains; JERZIM, to the South and EBAL to the North.

The city is bounded by Deir El Hatab and Askar Valley to the East, Jinnaid, Zawata and Deir Sharaf to the West.The Latitude is 32 12' North, (**) by Longitude 35 16' East of Greenwich.

Nablus has a Meditternean climate characterized by a long, hot,dry Summer and a short, cool, rainy Winter. The Fall is a transitional season, characterized by a gradual lowering of temperatures and a little precipitation. Spring occurs when the winter rains coupled with an increase in temperature cause the vegetation to revive. January is the coldest month and August, the warmest. Summer temperatures frequently rise above 90 F. virtually without rain. Winter tempertures range 3-12 centigrade with a precipitation range of 350-700 milimeters.

Source: Aref Abdullah , Madinat Nablus,Damascus,1964.

The city's location between two big mountains, and the longitudinal shape in the East/West opening between the two mountains modifies the weather. Differences exist within the city; the central area is the hottest, followed by Balata, the foothills of Ebal and Jerzim then the high elevations on the slopes of the mountains. Ebal, with an elevation of 3084 feet above the sea level and 1220 feet from the valley, blocks cold fronts blowing from the North. Jerzim blocks other fronts that blow from the South or the Southwest. Jerzim at the south with an elevation of 2890 feet above sea level and 1254 feet from the valley blocks other fronts that blow from the south or southwest. As a result the city is considered a winter resort.

The mountains not only give the city its longitudinal shape but work as a reservoir for underground water. Nablus does not receive heavy precipitation, but the unique location yields a big resource of underground water. It is on a geological fault which yields underground water between Northern Palestine and Southern Palestine. Recent drilling in Al Bathan and EL Farah areas in the East and Deir Sharaf in the West pumps enough underground water not only for home consumption but also for industrial development.

The first settlers of the city were attracted to this location by the year around availability of running water from the springs. Within the city walls there are four year around running springs. Three of the springs; Ras el Ain,

Ain El Asal, and the Quryoun spring run from Jerzim . The fourth is Ain Dafnieh in the East. These springs are still in use, pumping 150 cubic meters/hour in the summer and 570 cubic meter/hour in the winter.

The mountains were a source of building materials such as, stones, and gravel . They also increased the fertility of the valley by adding their alluvial deposits to the valley's soil.

Nablus has all the requirements making it a haven for early settlers. Several traits held by Nablus which helped it to flourish were:

1. Availability of year around water for human consumption and for irrigation.
2. It has a defensible strategic location .
3. Trade routes in the Northern area of Palestine had to pass through the city .
4. It is a connecting point between the highly populated coastline in the west, the mountains and the Jordan Valley in the east, and between the agricultural Northern area and the animal growing area in the south.
5. It has a rich hinterland.
6. It was an administrative center .

The Setting of Old Nablus

The growth of Nablus originated at " Al Jam'a El Kabir" or the Greater Mosque Court; the spiritual symbol of the city. The mosque was surrounded by small shops, groceries, motels, schools, baths, and residential quarters. The market stretched from the Eastern Gate to the Western Gate.

Nablus flourished sometimes and slowed down other times. The construction process reflected these incidents. During war times and disturbances buildings were destroyed or burned down. During peace time construction flourished and was luxurious .

Construction responds to the historical and political conditions. Construction patterns during periods of crisis show castles, fortified gates and the closeness of the houses to ensure security. This pattern prevails in the central area of the city. Oliagi, a Turkish traveler, noted in 1671 " Nablus was the district seat, it follows Damascus, it is old and beautiful, it consists of 18 "Ahia", quarters . Some of its buildings look like castles well built and well kept. It has seven " Mosque schools" two public baths, two markets, two gates and 375 shops.

Nablus of today is really two cities. The old Nablus has narrow dark paths, jammed markets and close buildings. It consists of many Harat; " Harat El Habali", "Harat El Qusarieh", "Harat El Aqaba", "Harat El Quryoun", " Harat El Yasminah", "Harat El Shuatra", "Bilabus" and "Harat El

Sharq ". Seven of these Harat and Ahia still exist in the central area . Each Hai (plural Ahia) housed extended families or related families, groups of the same religious affiliation, occupational groups, Harat El Massabin , or the neighborhood of the soap factories workers, Harat El Sagha was the Jewelry neighborhood. Some of these Harat took their names from geographical locations; El Jabal El Shamaleh, from a historical site , Balata . The growth of these " Harat " was misguided . Paths in the central area were roofed and paved. The city does not have a visible wall, but has rows of houses that comprise such a wall. These houses leave little space for passages, which are called " Bawabat". The central area has ten gates. The width of the paths range from five to eight meters thus making movement difficult and progress very slow. Animals and porters are still used to carry goods in the central area.

Dwelling units in the central area were built to have access to place of work and to necessities; to the mosque; to the school attached to the mosque, and to the public market for the daily goods. Dense building patterns created coolness. The entrance is shared with a neighbor entrance. The little open space " The Housh" between the houses provides communal living area for the families, especially the women, living in adjacent houses. This open space was used for entertainment and guest accommodations. Latticed

windows or " Mashrabias" are used instead of glass windows. This gives the tenants of view of the outside and keep inquisitive eyes from intruding on the privacy of the house. Most of the buildings are of the square or rectangular shape. The central area still shows its origins, the mosques, the religious schools, most of the pastry industry, soap factories and above all some of the prominent families are still live there.

The "Suq" or the market is the most visible object in the central area . It stretches from the East gate to the West gate in an East/ West direction, it is closer to Jerzim . Business activities dominate the area. Small shops are the norm.Shops and stalls have small frontages. The average area of the shops is about (16-18) square meters. Completely specialized markets are no longer exist so mixed uses are common. Though the conditions in this area are not satisfactory, no vacancies or empty stores for rent could be found . The "Suq" is roofed so there is not enough light or sun. The wind does not blow constantly from only one direction and does not reach all areas. Sewage treatment where it exists is not sufficient and is outdated and unhealthy. The area lacks proper ventilation. Above all the age of structures, the insufficient space and utilities has made life difficult and helped push businesses out of the area.The addition of newer more desirable areas attract businesses to them.

The merchants and the residents of the "Suq" know each

other well but have an undeclared competition which exists among the same business groups. The businessmen in the suq do stick together when threatened by others. If a customer asks for something that the merchant does not carry, the merchant borrows the missing item from his neighbor or buys it at no extra charge. When it comes to the caring of the "Suq" they seem uncooperative. One of the merchants explained, "it is the job of the municipality", the municipality which lacks the capital, the staff and above all the elected mayor and the city council, who were expelled and replaced by a military person and his appointed staff (17 March, 1982.)

There is another sub-business area adjacent to the existing central area. It stretches from Hiteen street in the East to Sufian street in the West. It is highly populated with no open space. The streets are impassable to cars, which makes modern industry nearly impossible. This situation forced any potential modern industry to move to the outskirts of Balata and Askar in the East, Beit Wazan and Deir Sharaf in the West.

Nablus is an old city. By the year 1950 it had only 3700 housing units. In the year 1963 there were 6500 housing units housed about 8000 families. Old housing units are built of limestone in a square shape with a flat roofs. Rooms were large to accommodate the increasing numbers of the family, guests and relatives. Room functions were not

separated; a living room was a sleeping room , a dining room and a guest room . These structures were in two shapes;

1. The open court house was inherited from the Ummayed. Some had flat roofs others had domes. The layout of the houses was similar; a corridor with rooms on both sides. One room was designed as a utility room. A large room at the entrance when is not in use by guests, was the parents sleeping room. The rest of the house is used for sleeping by other members of the family , with a little space designed for storage.

2. The closed court is different from the previous structure because of the usage of the court as a guest room, both to ensure privacy and to accommodate guests during gathering ocasions. The layout of the house is similar to the open court type.

Neighbor relationships were strong because of the mutual help given when needed. Women who spend most of their time in the house have to socialize with other people. The neighbor is the closest so relationships must remain on good terms. Also privacy is highly considered so neighbors have to meet without intruding on that privacy on the court yard, or the stairway or behind the walls, meetings were common.

The city was almost sealed off by the chain of houses which formed a wall. This situation kept and encouraged personal contacts , thus enhancing social solidarity, as

well as preserving neighborhoods and strong family ties .

The development of the central area is a burden on the city not only because of cost involved but because of political influence on the residents of the area as well as the merchants.

Modern Nablus

The expansion of the population of Nablus has, to date, taken place mainly in three directions. The major growth has been in the Eastern part of the city (see map in appendix) in large areas of medium quality housing. In the Southwest development has spread to reach the fields of Deir Sharaf which acts as a barrier to future growth in this direction. This area has developed as an upper middle class housing area in Nablus. An area where the shortage of land and the difficulty in supplying utilities has created an intractable series of planning problems. A series of satellite communities is now being developed around Nablus, they relieved some of the pressures of growth from the city itself (see map in index) . Cooperative housing in Rafidia in the Southwest and Municipal employees housing in Northwest will affect the city growth towards a future North/South axis . This new axis will have no absolute barrier to growth like the old city. Another axis will be in the East where the two big mountains leave an opening in

the Balata and Askar areas. This axis has the greater potential for the city's future development, because of the availability of flat land, the nearness to the industrial area, a location along the main road to Jerusalem, Southern cities and the Jordan valley, and the labor market from the refugee camps. This area is predominantly for agriculture so the city's adjacent vegetable ring will be swept away giving way to residential structures.

From a town planning point of view, the site of the city is not promising. Nablus is squeezed in between two mountains. Jerzim in the South, and Ebal in the North. It stretches from the West to the East. The city's area covers approximately 4700 square acres, the built up zones stretch over a length of about 6.5 Km along the bottom of the valley and 2.5-3 km up the slopes.

Nablus is divided lengthwise by King Faisal Street. Nothing is placed where it supposed to be, any observer could be struck by the lack of planning, zoning, one main straight street, and non standardized buildings. Zoning and planning problems did not surface until the twentieth century, when the uncontrolled growth of the city spilled over the walls from the central area. The outward growth of the city was along the valley in an East/West direction and into the piedmont of the mountains. This uncontrolled growth was a burden on the city planners; the Turkish, the British, the Jordanians and the Israelis. Planning in

Nablus did not respond to the needs of the inhabitants but complied with foreign governmental policies. The city succeeded in electing its first municipal council in 1869 which took over its planning matters . The Jordananian government passed the city's zoning ordinance in 1955 , ruling that the city government had to approve any zoning law before implementation.

Modern Nablus was developed after (1927) earthquake. People moved to the mountain slopes for protection, for more space, benefit from the new building codes, and the municipally provided facilities . Luxurious apartments were built with a high open space ratio. Streets are wider and trees and gardens surround these houses. Modern structures are different from the old ones in architecture. Concrete and cement blocks are sometimes used alone or together with underground colored, polished and treated stones. Population has experienced a natural increase in this area, according to Abu Lughod it is 3.2% (Abu Lughod,1982). These facilitated the growth of this area. The growth of the city was coupled with a process of expansion which added adjacent villages to the city; Rafidia ,Tull in the West, Balata Askar in the East.

New Planning regulations divided the city into three distinct residential districts. District (A) , occupies the smallest area in the Eastern part of the valley and a small area on the piedmont of the Eastern part of Ebal. Another

area occupies the lower slopes of the western part of Jerzim. These areas in general are exclusive . The buildings are big and modern, streets are wide, paved, and lit with open spaces and house gardens . The residents are wealthy , influential and highly professional; medical doctors, high government officials, lawyers, wealthy families and business men. District (B) is the next most exclusive and the largest residential area .District (B) stretches on the lower slopes of Ebal and the Western area of the valley to Jerzim in the South. This district surrounds the old city. The houses in this area are less luxurious than the first area and streets are not as wide .

The most desirable, luxurious district stretches on the slopes of Jerzim and the central and western Ebal slopes. It covers a larger area than the central area. The buildings are mainly of the one family luxurious type, built of stone with touches of artistic and architectural innovations . The streets are wider and well paved, with trees on both sides, municipal services, sanitation, running water, electricity, and schools that are in better condition. Most of the construction in Nablus is of limestone which withstands erosion forces.

New housing structures do not accomodate outdoor socializing within their physical layout. This type of construction lessens the chances of outdoor socializing , thus creating a gap between neighbors, increasing the sense of independence and the selectivity of mates. This new

trend has moved neighbor relationships into a semi formal type, affecting the size, the function and the lay out of the house. More emphasis is put on decoration and furniture. A complete separation in function among rooms in the house is enforced; the sitting room, dining room, kitchen, sleeping rooms....etc. This type of housing has moved relationships from being based on physical proximity to familial or occupational affiliations .Mates are scattered all over the city so meetings are more occasional and take on a semi formal atmosphere. This is contrary to the relationships that exist in the central area.

The horizontal and vertical growth of the city shows a transitional trend to smaller housing structures. This will increase the demand for building land. It has also affected big or extended family norms since limited physical space impedes family and social obligations dictated by such clanish norms. Consequently new housing stock will have an impact on social structures and relationships. Large rooms were the norm to accomodate family and friends on certain occasions

Nablus differs from western cities in housing material, architecture, mixed land use patterns, socioeconomic structure, and interpersonal relationships. The expansion of the city has not meant the decline or the weakening of communal ties or family relationships, nor has

this urban growth been accompanied by anonymity, superficiality, or transiency in the relationships described by the classical school of urban sociology (Wirth, 1956, p.120).

Nablus in the National Context

The city of Nablus furnishes many functions to its hinterland. It is a transportation, economic, industrial, educational, political and administrative center . The growth of modern Nablus both in population and territory is a twentieth century phenomenon. Old Nablus took about five thousand years to survive in a small territory. The central area was the old city which comprises one fourth to one fifth of the area of the city in 1980 . Within the last seven decades, Nablus reached an area of about 19 square kilometers , and a population of 85.500 persons.

Nablus had an outstanding position among Palestinian cities before 1948 . This position was strengthened after 1948 . Nablus is the second major urban center on the West Bank. It precedes Jerusalem - Al Quds - in importance. Nabulsians are known locally for being successful business men, expert in commerce and industry. Nablus is also an important educational, financial and tourism center. Its political influence because of the uniqueness of the prevailing circumstances in the area permeates all

political entities and segments , the West Bankers, the Jordanians, and the Israeli military governor.

Map (1 in the appendix) shows the location of Nablus within the West Bank. In 1980, Nablus the city comprised only about 19 % of the West Bank's urban population. For the same year, Nablus the district comprised 16% of the population of the West Bank. The area of the district comes to 2,5 thousand square kilometers or about 43% of the total area of the West Bank.

Table 1-1

Population of the West Bank's Districts for the years, 1960, 1965, and 1980.

<u>District.</u>	<u>1960*</u>	<u>1965*</u>	<u>1980**</u>
Rammallah	114210	130081	114700
Bethlehem	54980	63002	78100
Jericho	64276	75133	11300
Nablus	171212	202433	128800
Tulkarm	83937	98043	121000
Jenin	79503	93780	108400
Hebron	118353	143149	141100
Jerusalem	107355	124643	117000
(TOTAL)	(793826)	(930264)	(820400)

*Source:General Bureau of Statistics, Amman, Jordan.1965. vol.16.

**Source:Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem, 1981.

Table 1-1 shows the growth rate of the population of

the West Bank as a whole as well as for Nablus. It is clear from the table that the West Bank had undergone rapid population growth and urbanization specially during the fifties and sixties. The period from 1948-1967 showed an increase in population as a whole. The urban population increase was higher than the rest of the area. Within the years 1948-1967 the West Bank went from being predominantly rural to predominantly urban. In 1948 less than 18 % of the country's inhabitants lived in urban areas, while in 1967 it reached about 45% urban, refugee camps residents were included. By 1980 the urban population reached about 32%. The decline in urban population was due to the 1967 war, which resulted in massive migration especially from the refugee camps. In this process Nablus itself has increased its share of the population from 7 % in 1967 (Central Bureau of Statistics, Jerusalem, 1968), to 10 % of the population of the West Bank in 1980. The city has had a sustained rate of population growth of 3.7% a year especially during the 1967-1980 period. In 1967 the population was 44223, in 1980 it reached about 85000 persons. The era prior to 1967 witnessed high population increase .It had increased from a population of 15.947 in 1922 , (Dabagh, M. Biladuna Palestine, pp.190-91) to about 85000 in 1980 in 58 years.

The phenomenon of population growth should be placed

in the perspective of the overall political and economic conditions of the country. As a result of these forces , the post second world war period in Palestine can be divided into four phases;

1. 1945-1948 , disturbances, disobediences, British mandate ended, the creation of Israel, economic recession, partition and refugeation.

2. 1948-1967, Food and shelter seeking, economic recovery, adaptation and social reshuffling.

3. 1967-1973, Israeli occupation, shakey and stagnant economy, nationalism movements and self realisation.

4. 1973- , process of annexation, wild Israeli settlement policy, deteriorating economy, high inflation and rapid devaluation of the Israeli monetary system, restrictions on licenses and building permits.

The demographic structure of the city is much like that of Middle Eastern cities. It has a higher proportion of women as well as children under 15 years of age. The outer rings of the city showed higher increase in population than the inner area.

Despite the rapid urbanization and modernization that Nablus has witnessed , every district and phase of its growth represents a replica of a pre-industrial city with agglomeration clusterings and neighborhoods like those described by Sjoberg in his pre-industrial study (Sjoberg, 1960) .

E. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE CITY

Economic growth is perhaps the greatest source of change in any society, because it impinges upon every aspect of a society's way of life. Nablus was the center for collecting taxes and dues from the surrounding villages during the Turkish rule. At the same time it was a center for power and influence in the area. To sustain influence prominent families had to gain and control economic means a situation that forced them to establish businesses mostly carrying their family name.

The Nabulsians did not depend directly on agriculture as the main source of employment and income ; commerce played greater role in their life. Nabulsians are known locally for being successful business men. They were middle men exchanging the goods of the farmers with those of the bedouins and at the same time distributing these products to other Palestinian cities . Exchanging and distribution at that time required strong public relations and a prominent name in addition to having a good business knowledge to succeed .

Nablus is a city where family name is the major credit card a person could have not only to succeed in public life , but also to gain and retain popularity in the business community .

The prominent and powerful families living in the city needed the support and affiliation of the prominent families in the surrounding villages to concretize their power base. The villagers not only increased a townsman's political power , but also increased his economic power by serving as the consumers for his goods, the suppliers of farm products for his family use and for resale , and sometimes money lender for interest or for a fixed price of the produce before the produce season. The more affiliates a townsman had , the broader his economic base a situation that encouraged the Nabulsians to be business minded.

Some Nabulsians gained profits from investing in business ,which influenced their housing construction, size and lay out . The spatial distribution of the houses also was affected by such profits. Those merchants of lesser income lived at the periphery of the central area, where as those merchants with higher income had houses which were connected to their business by a roofed alley or an underground path to insure security and easy access to the business . At the same time these alleys were used to store goods. Houses reflected the requirement of trade or profession and were considered a source of prestige and prominancy. Big houses were the norm with extraordinary decoration, architecture and imported furniture .

Nablus experienced a relative economic prosperity until the forties. This was followed by a recession and a

period of instability which ended in the early fifties. Economic progress and development of the fifties brought about some changes in the spatial distribution of the business areas within the city. The market expanded east along the main street until it reached Askar street . The western ward growth was limited because of land ownership , undesirable physical conditions and the lower desirability of this area . By the seventies , the municipality in an effort to control the city's expansion, and to attract developers to the Western area, expanded the business area to reach Amir Mohamad Street in the West.

During the fifties the city's industry flourished , because of the cheap, semi skilled labor of the refugees, about 40,000 Palestinian refugees settled in Nablus . The personal transactions from the work in the oil producing countries, the new consumer markets in the Arab countries, the exposure to the world's innovations due to the improvements in transportation and communication means, and the relative stability under the Jordanian rule also improved the city's industries.

By the late sixties the city's economy had began to suffer from a dependency on the Israeli economy; an economy which suffers a high annual inflation rate of about 400% , rapid monetary devaluation , high prices and high taxes . The martial law which restricts imports and exports has a tremendous effect on the city. A Nabulsian merchant could not import any merchandise even if he has the money to do

so. All imports and exports must be done by an Israeli citizen .

Every phase of the West Bankers life is shaped and molded by politics. During the Jordanian rule ,the policy was to upgrade the social and economic standards of the residents of the East Bank to catch up with the already developed West Bankers. This policy that not only impeded the economic development of the West Bank but when the Israelis occupied the area the West Bank had no economic base and was completely dependent on the East Bank in every economic aspect. Since 1967 the West Bank has been under the Israeli occupation with a military governor who has freely issued orders for seemingly "security reasons" when in fact those orders have made the daily lives of the West Bankers increasingly more difficult.

Many industries in the West Bank have their roots in Nablus . The soap industry originated there then transferred to other West Bank cities. Nablus has many industries, matches, pharmaceuticals , chemicals, vegetable oil products, pastry ,and dairy products. These industries flourished in the fifties and early sixties because of the large Arabic exchange markets before 1967 . After 1967, the Israelis restricted some of this exchange and kept some products from reaching Arab markets.

Soap industry in Nablus marked the beginning of local labor force involvement thus affecting the construction and

lay out of housing in the city. The soap industry added new building features and architectural styles to the central area. It is difficult to trace the beginning of the soap industry in Nablus because such businesses were privately owned and operated. Therefore they did not keep records and no municipal records to verify this exist. It was believed to have been started in the first half of the thirteenth century . Some buildings which are over 600 years old indicate that they were used for soap production by their layouts. The soap industry flourished because the city of Nablus is in the center of an olive oil producing area, a main ingredient of soap production. By 1812 , Nablus had only 3 soap factories. By 1967, Nablus had 38 soap factories. Thereafter the number began to decline, until by 1977 there were only 32 factories. The soap factories usually carried the owner's family name to assure family prestige ; " Shaka' factory", "Kanaan factory", "Tucaan factory", "Allool Factory"...etc. Soap production was for the local markets and other Arabic markets , especially the Arabian Peninsula and Egypt. Employment in soap factories absorbed many Nabulsians as well as some villagers who were attracted by such industries. This industry still uses old fashioned ways of production however there are a few factories who have been modernized their methods of production . Besides soap production, Nablus has many other industries; Plastic, glassware, Aluminum treatment , pottery, vegetable oil ,

matches, pastry and weaving. Table 1-2 shows industry type, and number of industrial establishments in Nablus in ,1980. This table shows that these industries are of the small scale type, they depend on imported raw material, the production is mostly for the limited market of the West Bank, except for the few industries; soap, matches , leather cases and vegetable oil which used to export some of its products to the Arab markets . A situation which is under the mercy of the military governor . There are no industrial parks nor heavy industrial clustering in the city, but there are some concentrations of industrial establishments in the eastern section of the city. Small establishments , with one owner , a family enterprise and very few stock or share holders are the norm.

Nablus flourished as a trade center for farm product exchange ,and for serving and supplying ready made goods to the large hinterland it serves. Small shops and groceries are the largest majority of businesses. Table 1-2 shows major industrial establishments in Nablus, for the year 1980. There are small industries , I found no need to list.

Table 1-2

Major Industrial Establishments in Nablus, 1980.

INDUSTRY	Number of Establishments
Soap * *	31
Olive Pressing Mills	6
Sesame Pressing Mills	7
Pastry	30
Pharmacetuecals and Chemicals	12
Animal and Poultry Feeding Products	3
Weaving and Sewing	45
Leather and Plastic Shoes and cases **	13
Furniture	16
Vegetable Oil Refinery * *	1
Tin Cans and steel pads	2
Matches * *	1
Glassware	1
Metal Plating	2
Concrete Blocks	8
Stone Polishing and Cutting Mills	28
Aluminum Finishing	3
Cartoons, Cardboards and Paper Bags	10
Handcrafts	8
Miscellaneous	24

(* *) For export and the local markets

(1) Source , Nablus Chamber of Industry and Commerce,

There are very few specialized markets with the exception of the jewelry and money exchange markets. Nablus warehouses many goods that supply most of the West Bank markets with different goods such as , machinery , food products , clothing , electric equipment , matches soap and vegetable oil Most businesses in Nablus employ family members especially children to keep them from the street, to prepare them to be business men and to save the wages given to outside employees.

In a study by Mohamad Jabar, for the Arab Thought Forum, Jerusalem, 1981, he concluded that the obstacles

facing industry on the West Bank, were:

1. Insufficient capital for industrial investment by both the private and the public sectors (there is no public sector in the West Bank).

2. The absence of a national government that invests in big industries.

3. A limited consumption market.

4. Lack of raw material and natural resources.

5. Lack of trained personnel and the impossibility of bringing other Palestinians or foreigners to work on the West Bank (e.g. military order no. 854 .

6. Governmental obstacles , policies and restrictions on licenses and permits.

7. Political instability, and future uncertainty for the West Bankers therefore preventing them from investing in industrial development.

As a result of its linkage with the Israeli policy, the West Bank also has these economic impedements ;

1. A rapid devaluation of the Israeli monetary system .

2. An annual inflation rate of over 400%.

3. High taxes.

4. Restrictions on imports and exports.

5. The absence of financial lending establishments.

6. A changeable , unpredictable, military governor who is free handed in issuing orders.

Employment in Nablus .

Employment opportunities open to the West Bankers are limited to three geographical areas ;

1. The local markets, which are small, and lack heavy industry or labor intensive business. Agriculture is the norm.

2. In Israel, which is underpaid, restricted to construction, produce collecting and the undesirable, unskilled jobs in factories.

3. In the Arab countries, specially the oil producing countries, which the restrictions placed on movement by the Israelis have made it difficult for some Palestinians to choose between home and being a refugee.

Table 1-3 shows that Nablus has many job opportunities. Among the West Bank cities Nabulsians employed within the West Bank showed the highest percentage among those selfemployed, those in industrial jobs. Despite the limited employment opportunities opened for the Nabulsians, they work in Israel as well as in the West Bank. Nabulsians employed in industry whether in the West Bank or Israel constitute the highest percentage. Selfemployment employs also a high percentage of them. The least economic branch that employs the Nabulsians was agriculture. The average percentage of Nabulsians working in agriculture in the West Bank and Israel is 13% while the average percentage of

Nabulsians employed by industry reached 29% and the average percentage for selfemployed was 36% .

Table 1-3

Employment Location by Economic Branch, West Bank, 1978.

	Agriculture	Industry	Construction	Other
	-----	-----	-----	-----
A.In the West Bank	34	15	11	40
Jenin	54	5	5	36
N A B L U S	23	20	10	48
Tulkarm	48	7	6	40
Rammallah	33	19	12	37
Bethlehem @ Jericho	18	21	17	44
Hebron	32	19	12	37
B.Working in Israel	17	22	45	16
Jenin	16	24	43	16
N A B L U S	3	38	35	24
Tulkarm	20	35	32	13
Rammallah	8	24	41	27
Bethlehem @ Jericho	2	13	59	26
Hebron	15	14	60	12

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Survey of labor force in the Administered Territories, QSAT, ix:2 (November , 1979) Table 2. P.108, and table 23, P.147 (Hebrew).

Employment opportunities available for the West Bankers as well as the Nabulsians are different. The following table shows Employed West Bank residents, according to economic branch, and urban -rural dwelling, 1975-978.

Table 1-4

Employment in Economic Branches for Urban and Rural West Bankers for the years 1975-1978.

Economic Branch	Y E A R				Urban @ Rural				
	75	76	77	78	75	76	77	78	
Agriculture	27	28	29	28	Urban	6	5	5	5
					Rural	39	40	40	40
Industry	17	17	17	18	Urban	26	24	27	22
					Rural	12	13	13	13
Construction	23	21	20	21	Urban	13	12	10	12
					Rural	26	25	23	24
Commerce	12	13	14	13	Urban	19	21	22	21
					Rural	8	9	10	9
Transportation	5	5	5	4	Urban	7	8	7	6
					Rural	3	4	4	3
Public Service	13	13	13	13	Urban	22	22	20	21
					Rural	9	9	10	9
Other	7	3	4	4	Urban	7	7	8	9
					Rural	2	1	2	2

Source : Central Bureau of Statistics, Survey of the labor force in the Administered Territories, QSAT. ix:2 (November, 1979) , table 12, P.136. (Hebrow).

Table 1-4 shows that employment opportunities open to the urban dwellers of the West Bank are those in industry, public services and commerce. These three occupational divisions employ 69% of the urban employed. It shows also that employment in all economic branches declined during the years 1975-1978 except for industrial employment which increased by 1% , commerce employment showed increase by 2%. The other category which includes selfemployment showed an increase of 2 percent . Auto and machinery repair shops

come in third position as employment attraction, after construction and industry. Employment in retail and wholesale businesses is also an employment attraction. In 1980 Nablus had 1685 small and medium size business establishments as shown in the records of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce .

Nablus is an ancient city undergoing massive structural , morphological, economic, social and demographic changes like many other Middle Eastern cities. It is not the aim of this study to examine and analyze the economic conditions in the city. However it is helpful to expose these conditions to those who are unfamiliar with the area.

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CHAPTER TWO

Methods Of Research

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the operational procedures of the study . This chapter will include a brief description of the sources of the data coupled with an analysis of the reliability, availability and nature of the data sources. A definition of the variables used and the techniques employed in getting that data, mainly the variables dealing with place of origin , and satisfaction with housing will follow. It will also explore the techniques of the analysis, and how to operationalize the variables which will help explain the validity of the hypotheses.

Housing in Nablus has been the result of a large variety of physical , historical , cultural , political , and economic factors, the outcome of which formed the present housing conditions and molded resident's tastes and satisfactions with such conditions . The household is the available measurement unit to evaluate the housing stock in Nablus. The " household " is defined as a group of people living permanently at one place and having a common expense budget . " By this definition, a household may incorporate the range from individuals living alone to

large extended families residing in the same dwelling.

Information on housing came primarily from municipal records, which were difficult to examine, due to the presence of the appointed military mayor and his appointed staff. After an unofficial arrangement with one of the employees access was gained and the necessary records copied. Some of the municipal records were missing. The material collected was from the official records of the city.

Another source of data on housing was the Israeli Bureau of Statistics publications; the reliability of this source on West Bank issues is questionable. The expelled mayor, the city architects and the head of the city planning department were a helpful source of information. Data on pre 1967 housing conditions was difficult to obtain, as Jordan had its first official census in (1961). The accuracy accuracy of this source is questionable. Useful books and articles helped in obtaining some data. Data on immigration and or outmigration is unobtainable because of absence of recording. Population estimates and vital statistics were helpful in that respect. The first residence of the rural migrants and durability in the present residence were difficult to pinpoint. Home ownership and date of building the house, especially recent records, were easy to get.

Lack of data on housing conditions and on place of origin required field research data collection as a primary

source. A prepared questionnaire was given to the participants and their answers were recorded (see questionnaire in the index). The Nabulsians who participated had never been subject to an academic survey, and therefore questioned the underlying reason for the survey and were reluctant about participating.

Growing up in such an environment , it was not difficult to understand most of these factors and the interrelationships that exist between them . This facilitated my work; as did the eagerness of my students at An Najah National University to do field study and conduct research . The university was closed for three months (June, 6.- September, 3. 1983) while the research was in progress, thereby hindering the collection of the data and at the same time locking the related material in a building to which I had no access .

The initial step upon my arrival in Nablus was to arrange with the university to teach a course titled "Urban Field Studies . Next I proceeded to get an official map of the city, a task which required a herculean effort, but which was accomplished. My familiarity with the area and the utilization of the map facilitated the selection of five districts , each reflecting a particular housing characteristic . The housing structures exemplify particular periods in the physical development of the city, and provide a representative sample of the city's housing .

The target areas to be studied were outlined on the city map and separate maps of each sub-area were produced. (see maps in the index).

Each district was visited to check for possible obsolescence of the map. It was virtually impossible to trace house numbers because of the absence of a sequential numbering system. Many numbers were either missing or skipped. This may be attributable to post numbering construction. To exacerbate the problem the streets lacked a systemized layout. They were often skewed and confusing and structures seemed to have been placed indiscriminately behind other structures without regard for order . The map did not indicate street names. The lack of street signs required us to use the local residents as our source of street identification. Most often the given names were locally known and described by a local resident.

The survey took place in strictly defined districts . District one boundaries were Almadaris street on the East , King Husein street on the West , Salah Eddin Al Ayoubi street on the South , and King Faisal street on the North. This district was a sample area from the central city . This sample was the largest as this area houses a large proportion of the population as well as the greatest share of businesses. (500 questionnaires were completed in this area). District two , a sample representative of the Northern section of the city , comprised an area bordered by Haifa street on the South , Tarick Ibn Zeiad street and

Aserah El Shamalieh street on the North , Alradeen street on the East and Abu Obaida street On the West (210 questionnaires were completed in this area.) District three, a part of the Western city suburb included the area from Ali Ibn Abu Talib street on the South to Omar Ibn Al Khatab street on the North, and from Abd Ul Raheem Mahmoud street in the West and El Razi street in the East. The sample from this district included 200 questionnaires. From the North Eastern section of the city, the fourth district was selected bounded by Amman street on the West , Muta' street on the North and Al Madrasah El Sinaiah street on the East. The sample from this area was 174 questionnaires . Finally , the fifth district comprised a section of the South Eastern part of the city . Its borders were Askar street on the East, Al Quds street on the South , Jamal Abd Al Nasir street on the North and the power plant to the West. This sample was the smallest , (142 questionnaires were completed because this area is adjacent to a refugee camp and close to district four .

To my good fortune thirty six students registered for the course . This was a group of considerable size , consequently, it was divided into five, six-member teams comprised of males and females. The remaining six students served as group coordinators. They headed each group and worked on special assignments. Each group selected the district of their preference.

After two students and myself conducted a pilot study in which the questionnaire was tested and finalized, the actual surveying of the area jointly by myself and the students began. Some walking , others driving we explored the assigned survey areas. A movie camera was used in our study. Frequently, it had to be hidden upon the appearance of a police car or a military vehicle.

The students were trained in all aspects of questionnaire administration and interviewing techniques. Emphasis was given to maintaining neutrality in the questioning and probing processes.

Each student was given a letter of introduction by the university. It assured the participants of the confidentiality of their responses and the anonimity of the respondents. It further guaranteed them freedom from liability in connection with the study.

Every group was given a map, a set of questionnaires with the corresponding instructions for their administration, and a letter of introduction. Questionnaires had to be completed at the time of the interview. A minimum of two students entered the household to conduct an interview; one observed while the other interviewed. The number of students who entered each household depended on the size of the house and the sex of the head of household. When dealing with a female respondent one or two female students conducted the interview or accompanied the male interviewer and vice versa.

Upon completion of the first questionnaire I met with each group of students to discuss the problems encountered at this stage. The main problem was that the respondents were suspicious of the underlying reason for the research, how the information provided by them be used and who would ultimately obtain the results of the study. The most suspicious were the members of the business community because the research coincided with a random spot check of the local businessmen by the Taxation Department . The problem at this point in time was securing acceptance by various groups who might have differing political views. Cognizant of the fact that this might pose a problem, we intentionally avoided any question that would reveal the respondent's identity.

Through our constant physical presence in the neighborhoods many people who originally had been reluctant to provide information ultimately agreed to participate. Notwithstanding, a few households resisted and were disregarded at the end of the research.

The questionnaire contains, among other things, questions about ;

- a. Socioeconomic conditions of the respondents.
- b. Demographic conditions.
- c. Housing conditions.
- d. Satisfaction with housing and neighborhood variables.
- e. The intention to move .

These variables will help explain the similarities or dissimilarities between the two major groups; the urbanites and the village born migrants, under study . The satisfaction or dissatisfaction they derive from their housing and the relationship between satisfaction or dissatisfaction and the propensity to move.

Information on family income is a sensitive matter which some people adamantly refused to reveal .In such instances the income was estimated based on the number of family members working and the nature of their occupations. This did not affect accuracy since the question on income was categorical rather than actual The income categories were ample, approximately three thousand American dollars for the first two categories and six thousand dollars for the rest of the categories, to accomodate a margin of error without affecting the overall accuracy . Income was obtained in Jordan Dinars each J D = \$ 3.00 though the West Bankers deal in three currencies , the Jordan Dinar, the Israeli Lire, and the American Dollar. Age , occupation and income were used as indicators of educational level in the three cases where the respondents refused to provide it.

With a few exceptions, respondents were hospitable . Their hospitality was manifested through offerings of food , drink and other amenities.

This survey did not cover the collective households- hospitals, hotels, prisons, and military barracks- the

survey covered 1226 households (1) or about 9% of the total households in the city. The total population of the surveyed areas is 10196 persons, members of the surveyed families who migrated outside the West Bank are not included. The population of the surveyed areas comes to 12% of the total population of the city. The survey was limited to the population currently living in the surveyed districts. The survey did not ask questions about the motives for ingress for the rurals who came to the city and live there permanently.

Good research depends upon theory as much as upon methodology. To be methodologically sure of my variables and categories, I shall not attempt to describe how-to-do-statements and methodological rules, rather I shall try to extract systematic ideas from my experience in the field during my stay in Nablus.

Two broad research techniques were employed, the general survey method and the intensive study method. The general survey method, which amounted to a comprehensive, house to house census, accounted for the quantifiable data on interrelated demographic, social and economic characteristics of households within the surveyed districts. Some data that was thought to be potentially quantifiable such as income, occupation and the number of

(1) Surveyed districts show the chronological development of the city, and resemble the different socioeconomic and housing conditions prevail in the city.

households , turned out sometimes to be difficult to assess in precise terms , and therefore was dealt with in a very cautious way. The material collected was subsequently recoded, punched, and processed through the computer at the computer center of the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York. Frequences, cross-tabulations , correlations and indices were obtained. What others have written about Middle Eastern cities and their people was my exploration; what I heard from others in the scholastic community about this subject gave me the impulse to attempt an empirical investigation with extreme neutrality in a city where extremes of divergent thinking and opposed socio _ economic statuses and living conditions coexist under unique circumstances.

In research methods I have used several approaches.

1. Examination of available literature at the inception of the research to assure accessibility of background information.
2. Planning team work.Explanation of unrecorded aspects relevant to my subject area.
3. Mapping.
4. Surveying was an initial step in the research process to obtain , first, feedback on the respondents reactions to

(1) A household is defined here , as one or more individuals who occupy a single dwelling unit. Occupants may be related by blood, marriage or adoption related or non family or individuals living together such as students or workers who share an apartment .

and levels of cooperation with a team of field workers to whom they had never been exposed and, secondly, to assess their feelings about their city, housing situation and neighborhoods.

5. Sampling design- The sampling involved two stages, the pilot study sampling and the general study sampling. The goal in sample selection was that it be representative of the current quality of housing, demographic and economic conditions of the entire city. For the pilot study the sample included five percent of the households of each district or from ten to twenty households depending on district size. This sample was kept small , and the sampling was done quickly. This was done intentionally to avoid the rise and spread of respondent's suspicions that would hinder the progress of the study and to avoid intervention of the military authorities to stop the research . For the general study the sample included all households in the designated districts and the goal of general population representaition remained the priority.

6. Interviewing and making observations designed to elicit data on the demographic , social , economic and housing characteristics of the target area and resident perceptions of their housing and neighborhood.

7. Questionnaire design , I sought to extract data on ;
a . Dwelling units characteristics in five districts in the city of Nablus.

- b. Household information.
 - c. Residents satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their housing and neighborhoods.
 - d. Economic status of households.
8. The questionnaire had a coding system. Each questionnaire and each question was coded for rapid identification (see questionnaire in the appendix).

Variables and Measurement Procedures

To assure an appropriate analysis of the collected data , a set of testable hypotheses was formulated. These hypotheses examined the relationship between place of origin as a dependent variable and different independent variables such as socioeconomic variables and housing quality. The analysis included satisfaction as a dependent variable and its relationship with other independent variables. Satisfaction was an an indicative variable explaining the retardation or the acceleration of future movement for groups under study.

Satisfaction as a psychological variable, differs from one individual to another , as of needs differences, so what will satisfy a person may be unsatisfactory to the other. Also satisfaction depends on the stage of life . Some satisfaction is undoubtedly a highly personal

experience , heavily influenced by the individual's past experience and current expectations. Attitudes and subjective indicators of satisfaction (perceptions and assessment) will not be discussed in this study. Objective indicators of actual satisfaction (the reality) will be the focus.

Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the existing housing is merely a product of interrelationships of socioeconomic , political, cultural, and environmental dimensions that make up the neighborhood .

Four variables were used to measure satisfaction. These variables are ; reason for living in the current dwelling unit , the intention to stay , the place that you want to move to if you want, and the direct question about satisfaction/dissatisfaction . Socioeconomic variables also were used in determining satisfaction. Housing quality was measured by such variables ; number of living quarters, number of rooms, apartment ownership, value of property, date of building , date of residing in the house , utility availability and cost, and number of rooms needed.

The data have provided information on four major variables:

1. Descriptive variables, which include, sex of head of household, place of birth of head of household, age of head of household, marital status, family size, number of children, number and sex of migrants from the household, educational level of the head of household, income for the

years 1980 and 1982, occupation and place of work of head of household and number of families living in the housing unit.

2. Neighborhood characteristics which consist of, home ownership, land ownership, green areas around the house, the availability of public services and the district of residence.

3. Housing conditions, variables used are, monthly rent, kitchen, plumbing and bathroom amenities, number of rooms, size of the house, number of living quarters, number of floors, number of bedrooms, the building material of the house, vacant rooms.

4. Satisfaction variables, a direct question of are you satisfied, the intention to move, and the district of the intention movement and the reason for living in the current dwelling unit, (1)

The variables can be utilized as an index of satisfaction. These variables are;

1. Socioeconomic variables, mainly income, which is measured by the annual income of the household, this is classified into three categories, high, medium, and low. Education and occupation are also used categorically.

2. Housing status, measured by persons per room ratio, rent/owned, value of the house, the availability of utilities and facilities, building material, district of

(1) The answer was dealt with separately without considering psychological elements.

residence, green area number of rooms and owners/renters evaluation of the house which are classified as good , fair and poor.

Place of origin was asked directly. This was of great importance because it was an indicator of assimilation . O. D. Duncan and S. Lieberman assert that ethnic differentials in socioeconomic status are indicators of incomplete absorption and assimilation (1959, p.370.) Assimilation is the most elusive concept used to study race or ethnic relationships. Ethnic segregation is not a function of a simple socioeconomic factor or cultural difference. neither is it a factor of origin, but is a product of these factors combined with the situation faced by the migrant upon his arrival and the process he uses to resettle in the new urban community.

The framework for discussion is provided by the realization that ethnic groups must originate and grow through population redistribution , either through migration to the town or redistribution within it . The forces underlying the socioeconomic and political migration will not be explored but population distribution will be investigated in the light of socioeconomic variables of both rural migrants and urbanites and the quality of housing for the two groups.

(1)A dwelling unit refers to a single house, apartment, or a single room or group of rooms occupied by a person or a group of persons having common ties or intended to be occupied.

CHAPTER THREE

ECOLOGICAL ORGANIZATION OF NABLUS

A. Spatial Arrangements and Land-use Patterns.

The spatial arrangements of the city, the housing conditions in the city as a whole and specifically in the five surveyed districts and the population density within these districts will be discussed and analysed in this chapter. (For maps of the city, the surveyed districts and the West Bank see appendix).

Land-Use Patterns

In Nablus the built up area ranges from 35-38% of the total area which comes to about 25 square kilometers. The city's growth has been unguided and unrestricted. This situation compelled the city officials during the British Mandate to hire a British company to study land use patterns and establish the first city plan in 1947. Kandall , a British planning company, studied the city and formulated the plan. A year later three Palestinian camps had to be established in the periphery , to accommodate the Palestinians who were forced to leave their homes after the establishment of Israel. affecting the city's growth and

economy.

The city expanded its boundaries in 1963, to include the surrounding villages of Balata, Askar, Rafidia, and Jenaïd. The addition of these villages doubled the city's size . Other efforts by the city to add other surrounding villages were in vain because the authorities did not approve.

Data collected from different sources, municipal records, Chamber of Industry and Commerce, Statistical Bureaus, non official sources, Department of Education, Department of El Awqaf El Islamieha, books , articles and the 1983 Survey I conducted provide helpful information about socioeconomics , demographics, and housing quality of different areas within the city , (see Methodology). This information is necessary to analyse the spatial arrangements within the city and to compare surveyed district's socioeconomic conditions, demographic characteristics and housing quality. Sjoberg's study pointed out the differences between modern industrial cities and the preindustrial city. In his study he delineated the arrangements of the preindustrial city by social setting. The spatial arrangement of present day Nablus partially reflects the preindustrial setting described by Sjoberg, except for the new luxurious suburbs and newly public housing in the East and the West ends of the city. These deviate from the general norm of the

preindustrial city.

In the central area and its peripheries, houses are usually one or two stories. The streets are narrow ,curved, tiled and roofed. The average width of these paths is 5 to 8 meters. The sanitary conditions are unhealthy. There is a lack of proper sun light ventilation, sewage and rain drainage . Houses are old and the outside walls are usually covered with grass . The growth is unplanned because building codes were not in effect. Thus many buildings and structures deviated from the common practice and were built according to the owner's or builder's taste and capability. Rural practices, such as planting vegetables , raising poultry, and one or two goats or sheep for the household consumption are still prevalent especially in the peripheral areas of the central city . The city has exclusive areas in the Southwest , Northwest and Northeast ends. These small exclusive areas have physical features not different from those of Western industrial cities.

The Central Business District

The central area in Nablus is the second most highly populated district in the city surpassed only by after the three refugee camps. Its population is about 85.000 living

in an area of about 25 square kilometers with a density of 8.8 person per square Dunam.

The central business district occupies an area which can be divided into three sections known locally as the old central business area, the core of the central business district and the periphery of the central business district. The old central business district contains the area between the streets of Al Abia, Al manarah Square, Al Qaryoun, Khan El Tujar, Khalid Ibn El Walid, the Great Mosque court, Al Nasir and Bawabit Al Baik. The core of the central business district includes, Al husein, Al Shuhada, Ghurnata, Omar Ibn El Mukhtar and Sufian streets. The outer area of the central business district contains Salh El Dean, Faisal, Khansai, Jahith and Sheik Muslim streets.

The land use pattern within the central business district shows a mixture of uses, other districts of the city show also variations of land use. The following table shows land use and the percentage of the area each pattern of land use occupies.

Table 3-1

Land use patterns, in percentages, Nablus, 1983.*

1. Residential areas.	53%
2. Bus and jittney terminals , and roads .	10%
3. Commercial areas.	15%
4. Mosques and schools.	5%
5. Administrative uses.	3%
6. Open space.	14%

* Source: Chief Engineer, Department of Planning (unpublished).

Residential and commercial uses are the dominant uses in the Central Business District (C B D), because of the traditional and close relationships that exist between them. It is customary that a shop owner lives in the same building with his store or very close to it in order to maximize allotted time for business , to minimize travel time, to have access to the city's opportunities, and to be home when needed .

The C B D shows no separation of activities. The first floor is usually a store, upper floors or rear space are for residential uses . Commercial uses exist randomly within the area . There are meat and poultry shops , grocery and wholesale stores, small machine shops, furniture basements , soap factories, sesame mills , pastry shops , clothing stores and home appliances. Mosques, schools municipal buildings, law offices and doctors

clinics are also found within this area. Another noxious uses in this area are buses and jitney terminals which link the city with its hinterland and other West Bank cities.

The houses of this area are generally old 66 % of the surveyed houses were built before 1967. They lack many of the utilities and facilities 52 % of the surveyed houses have no kitchen or missing some of the kitchen facilities, 34% had no sewerage . Bathroom facilities also lacking in 52% of the surveyed houses. 26% of the houses lack some or all of the plumbing facilities. Contrary to the area are the homes of those prominent influential old families which still show an extravagant past. Their houses are well built , well kept and most often are surrounded by a wall to insure privacy (Sjoberg, 1960) . These families tend not to sell their property because of the prestigious status it gives .Buildings are usually two stories, with a three story dwellings .

Unlike other third world cities, Nablus's " C B D " does not have the squatter problem . Each square foot of land in the C B D is highly utilized to maximize its use for profit . The residents of this area are mainly business men or old families who have lost their economic means and remained entrapped in the area. This area has witnessed an emigration of the well to do business men and influential families due to a lack of space both for

expanding businesses and family needs, utilities and facilities, and above all the inaccessability of the area to the private automobile . This situation decreased the demand on residential usage in this area . The intensively used area has few abandoned houses which are usually not for sale. At the same time demand on business space is still high. During the survey, March - September, 1983, neither I nor the interviewers reported a vacant store or a rent notice . Stores in this area are generally small, jammed with merchandise, with improper sanitary conditions , poor ventilation and live sun light .

Land prices are not as high as those in other districts within the city. A person who owns a business usually owns the house. Selling the house is tied to selling the business which no body wishes to do because of the profitability and future income potential for the offspring . Developers tend not to purchase a house which is tied to a business , because the house will be undesirable for rent, and business expansion requires total demolition or a new addition neither of which are easy to acomplish in the narrow streeeted central city area.

Land prices in the C B D range from \$45.00 to \$ 300.00 per square meter. Land prices decline at the Eastern and Southern peripheries of the C B D and increase at the Western and Northern sides . Economic forces play a major role in keeping poor people out of this area. Rich business men who are willing to pay high prices for land

aquisition in this area drive poor people to the rear areas, the periphery or as Park and Burgess call it the slum or zone of transition . The emmigratin of business men and influential families, the lack of the available of land for building new houses, the difficulty in rennovating old structures, and the inaccessability of this area by automobiles ,have made it difficult for the city , the public sector, or the private ones to upgrade this area. In the few stores which are already rented or leased, rent is high when compared to other quarters within the city. The lack of financial, loan and mortgage institutions, makes it nearly impossible to finance an already built house or to build a new one whereas public housing in other districts was partially financed by Jordan Banks.

Preindustrial Nablus

Contrary to what Sjoberg stated in his study about Land/Class arrangements, Nablus shows a deviation of his statement. Many prominent and influential families have deserted the central area, leaving behind some luxurious structures, making way for poorer folks who usually did not occupy the fringe of this area . Those poor families were divided in their affiliation between the prominent families. Each prominent family had some followers from the

poor families, who furnished the cheap labor for the business and participated in house cleaning , water carrying , garden keeping and guarding . This situation compelled prominent families to allow poor families in or near their residence. Islamic religion which encourages the rich to help the poor and not to look down on them, plays a major role in classes intermingling within the city. Within any specific locality in the central area which housed a prominent family , relatives , and followers clustered around . Thus the central area contained small clusterings based upon a family's socio-political and economic position . The central area consists of seven Harat.

Physical distance from the city center was correlated to the socioeconomic status of the family. The wealthier families were the closer to the central area and vice versa. This is no longer the norm. Most influential families have moved to the Southwest (Rafidia) Northwest (El Jabal El Shamalih) and Northeast, (Askar) public housing. This internal reshuffling has created exclusive areas that are known in the western world as upper class suburbs. This phenomenon ; emmigration of the wealthy families; is experienced in other third world cities as stated by F. and L. Dotson's findings in Mexico ,(F. and L. Datson, 1954. pp.367-74.)

The central business district is relatively small, any place within the C B D is within walking distance from any

other point . The city's spatial arrangements do not fully follow the pattern described by Sjoberg in his study, (Sjoberg, 1960). The walled city is crowded and except for the wealthy family's residence, most people reside near their place of work. Technology does not allow many multi storied structures. Buildings are set closely to accommodate a large number of people in . Streets are narrow, poorly drained, tiled and roofed making them impassible to automobiles .

Nablus is considered to be a medium-sized city, its inhabitants number about 85,500 persons, 1980, . According to M. Dabagh the population of Nablus reached 15,947 persons in 1922. They were living in the central area . The massive increase occurred during the 1948-950 period . The city is an administrative and military center. During the Jordanian rule, Nablus was the seat of the district, and a military stronghold. The West Bank is divided into three administrative districts ; El Khaleel, Jerusalem and Nablus. After 1967, under the Israeli occupation, Nablus became the seat of the military governoger, having the second military establishment and the largest military prison on the West Bank. Its political influence is felt both locally and at all levels on the West Bank . Those functions as described by Sjoberg, are part of the preindustrial city.

The residents, regardless of birthplace or head of

household status are no different from the residents of the preindustrial cities as described by Sjoberg in their way of life (Sjoberg, 1960). Those people conduct their activities in a non specialized fashion like many other preindustrial cities. Because activity proceeds at a slow pace, and preindustrial urbanite , compared to industrial urbanite, does not think of time as a "scarce commodity " except within broad limits such as days or weeks. The shopkeeper opens and closes his establishment at varying times as the spirit moves him (Sjoberg, 104). This description given by Sjoberg does not apply to present day Nablus. Shopkeepers keep their shops open during the day without any closure except for emergency . A note explaining the reason for the closure is usually left or a neighbor is asked to watch the open shop and help customers. Activities are restricted to day time , except for the month of Ramadan . Hours vary from one season to the other .

Nablus began as a religious site because of Al Jam'a El Kabir, the great mosque and has continued to be a religious center of activities. The Great Mosque's court doubled as a plaza and as stated by Sjoberg, it is a meeting place, and dominates other community activities. The mosque was surrounded by small different shops, who mainly did business with the mosque attendants who were looking for convenient shops so that they could attend five daily prayers without losing travel time Later municipal

buildings, and police department were added. Schools, lawers offices and doctors clinics, were attracted by the high concentration of people and the availability of services within this area as compared to other areas at that time . Other noxious users were attracted to the area because of the high concentration of consumers. The bus and jitney terminals are in between the municipal building and the roofed market , a distance of 400 meters . Two bus terminals one at the eastside of the municipal building which links the city with Rammallah, Jerusalem and vicinity. The other in the West of the municipal building which links the city with other cities in the west and north. Six jittney taxi terminals link the city with its hinterland all are between and around the municipal building and the roofed market making it difficult for both businesses and pedestrians to move . Traffic signals are not in use which adds to the congestion the area suffers from.

City Structure

Nablus is an ancient city. Throughout the history, especially after the First World War period, its growth was unguided and reflected residents' tastes and financial affordabilities. Streets are impassable by automobiles. Underground sewer modernizing is costly and unfeasable

because of the damages it might bring which no city official is willing to risk. Upgrading the water supply system is costly too. Enforcing city health and building codes in the central area is extremely difficult. The city could not implement an effective plan for the improvement and or rearrangement of the city's physical structure without taking the present pattern of land use within the central area and the forces that have produced this pattern into consideration. The process of neighborhood changes has been under study and investigation by many disciplines. Johnston ,1970, Herbert, 1972 , and Jones and Eyles (1971) offer a comprehensive surveys of the literature. These approaches include the traditional ecological approach (Park, Burgess and McKenzie, 1925), and its many variants ; models based on the residential filtering process (Hoyt, 1939 lowry, 1960); other formulations based on the role of institutions and social conflict (Harvey, 1973, Cox, 1978) ; more formal economic models (Kain and Quigley, 1975); gaming and probabilistic models (Gilbert, 1972); statistical accounting frameworks (Moore and Clatworthy, 1978); and the changing patterns of social relations (Cybriwsky, 1978). Each of these approaches, in varying degrees, provides some direct , or indirect, role for the housing stock and its changing patterns of occupancy .

Perhaps the most persuasive of the above approaches to date has been the ecological approach, dominated by the

Chicago school of sociology of the 1920s. Although widely criticized , their concepts still provide a useful descriptive framework for studied of the dynamics of housing in cities. In their view, neighborhoods change through a process of invasion and succession in which new institutions and populations gradually invade areas occupied by other groups and eventually come to dominate those areas by displacing members of the initial groups (succession). Spatially, the outcome of the process is the same concentric zones radiating out from the city center as in the competitive bidding process for land outlined above, except that each zone contains groups of increasing social status. The ecological approach assumes the existance of a rapidly growing city, with an industrial economic base, a steady inflow of migrants of mixed ethnicity and generally low incomes and almost ubiquitous improvements in transportation (e.g., Chicago as it was in the early 1900s). They also assume that ;

- 1.housing becomes socially obsolescent through aging;
- 2.New housing is primarily constructed on the outer margins of the city ;
- 3.The opportunity to improve one's housing situation is extensively promoted by a large real estate industry ; and
- 4.people prefer new housing over old .

Sociologists dealt with the forces underlying the land use patterns and housing within the city. They capsulized land use patterns and housing stock into three theories;

The Concentric Zone Theory, The Sector Theory ,and The Multi- Nuclei Theory.

1. THE CONCENTRIC ZONE THEORY

The concentric zone theory was introduced by E. W. Burgess and Robert Park in 1923 . They indicated that land use patterns in the city can be best understood in terms of a series of five concentric circles. They showed the use in each circle as follows :

1.The central business district, (C B D) is the center of commercial , social and civic activities .Old residential buildings are the norm .

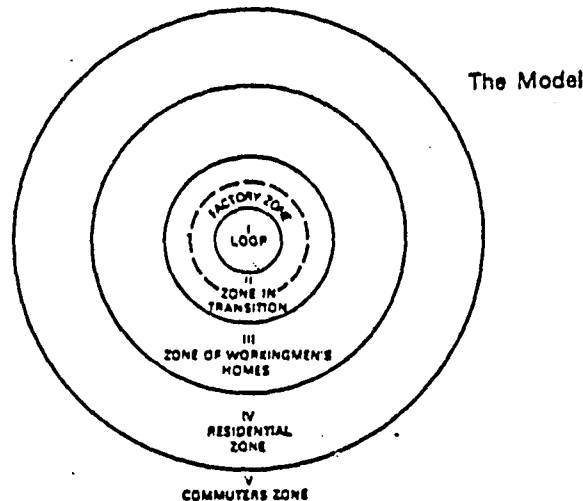
2. The Zone of Transition surrounds the central zone and is known as a zone of deterioration in housing and facilities. It is usually inhabited by people of the lowest class, generally new migrants, who cannot afford to live in other areas and those who have resided in this area for a long time and cannot afford to move from the center city. This area is known for social disorganization, high crime rate and usually contains the red light district.

3. The Working class Zone contains two-family homes from the lower working class who have managed to escape the first and second zones . Their homes are close to their work place

4. The Medium class residential zone is mainly for

middle and upper middle class . Their houses are usually single_family units . This area is usually residential and transients are not welcome. Sometimes it contains high - rent apartment buildings.

FIGURE 3-1 THE CONCENTRIC ZONE THEORY



Sourcer: Larry S. Bourne, 1981.

5. The High class residential or commuters zone is usually located beyond the city limits in suburban areas . It contains wealthy upper class communities (James H. Johnson ,1972, pp.170-79).

The concentric zone theory was based on observations of western industrial cities particularly Chicago, and does not apply fully to Nablus where poor families integrate with rich families within the central area.

According to the proponents of the concentric zone hypothesis, urban space has social implications . The

concentric zone theory indicates that residents of each zone exhibit certain characteristics different from residents in another zone. As cities expand , each inner zone tends to extend its area by invading the next zone causing a succession of distinctive land use. When people are economically successful, they move from the center to the outer residential neighborhoods (Burgess, 1929, pp.114-123).

The concentric zone theory indicates there is a positive relationship between the physical distance from the central core of the city and socioeconomic status: the farther out ,the higher the status. This observed, positive relationship between the distance from the central core of the city and the socioeconomic status may fit some western industrial cities, where the poor live in the interior areas of the city and the better off live outward towards the suburbs. This theory does not apply to Nablus where the poor intermingle with the rich in the core area .The city's invasion of the surrounding villages , the residents of whom have a lower socioeconomic status are comparable to those of the adjacent areas of the city.

The recent phenomenon of rich movement to the suburbs could not also be explained by this theory. Some rich and prominent family clusterings can be found within the different areas of the city. Income is not a determinant of a person's movement , though the newly rich people, have moved to the outer exclusive suburbs , Rafidia and El Jabal

El Shamalieh .The following table shows income for the residents in the surveyed districts;

Table 3-2.

Income in Jordan Dinars by District of Residence, Nablus, 1982 in percentage.

District	Less than1000	1-1999	2-3999	4000 +
I	15	45	28	12
II	11	38	35	15
III	0.5	13	30	57
IV	3	16	41	40
V	22	65	13	0.7

Source: Author's survey, 1983.

Table 3-2 does not show a zonal distribution of income within the city's surveyed districts. District five shows a deviation , it has the lowest income group though it is far away from the central area. Districts Three and four show a higher income than the other districts . (A full description of the surveyed district's socioeconomic and housing characteristics will be discussed in the following chapter).

Changes in other socioeconomic variables, education and occupation are felt but there is no correlation by zone within the city. The central area residents are largely selfemployed 62%. Twenty percent of them hold

administrative and governmental jobs . Occupational distribution within the surveyed districts does not follow a zonal or circular pattern , rather it shows a mixture of occupations within the different districts. District Three deviates by showing a high percentage of its residents occupied by industrial, wholesale and trade jobs.

The area next to the C B D shows a diversity of occupation ,but does not deviate from the C B D jobs . Educational levels of the head of households do not show zonal patterns , though they show a low percentage of illiterate people in all districts. The overall range is 9-15 % ,with the higher rate of illiterate people found in the central business district 15% and in the Second district 15% at the time of the survey the C B D had the lowest percentage of college graduates 11 percent, districts showed a low percentage of illiterate , a lower percentage of college graduate 13_22%, and a fairly high percentage of elementary, secondary and high school graduates 65_72 percent.

As stated earlier the surveyed districts show no zonal or circular arrangements based on any socioeconomic factor. It is notable that some changes in socioeconomic characteristics are revealed as one moves from the center of the city to the periphery. This means that the city's class divisions are not based upon income ,occupation and or educational level of the head of household .

Building a house or selling an already built house is not an easy and quick task. Influential families do not sell their old homes and estates because they are the source of the inherited prestige. Thus a member of the family, usually the least economically advantaged, has to stay and keep the property. The price set for any property owned by a prominent family is far beyond the reach of the ordinary business opportunist. Selling to another prominent family means losing prestige. The conversion of uses by the owners is most likely. The long time residence and home ownership patterns have made the physical arrangement of the city unexplainable by the concentric theory alone.

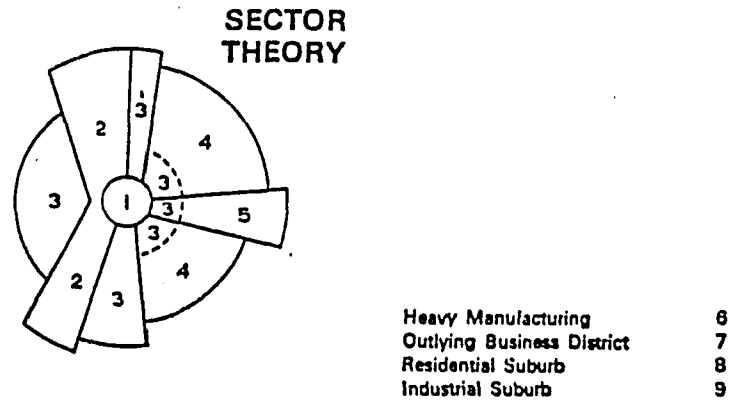
Western ecologists spent their time investigating western cities, and sometimes they try to apply their findings on other third world cities without the full awareness of other factors that are unexplainable. People's inspirations are different, peoples cultures are different, religion is not strong in western cities as it is in some third world cities. Third world cities have acquired centuries of civilisations, whose influence is still felt. Thus introducing the fact that ecological sociologists have to take into consideration the social, political, cultural and ethnic peculiarities of the countries and or cities under study; ecological factors are not the only underlying forces which shape the spatial arrangement of any city. It is rather the sum of many factors that produce a city.

2. THE SECTOR THEORY

Concentric zone theory could not explain the spatial arrangements and growth of other western cities. In 1939 , Homer Hoyt introduced his idea for the explanation of urban structure; His idea was , once contrasts in land use had arisen near the center of the city, these differences were perpetuated as the city expanded. (Hoyt,1939, PP.112-22) . Distinctive sectors of land use were likely to grow out from the center , often focused on major transportation lines which is used to explain the city's residential movement .It visualizes the city as divisible into wedge-like sectorial expansion .

Each sector develops along a main transportation line, street or major route. This theory describes changes without analysing conditions leading to the changes. The theory presents the city as a circle ,with various areas radiating from the center in sectors. Similar types of land use originate near the center of the circle and migrate outward to the periphery. Once a district with high class housing has been established , the most expensive sites for new houses will lie along the outer edge of this area. The net result over a period of urban expansion is that a zone of high-class housing tends to be located on one side of a city rather than in the continuous ring supported by the concentric theory ((James, Johnson,1972, pp.172-73, and

FIGURE 3-2 THE SECTOR THEORY



Source:Larry S. Bourne, 1981.

Neither of the two theories, the concentric theory or the sector theory are acceptable by themselves in explaining urban structure and growth. Leading ecologists tend to favor one theory over another so they prefer to use the sector theory because it takes the effect of transportation lines in shaping and determining the growth patterns more into consideration than the concentric theory into consideration (Sirjamaki, 1964, p.196).

The longitudinal growth of the city , was caused by the increasing use of the automobile, by the lack of space in the central area, and the environmental barriers in the North and the South . this growth pattern makes the sector theory partially applicable to the explanation of the

city's growth.

Nablus in its growth and expansion during the last half century showed a clear expansion along transportation routes. The growth of Rafidia area in the southwest, El Jabal El Shamalieh in the Northwest area, Balata and the new housing along Jerusalem street, and Askar public housing, can better be explained by the sector theory. Each of those areas are on transportation lines. The site of the city, squeezed between two big mountains made any growth in South/North direction costly and difficult. The technology used in making those areas suitable for residence was inadequate, thus making the only two feasible directions for expansion are along the East-West transportation lines. The arrangement of the residents along these lines is uniform.

In the Rafidia and El Jabal El Shamalieh areas growth does not follow the major transportation lines. These areas attract high income families with extravagant homes. Besides every route, a major or a minor, houses and stores can be found. The density and degree of growth is clearer beside major roads to Amman, Jerusalem, Qalqilia and Asierah streets successively. Industrial and commercial growth also followed the volume of transportation. Alongside Jerusalem and Amman streets, machine shops, vegetable market, auto repair shops and new industries are located benefiting from the transportation route. Tulkarm

street has its share of businesses which were attracted to the area by the existence of this major road.

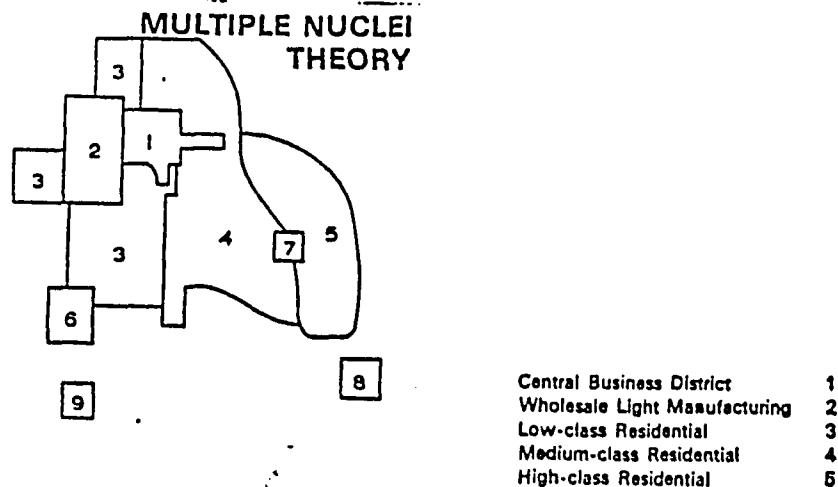
Not a single governmental office is far from the major transportation lines. Some land uses attract more growth, in the case of An Najah National university, the Rafidia area attracted more businesses and houses to the area. The growth of this area and the slopes of Jerzim and Ebal specially in the central areas and the East, do not show the importance of transportation routes as the sole factor in the city's growth.

Another area that does not conform to the sector theory's applicability to Nablus is the Public housing area in Askar along Amman's street, where upper high class residence. The volume of movement between Nablus and Jericho, is nonexistent. There was a direct bus and jittney line between Amman and Nablus before 1967. After 1967 war this line is not in operation causing the decline in movement between these two urban centers. Despite this decline in persons and goods movement between these urban centers the growth of the area started after 1967 at the time of transportation decline. Despite of the unaccessability of the central area it is still has most of the administrative, high income modern building structures and major public buildings. The central area still has most of the administrative, high income and modern building structures.

3. THE MULTI-NUCLEI THEORY

The concentric and sector theories have the advantage of attractive simplicity, but the situation in most cities is too possible, too complex to be enfolded in such easily comprehended generalizations. C.D.Harris and E. Ullman, in 1945, introduced their theory to explain urban structure. Their theory suggests that cities have an essential cellular structure, in which distinctive types of land use have developed around certain growing points, or "nuclei" within the urban area.

FIGURE 3-3 THE MULTI-NUCLEI THEORY



Source: Larry S. Bourne, 1981.

The nuclei could stem from the birth of the city as in the case of London. In some cities they could be developed through historical evolution of the city, (Chicago). The

number of the nuclei which result from the historical development and from the the process of decentralization and specialisation varies from one city to the other. The larger the city the greater the number of these specialized nuclei exist within the city (Harris and Ullman, 1951, pp.227-230).

Nablus is an old city. It's development was based on commercial ,religious ,industrial , administrative and educational activities. These activities were centered in the C B D . The C B D, which originated in or around the Great Mosque, could not accommodate all the functions the city had to furnish. As a result many other nuclei developed attracting more businessess to help serve their areas and to make profit. Within the city's areas there are many sub_business districts. Three of these ,the intersection of Amman, Jerusalem and Balata streets, Elmahata,and the intersection of Qalqilia and Rafidia streets , conform somewhat to the multiple_nuclei theory; a theory which is founded on the premise that metropolises develop multiple commercial and residential nuclei.

Residential clusterings in Nablus are formed around a mosque or a residence of a political or influential prominence . These clusterings are called " Harat" . The daily needs of each "Hara" are found within the Hara boundaries. The retailers in each " Hara" bring their goods from the wholesalers in the central area, the adjacent Western area , the vegetable market or the Eastern

wholesale area. Then they distribute these goods to the local residents.

To sum up, the three theories on city growth and structure discussed earlier should not be viewed separately. Rather each theory should be considered a sequential development towards a holistic theory of growth and structure. Most cities exhibit a combination of some aspects of these three theories of spatial arrangement patterns. To Harris and Ullman, Burgess's theory is not a rigid pattern inasmuch as growth patterns reflect expansion within sectors or development around separate nuclei. The concentric and the sector theories emphasize the decline of the central residential areas in value and prestige as new modern construction takes place in the outlying areas. This part of the theory may not hold for Nablus. The property is still highly valued because of the history of the family that used to live in a specific area of the city. Prominent families resist the sale of their estates in the central area, though sometimes it is economically unprofitable. It is not land price in the central area, or the economic profitability in other districts that compelled many businesses and structures to be found in other district. The high demand on land, the lack of services and the impassability of the central area forced many people to build their homes the suburbs. The city's growth originated in the central area comply with the

assumption of the concentric and sector theories; a city has a single core around which land use is arranged. People converge around the central area to maximize their profit and minimize their difficulties in obtaining their needs. But because it is physically impossible for the city's population to concentrate in one single area and because of the existence of separating forces, separate nuclei emerge. These separating forces are the size of the population, the large space needed for industrial expansion and for recreational activities. Rent in Nablus is not a strong factor in the city's expansion (Harris and Ullman, 1951, pp. 230-234). The three theories combined can be used to explain the growth of the city. Besides, many factors have to be taken into consideration when applying these theories to the study of the growth of Nablus :

1. The theories were formulated after intensive investigation of Western and industrial cities.

2. Economic systems in studied cities are different from those exercised in Nablus.

3. The history of the studied cities is short and a large portion of the population is migrant.

4. Traditions and customs of the people in the studied cities are not strongly shaping the lives of the people as is the case in Nablus.

5. The political systems in the western cities are different from those in Nablus.

6. Land ownership and the laws governing them are

different in the west from those in Nablus.

7. Religion is not so important in the life of the studied cities, that is not the case in Nablus, where religion has shaped every aspect of people's lives.

8. Technology in the western cities is more advanced than it is in Nablus.

9. Violating building codes in the western cities is not as common as it is the case in Nablus.

10. Involunteer migration, Palestinians who fled their homes and land and their concentration in refugee camps, made the situation in Nablus different from that of the western cities.

11. The Israeli law that regards the building of a house, does not entitle the house owner to own the land on which the house is built.

12. The political instability and future uncertainty for the residents of Nablus in particular and the West Bankers in general made the situation in the city different from that of the studied cities.

13. Financial institutions and mortgage companies helped in the growth of the western cities, these institutions are not found in Nablus .

14. Family name and the responsibility to keep it is a situation which has no significant impact on the lives of the western people, made it difficult to ignore its effect on the growth of the city of Nablus.

General Features

It is difficult to generalize or to labelize any district in the city of Nablus because of the variety of physical and socioeconomic characteristics of the residents of these districts. Another important factor is the political circumstances under which the city has thrived. This sometimes impeded the emmigration of financially capable people . Municipally provided services , water, electricity, sewer and garbage collecting, are linked to the shaky fiscal conditions of the city which could not satisfy people's desires . This situation dominated the city's growth up until the early fifties. After nearly two decades of relative growth , the city's growth slowed down during the period (1967_1975). The following table shows the licenses issued by the city of Nablus for the period (1962-1980).

Table 3-3

Building Licences Issued by the City, 1965-1980.

Year	No. of licenses *
1965	773
1966	839
1967	422
1968	194
1969	307
1970	363
1971	374
1972	403
1974	679
1975	883
1976	912
1977	1146
1978	1022
1979	957
1980	881

Source: Unpublished City Records.

* Some licenses were never materialized.

In most industrial cities; people with high socioeconomic status tend to choose rich, new and modern districts. Low-class people usually inhabit the old, poor and slum areas within the city. People of the same income levels will be living near each other. The situation in Nablus complied with this only in the two periods of its growth history, (1955-1967) and (1975-1979). Table 3-4

shows income levels in the surveyed districts of the city, for 1980 , and 1982. It is noteworthy that annual family reported income is questionable (for further information see methodology).

Table 3-4.

District by Income in Jordanian Dinars, in surveyed districts, Nablus, 1983 .

District	1980	1982
I	1719	1766
II	1892	2013
III	2968	3222
IV	2723	2535
V	1418	1434

Source: Author's survey, 1983.

By studying the distribution of income in Nablus , we can divide the city into three income levels, High, medium, low. Among the surveyed districts ,district three reported high income. Districts four and two have medium income families. Low average income families lived in districts one and five. This classification is based on average income for the years 1980 and 1982. For more information on conditions in surveyed district see chapter three. This division coincides with the chronological growth of the

city. The newer the district the higher the income is. This does not hold true in some parts of districts four and five which include portions of the refugee camp and the village of Rafidia, which was added to the city.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOUSING CONDITIONS IN NABLUS

The urban dweller's home is of central importance to him. It is the place where he and his family spend most of their time , where children grow up and start their social life, where they attend school, and where the young pick mates .; It is a place normally inherited, and where inherited people expect to continue living . It is where traditions, ideas , and values develop and pass to new generations. Thus a home is of primary importance not only for those living in it, but also for those expecting to inherit it. Aside from its primary function, a home's structure , layout and location affect the owner's prestige ; The more desirable the home , the higher the owner's status . In addition to its primary use as a shelter , housing fulfills important social , educational, and economic needs. Besides, providing a physical base for family activities it also provides personal territory from which the family can gradually extend its participation in community affairs .

In order to quality , the sociological meaning of housing, researchers have classified housing according to standards which are generally defined as measures of the

acceptability of housing at a given time and place and in a given cultural, technological and economic setting (U.N. publications, sales No. E. 68. IV.4 pp:9 -10). Housing acceptability is defined on the bases of : amount of space for household use and for guest accommodation in different occasions , type of construction, age of construction, overcrowding persons per room ratio, services and facilities , proximity to place of work or town center , and ownership. Certain characteristics of the residents also bear on the acceptability of the housing structure : income levels, educational levels, number of families living in the house regardless of their total number, and the resident's ways of life.

What is Housing?

Housing is both a livable structure and a living process. As a livable structure , it embodies a current set of common relationships that tie individuals or groups to each other and towards their environment , those individuals or group of persons having well delineated biological and cultural attributes. Since homes occupy a certain immediate physical environment - the structure and its artifacts located on a parcel of land - housing is situationally involved in social policies of land use, consequently affecting general social policy and many

activities of the community. As a living process , housing involves financial investment , real estate development , manufacturing , and construction. After construction it is the workings of the market place that bring together buyer and seller, landlord and tenant. IHousing as a process is the of utilization and consumption by the occupants of housing space. It is the evolutionary development of the community environment as a physical and cultural complex. And it is the continuing change in social institutions that regulate land use and condition ways of life (Meyerson, Terrett, and Wheaton, 1966, pp. 391- 94). W. F. smith first introduced the term " Housing Status " (1970, pp.23-31) . Smith uses this term to refer to the whole complex of activities, satisfactions, rights, obligations, conveniences, and expectations surrounding the use of a particular dwelling unit by a particular household. According to Smith five elements must be specified prior to establishing a meaning of the word " Housing " . To him it includes ; (a) shelter, (b) privacy, (c) location, (d) environment, and, (e)investment. They must be given operational meanings before housing is defined sociologically. The substandard state of any one of these elements creates a quality problem or a state of substandardization . An understanding of housing status is crucial to an understanding of the housing problem, because problems of housing appear to lie in the unsatisfactory living situations of individuals and

families.

Housing standards are different from one culture to the other . The pioneering effort to set standards for good housing in the United States was that of the American Public Health Association's Committee on the Hygiene of Housing. By 1939 they had published a second edition of their "Basic Principles of Healthful Housing", (1939, 1969, 1970). In the mid-1940's, they began publishing a series of manuals specifying appraisal methods to be used by health officials and housing officials as a guide for measuring the quality of housing (1945, 1946, 1950). This was followed by two volumes on neighborhood and home planning which dealt in exhaustive detail with the basic requirements for what would constitute good planning in both these areas (1948,1950).

The term " Housing Quality" is confusing because : one, the term term is somewhat vague and undefined, and two, the difficulty in measuring it. It is not surprising that confusion comes from a term whose boundaries seem limitless by implying a shelter, a physical entity, a social artifact, an economic entity, and a status symbol, (Larry S. Bourne, 1981, pp.14-15).

The measurement is confusing; it is culturally variable , because what is considered in one country inadequate could be considered in another luxurious . It is commonly

Smith, W.F., "Housing: the Socio and Economic elements, PP:23-45).

known among housing specialists that inadequate sanitation , lack of plumbing and kitchen facilities, lack of heating, structural defects, overcrowding, and lack of space are the criteria used to evaluate any housing stock (Spates, 1982, pp.377-382).

In evaluating the physical conditions and quality of existing housing stock in American cities . American researchers grouped evaluative variables into five categories as follows :

1.In-home services and facilities : toilet, bath, kitchen, and plumbing ;

2. Overcrowding, (or persons per room ratio) ;

3.Descriptive characteristics : family size, income levels, rent versus owners, type of structure ;

4.Building density : open space, green areas and intermixture of business and industrial uses with residence. Transportation lines and the volume of traffic.

The availability of essential community facilities; schools, public transportation, parks and play grounds ;

5. Housing supply and demand : the matching of building construction and population growth, (Roland L. Warren, 1965. Spates, 1982. Greer ,1965. Vapnarsky, 1966. Smith, 1970. Mandelker ,1973. and Kain and Quigley, 1970 .(Allan A. Twichell, 1947, pp.278-87).

Building Material

Houses in Nablus, as well as in the rest of the West Bank, reflect the state of architectural and construction technology at the time of their building. Houses in the old central area are built using a technique called "ALUQUOD". Big underground lime stones were cut and roughly polished and shaped into a rectangular or square shape, stacked on top of each other, lying on a foundation of either mud, or "Sheed", --lime stones treated under high temperatures to become powder- or "Hiware" an earthy yellowish clay. Besides supporting the superstructure, these earthly products also are used as mortar, filling in gaps and holding small shapeless stones in place. The average thickness of these walls is rather wide, ranging between two and three and one-half feet. range between (2-3.5 feet). Roofs are made of small stones mixed with mud, Sheed or Hiware, in the shape of a dome with heavy angles. The height of these houses range from three to four and one-half meters and the area of the houses ranges from twenty five to thirty eight square meters. Each house normally has a large wooden door with one large wooden window and a small hole for ventilation. Floors were levelled off, covered with unpolished underground tile or a combination of "Sheed and Hiware". All houses

consist of one floor, sometimes with attached rooms ,an out door open or closed court used exclusively as a storeroom . Some houses had a lower level in the house called " Rawia "usually used for storage , with a few stairs leading to the house.

With the introduction of man made building materials, such as cement, blocks , quarry gravel , and train track iron-like bars, materials that Bruce Stokes called alternative building materials (Bruce Stoke,1981, pp.26-32) . The shape and form of homes changed drastically, the domed shape roof gradually disappeared . Houses : became shorter and smaller. Different floor plans and functional specializations prevailed : kitchen, sitting room, dining room and bedroom became standards. Walls were plastered, man made tile and concrete were used to cover floors and roofs . Supporting the concrete roof were three to five big iron bars laid horizontally . Walls were of underground stones , small, polished, and colored . Inner metal framed windows and glass were used together with the wooden outside window.

In the peripheral area of the central business district, some houses have more than one entrance . These entrances are made of heavy wood but sometimes of metal with the inside doors are usually made of wood. The general sanitary conditions of these houses are better than that of the older type ,which dominated the core of the central business district.

Aside from the central area and its periphery, building material did not change except for some important additions: small metal bars replaced the train track bars, manufactured materials such as : cement , blocks , glass, and formed metal became viable for construction. Also the use of polished, colored, imported , and small underground stones, the use of the marble for extensive decoration ,and the use of picture view windows and aluminum frame windows became common. The tendency towards big houses with extravagant floor plans designating large glassy windows and porches prevailed in the newer areas. Decorative plants introduced into houses and yards replaced plants and vegetables which were used for household consumption. With these larger homes came larger spaces between each house .

Another area which involuntarily did not benefit from the technological progress is the Palestinian refugee camp areas. These camps were initially built by the United Nations Relief and Work Agency , to house displaced Palestinians until their problem could be solved . These houses were built in the period 1948-1950. Modestly constructed of bricks, they were roofed with tin and sometimes with concrete. Walls were usually plastered. Built up as high density tracts, the homes suffered unsatisfactory sanitary conditions and overcrowding . Sometimes a family of eight to ten members have frequently

bundled up in a one or two room home. Probably the worst feature of these refugee homes is that they do not withstand weather elements very well.

Building materials are obtained from the surrounding villages and other areas in the West Bank .The West Bank does not produce cement and other man made building materials, forcing builders to import them. Restrictions on permits for both production and import ,restrictions on quarries establishment, and difficult underground stone mining coupled with high taxes make the costruction process more costly and difficult .

Construction in the West Bank was confined largely to the private housing. Private sector faces many impedements.

First land values are of significant importance in the process of housing construction. Table 4-1 shows land values in the city for the years , 1967 and 1982 .

Table 4-1

Land Value in Surveyed Districts, Nablus, 1967-1982.

Land Value in Jordanian Dinars; \$ 3.0, per square meter*

District	1967	1982
C.B.D.	100-150	250-300
Rafidia	20-25	30-35
Periphery of the C.B.D.	10-15	20-25
Balata and Askar	15-20	30-35

* Source: Hani Arafat, chief planning engineer of the city.

Despite the difficult economic conditions of the West Bankers (see economic conditions in the city in chapter 1), a situation which usually results in lowering the prices, we find that land values doubled within this period . Demand for land is high because of the scarcity of it within the city borders. The city's growth consumed all the suitable land leaving behind undesirable areas on the higher slopes of the mountains .

Construction cost is a second impeding factor in the housing process. Table 4-2 shows the cost of building in Jordanian Dinars.

Table 4-2

 Building Cost in Jordanian Dinars for the Period 1960-1980, Nablus.

 Building cost , in J.D.(\$3.0) in (1.0 square meters), Turnkey.

Year	Cost *
-----	-----
1960	20-25
1967	60-70
1975	70-80
1980	100-110

 * Source: Hani Arafat, chief planning engineer, city of Nablus.

 Home construction cost has increased five- fold since 1960, adding to the difficulties facing the West Bankers in developing additional housing . The increase in land

prices and housing construction has out paced increases in income . Building material cost is far beyond the reach of many West Bankers ,for example a sack of 100 pound of cement in 1967 was 0.6 J.D. , the cost of the same sack in 1980 reached 3.5 J.D. . The unavailability of man-made building material in the market added to the difficulties facing the construction process.

Housing Standards

The criteria used in evaluating housing stock previously mentioned , in part can be used in evaluating the housing conditions in Nablus . It is not the aim of the study to explore the relationships between cultural and housing conditions in the cities of the industrialized countries and in Nablus.

Not a single study nor an official census have been conducted in Nablus or in any other West Bank city to assess the housing conditions, population, and housing characteristics . It is fairly difficult to evaluate independently the housing stock in Nablus , so I will try to extract evaluations relevant for this study from the only two macro level studies that have produced evaluations conducted by Sabri Nidal and Bakir Abu Kishik in the years 1978 and 1980 . The reliability of their data is in doubt. Their intention was to show the magnitude of the housing

problem in the entire West Bank . Conducted in 1978, and 1980, a period of intensive Israeli settlement policy and political unrest, their studies focused on political and economic forces . The interrelationships of social and economic forces were of secondary import.

Housing conditions are merely the product of sociopolitico and economic forces . The end product in the city understudy is a substandard, poor housing and politically recognizable housing problem . In the light of these circumstances, the housing problem in Nablus could be studied in regard to :

- 1.Overcrowding ;
- 2.Income levels ;
- 3.Indoor facilities and the quality of city provided facilities ; sewerage, water, garbage collection and infrastructure construction ;
- 4.Age of the housing unit.

Overcrowding

Typical of overcrowded cellars was a house in Pike Street which contained a cellar ten feet square and seven feet high, with one small window and an old-fashioned inclined cellar door; here lived two families consisting of ten persons of all ages. The occupants of these basements led miserable lives as troglodytes amid darkness, dampness, and poor ventilation. Rain water leaked through cracks in the walls and floors and frequently flooded the cellars; refuse filtered down from the upper stories and mingled with the seepage from outdoor privies. From such an abode emerged the "whitened and cadaverous countenance" of the cellar dweller (Ernest, 1949: pp.206).

Information on housing conditions in the city of Nablus is almost completely absent .For the purpose of this study I will present housing conditions in the West Bank as an indicator of housing conditions in Nablus . The small size of the West Bank, the similarity in social system, and homogeneity of political and economic circumstances made it possible to assemble information about housing conditions and use it to study the housing stock in Nablus.

The average American family size not only declined from 5.6 persons in 1850 to 3.5 persons in 1950 but also is still declining (Warren L. 1965. pp.77-78). The West bank does not share this trend , where fifty five percent of the Palestinian families consist of more than six members 6.1, (Abu Kishk, and Ghurani, 1980, pp.77-90).

To define overcrowding researchers also use another criteria : the number of people to the number of rooms. In 1967 there was (273003) rooms in the West Bank ,(Abu Kishk, 1980, pp.76-77). The population of the West Bank in 1983 was (980.000), (Abu -Lughod, Merip Reports, 1983, pp.16-17). The average persons per room in 1980 , was 3.6 persons per room . The ratio of persons to rooms usually is the measurement unit of overcrowding . In the United States a ratio of one person or less per room is deemed adequate (American Public Health Association). In the West Bank as in other Middle Eastern cities , the ratio is higher . In the West Bank it was 3.4 persons per room ,

for Cairo, Amman , and Baghdad the ratios were , 2.8 , 3.0 , 3.0 , respectively (Dept. of General Statistics , Amman , 1968). Table 4-3 shows the number of persons per room in the West Bank for the year, 1974.

Table 4-3 shows that the ratio of 4.0 persons and over embodies 24.1 percent of the population of the West Bank . A large number of the West Bank families of 6.0 persons and more bundle up in 1.0-2.0 rooms . Table 4-4 shows family size , number of rooms for the year , 1972 , (in hundreds).

Table 4_3

Persons per Room Ratio, Nablus, 1983.

Persons per room -----	Percentage -----
Less than 1.0 person	6.8 %
1.0-1.49	14.3
1.5-1.99	9.6
2.0 persons	13.6
2.0-2.99	13.4
3.0 persons	9.5
4.0 persons	5.5
4.01 +	18.4

	100%

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, No.25. 1974.

Table 4-4 shows that almost half of the families with nine members live in two rooms housing units, that one

third of the families with 11 members bundle up in two rooms, and that two fifths of the families with six members live in one room . Seventy percent of the families with only one member in the household live in one room. The situation of general overcrowding in the West Bank is also shown in the following table.

Table 4-4

Family Size, in numbers, by Number of Rooms for the Year, 1972. (in Hundreds)

Size of Household	(1 room)	(2 rooms)	(3 rooms)	(4 rooms @)	Total
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
1	40	10	3	4	57
2	65	36	9	16	126
3	34	24	14	7	79
4	46	37	18	17	118
5	40	38	20	11	109
6	40	38	20	11	109
7	37	48	21	10	116
8	32	45	20	18	105
9	25	46	18	10	99
10	13	32	12	9	66
11	7	29	36	17	89

N= 1073

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel , No.25. 1974.

Space requirements standards are also set by the American Health Association ; minimum space is 400 square

feet for one person, 750 square feet for two persons, and 1000 square feet for three persons . As noted space in the West Bank is scarce, so one expects to find a higher number of persons per room and less space per person . In fact the average housing unit size is about 85 square meters , and the average family size is 6.3 persons , so a person's share of space is about 12.8 square meters , or 42 square feet .

The 1967 War resulted in massive displacement of Palestinians from the West Bank .Those displaced left their houses to other West Bankers , causing a drop in the number of persons per room ratio by 0.57 from 3.6 to 3.03 persons per room . At the same time economic and political conditions hindered housing construction keeping it at a slower pace than the rate of population growth . This retardation of construction counterbalanced vacancies caused by displacement, maintaining the overcrowding situation 3.6 persons per room. Overcrowding and inadequate housing conditions are more apparent in the refugee camps than in any other area of the city , (U. N. publications, 1977).

Between 1967 and 1982 the West Bank's population increased by 183,300 persons , (Abu Lughod, 1983,pp.16). In opposition the housing stock decreased by 7015 units , (Abu Kishk, 1980, pp.24-27). This decrease was experienced by people living in three areas : Those living in refugee camps area who suffered the most ; those living in

delapidated structures; and those living for political reasons in war zones where destruction was horrendous . reasons . Since 1967 the average family size has not declined significantly (6.1 in 1980). The number of persons per room ratio, the ratio of overcrowding did decline , where in the West Bank it remains higher than in any other Arabian country . It is the social system that increases the magnitude of this problem because traditional loyalties make people afraid of anything other than creeping change. Extended family norms, traditions, and economic conditions all effectively force blood related persons to stick together for mutual help . Late marriages along with the increased proclivity of both males and females to attend college have prolonged youngster's stay with the family, lowering the demand for new homes. This situation of "bundling up" forced people to give up some of their privacy and to adjust to a more semi-private way of living . Gans in his study of the West End, found a similar pattern situation of adjustment to the reduction of personal living space.

Income Levels and Economic Conditions for the Employed

The change in external economic connections since 1967 has had dramatic effects within the West bank. The West

Bank was cut off from its markets, the East Bank of the Jordan River and other Arab states, reducing revenues from industry, trade, tourism, remittances from abroad, and employment opportunities in the Jordanian Government.

Every branch of the West Bank economy was greatly affected and reshaped by the 1967 War. Agricultural prices fell and economic value-added went down by \$2.5 to 5 million ; industry lost 15000 employment opportunities ; tourism revenues were reduced as a direct result of fewer tourists. Construction lost 20,000 jobs, and 14,000 public servants lost their jobs within the West Bank (Israel, Economic Planning Authority, 1972).

This difficult situation lasted until the beginning of the nineteen seventies. Thus major changes have occurred in the incomes of both renting and owning households in the West bank . The post-war fragile economic recovery was stymied by high inflation , and the devaluation of the Israeli Shekel. As a result , prices went up, pushing the cost of living higher. This situation compelled many West Bankers to direct their investment into survival food ' rather than into housing rehabilitation or construction. The West Bank economic life depends mainly on agricultural production. Agriculture accounted for 24% of the 1967 gross national product (G N P, 1967). It was also the largest source of employment . Agricultural employment accounted for 24.4% of total employment in 1969, while in 1974 the share of agricultural employment fell to 10.7

percent of total employment. Agricultural production accounted for 36.8% of the gross national product in 1975, but by 1976 its share had dropped to 20.8% . Then its share began increasing , and by 1979 it had reached 65.7% of the gross national product . The actual yearly contribution of agriculture to gross national product varies considerably because one of its main inputs, weather, is largely uncontrollable. Contrary to fluctuations in agriculture , construction's share of the gross national product has been increasing since 1973. In 1975 its share reached 84.6% of the G.N.P. In 1977 it was 43.8%, and by 1979 had increased to an astonishing 90.7 % of G.N.P.

Industrial production's share of the gross national product increased during the period 1976-979 from 20.8 percent to 65.7% of the total gross national product .Table 4-5 shows, employment by the different economic branch for the period; 1969-1974.

Table-4-5

Percentage of Employment in the West Bank, by Economic Branch, 1969-1974.

Year	Agricu- lture	Indus- try	Const- ruction	Trade	Transp- ortation	Public servants	Other
---	-----	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----
1969	24.4	17.5	23.1	4.1	4.1	21.3	5.5
1970	19.8	17.0	25.8	3.8	3.9	25.3	4.4
1971	15.6	18.8	28.6	4.1	4.4	24.0	4.5
1972	13.7	19.4	32.6	4.4	3.9	21.6	4.4
1973	10.0	20.4	34.7	4.0	4.4	21.1	4.9
1974	10.7	20.1	36.0	4.0	4.2	20.5	4.5

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, No.26. 1975.

An examination of this table points out the major setback in agricultural employment opportunities. Actually agriculture was the sole sector experiencing a decline in employment, losing over 13 percent. The five year period shown construction supported more employment because of the high wages paid by Israeli settlers in the West Bank. This increase in employment pleasantly affected all, for construction employment increased for the Nabulsians as well as for the West Bankers: During the period 1969 to 1979, construction employment in construction in Nablus increased by 10%, from 23.1% to 33.2%. or from 11,600 employees in 1969 to 25,730 in 1979 (Israel Statistical Bureau, 1980). Other economic branches did not show great

changes during that period, for example , employment in trade and commerce in 1969, was 4.1 percent of the total employment in the West Bank, and in 1974 only 4 percent .

Average daily wages naturally depends upon one's occupation and place of work . A construction employee earns the highest wage, followed by public servants, transportation employees, industrial jobs, agricultural, and finally unskilled laborers , (skilled workers and professionals earn higher wages and salaries than other types of workers).

Applying the basic economic principle of supply and demand, we will find most of the West Bankers, especially those engaged in agriculture , transportatin , public servants and unskilled laborers, outcasted from home ownership, because of their low income and the high cost of land and construction. The absence of financial lending institutions add to the difficulties facing West Bankers. for example, a typical high school teacher with a college degree, earning a monthly income in 1980 of 120.0 J.D., (annually income of 1440 J.D), would have to allocate a ridiculously high portion of his income to housing if he were to buy a home. People in other parts of the world spend one third of their income on home improvement . For the typical teacher 480 J.D. or around one-third of his annual savings would be directed towards home ownership or improvements. We know that the average house size is 85 square meters and that the cost of the construction for a

square meter is 75 J.D.. When tallied the cost comes out to 6375 J.D. for construction of 85 square meters home. This means that a teacher would have to work about fifteen years in order to save enough to build an 85 square meter home. Fortunately this was not the case for most West Bankers. Already situated as landowners they get financial help from a family member working abroad who sends money home, and from others who contribute to family savings, and during construction everyone lends a hand , making the construction process a communal event. transactions help , others make use of family savings and save by family participation in the construction process .

In-door Facilities and City Provided Facilities

Article 14 A of the Jordanian Municipal Law of 1954, spelled out the functions of every municipality . In 1967 , the West bank became under the Israeli occupation. The military governor took over the responsibility of issuing orders . And though a series of orders (Orders Nos, 312, 418, 459, 537, 526, 608, .etc). The most important one is Order No. 418 which gives the appointed military personal, to the so called " Upper Planning Council, " that exercises authority over zoning and planning and issues

ordinances within the municipal borders. Other orders deal with financial, administrative , and legislative areas that formerly were expressly dealt with by municipalities. Essential services such as Electricity, running water, garbage collection and sewage removal , were among the twenty one municipal functions delineated by the Jordanian Municipal Law of 1954. Nablus , a traditional urban center with limited resources, had gone a long way in providing these services for Nabulsians .

Water service: the city provides water to its residents and to some neighboring villages from seven springs within its municipal borders and from two recently drilled high capacity wells, El Bathan and El Fariah, in the Northeast side of the city. The increased demand for water from homes as well as from industry was met by the two wells , but equitable distribution of available water is a major problem facing the municipality . Houses on high elevations receive either slowly running water or in the summer no water , because of low pressure . The pipes and maintenance equipment are old, the department of water is understaffed, and the fiscal situation of the city prohibits spending much on capital modernization ; therefore , the residents have to cope with this discouraging situation . About 75% of the homes on high slopes have their own metal water tanks, and another 20% have concrete tanks. Homeowners lacking a tank often have

dug wells in the ground, which become filled with rain water drained from their roofs. In the case of little rain, mobile tanks are used to fill the wells . About 40 percent of the high slope residents use this method. Eight percent of the houses do not have any form of running water; toting water in small containers is therefore a part of these homeowners daily routine.

Electrical service: The city provides electricity for its residents. Power lines and power generators are antiquated except for four generators that were put into service during 1967 . The added capacity of these generators, 1300 kw/hr, brought the total capacity of the system to just under 3.0 megawatts/hour (Electric Department Official, 1980). Adding to the problems caused by the old age of the system, is the high cost of fuel . In the year 1971 alone 65.5% of the electric department budget went to fuel cost (Municipal records ,April, 1976-June, 1977). And a year later in 1972 fuel prices in Israel increased by 52.6% (Statistical Abstract of Israel, No. 3. 1979). Not unexpectedly the cost of electricity is beyond the reach of some Nabulsians for several reasons. Not only are monthly payments exorbitant , but also of the initial cost for the connection of the indoor installation with the main power lines is high. In the higher elevations, new homes are constructed at a sizable distance from each other and from main power lines so people are likely not to have

electricity. Undoubtedly the poor are most unlikely to have electricity . About 10 percent of the Nabulsians do not have electricity .

Sewage service :The city also provides to 85 percent of its houses. Despite the continuous efforts by the municipality to upgrade its sewer system , the city must still capture more money. more technical workers, and more jurisdictional power to do a complete renovation of its sewer system. The capacity of the system has insufficient capacity to accommodate increased waste disposal . Because high elevation houses are not connected to the public sewer system. Most of high slopes residents have their own cesspool. About 10% of the Nabulsians do not have any sewage facility ,so they dispose of it outside the house in adjacent fields. Refugee camps are partially connected to city sewers ; it is understood that it is the responsibility of the U.N.R.W.A . to furnish these services to the camps, though the city had connected some parts of Ein Beit Elam camp to the public sewer, supply electricity and water to camp residents. Because of the obstacles facing the municipality, in supplying basic services, it can not provide " luxury " services equally to all the residents, regardless of their financial capability. Even the rich finds that more money will not buy better services and all regardless of their station in life are subjected to substandard services. Although all sorts of indoor

amenities may be bought they depend upon the quality of publically owned municipal services . A family who can afford buying new kitchen cabinets, a grand bathroom with a toilet and electric appliances might not remodel or be despondent if they do because of the irregularity or absence of running water , sewage disposal, and electricity. The inclusion of indoor facilities such as kitchens, electricity, and bathroom with running water , and toilets appear to be strongly related to the income level of the household. Other socioeconomic factors and housing conditions the availability of these services . Usually a one or two rooms housing unit eventually will lack some or all of the indoor facilities. The absence of any basic indoor facility makes that housing unit unhealthy and undesirable. Housing units in Nablus as well as in other West Bank cities lack one or more of these indoor facilities. The following table 4-6, shows the availability of facilities in housing units in the West bank and in urban centers for 1967 and 1974.

Table 4-6

 West Bank Residential Indoor Facilities and Services.

HOUSING UNIT WITH -----	1967 * -----	1974 * -----	Urban Centers in 967** -----
Kitchen	45.7%	61.0%	74.7%
Indoor Toilet	47.6	44.7%	76.5
Running Water	63.2	50.0	56.9
Indoor Bathroom	18.7	24.0	41.7
Electricity	23.9	46.0	71.0

* Source; Statistical Abstract of Israel, Nos.20-28, for the years, 1967, 1977.

** Source; Israel Defence Forces, census of population, publication No.2. pp.12. table 9. 1967.

Because land-use patterns are mixed, municipalities have even harder time enforcing zoning codes. The newest areas are where zoning codes are violated most often. Sometimes builders put up housing units lacking some of the basic services . Paved streets bypass some houses especially those on the slopes. About 10 percent of all houses do not have any sewer connection, 8 percent have no running water, and 10 percent are without electricity. These figures do not show the deficiency in existing services. From my sample survey, which collected data for 1226 households within five different districts of Nablus, table 4-7 shows the availability of indoor facilities .

Table 4-7

 Type of Residential Indoor Facilities and Services, Nablus,
 1983.

Type of Facility or Service -----	Total -----	Percentage -----
Water		
public system	1142	93%
individual well	73	6%
other	11	1%
Sewer		
public sewer	815	66%
septic and cesspool	401	33%
None	10	1%
Plumbing		
one for the house	847	69%
shared	58	5%
half	310	25%
none	11	1%
Bathroom		
one	555	45%
more than one	34	3%
half	256	21%
nothing	381	31%
Kitchen		
one	561	46%
half	613	50%
nothing	52	4%

 Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

About two-thirds of Nabulsians have all the indoor facilities, and services; about 8 percent of the families do not have any of the indoor facilities, about 28 percent of the families have half of the indoor amenities . The availability of these facilities is not equally distributed among the districts of the city as is the general in every other city of the world.

Housing Conditions in the Surveyed Districts

1. District One:

For district boundaries and location see methodology section and appendix, Land-use patterns are mixed in district one with industrial, commercial, public, and residential buildings are found everywhere. As is typical of Middle Eastern cities, many store fronts are on the first floor, usually managed by the owner, who generally, has access through a rear door to living quarters located in the rear or on the upper floors. The rear area is usually reserved for storage or for light industrial use. This is where craftsmen and small industrialists practice traditional or secondary industry, changing semi-finished goods to consumable products. There are few buildings in this area which are specialized in one use: soap industry. Many soap production buildings, which this area is famous for, became land marks. Soap production is a prevalent form of production found in this district, which actually is famous for. A couple of miscellaneous features about this district's housing should be noted. First houses are generally old, except for buildings along Faisal and El Anbia streets, and the along outer sections of Elkhansa and Salah Eddin streets. This district shows old structures, only 48 housing units were built after 1967. Buildings in this district were built before modern

architectural practice, these old buildings leave no space for ventilation. However a "Housh" or open court, is common which is usually used by women for socializing. Second, population density is higher than any other district within the city. Persons per room ratio is 2.3 and persons per housing unit ratio is also higher than any other area within the city it reaches 7.3. Overcrowding is also apparant upon as considering the high ratio of persons per bedroom, which is 3.8. Third, sanitary conditions are unsatisfactory. Dependable running water is not a problem in this area, only 4 percent of the houses have no running water. Sewer service is also not a problem with 97 percent of the houses connected to the public sewer system, (only one house does not have any sort of sewer disposal system). Plumbing facilities are found in

Table 4-8

Housing Conditions by District, Nablus, 1983.

	DISTRICT	I	II	III	IV	V
TOTAL Homes	1226	500	210	200	174	142
OVERCROWDING						
population		3768	1523	1557	1742	1609
number of rooms		1606	670	907	751	537
number of bed rooms		975	419	498	461	315
persons per room		2.3	2.3	1.7	2.3	3.0
persons / housing unit		7.5	7.2	7.8	10.0	11.3
persons / bedroom		3.9	3.6	3.1	3.8	5.1
AGE OF THE HOUSE						
pre 1967		452	145	77	58	75
after 1967		48	65	123	116	67
INDOOR FACILITIES						
Water						
public system		496	198	200	164	134
individual well		0	2	0	2	3
other		4	10	0	8	5
Sewer						
public system		485	133	111	3	70
septic, cesspool		14	72	87	171	68
none		1	5	2	0	4
Plumbing						
one		296	98	159	151	119
shared		14	28	8	9	3
half		174	70	28	14	14
none		16	14	5	0	6
Bathroom						
one		101	62	137	140	98
more than one		12	0	10	10	3
half		85	78	53	24	17
nothing		302	70	0	0	24
Kitchen						
one		104	53	177	132	101
half		384	149	23	42	27
nothing		12	8	0	0	14

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

59 percent , and again only a small number , 3 percent of

all housing units in this area lack all plumbing facilities. This district suffers the most from the absence of bathroom facilities, 60 percent of all housing units in this area have no bathroom amenities, and only 20 percent enjoy all bathroom utilities. The lack of such facilities is due to the inavailability of space, the limited social needs , and limited technological resources at the time of construction. And fourth, the final miscellaneous feature is that of substandardization of kitchen facilities. A full 80 percent of the houses lack some or all of kitchen facilities. Table 4-8 shows housing conditions in the surveyed districts, for 1983.

2. District Two:

For boundaries and location see methodology and appendix". This area is a part of the larger El Jabal Elshamalieh area. Except for houses in the Ein Beit Elma refugee camp, buildings within this area are relatively new; 31 percent of the houses are built after 1967. Buildings are generally taller than one floor.

Overcrowding within this area is lower than that in district one. The persons per room ratio is 2.2, and the ratio of persons to bed rooms is also lower than the central area, 3.5 . In total there are 6.9 persons per each housing unit .

Running water reaches practically all houses within this

area ;only 5 percent do not have it. The public sewer system does not cover the whole area; 63 percent of the houses are connected to it,while 34 percent use septic tanks or underground cesspools. 48 percent of the houses have complete plumbing facilities; 13 percent of the houses share these facilities, and only 7 percent do not have any of the plumbing amenities. 29 percent of the houses have bathrooms. Thirty three percent of them do not have any kind of bathroom facilities, while the rest have at least a partial bathroom. Modern kitchens are often lacking. 25 percent of the houses have complete kitchen facilities, and 71 percent have a kitchen that lacks some of basic amenities.

3. District Three :

For boundaries and location see methodology section and appendix" . This area represents a sample from Rafidia Area. Though this area is considered new (123 houses or 62% of the houses were built after 1967), and exclusive , it has within itself old substandardized houses. Generally district three homes are of one family villa type. Municipal services are adequate , except for sewage. Since 44.5 percent of the houses are not connected to the public sewer system, many houses have their own septic tanks or cesspools. Overcrowding within this area does not appear to be a problem ; persons per room ratio is the

lowest within the city, at 1.6 persons per room. Families are large, as indicated by the high number of persons per housing unit; which is 7.4 persons per housing unit. This high ratio is not necessarily accompanied by a high persons per bedroom ratio . Indeed, it is only 3.0. This apparent inconsistency may be accounted for by the large size of houses within the area. Floor area ratio is higher than any other area within the city.

Building appearance and layout resemble that of the West, because the residents , at large , have been exposed to western influence. This area houses professionals, rich, educated ,and influential families .Residential land prices are higher than any other district except for the commercial areas in the C.B.D. Buildings set on spacious grounds far from each other . In fact these grounds have replaced the old " Housh ,or the common entrance and the wall opening " where women's socializing used to take place. This new arrangement made neighborly relations take on a semi-formal style . Focus, then, shifted away from the spontaneity and of the public meeting room to the aggrandizing display of family wealth found in the guest room. The kitchen and dinning room were also elevated in function from mere " work" rooms to show rooms of family riches and financial capability .

Indoor facilities are generally available . Not even a single house was lacking any of the kitchen or bathroom

facilities 5 percent of the houses have more than one bathroom , 89 percent have complete kitchen facilities, 74 percent have complete bathrooms, and 84 percent have all plumbing facilities. Only 2 percent of the houses are renter occupied.

4. District Four :

For location and boundaries see methodology section and appendix ". This area is a sample from the Northeastern section of the city, and includes portions of a rural area being annexed to the city, known as " Askar El Balad". It also contains portions of the new public housing units " Al Masakin El Shabiah El Sharqia". A lot of Buildings within this area are new (67% of the houses were built after 1967).

Not all municipal services cover this area; for instance, the public sewer system does not serve this area. Virtually all residents have their own septic tanks and cesspools. Running water is practically universal, only 5 percent of the surveyed houses without it. Electricity is also sufficient .

Overcrowding is not evident in this district which has a population of 1688 persons ;members of the household who live outside the West Bank are excluded. Though the ratios of persons to housing unit 9.7 and of persons to bed room are also high 3.7, the persons per room ratio is low, 2.0

persons per room. This is because houses within this area consist of many rooms . Facilities within this area are better than other areas. Just about all homes have the full array of modern services and facilities : 95 percent of the houses have running water, 87 percent have all plumbing facilities ,and 86 percent have bathroom facilities. However, the availability of kitchen facilities is lower than other areas, with only 76 percent of the houses having complete kitchen facilities. Within this area there is no housing unit without any sort of sewer, plumbing, bathroom and kitchen facilities.

5.District Five :

This sample area includes samples within the same locality of three distinct areas: (a) AlDahia or the suburb, (b) Balata Refugee camp, and, (c) Balata El Balad. Though close enough to be included in one study area, differences exist between these areas. Al Dahia, is a new area containing houses built with mined polished stone, often rendered in the villa style. Typically buildings within this area have considerable space between them. Population density of this area is not high; consequently there is no problem of overcrowding . The layout and appearance of houses exude richness. Most homes own cars ,have luxurious furniture and are well kept . The owners are engaged in trade, business and work for the

government. Municipal services cover the area and all homes have indoor services . The Refugee camp is old, built during 1948-950 . Tin still covers some of the houses . These houses are built of cement blocks. These houses have absolutely no space between each other. they are generally 1 to 2 rooms, with 6 to 10 persons bundled up in them. Municipal services are unsatisfactory if at all existing . Lacking most of the amenities, the homes are crowded with unsatisfactory saitation conditions. Balata El Balad is a combination of old and modern buildings, with some built of stone and others of cement blocks . "El Housh " or the open court , which is typical of the old central area and the rural areas still exists in this area. A mixed population that is overcrowded is obvious . Services in this area are better than those in the camp and some of them are better than those in El Dahia.

The sample from this area shows a high ratio of persons per room, 2.7. It also shows a higher ratio of persons per dwelling unit, 10.9 persons per unit. These two ratios result from and indicate the existance of large families in the refugee camp area. The ratio of persons per bed rooms is high 5.0, which is also attributable to the lack of space in the refugee camp.

In general this area as a whole has better conditions than other districts. Only three houses are without running water, two of which are still under construction . 50

percent of the houses are connected to the public sewer system; 84 percent of the houses enjoy all plumbing facilities. As for bathroom and kitchen facilities, the refugee camp suffers the most; consequently, 10 percent of the houses have no kitchen, and 17 percent have no bathrooms.

The physical housing conditions and socioeconomic status of the residents between the surveyed districts are different. Older districts in (1, rural portions of districts 3, Rafidia Albalad, in district 4; Askar Albalad, and Balata Albalad in district 5", consist largely of one or two stories structures. Floor space is smaller than that in the newer districts. There are no uniformed land use patterns, although houses and land use patterns within the rural portions of districts 4 and 5 are similar to village patterns. These residents are rural in all characteristics of life style; like farmers they grow vegetables, chickens, and animals for household consumption. Out-door activities and neighborhood relations are similar to social practices in the village. Within these rural portions modern buildings are to be found; villas with balconies, indoor garages, and well kept home gardens. Strangely mix elements of pastoral and modern urban life.

The modern districts " 2,3,4, and 5" consist largely of suburban villas with elaborate facades, surrounding walls, indoor garage, decorative statues and lightening, a

fountain, imported flowers, a chimney, a garden, and a porch. These villas reflect the highly privileged socioeconomic origins of their inhabitants; prominent families, and successful professionals such as doctors and successful managers inhabit these homes. The residents of these villas still have strong relations either with family members in the C.B.D. and its periphery or with rural families in the surrounding villages. Therefore, class identity is not overly strong, and in the near future it will not supersede kinship ties.

The surveyed districts, and by projection the city as a whole can not be divided into two distinct sectors: the urban or modern sector and the rural, or the old and the poor sector. real differences among people and districts within the city exist, but similarities overwhelm such differentials. Strong kinship ties, eating habits, male and female dress patterns, marriage ceremonies, in-door entertainment activities and neighborhood visiting patterns, religious observations, especially Ramadan, the call to prayers, the pilgrimage, and funeral processions, are all observed similarly among the people regardless of their place of origin and within the surveyed districts, effectively creating common bonds whose power far exceeds the divisionary of other real differences.

In sum, it is then difficult to apply the American sociologists concept of the rural-urban dichotomy. In

Nablus there are no exclusively rural poor, nor unskilled nor unifformly substandard neighborhood . There is no exclusive Western type area as presented by Hauser,(Hauser, 1957, pp.87). Within the surveyed districts rural and traditional urbanites intermingle. Some of the financially capable traditional urbanites still live in the C.B.D. because they want to be near their jobs and group. Other rural migrants moved to the C.B.D. not because of cheap rent or the availability of houses but to be near jobs. This intermingling which has no permanent class overtones, helps minimize differences between rural migrants and Nabulsians, and increases the rate of adoption by rural migrants of urban behavior, including the adoption of the distinguishing Nabulsian accent .

CHAPTER FIVE

HOUSING QUALITY AND RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION

The difficulty in the measurement of satisfaction adds to the overall difficulty in measuring housing quality. (chapter four dealt with the difficulty in measuring housing quality). Housing satisfaction is difficult to measure and or define. Therefore, the introduction to this chapter will deal with the difficulty in measuring satisfaction with housing. For this study the difficulty stems from;

- 1.Researchers having different conceptions about housing satisfaction which makes their research unclear and undefined.

- 2.Researchers using the general interview and the questionnaire techniques to measure housing satisfaction have different approaches and methods. There is no definite way of accurately measuring the satisfaction with housing because of the differences in socioeconomic ,cultural and political factors existing among the dwellers .Some researchers used the " Likelihood of moving " or residential mobility as an index of satisfaction, (Schorr, 1963, pp.15-20). Others used the direct method " Are you satisfied with your housing?" or they ask about a specific

feature of housing. It might be true that their approaches have some validity in a specific cultural setting, and in a specific geographic locality. But, in a society where traditions and culture are still strong, where the amount of land and the size of house left for younger generations add to the person's ascribed prestige, and keeps the family name after the death of the first owner himself. It is true also, that the continuous living in such inherited physical locality enhances one's prestige. Therefore, when measuring satisfaction with housing, it is of great significance that other factors be taken into consideration. Thus adding the variable the "Reason for living in the house " lends great importance to the accuracy in measuring housing satisfaction .

3. Researchers who studied housing satisfaction dealt with it at four different levels; the city, the community, the neighborhood, and the dwelling unit. This study will use these four levels as a guidance . Besides, it will look at the political influence which has the greatest effects on peoples' lives. Because of the frequent curfew and the spontaneous military checkpoints, the life of those in houses adjacent to these points or where accessible to the military, is less satisfactory .

4. Housing satisfaction research in the U.S.A. is sometimes an evaluation from a developer, a governmental agency, or a housing project. It is generally aimed at

maximizing homogeneity and/or minimizing heterogeneity. Most of them have been conducted after a sharp failure; Pruitt Iggo, or an extraordinary success. The study of satisfaction in Nablus is completely different not only because of the complex political situation, the unique cultural and traditional setting, but because housing structures are individually built, usually family owned and built according to the financial capability of the household. The frequent additions to the original building is common, especially after some improvements in the income of the family. In Nablus, there was no uniformity either in the outer appearance of the building or the internal lay out of the houses. Building codes were never enforced. Indoor facilities and amenities are not standardized and generally do not follow the standards set up by the municipality. Psychologically people are generally more satisfied with what they do. Therefore, because the Nabulsians build their own homes without outside help such as mortgage, financial loans and other housing programs, it is expected that they will show high levels of housing satisfaction. In the West Bank there is no large scale private nor public housing developer, there is no large scale or even commercial housing projects. There is no governmental housing policy or intervention except for the issuing of licences and permits which might be considered by many Nabulsians as well as other West Bankers as constricting and impeding policies.

5. Researchers who dealt with residential satisfaction and housing quality came from an array of disciplines: architect, urban planning, sociology, geography ... etc., used different methodologies, thus having variable focus, approach and thereafter results.

It is not the purpose of this study to describe and evaluate all aspects of the application of methodology or techniques used in previous studies, but rather to use their findings in the best possible way, and thus be used as explanatory factors. The factors associated with housing satisfaction which they used, will be briefly presented and explored.

The livability of a housing unit is different from one person to the other because of personal differences. These differences result in different levels of satisfaction. Some of the factors that shape up this desirability or undesirability : age of head of household, size of household, facilities and amenities, space, socioeconomic status of the head of household, accessibility to public facilities and social institutions ..etc. Satisfaction is a psychological variable which differs from one individual to another. Sense of satisfaction is undoubtedly a highly personal experience, heavily influenced by the individual's past experience and current expectations. Attitudes are subjective indicators of satisfaction (perceptions and assessment) will not be discussed in this research.

Objective indicators of satisfaction with housing (the reality) will be the focus. In 1951, Riemer, tried to assess the "livability" of homes preferred by consumers (1951: 144-45). In 1969, Fraser differentiated between "relative habitability" and "absolute habitability". To evaluate "habitability", Fraser suggested that ".....man is the ultimate arbiter of any habitable state..." (1969: 16). This suggests that people should not only be the objects of investigation, but may also be the source of information about habitability. Thus , information about the relative habitability of dwellings may be sought by the investigation of the satisfaction of people with their environments. Schorr defined satisfaction, " Satisfaction may be defined as the absence of a complaint when opportunity is provided, or as an explicit statement that the person likes his housing." Schorr, (1963, 15).

There are several factors associated with variations in residential satisfaction. The review of the relevant literature , is beyond the focus of this study. Thus it will be useful to mention them briefly. These are; environmental characteristics, which include physical features of the environment, building types, locations, tenure and attitudes towards environmental characteristics, (Lansing, et al., 1970,. Troy, 1971. Sullivan, 1971. Cooper, 1972. Western ,et al. 1974. Michelson ,1977); social characteristics of the people, both individuals and families (Campbell, et al., 1976,

Popenoe, 1977.); mobility which includes both studies which find associations between residential satisfaction and mobility as well as those which use mobility measures as measures of satisfaction, (Rossi, 1955, Wilson, 1962, Kaiser, 1976); and characteristics of social interaction, (Keller, 1968, Cooper, 1970, Lansing, et al., 1970, Speare, 1974.

Housing needs or satisfaction or dissatisfaction with existing housing is merely a product of interrelationships of socioeconomic, political, cultural, and environmental dimensions that make up the neighborhood, and the community which in turn produces satisfaction/dissatisfaction. People in general have some complaints with their housing. The detailed investigation of such complaints is beyond the scope of this study. Thus a brief discussion of common complaints can be helpful.

Regardless of cultural differences, residents in general have common complaints about their housing environment, in sum they are: the appearance of the inside of the dwelling unit, the layout of the inside, the space outside the dwelling unit, noise, space inside the dwelling unit, the location of the dwelling unit within the city, or the accessibility, and amenities and facilities, (Chapman, 1943, 1944, Raven, 1967, Chapin, 1951, Paxton, 1955, Becker, 1974, Cooper, 1972, Rossi, 1955).

To report accurate results about satisfaction with

housing a full investigation of all the factors involved is necessary. But the delineation of such factors is only possible when information about all involved variables is obtained in hand. But it is recognized that no single study can examine all factors at the same time with the same thoroughness. Studies must be designed to maximize the ability to investigate those dimensions most relevant to the housing environment. Evaluation studies of a particular housing quality should take into consideration the associated social, physical, economic and political factors affecting the social interactions of the population under study.

A. Housing Quality and Satisfaction for the Traditional "Urbanites" or the city born.

The sample survey size which the author conducted during March/September, 1983, covers 1226 households. Sixty five percent or 799 heads of households of the surveyed are Nabulsians or born to Nabulsian parents. They constitute 65 percent of the sample size. There high clustering is in districts; One with 79 percent , district three with 73 percent and district five with 57 percent , the other two districts; two and four showed less than 50 percent of Nabulsian clustering. About half of the Nabulsians; thereafter called traditional urbanite, cluster

in the central business district, 18 percent of them are found in district 3 followed by the other districts two, four and five respectively. For the purpose of this study a scale of the presence of the three ethnic groups within the surveyed districts is categorized as indicated in table 5-1.

The physical conditions of the surveyed districts and housing conditions within these areas were discussed earlier in chapters three and four. The physical characteristics of their districts one, two and three are neither predominantly modern nor still rural;

Table 5-1

Index of Ethnic Distribution within Five Districts in Nablus, 1983.

Degree of Presence -----	District of Residence		
	Nabulsians -----	Rural Migrants -----	Refugees* -----
Low	2 & 4	3 & 2	3 & 5
Medium	5	4	4
High	1 & 3	1 & 5	1 & 2

* Refugees who do not live in refugee camps.

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

they show varied physical characteristics (for more information on housing conditions within these districts see chapter IV) . Within these districts, many modern buildings for residential, commercial and public purposes

have been constructed in the vacant lots and along the throughfares. This chapter will try to explain the relationships between the independent variable "Place of origin". Sometimes it will be used as a synonym for "ethnicity" and other dependent variables relevant to housing quality and satisfaction. This will be based on the author's survey.

Table 5-2 shows socioeconomic characteristics of the traditional urbanites or the Nabulsians, the Villagers , and the Refugees , within Nablus, 1983. The three different Palestinian ethnic groups; the traditional urbanite, the rural migrants and the refugees, have differences with respect to socioeconomic statuses. Table 5-2 illustrates these differences.

There is insignificant difference among the three groups in having males heads of households. The traditional urbanite showed a lower mean family size, it is 6.9 persons per household, rurals and refugees household sizes are the same, 7.7 members per household. The refugees have more married heads of households than the other two groups, 92% of them are married, compared to 87% for the traditional urbanites. The traditional urbanites showed higher divorce rate than any other group with 7% of the head of households are divorced. This could be explained by the strong family norms exist between the rural migrants and the closer net of marriages experienced. Table 5-2 show socioeconomic characteristics of the three sub-groups in Nablus, 1983

Table 5-2

Socioeconomic Characteristics of sub-Groups,
Nablus, 1983.

	Nabulsians	Rural Migrants	Refugees
TOTAL	799	91	327
Sex (Head of Household)			

Male	92%	92%	93%
Females	8%	8%	7%
Family Size (median)	7.8	9.6	9.4
Age (median)	43.4	44.1	43.7
Marital Status			

Married	87%	90%	92%
Other	13%	10%	8%
Education			

Less than High School	61%	58%	60%
High School	23%	22%	21%
Over High School	16%	20%	19%
Occupation			

Selfemployed	47%	31%	46%
Administrative & Government.	18%	22%	21%
Industrial	7%	9%	6%
Trade and Commerce	15%	21%	14%
Other	13%	18%	15%
Median Income (1980)	1988	2199	1816
Median Income (1982)	2173	2231	2040

Source: Survey conducted by the author, Nablus, 1983.

It is assumed that high divorce rates are associated with urbanization, in such respect, the case of rural migrants in Nablus shows that they are still dissimilated into the urban life of the city.

The refugees showed higher widowhood than the other groups within the city, it reached 3% of the head of households.

It is also assumed that rural migrants are more likely to be poor, less educated, less informant, and less skilled, the previous table showed the opposite. It showed that rural migrants have the highest percentage in education attainment with 20% of them with over high school degree. In contrast, the traditional urbanites showed the lowest in educational attainment, with only 16 percent of them having more than high school education. Traditional urbanites also have the lowest percentage of those with less than high school degree, 61 percent are without high school diplomas, compared to 58% of the rurals. Twenty two percent of the rurals are high school graduates. That is less than the traditional urbanites who have 23 percent with high school diplomas. Therefore, those rural migrants to Nablus represent an anomaly to those in other parts of the world. They are not the less educated. The unskilled laborer is typical of a rural migrant, a hypotheses which does not hold true. Data on occupational attainment presented earlier shows that rural migrants have the highest skill level among the three groups. 9 percent of them are engaged in industrial employment, while the

traditional urbanite's share is 7 percent. Nablus is an employment attraction because it is an administrative and a governmental center. The rural migrants comprise the highest percentage of those employed in the administrative and governmental fields, 22 percent compared to 18 percent for the traditional urbanites. Still another area which adds to the invalidity of the hypotheses is that; rural migrants are more likely to be poor. Their engagement in trade and commerce is higher than that of the Nabulsians. 21 percent of them are engaged in trade and commerce, while the Nabulsians only show 15 percent of this employment. Using income as an indicator of wealth, the survey showed that the rural migrants have the highest median income for the years 1980, 1982, and the increase was higher than that of the Nabulsians. It increased from 2199 Jordan Dinars in 1980 to 2232 Jordan Dinars in 1982. The increase in the income of the Nabulsian families was less than that of rurals, from 1960 Jordanian Dinars to 2113 in 1982. The highest increase in income was that of the refugees, their income increased from 1816 Jordan Dinars in 1980 to 2039 Jordanian Dinars in 1982.

Housing quality is assumed to be related strongly to the socioeconomic status of the present occupants of the housing unit. In Nablus, this assumption may have some validity. The present socioeconomic status of the dwellers can not only be determined by occupation, education and

income only, thus it can not be used as the indicator of housing quality.

Table 5-3

Housing Quality for Different Palestinian sub-Groups, Nablus, 1983.

	Nabulsians	Rurals	Refugees
TOTALS	799	91	327
Population	6412	896	3158
Number of rooms	3081	366	1240
Number of bed rooms	1710	212	738
Persons per room	2.1	2.4	2.5
Persons per bed room	3.7	4.2	4.3
Building Material			
Stone	82%	66%	52%
Other	18%	34%	48%
Apartment Ownership			
Owner	64%	63%	51%
Renter	36%	37%	49%
House Value (Median)	15967	15283	15099
Reason for living in the House			
Owned or inherited	64%	63%	51%
Rent affordable	18%	14%	21%
Near Job	9%	14%	13%
Near relatives	3%	1%	8%
Other	5%	8%	7%
Date of building the House			
Pre 1967	69%	52%	63%
After 1967	31%	48%	37%
Date of Residing in the House			
Pre 1967	53%	35%	47%
After 1967	47%	65%	53%

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

Amenities and interior conditions of the dwelling unit is also a determining factor in the occupant's satisfaction. The lack of basic amenities makes dwellers life difficult. In contrary the present of basic and luxurious facilities and indoor amenities made life easy and affects satisfaction .

Table 5-4

Amenities and Interior Conditions by sub- Groups, Nablus, 1983.

	Nabulsians -----	Rural Migrants -----	Refugees -----
Sewer -----			
Public system	73%	55%	54%
Septic tank, cesspool	26%	43%	45%
Other	1	2	1
Plumbing Facilities -----			
Complete	71%	69%	66%
Shared	3	3	10
Half	26	26	22
None	1	1	2
Bathroom -----			
One	44	52	46
More than one	3	3	2
Half	19	22	26
Nothing	34	23	26
Kitchen -----			
One	46	55	46
Half	53	44	53
None	1	1	1
Vacant rooms	2%	3%	1%

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

Table 5-4 shows amenities and interior conditions of the

houses for the three sub-ethnic Palestinian groups. Decedents of prominent families whose housing - at the time of building might be considered excellent, by today's standards, may be considered fair or needed repairs. Some of those residents, though they have the financial means, still live in old houses, many of which lack some utilities and need repair. Table 5-3 and 5-4, show that traditional urbanites have the highest percentage of housing units in need of repair, 16% ,while only 10% of the rural migrant houses needed repair. This can be explained by the duration of residence. 53 percent of the traditional urbanites within the surveyed districts lived in their houses prior to 1967, while only 35% of the rural migrants lived in houses prior to 1967. The year of moving to the city was of great importance, but the complicated political circumstances made it difficult to introduce such a question into the survey. The data were collected during an intense period. The Villagers League, or Rawabit El Qura, were supported by the military governor and rejected by most of the West Bankers. Because the subject was touchy it was not to be pursued any further .

It is assumed that educational attainment, family income, and ethnicity, defined as place of origin of the head of household will determine housing quality. It is also hypothesized that rural migrants who are usually less educated, poor and less skilled will have poor housing .

It is known that every district has specific building codes such as minimum area, building material, building height, floor area ratio and space between buildings, which regulate the construction within areas, then it is expected that rural migrants will be clustered within the poorest areas, C.B.D. and its peripheries, the rural nuclei in Balata Albalad and Rafidia Al balad and the refugee camp area.

B. Housing Quality and Residential Satisfaction for the Rural Migrants.

Rural migrants are disproportionately scattered within the surveyed districts. The high concentration is represented in district 1 with 29 percent, district 5 with 24 percent district 4 with 18 percent. They show less presence in districts 2 and 3 - districts 1, 4 and 5 do not have the better housing facilities-. Rural migrants accounted for 8 percent of the sample size. Ethnicity is assumed to be highly related to socioeconomic status. The most relevant literature is Shevky's and Bell . They are known for their development of the social area analysis approach. The social area analysis theory deals with the assumption that important differentiations, e.g. income, ethnicity or occupation result in residential clustering of like population. If income , ethnicity and occupation are

significant factors in residential location, then it is expected that people will also be segregated accordingly. Thus the same group will find its members segregated, isolated and without any contact with other groups, thereby inhibiting acquisition of economic gain used to upgrade themselves and their neighborhoods. This, therefore, discounts the approach described by Shevky and Bell.

Rural migrants are more likely to cluster in the C.B.D. then start moving outward as advocated by the Chicago school. As mentioned earlier, information on village of origin, the year of migration and the first area of residence were difficult to get without jeopardizing the study. The dates that the houses of each group were built and the duration of their residency can be helpful in explaining, within the city, movement patterns of the three different ethnic groups under study. Table 5-4 shows 69% of the Nabulsians live in houses built prior to 1967, and 53 percent of them lived in these houses before 1967. 52 percent of the rural migrants houses were built prior to 1967, and 35% of them have been living in their houses since before 1967. Not all the refugee's houses were built in 1948-1950. 63 percent of their houses were built before 1967, and 47 percent of them have been living in their houses since before 1967. This shows that the traditional urbanite building structures are older than those of the other two groups. The duration of urbanite residence is

longer than that of the other groups. Rural migrant's housing structures are new, 48 percent of them were built after 1967 and they have the shortest duration of residency. Sixty five percent of them moved into their dwellings after 1967. This might be explained by the increased migration after 1967.

Low rent usually brings poor migrants to settle in delapidated areas . Table 5-4 shows that only 14% of the rural migrants reason for living in their homes was affordable rent , 18 percent of the traditional urbanites reported rent as their main reason for choosing their residence. The refugees were strongly attracted to their rented houses by the affordability of rent. 21 percent of them were attracted by low rent.

Home ownership is generally associated with the degree of urbanization. Thus, rural migrants are more likely to be renters. The data presented in table 5-4 shows that 64 percent of the urbanites own their homes, while 63% of the rural migrants own their homes. The high percentage of rural home owners can be explained by the annexation of rural areas and villages to the city. Villagers are usually home owners. They do not build to rent but for their own family use .

Nablus is an employment attraction . Its economic base is not based on heavy industry, rather it is a service center. The type of migrants then are those who can fit in and survive the competition. 22% of the rural migrants are

engaged in governmental and administrative jobs. 21 percent of them are business adventurers, taking over the role which the Nabulsians are locally known for. 15% of the Nabulsians are engaged in business activities.

Migrants are more likely to live near their jobs. The data presented in table 5-4 shows that rural migrants live nearer their jobs than any other ethnic group. 14 percent of them live near their jobs. It is noticeable that most of the rural migrants who are engaged in business, retail or wholesale, tend to live in the same building as their business. This has been a practice of the traditional within the urbanite within the C.B.D. The traditional urbanites have moved their residences to the newer districts. Rural migrants tend not to separate the place of work from residence. Their reason is to cut travelling time and cost. They are encouraged by the availability of space, contrary to the situation in the C.B.D.

Overcrowding is also a measure of housing quality. Those people who have been city dwellers for a long time are more likely to have smaller families, in contrast to the youth migrants. Privacy is also associated with the degree of urbanism. The high percentage of rural and refugee families living in more than one family house and the high number of families per housing unit shows that these families are still disintegrated into the urban system. Table 5-3 demonstrates that traditional urbanites

have the lowest overcrowding rate, two persons per room. Their persons per bedroom ratio is also the lowest at 3.6 persons per bed room. Overcrowding is clear within the rural migrant and the refugee areas. Nabulsian families are generally small . The median family size for the urbanites was 6.9 persons, while rural and refugee families are characterized with big families. The median family size for the two groups was 7.7 persons.

Comparing indoor facilities for the three groups , under study, the traditional urbanites' houses are better equipped with indoor facilities. 78 percent of their houses are connected to the sewer public system , compared to 55% and 54% for those of the rurals and refugees respectively. Nabulsian houses are more likely to have complete plumbing facilities than are the other two groups . Their kitchens and bathrooms also have more amenities than those of the rurals and the refugees. Availability of space is also attributable to the quality of housing. Nabulsian houses have less space when compared to those of the rurals. The high concentration of Nabulsians within the C.B.D. is responsible for the lack of space.

Residents, whether owners or renters, were asked to evaluate their housing quality. Their answers were categorized as; excellent, good, fair and needs repair. The respondents were asked a direct question, " please evaluate your house: ". Evaluation was based on the individual's knowledge of the general housing conditions within the

city and how the resident related those conditions to their homes. There were no significant variations among houses of these three groups with respect to the proportion of good and fair housing. Traditional urbanites and rurals have the same percentage of those who evaluated their houses as excellent and fair. Even though the traditional urbanite houses needed more repair than those of the rurals. 16 percent of them reported needing repair.

Planned or new neighborhoods have been under extensive study by sociologists. The Lansing, et al., (1970), study is one of the best known in the field. His focus was neighborhood satisfaction not specific housing satisfaction (Lansing et al., 1970, pp.102-106). Lansing et al., found that socioeconomic characteristics were not significantly related to high satisfaction (1970 pp.126). Length of residence was not highly associated with satisfaction (1970, pp.131). Conversely, density, quietness and the availability of outdoor facilities and space were highly associated with satisfaction, (1970 pp.118).

Many other studies have dealt with satisfaction at the neighborhood level and identified satisfaction factors (Metcalf, 1967. Troy, 1971. Mullins and Robb, 1977. Onibokun, 1973. Sullivan, 1971. Claire Cooper, 1970. Schindler and Homeenuck, 1973. Zeisal and Griffin, 1975. Beker, 1974. Wilson, 1962. and Rossi, 1955).

The most comprehensive study of the influence of

housing types and locations on both family mobility and residential satisfaction is the recent study by Michelson in Toronto, 1977. This is a longitudinal study in which families planning to move were interviewed once before and several times after they moved. Michelson was interested in investigating how behavior and attitudes, related to environmental choice and residential satisfaction. He pointed out that, regardless of housing type or location, both husbands and wives expressed feelings of satisfaction with their new home, its location and their new neighborhood (1977, pp.273-277). Home owners in suburbia emphasized satisfactory aspects of their homes (1977, pp.279). Michelson addressed another very important issue, the relationship between satisfaction with particular housing types and locations and the likelihood of moving. He found that those moving to apartments were far more likely to anticipate another move than those moving to houses (1977, pp.294). Michelson's study thus provides a bridge between and relationship between residential satisfaction and residential mobility. Although building types and locations were the major variables in his analysis, he places heavy emphasis on residential satisfaction as it relates to the mobility process.

Satisfaction with the housing environment is strongly related to age. Campbell, et al. found people 65 years of age and older reported substantially higher satisfaction than others (1976, pp.18-23). Satisfaction is also related

to levels of education. Those who were most satisfied were those who had less education (1976, pp.225-226). Satisfaction is also associated with income. Satisfaction with housing was found to be lowest for those in the lower middle income group (1976, pp.252). Campbell et al. added that the most important predictor of satisfaction at all levels was the life-cycle stage of the residents (1976, pp.252).

The results from Campbell, et al. must be assessed in the light of several other relationships found. First, it should be noted that they found a positive relationship between increasing age and increasing satisfaction for all domains, not just the residential environment. Second, they found an inverse relationship between level of education and degree of satisfaction, although not very strong, across all domains. Third, their results must be interpreted in light of the fact that they have found variation in life-cycle stage by education and age. The effects of age and education might account for much of the variation in the relationship between life-cycle stage and satisfaction. They also found those most satisfied with their communities to be young, single people (1976, pp.145-198).

Throughout the previous section, a number of social characteristics have been mentioned which are related to residential satisfaction more strongly than others. In the

following pages I will present the findings based on the survey which I conducted during March-September 1983. Some of the findings are consistent with previous findings and some differ. Almost all the relevant literature has emphasized the significance of the life-cycle in housing satisfaction. My findings show that people in their forties have the highest level of satisfaction followed by those in their thirties. The least satisfied are those head of households under thirty years old followed by those over sixty years old. The following table shows the percentage of satisfied households heads by age head of household.

Table 5-5

Percentage of Satisfied Persons by Age of Head of Household, Nablus, 1983.

	Age (- 30)	(30-39)	(40-49)	(50-59)	(60 +)
SATISFIED					

Yes	69%	77%	80%	79%	78%
No	31	23	20	21	22
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
	(121)	(317)	(368)	(255)	(165)

Source: Author's survey, 1983.

The percentage of the respondents who reported satisfaction with their housing conditions in the whole sample size was 78%. Those who are in their forties accounted for 30 percent of all the sample size. Those in

their thirties have the same satisfaction percentage . People under thirty years old accounted for only 10% of the sample size. The table shows that the level of satisfaction is more likely to increase with age . Among those head of households who are fifty years or older their level of satisfaction is more likely to decrease.

Other variables such as marital status also affect housing satisfaction. Married heads of households are more likely to be more satisfied than other groups. 71% of the married head of households, who accounted for 89% of the sample size, reported satisfaction . 8% of the unmarried group reported satisfied. Only 2% of the unmarried groups reported unsatisfied.

Family size also has a great impact on satisfaction . The following table 5-6, shows that as family size increases it is more likely that the level of satisfaction increases. But it shows also that among families with nine members or more levels of satisfaction are more likely to decrease.

Out of the 1226 housing units surveyed, 1087 were headed by a married head of household. They account for 89% of the sample size, 21% of them were dissatisfied. Among the unmarried head of households, only 17% of them reported dissatisfaction.

Table 5-6

Percentage Satisfied by Family Size, for the Nabulsian Families, Nablus, 1983.

Satisfied	Family size			
	(1-2)	(3-5)	(6-8)	(9 +)
YES	76%	78%	82%	77%
NO	24	23	19	23
	100%	101%	101%	100%
	(1029)	(5460)	(1945)	(296)

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

There are some findings which suggest that a number of socioeconomic variables are related to satisfaction. These tend to be reported in terms of simple variables like income, education and occupation, rather than by reference to standard socioeconomic scales. Thus I will present my findings for each of the variables separately. It is assumed that educational attainment has significant impact on satisfaction. The following table, 5-7, shows satisfaction by education for the three sub-groups under study.

Table 5-7

Satisfaction by Education ,in Nablus, 1983.

Education			
Satisfaction	Illiterate	High school and less	College +
	-----	-----	-----
Yes	64%	79%	81%
No	36	21	20
	-----	-----	-----
	(100)	(100%)	(100%)
	(154)	(867)	(205)

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

Table 5-7, shows satisfaction is related to education. The more educated the person is the more satisfied he or she is likely to be . Those who are illiterate showed high levels of dissatisfaction more than other educated groups.

Occupation is also among the socioeconomic variables which are related to satisfaction. the following table shows satisfaction by occupation.

Table 5-8

Satisfaction by Occupation in Nablus, 1983.

Occupation	Self employed and others	Administrative @ governmental	Industrial Trade @ Commerce
	-----	-----	-----
Satisfied			
Yes	77%	75%	82%
No	23	25	18
	-----	-----	-----
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
Total	(725)	(231)	(270)

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

Those who are in the private business; who are engaged in trade , commerce or industrial employment are the most satisfied among the other occupation groups. Industrial employment is included here because it is mainly individually owned and managed. Also because there is no heavy industry . Self employment which included unskilled individually owned and or operated and sometimes seasonal employment; pedlers, street vendors and traditional goods' producers.

Satisfaction is assumed to be strongly related to income. The following table supports this assumption. It shows that as income increases satisfaction increases. The highly satisfied people are those with an income of 4000 Jordan dinars and more.They reported the highest percentage of satisfaction.They account for 23% of th sample size.

Table 5-9

Percentage of Satisfaction with the House by Income, 1982.

	Income			
	Less than 1000	1-1999	2-3999	4000 @ +
Satisfied				
Yes	70%	74%	78%	87%
No	30	26	22	13
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
Totals	(138)	(451)	(360)	(277)

Source: Author's survey, 1983.

The median family income for the Nabulsians, the rural migrants and the refugees in 1982 was (2173, 2231 and 2040 Jordan dinars respectively). Those families who are below the median among their ethnic group income were considered poor . Those families who are in the category of the median family income or within 5% plus or minus were considered middle income And those families who are above the median income for their ethnic group were considered rich. Those people were different in their levels of satisfaction. The following table 5-10 shows these differences.

Table 5- 10

Index of Satisfaction by Median Income for the Residents of Nablus, 1983.

Median Income (J.D)	2148		
-----	Low	Middle	High
	-----	-----	-----
Satisfied	72%	78%	86%
Dissatisfied	28	22	14
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
	(589)	(360)	(277)

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

A scale of satisfaction was constructed by taking the median family income for the year 1982. Those families with an annual income below the median were considered poor. Those within the median income were considered middle income and finally, those with annual income over the

median were considered rich. It is not the annual family income that predicts satisfaction or dissatisfaction many other factors are involved .

The previous discussion aimed at introducing the variations in housing quality among the three different ethnic groups . Differences in levels of satisfaction among them in relation to some socioeconomic variables which account for these differences. In the following pages I will discuss the satisfaction of these ethnic groups with their housing. When people of different ethnic groups were asked about their satisfaction with their housing. Contrary to what is always believed, village born migrants showed higher percentage of satisfaction than the traditional urbanites. Refugees showed the least level of satisfaction. Table 5-11 shows that place of origin has no strong effect on satisfaction. Only 26% of the traditional urbanites reported dissatisfied while 20% of the rural migrants reported dissatisfied. 40% of the refugees reported dissatisfied. Table 5-11 shows satisfaction of head of household by Place of birth of heads of the three sub-groups.

Table 5-11

Satisfaction with the House by Place of Birth of the Head of Household, in Nablus, 1983.

Satisfied	Nablusians	Villagers	Refugees
Yes	80%	84%	71%
No	20	17	29
Totals	(100%) (802)	(100%) (95)	(100%) (329)

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

In American literature there is no suggestion that residential satisfaction varies by birthplace or ethnicity. American studies have discussed variations primarily in terms of race with mixed results, e.g. Campbell et al. 1976, found some variations, whereas Becker, 1974, found no association between race and satisfaction. Gulick, et al., 1962, found that people who were recent arrivals in a new city may exhibit varying levels of satisfaction.

The most impressive finding is that rural migrants have the highest percentage of satisfaction. 79% of them do not want to move from their residence, compared to 66% of the traditional urbanites who have no intention of moving. The rural migrants are the most satisfied among the three groups with 84% satisfaction, while only 80% of the Nabulsians were satisfied with their housing. Table 5-12 shows satisfaction variables by place of birth for the three sub-groups, Nablus, 1983.

Table 5-12

Satisfaction Variables by Place of Origin, Nablus, 1983.

	Nabulsians	Rurals	Refugees
TOTAL	799	91	327
Intention to Stay			

Yes	66%	79%	65%
No	34	21	35
Owner or Renter Evaluation			

Excellent	13	13	9
Good	52	58	53
Fair	19	19	24
Needs repair	16	10	14

Source: Author's survey in 1983.

The satisfaction with locality of residence is related to the satisfaction with housing. 65% of the rural migrants liked their locale compared to 41% of the traditional urbanites. This might be attributable to the high concentration of traditional urbanites within the central area which as previously mentioned lacks some of the basic amenities. Rural migrants showed high rates of satisfaction with their houses . 71% percent of them think of their houses as good or excellent while only 65% of the traditional urbanites think the same of their houses. The refugees showed the lowest satisfaction with their houses only 63% reported satisfied, and 35% of them do not want to stay in their houses . 34% of them wanted to remain within the same district of their present residence.

Area of residence is related to satisfaction . Rural migrants are not clustered in one district. Therefore they show different levels of satisfaction . The area of residence is strongly related to the satisfaction level of its residents. The following table shows satisfaction with housing in the surveyed areas by household heads place of birth in Nablus in 1983.

Table 5-13

Percentage of Satisfied by Place of Birth of the Head of the Household and District of Residence in Nablus, 1983.

District	Nablus	Villages	Palestine/other
Total	799	91	327
I Satisfied	76%	80%	69%
II Satisfied	66	75	52
III Satisfied	85	88	95
IV Satisfied	94	100	98
V Satisfied	81	76	59
Mean percentage	80%	84%	75%

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

Table 5-13 shows that the three sub-groups under study who live in district 4, have the highest levels of satisfaction. Those who live in district 2 reported the lowest levels of satisfaction for three ethnic groups. The traditional urbanites, those who live in district 4, have

the highest satisfaction level and those who live in district 2 have the lowest level. The same pattern of satisfaction levels is here for the rural migrants . Refugees who live in district 4 have the highest level of satisfaction. Those who live in district 2 have the lowest level. Other districts showed variable degrees of housing satisfaction. The residents of district 3 showed a higher degree of satisfaction than the residents of districts five and one.

Throughout the findings which I presented satisfaction was conceptualized as a function of mobility intentions and the respondents' statements of satisfaction or dissatisfaction . These variations in satisfaction were examined with reference to the independent variables, place of origin, housing quality and socioeonomic characteristics of the respondents among the three groups under study. It is difficult to compare the findings of this study to similar findings of other studies because of the socioeonomic ,cultural and political differences mentioned throughout the study. And additionally because there is an absence of similar case studies conducted in the area with the same focus . For those reasons relevant findings or contrasting ones were mentioned throughout the study .

CHAPTER SIX

SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NABULSIANS

In the preceding chapters I have pointed out differences in housing quality and housing satisfaction among Nabulsians: namely differences between the traditional urbanites and the other two Palestinian sub-groups I also have pointed out in various chapters some of the socioeconomic characteristics of these three sub-groups.

In order to systematize these important variables I will discuss in this chapter immigration, the factoring of immigrants into rural and urban areas, and push pull forces that affect population redistribution within the districts of Nablus . I will also briefly describe some of the Nabulsian's demographic characteristics , such as sex ratio, age composition, household sizes, and marital status . But the main focus of this chapter will be the discussion of the differences in socioeconomic characteristics among the three ethnic groups under study. Three major variables are usually used by sociologists to measure socioeconomic status . These variables include, educational attainment of the head of the household , his or her occupational achievement and family income. While the interrelationships

among these three appear obvious they are somewhat problematic and are continually studied Hypothetically, it is expected that a highly educated person is more likely to have a good occupation and a high income. Realistically, These relationships remain valid if spurious factors such as traditions, culture, and political ideology, which for some people sometimes impede their personal achievement, are statistically controlled to remove their unspecified and biased effects. And I indeed, intend to show that these socioeconomic relations do not exist in all societies. Specifically, exceptions have been found among the three Nabulsian ethnic groups, which I surveyed during the spring and summer of 1983.

Differences between urbanites and migrants had been studied by many sociologists. Fischer, in 1976, pointed out that differences between rural residents and urban residents have important consequences and effects on rural migrants. He concluded that the effects and consequences not only affect assimilation and acculturation but also sometimes causes ruralization of urban centers (Abu Lughod, 1961).

Immigration has existed for centuries in almost all countries regardless of particular social and economic structures. Palestine is no exception. Throughout history Palestine experienced population redistribution, produced by war, religious enthusiasm and drought. War and religion induced immigration into Palestine from other

parts of the world especially from the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt and Europe . Palestine is being a sacred territory in the religious traditions of three world religions still revered in Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In fact, each of these three religions claim spiritual and political sovereignty over it. The present situation which resulted in massive population redistribution has been due to the massive emigration of Jews from all over the world to Palestine, and by the expulsion of other sub-groups created a political problem internationally known as the Middle East problem and locally known as the refugee problem. Those Palestinians who were expelled migrated to other parts of the world as well as to selected West Bank cities which were relatively secure and have more economic opportunities than others . Nablus had its share. The first massive migration to that city occurred in 1948.

The case of rural migration to Nablus might be explained by the operative variables cited by Donald Bogue , Freedman , and others who see it as the result of economic pressures. But the massive migration to Nablus is of the refugee movement type suggested by Shryock and Siegel , 1973, pp 580, and therefore can not be explained by economic sanctions . Therefore I tried to exclude parts of the refugee camps within the areas surveyed.

Elsbeth Young, on discussing variations in internal migration pointed out to the role of the differences in

socioeconomic characteristics exist between rural and urban areas Elspeth Young, (1980, pp.130-132). With regard to the migrants, Young also said that in both developed and developing countries migrants are more likely to be young, and well educated because ,generally migrants who move from the country into towns are motivated by the prospect of better and more satisfying employment.

Migrants are more likely to settle in areas of economic prosperity, where greater opportunities prevail. Therefore, prosperous regions are more likely to attract migrants. Among the West Bank cities, Nablus is considered economically attractive for reasons I highlighted in chapter one . Villagers not only from its hinterland but also from other rural parts of Palestine were attracted to it. However the share of rural migrants within the whole population of the city is not as high as that in other third-world cities, especially Cairo, Baghdad and Delhi. But the low percentage of the villagers in the sample survey is attributable to the following historical, political and economic realities:

1. Those rural migrants who migrated from rural areas of Palestine before 1948 are excluded from this category and included within the refugee category;

2. The 1967 war forced many West Bankers especially those who were employed by the Jordanian government - youth and the educated- to leave for Jordan and other Arab countries . Among those were the rural migrants who were

employed in cities, (see chapter 1);

3. Due to political uncertainties, curfews imposed more frequently in cities than in villages, increased cost of living in cities. Many villagers, after the 1967 war preferred to return to their villages and commute to their work sites in town;

4. Stagnant economic conditions, high taxes, inflation, and the devaluation of the Israeli pound, effectively reduced employment opportunities in Nablus, preventing some adventurous rich villagers from applying their entrepreneurial skills in the development of new city businesses.

In addition to these economic and political forces that reduced the number of migrants to the city a number of pulling factors operative in rural areas have gained efficacy in keeping villagers in their villages. These factors are:

1. Low rent especially in the homes of those who left for Jordan after the 1967 War.

2. The availability of cheap rural labor, and cheap land attracted financially independent villagers, who were living in the city back to their villages. Thus invigorating the construction industry since they need new homes in which to live.

3. The relatively lower cost of living found in rural areas transformed many urban dwellers into migrants who

willingly gave up their rented urban-dwellings and moved back to their villages.

4. The availability of regular daily Israeli buses used to transport villager workers from their villages to their place of work and vice versa made living in villages more feasible.

5.Improvements in transportation and communication infrastructure and in rural health and education facilities made it possible for villagers to live a semi-independent life largely autonomous from cities.

6.The increased villager's income especially for those without sufficient land for farming who were employed by Israeli businesses, narrowed the income gap between rural and urbane people, thus changing the economic base of the village which was based both on seasonal employment and on share-cropping.

The increase in income and employment opportunities in the rural areas, as described earlier, and the improvements in transportation and communication infrastructure makes it possible for the analyst to consider variables other than those Donald Bogue consideres key variables influencing migration flow: income ,employment, and rapid population growth . The increased employment and the relatively high income of some villagers effectively prevented them from moving to the city. In the West Bank rapid population growth is not a significant pushing factor in propelling villagers away from their villages as is the case in many

third world countries . In the West Bank, the difference between the push and pull factors is insignificant, therefore rural to urban migration is expected to decline and the movement of villagers back to thier villages is expected to hasten.

This redistributive process, which is taking place in the West Bank, does not resemble western suburbanization. That is so closely linked to the dynamics of transport development, income distribution, employment patterns and behavioral concomitants of ethnicity (Muller, Park and Burgess, Shevky and Bell, Harris and Ullman).

It is misleading to conceptualize " reverse " migration from urban to rural in the West Bank as a suburbanization trend and compare it to similar migrations experienced in the West. The West Bank migratory phenomon is different because of the following reasons: the situation is different because of :

- 1.The transportation system is inadequately developed, severly limiting the distance at which people can live away from their place of work.

- 2.Urbanized rural migrants usually remain in contact with their family members who live in villages.

- 3.Urbanized "villagers" who usually own land, are likely to be more educated and more skilled than villagers; therefore their relocation back into the village and their reintegrating into its social and economic structure is

fluid and usually welcomed by other villagers.

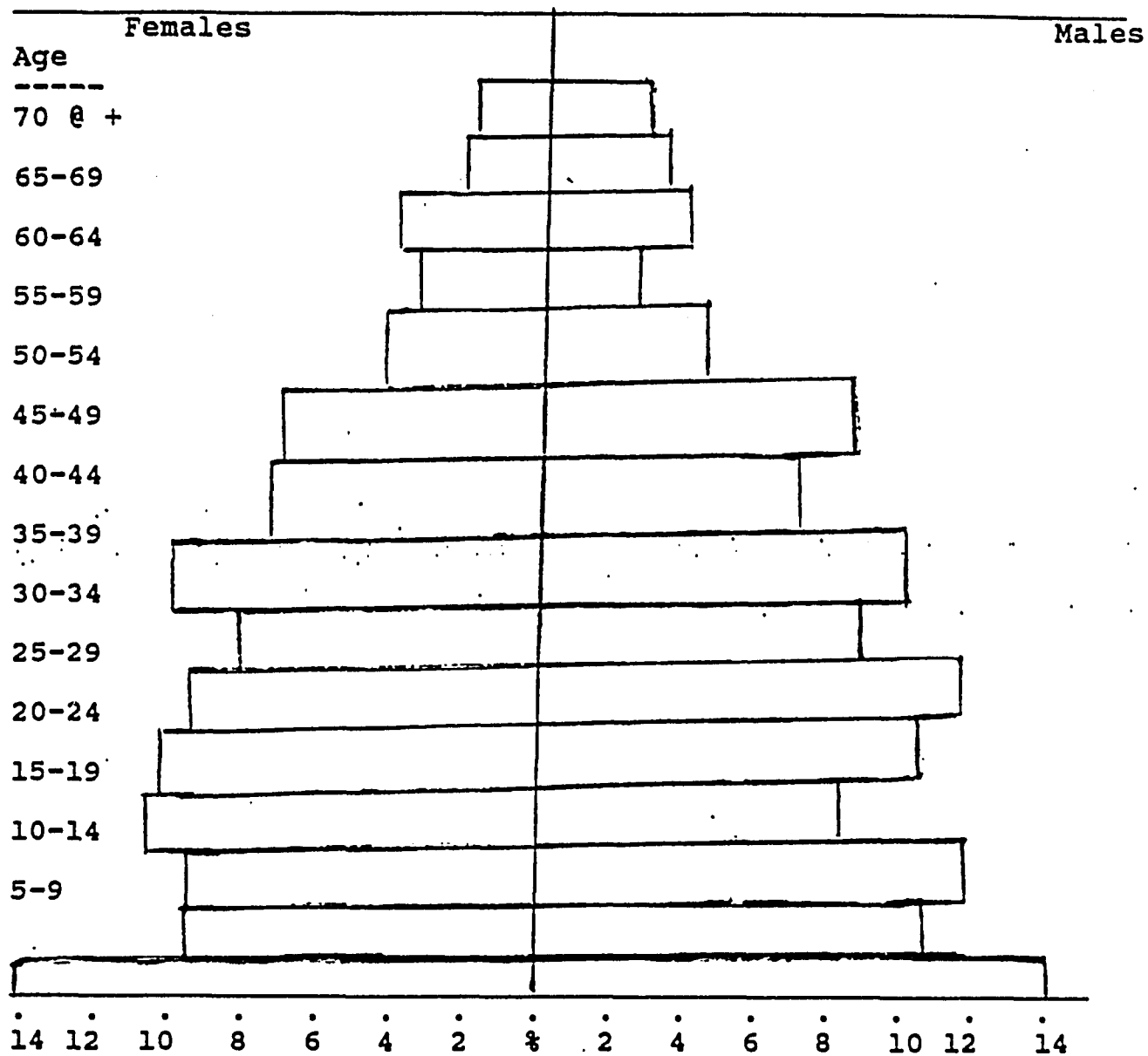
4. The social structure of rural areas whether in the ruralized areas within the city or in villages is constructed and maintained around kinship patterns (Beshers, 1967, pp.139). City-dwelling, rural migrants usually do not want to lose their traditional contacts with villagers. Consequently they are more likely to sustain traditional formulations prescribing behavior. These traditions that are formed upon the web of kinship relationships are strongly adhered to in their unmodified form. It is not surprising then that returning urbanized villagers quickly reintegrate into the socioeconomic structure of their old village.

A. Selected Demographic Characteristics of the City Residents.

Based upon the findings of this study, marital status, age, sex ratio and family size for the respondents will be presented in the following subchapter. The pyramid in the following page shows that the city has more males than females almost in every age group except for the over fifty years old cohorts where females exceed males. Because of the low percentage of the migrants within the surveyed area Nablus as a whole can not be considered a migrant city.

Figure 6 -1

Pyramid of Age Groups , Nablus, 1983.



Source: Department of Geography, An Najah national University, Nablus, 1981.

The pyramid also shows that 37% of all the Nabulsians are under 15 years old and 8% of them are 65 years and older . Proportions which are found in many other third world cities. Looking at these age groups which combined

constitutes about 45% of the city's population indicates the inapplicability of the hypotheses postulated by Freedman, 1951, Bogue, 1955, Beshers and Nishiura, 1960, and Abu Lughod, 1964, that migrants are usually young and unmarried. Clearly 45% of the migrants do not correspond to this hypothetical notion of the migrant since they are not the young, unmarried typical migrant which these scholars mentioned. Because the socioeconomic structure and cultural setting of Nablus are different from their areas of observation.

Based on the sample survey, table 6-1 shows marital status and age distribution of household heads for the three ethnic groups surveyed .The sample survey showed that 90% of the rural migrants are married compared to 87% of the Nabulsians, and that refugees have the highest percentage of married heads of households, with 92% of them married. This demonstrates that villagers moving to the city move as a family not as young individuals, dismissing the notion that only those who are financially capable can afford to move . The category other marital statuses shows insignificant differences among the three ethnic groups. Table 6-1 in the following page shows the family social characteristics of city residents by place of origin.

In a traditional society where men are still the main providers a person's sex is extremely important because it distinctly adds or subtracts from a person's role and

status. Therefore it is expected that those households with female heads can not acquire the same that a male headed household can have. Social characteristics are shown in the following table.

Table 6-1

Social Characteristics by Place of Birth, Nablus, 1983.

	Nabulsians	Villagers	Refugees
Total	799 (65%)	91 (7%)	327 (27%)
Marital Status -----			
Married	698 (64%)	82 (8%)	301 (28%)
Widow	9 (47)	1 (5)	9 (47)
Divorced	55 (71)	6 (8)	13 (17)
Other	37 (86)	2 (5)	4 (9)
Age -----			
Under 20	6 (86%)	0%	1 (14%)
20-29	97 (85)	6 (5)	10 (9)
30-39	209 (66)	21 (7)	83 (26)
40-49	219 (60)	33 (9)	115 (31)
50-59	154 (60)	19 (8)	82 (32)
60 and over	114 (69)	12 (7)	36 (22)

Source: Author's survey, 1983.

Sex ratio has also effects on predicting population growth and manpower. Therefore its effects on the socioeconomic structure of any city is eminent. Also shown in table 6-2

is average sex ratio in Nablus is 110. This means that there are one hundred ten males for every one hundred females.

In this respect, the city resembles other third world cities . Traditional urbanites have the lowest sex ratio of 101 while the refugees have the highest of 121. High sex ratios are typical of developing countries cities especially African and Asian cities, Delhi, India, in 1958 had a sex ratio of 129 (U.N. Ecosoc.,1969 .p.17). The traditional urbanite also have the lowest average family size of 7.8 persons per household. Urbanized families are more likely to have fewer family members than rural families. Cities usually have a female excess (Bogue, 1961), due to migration. This was not the case in Nablus, the high sex ratio in Nablus was not as a whole attributable to migration . Table 6-2 shows the size of the households and the sex composition of the surveyed districts by Place of origin.

Table 6- 2

Family Size by Place of Origin, Nablus, 1983.

Size of Household -----	Nabulsians -----		Villagers -----		Refugees -----	
	Male -----	Female -----	Male -----	Female -----	Male -----	Female -----
1-2 Persons	613	703	48	63	162	242
3-4	1024	1239	192	157	695	549
5-6	1039	899	132	138	564	410
7 @ +	469	267	82	64	260	185
Total	<u>3145</u>	<u>3108</u>	<u>454</u>	<u>422</u>	<u>1681</u>	<u>1386</u>
Sex ratio	101		108		121	
Average Family Size	.8		9.6		9.4	

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

Differences in family size among the three sub groups are clear. Traditional urbanites reported the highest percentage of the one to two member family of 21 percent of surveyed households consist of one to two members. Among the three sub-groups ,rural migrants reported having big families of seven or more, with 17% in this category, compared to 12% and 14% for the traditional urbanites and the Palestinian refugees respectively.

B. Socioeconomic Characteristics of Traditional Urbanites.

Being urban means not only living in an urbanized area, but also exposing oneself to greater social and economic opportunities .Furthermore, being urban reared gives a person more information about potential careers, technological innovations, and educational opportunities. Living in an urban area shades personal interrelationships in a way different than those found in villages, largely because they are usually based upon economic and occupational forces. A city-born child has greater opportunity to attend schools than its village-born counterpart. It is noteworthy that some West Bankers abandoned their schoolless villages moving into cities in order to give their children the chance of attending schools and colleges. A city-born child is more likely to have a skill in demand by city industries. He is also more likely to know about and to look for highly paid jobs. Public connections are of great significance in getting a job with the City or with privately owned companies. A city-born person with an established family name is more likely to form usable public connections and to put them to use . It is known that a city life puts more emphasis on individual early independence, such independence requires a secure income. Therefore urban reared people are more likely to be skilled, professional, educated, and more

highly remunerated than rural migrants and refugees.

In the following section I will discuss the socioeconomic characteristics of the traditional urbanites. The discussion will be based upon the findings of the survey which I conducted during March-September, 1983 .The data I collected on socioeconomic characteristics include data on educational level, occupation and income . Data on educational level of the head of the household not the family members was obtained. Because of the strong association between the educational level of the head of household and the family's socioeconomic status. I used the household heads educational level . When collecting data on educational level I classified heads of households into seven categories: illiterate, elementary, preparatory, secondary, two years college , bachelor degree and graduate studies. This extensive classification specifying exact educational level ought to facilitate comparative analysis and enhance validity.

1. Educational Attainment

Nablus' educational system is unique. The city has no legislative power nor administrative power over it. Administered by an Israeli military officer, Officer of Education, helped by Nablus' district Department of

Education. The curricula are chosen by the officer of education who also appoints teachers and administrators. The system consists of three levels: elementary level for the first to the sixth grade students, elementary schools can be found almost in every village and city; The preparatory level for the seventh to the ninth grade students, preparatory schools can be found in medium sized villages and cities . Except for the very few coeducational schools in the lower educational level, the system separates between sexes . Males schools are generally found in access. The secondary level for the tenth to twelveth grade students, of which three kinds exist : literary, scientific, and vocational . In Nablus there is only one vocational school. Schools for the scientific stream students are rarer than literary ones. Secondary schools are found mainly in big cities and frequently in large villages. The absence of shools in some villages compelled some villagers to move into cities to give their children the opportunity to attend schools. The opening of Al Najah National University in Nablus added to the educational supermacy of the City and to the attractiveness of urban migration. With regard to the education in the city, table 6-3 shows schools, teachers, and students by sex in Nablus, 1983.

Table 6-3.

Schools, Teachers, and Students by Sex , Nablus, 1983.

	Male	Female
	-----	-----
Elementary	4	5
Preparatory	7	7
Secondary	9	15
Students	8470	11857
Class rooms	280	276
Teachers	272	289

Source: Department of Geography, An Najah National University, 1981

Educational attainment is very important because of its positive relationship to occupation and income. A college graduate has more chances to have a good occupation and a high income than does a person with lesser schooling . Moreover, chances of getting a secure job are higher than those with less education. It is expected, then, that differentials in education partially explain social differentials, (Lang, 1936). It is also expected that rural migrants had lesser educational opportunities than urban-reared ,therefore their occupations and income are more likely to be lower than that of the urban-born. Differences in educational attainment between rural and urban were discussed by sociologists . Bogue though explains differences in educational attainment between rural population and urban population, asserted that urban

population has a considerably higher average educational level than the rural population . His findings can be applied to the rural migrants within cities as well. Educational attainment for the city residents is shown in table 6-4. It shows educational attainment of the head of household by Place of origin of the head of the household, Nablus, 1983.

Some of the more important data extracted indicates that highest percentage of those without high school certificates are the traditional urbanites, 62%, compared to 59% of the villagers and 60% of the refugees. The traditional urbanites have the highest percentage of those with high school diplomas, they account for 24 percent.

Table 6-4.

Educational Attainment of the Head of the Household by Place of Origin, Nablus, 1983.

	Nablus	Villagers	Refugees
	-----	-----	-----
Illiterate	92 (12%)	13 (14%)	49 (15%)
Elementary	253 (32)	25 (28)	102 (31)
Preparatory	141 (18)	15 (17)	45 (14)
Secondary	188 (24)	20 (22)	69 (21)
Two Year College	54 (7)	11 (12)	33 (10)
Bachelor Degree	60 (8)	7 (8)	21 (6)
Graduate	11 (1)	0.0	8 (2)
Total	(799) (100%)	91 (101)	327 (99%)

Source: Author's survey, 1983.

Among those recording post high school educational attainment , the traditional urbanites account for the lowest percentage with only 16% of them have college degrees.

The largest sub-group, who have elementary schooling are the traditional urbanites. Within this category ,they account for 32% of all the respondents. In rank order below these are the group who have secondary schooling and then those with preparatory schooling. A scant 11 heads of households out of 799 interviewed had graduate degrees.

This natural division of education into seven categories may be collapsed into a tripartite index for the purpose of obtaining a correspondence with socioeconomic classifying schemes used by sociologists, who classify educational attainment into low, middle and high status. In forming my index I classified those who have no schooling or elementary schooling as low, those with preparatory or secondary schooling as middle, and those with college degrees as high . The following table, 6-5, shows educational attainment for the three ethnic groups.

Table 6-5

 Educational Attainment for Three Palestinian Ethnic
 Groups , Nablus, 1983.

	Nabulsians	Rural	Refugees
	-----	-----	-----
Low	43%	42%	46%
Middle	41%	38%	36%
High	16%	20%	18%
	-----	-----	-----
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)

Source: Author's survey, 1983.

The percentage distributions of this table suggests that differences in educational attainment between the three ethnic Palestinian groups under study are insignificant . The highest difference in educational attainment between any two groups does not exceed 4% . This means that no one group has supermacy in all educational stages . It does show that differences exist, but that the understanding of these differences must be predicated upon an examination of other forces related to educational attainment, such as: age and sex of head of household, village of origin, duration of residence, availability of schools and cost of schooling at school age, family income, and family size .

2. Occupational Achievement (*)

Prior to the 1960s Nablus attracted people seeking employment. In that era, the majority of workers were employed by government, trade and retail commerce, and industry. The progress of the nineteen sixties brought about changes in employment patterns, regulations and employee-employer relationships, besides increasing the demand on educated skilled and trained workers. This increased demand outstripped the consanguineous network's labor supply, forcing employers to hire "outside " laborers. This hiring was based on qualifications not on ascribable criteria. Now the private sector employees the majority of the West Bankers, who work without contracts and but who are well protected by labor regulations. Although labor disputes are sometimes governed by the Jordanian labor law, most often they are governed by Israeli labor law especially in cases involving Palestinians employed by Israelis . Labor unions are hollow shells, existing but exercising no control either over the employer or over the employee. Present governmental employment is controlled by the military officer . Those who were employed by the Jordanian government prior to 1967, though do not work still get their salaries from the

(*) Occupation is defined in terms of the kind of work done by an employed person, irrespective of the branch of economic activity (industry) or the status (as employer, employee...etc.) in which a person is classified.

Jordan government. Governmental jobs are usually filled on the basis of educational attainment rather than on the requisites of favoritism, cronyism, and nepotism. Therefore, one expects a certain relationship to exist between occupation and educational level: the higher the educational level of one's origin group, the higher one's expected occupational level .

The West Bank has no occupational classification system of its own. Prior to 1967, the Jordanian occupational classification system was used. After the 1967 War, the Israelis introduced their own system to classify occupations . These systems have differences and to avoid useless technical complications . In this study I have used six broad categories ,which are:(1) selfemployed,(2) administrative- mainly in the private sector-, (3) industrial-whether managerial or laborer-,(4) governmental (*) -regardless of the level of government or any government-, (5) trade and commerce including all those engaged in such activities, and,(6) the unknown or others, including unemployed (**) heads of households and those seasonally unemployed. Those within this group are considered unemployed.

(*)Some of the governmental employees in the West Bank work for the Jordan government, especially those who were working prior to 1967 war, while the rest work for the Israeli Military governor.

(**) This category includes those who sell a special fruit in the its season and those who made traditional food or pastry in special occasions, and those who are dependent on an employed son whose occupation was not asked for .

Another factor bolstering my contention that this group consists of the unemployed is that this group showed the lowest income of all 70 percent of whom have annual family incomes of less than 2000 Jordanian Dinars, or about \$ 6000. Table 6-6 shows the occupation (*) of the heads of households by his or her educational level.

Significant occupational differences exist among the three sub-groups. Even though the surveyed areas were not homogeneous with regard to the occupational status of the population, a substantial proportion 41% of heads of households who were selfemployed. This was particularly true for traditional urbanites and for refugees. Relatively fewer rural migrants were selfemployed .

Table 6-6

Occupation of Head of Household by Educational Level, Nablus, 1983.

Occupational Division	Illiterate	1-12 years of schooling	Beyond high school
Selfemployed	44%	48%	31%
Administrative	1	7	15
Industrial	6	7	8
Governmental	6	10	24
Trade and Commerce	10	16	14
Other **	33	12	8
Totals	154 (100%)	867 (100%)	205 (100%)

* Includes unemployed and seasonally employed.
 Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

Table 6-7 shows the occupational divisions of heads of household by birth place of the head of household. 47% of all Nabulsian born heads of households were selfemployed while 15% were engaged in trade and commerce activities. A third occupational category, governmental employees, accounted for 12% of the employed Nabulsians. In total these three occupational categories accounted for 86% of all employed Nabulsians. In addition, the table shows that only 12 percent of the traditional urbanites are unemployed or engaged in seasonal employment, and that among the three groups they have the lowest percentage of the unemployed.

Table 6-7.

Occupation of the Head of Household by Place of Origin of Head of Household, Nablus, 1983, Percentages.

Occupation Division	Nablusians	Rurals	Refugees
Selfemployed	47%	31%	46%
Administrative	7	7	9
Industrial	7	9	6
Governmental	12	15	11
Trade and Commerce	15	21	14
Other	12	17	14
Totals	799 (100%)	91 (100%)	327 (100%)

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

Only 14 percent of the employed traditional urbanites are engaged in administrative and industrial jobs, compared to

16% of the rurals and 15% of the refugees . Those traditional urbanites who are engaged in industrial and administrative jobs are mainly owners and high ranking managers. In my earlier discussion I showed that traditional urbanites do not constitute a distinctive occupational group or possesses a specific occupational status. Other social factors that differentiate the three groups occupationally sex , age, marital status of the head of household, and family size.

3. Income

Together with education and occupation , income is generally used to indicate socioeconomic status. So far this chapter has discussed educational attainment, occupational achievement and the relationships between them and birthplace . The following discussion will focus on the relationships between education and income, occupation and income, and place of origin and income .It is expected that a positive associations exist between income , education, and occupation . Therefore differences in both educational attainment and occupational achievement are expected to parallel differences in income.

I discovered level of income to be related to educational attainment and occupational status. Of the total population of the survey area in employment, 11%

had an annual income of less than 1000,00 Jordanian Dinars. Distribution of income by birthplace is shown in table 6-8.

Table 6-8

Income by Birthplace, Nablus, 1983, (in Jordan Dinars).

Income	Nablusians	Rural Migrants	Refugees
Less than 1000	12%	13%	10%
1-1999	38%	30%	36%
2-3999	27%	31%	33%
4000 @ Over	23%	26%	21%
Totals	799 (100%)	91 (100%)	327 (100%)

Source: Author's survey, 1983.

Among the three sub-groups I expected traditional urbanites to have higher income than rural migrants or Palestinian refugees because they have higher educational and occupational statuses. My survey results indicate that 50% of the traditional urbanites heads of household have an annual income of less than 2000 Jordan dinars. Accordingly, this income group is considered to have low income status. The traditional urbanite's proportion within this status category exceeds that of rural migrants by 7% and that of the refugees by 4% of the refugees. People have middle income status when their annual family income ranges from 2000 to 3999 Jordanian Dinars, and people have high income

status when their annual family income of at least 4000 Jordanian Dinars while 23 percent of the traditional urbanite heads of households have high income status, their proportion within this status group is lower than that of the rural migrants by only 3% and is higher than that of the refugees by 2%. It is noteworthy that reported income by all three groups had a modest degree of inaccuracy because of the complex political situation surrounding income reporting and taxation that arises out of the fear of taxes and the doubts about the party behind the survey (see methodology).

C.Socioeconomic Characteristics of Rural Migrants.

An accurate enumeration of migrants to Nablus whether of rural or refugee origin is difficult to obtain, (see chapter 3). Estimations place the proportion of migrants at 35-40% of the city's population . This high percentage of migrants has no significant effect on certain demographic characteristics of the city as a whole, because migrants moved to the city as a family not as individuals. Insofar as the migrants sex ratio mirrored that of city dwellings the city's sex balance stayed static. Thus keeping the sex balance within the city.

Place of origin is of great importance because it leaves a lasting imprint on the migrant's life. It helps or hinders his assimilation and increases or decreases his

adaptation to the social and economic structure of the new system. The discussion of the differences in socioeconomic characteristics between the rural migrants and the traditional urbanites is justified by sociologists general belief that varied cultural backgrounds results in varied socioeconomic status.

Typically rural migrants are more likely to be less informed about city life and available jobs. They are more likely to accept low paid jobs or unappealing jobs. They are also generally unskilled, and their educational level is more likely to be lower than that of the urbanites. Therefore, their incomes are expected to be lower than those of the urbanites. As a result, rural migrants are more likely to occupy lower socioeconomic statuses. All of these qualities are evident in the rural migrant's ways of living, housing arrangement and neighborhoods.

1. Educational Attainment

The starkness of villages lacking high schools compelled some villagers to move into the city, motivated by the hope of better and more suitable education for their children. It takes a child three to six years of continuous living in the city to graduate from high school. The father who usually wants to accompany his child into the city either starts his own business or looks for a job,

in either case moving the whole family close to his child's school. It is important to note that wealthier villagers send their children to city schools. In fact those who attend city schools and latter live in the city constitute the majority of the rural migrants. According to Freedman, their educational attainment can be used to measure their adjustment to the urban life (Freedman, 1951, pp.215). Educated villagers searching for jobs are more likely to migrate (Roussel, 1970, pp.230-244). They tend to be above average in education and occupational skill in the communities they left as well as in the city they moved to (Tilly, 1970, pp.156). Table 6-9 shows educational attainment of the head of households of rural migrants, Nablus, 1983.

This table together with table 6-5 show that 58% of rural migrants are without high school certifiectes. Compared to the other ethnic groups the proportion of rural migrants without high school diplomas is the lowest. Those with elementary schooling constitute the highest percentage, 28%. The proportion of rural migrants with high school diplomas is lesser than that of the traditional urbanites, with 22%, while 24% of the Nabulsians are with high school diplomas. The rural migrants have the highest percentge of those with more than high school graduates, 20% of them have more than twelve years of schooling, while the proportion of the urbanites who have more than high school comes to 16% only. Among the rural migrants there is no

body with graduate degree.

Table 6-9

Educational Attainment of the Rural Migrants, Nablus, 1983.

	Number	Percentage
	-----	-----
Illiterate	13	14%
Elementary	25	28
Preparatory	15	16
Secondary	20	22
Two Years College	11	12
Bachelor Degree	7	8
Total	91	100%

Source: Author's survey, 1983.

2. Occupational Achievement

Rural to urban migration is usually confined to the occupational contrast between village and town. Most villagers are farmers, who share crop harvest or exchange labor. Almost all rural occupations relate to land, farming, quarrying, commodity exchange and retail commerce. Not all rural migrants who have moved to Nablus own land or were formerly engaged in agricultural activities. Once in Nablus migrants usually are not farmers and instead of bartering commodities or labor they collect cash wages.

This abrupt shifting from a bartering economy to a cash wage economy is very likely to permanently mold the lives of rural migrants, maintaining occupational differences between them and the city-born . Unless migrants acquire education, training, and skill, all so vital to moving up the ladder of occupational status, the magnitude of occupational differences will undoubtedly increase. Now I will focus on the migrants' occupational achievement comparing it to that of the Nabulsians, who I expect will exhibit higher occupational status. Social factors associated with variations in occupational achievement such as age, sex, marital status and family size are only secondary to this discussion.

It has been suggested that migrations' selective mechanism normally operates preferentially, channeling into the migratory stream young adults and the more highly qualified and skilled members, particularly if opportunities for improving material standards and for enhancing social mobility appear to be limited in the place of birth (W.F.Maunder,1955, Social and Economic Studies, vol.4 No.1). With regard to age , rural migrants to Nablus is ill predicted by Maunder's hypothesis. On the other hand, with regard to migrants who leave their villages more skilled than their peers, his hypothesis appears valid.

When considering the interplay between place of birth and occupational achievement, I predicted that traditional urbanites would be more likely to have higher occupational

status than rural migrants or refugees. I used the median income for each of the six occupations referred to earlier in this chapter to construct a three-valued index -low, middle and high- of occupational achievement . The distribution of status resulting from the application of this index is shown in table 6-10

Table 6-10

Indexical Distribution of Occupational Status for Ethnic Groups in Nablus, 1983.

	Nabulsians -----	Rurals -----	Refugees -----
Low Status	59%	49%	61%
Middle Status	19%	21%	19%
High Status	22%	30%	20%
Totals	799 (100%)	91 (100%)	327 (100%)

Source: Author's survey, 1983.

I collapsed the unknown or the other occupational group, median annual income 1540 Jordanian Dinar, and the "selfemployed" occupational group, median annual income 1840 Jordanian Dinars, into the low category of occupational status; the "administrators", median annual income, 2197 Jordanian Dinars, "government workers" 1980 Jordanian Dinars, into the middle category; and the "industrial workers" median annual income 4030 Jordanian Dinars, and "trade and commerce workers," median annual income 4200

Jordanian Dinars, into the high category. Surprisingly the proportion of rural migrants in high status employment exceeds that of traditional urbanites and refugees by healthy margins of about 10% . One normally expects such jobs, that require general education, as well as , special training and skills, to be held by the urban-born, who generally are thought to either possess or be capable of acquiring such prerequisites. Even the proportion of rural migrants in middle status employment exceeds that of both other groups, but only by rather a small percentages. Perhaps the most important facet to be noted in this table is that a substantially smaller proportion of rurals have low status jobs than both other groups, who interestingly register about identical proportions.

Table 6- 11

Place of Birth by Place of Land Ownership, Nablus, 1983.

	Own land in Nablus	land in Villages	Other Areas	Own None
	-----	-----	-----	-----
Nabulsians	20%	12%	5%	64%
Rural Migrants	11	36	3	50
Refugees	9	8	8	75

Source: Author's survey, 1983.

Table 6-11 which correlates birthplace by place of land ownership shows that rural migrants have the lowest

percentage of those who do not own land, only 50% of them compared to 64% of the Nabulsians and 75% of the refugees. Only 36% of the rural migrants own land in villages. It is expected that rural migrants before leaving for the city lose contacts with their place of origin. Therefore it is expected that because of the high percentage of rural migrants who own land, 50% , that they will carry their previous jobs- agricultural related jobs- or the field of which they were highly experienced into the city . Therefore it is expected that they lack experience, thus making their search for skilled jobs difficult. Shannon and Krass in a study of migrants occupational adaptability pointed out that education and occupational status of one's first job and one's present job have been related for various samples of Anglo, Negro and Mexican American migrants as well as for non-migrants (Shannon and Krass, 1963, pp.37-42). Based upon this study I found that the previous occupational experience of rural migrants - agricultural related jobs-does not show to have any effect on the present job. I expected rural migrants to look for jobs requiring no experience nor skill and related to their previous experience. Therefore they are expected to be highly engaged in the selfemployment occupational division ,31%,and more likely to be unemployed and in such occupations which require no education and skill. But my findings show that the previous job or experience have little effect on the present job. Table 6-7, occupation of

the head of household by birthplace shows that rural migrants has the lowest percentage of those within the selfemployed occupations. They account for only 31% of them while traditional urbanites and the refugees have 47% and 46% successively. Among those in the unknown or other occupational category shown in the previous table rural migrants have the highest percentage of 18% compared to 13% and 15% for the Nabulsians and the refugees successively. In other occupational divisions which require education and skill rural migrants engagement is higher than that of the other two groups especially in industrial employment with 9% governmental employment with 15% and trade and commerce with 21 per cent.

3. Income

Normally , income correlates positively with education and occupation. So far this chapter has dealt with the differences in educational attainment and occupational achievement for the three ethnic groups studied. The following discussion will focus on income differences between rural migrants on one side and the other two groups on the other. Regarding family annual income , it is noteworthy that individuals in the West Bank do not file income tax reports at the end of every year. Only

businesses have to report annually their income . So the overall degree of inaccurate reporting is expected to be high. Therefore reporting the actual annual family income was the most difficult question for both the interviewed , who not only historically fear taxation but also were suspicious about the survey's purpose and about the interviewer's intent. And also for the interviewer who wanted to obtain accurate family income without being suspected. In order to bolster this variables validity, I verified certain cases, especially in extreme cases, by looking at similar job's incomes, the respondent's land and home ownership, educational level, and housing condition .

Annual family income, measured in Jordanian Dinars (1.0 JD= \$3.0 , 1983) was first classified into seven categories, then collapsed into four, which are; (1) less than 1000 Jordanian Dinars, (2) 1000-1999 Jordanian Dinars, (3) thirdly those with 2000- 3999 Jordan Dinars and,(4) finally those with 4000 Jordan Dinars and over . Median income for each group was used as a guide for assigning family's income status. Those below the median have low status. To compensate for the discrepancy between the reported income and the suspected income, those reporting income within a range of plus and minus 5% of the mean were assigned middle income status, and those above this range were assigned high income status. In 1982, Median annual income in Jordanian Dinars for the Nabulsians

was 2173 J.D , for rural migrants 2231 J.D, and for the Palestinian Refugees 2040. Table 6-1 shows Income status for the Rural Migrants and the Palestinian Refugees.

Table 6-12

Income (in J.D) for the Rural Migrants and the Palestinian Refugees, Nablus ,1982, Percentages.

Income -----	Rural Migrants -----	Refugees -----
Less than 1000	13%	10%
1000-1999	30%	36%
2000-3999	31%	34%
4000 and Over	26%	21%
Totals	91 (100%)	327 (100%)

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

Although differences between the rural migrant's and refugee's income exists, they are small. Because rural migrants voluntarily relocate, they can be expected to have higher income status than refugees. Indeed, median income for rural migrants exceeds that of refugees by 191 Jordanian Dinars or by 9 per cent. Table 6-12 shows that 26% of the rural migrants occupy high income status, 31% occupy the middle income status . A complete comparison between the two groups has to take political factors into consideration, a task beyond the scope of this study.

3. Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Palestinian Refugees

Those who were forced out of their land and homes from that part of Palestine which became Israel in 1948, who lived in refugee camps in and around Nablus, and who received assistance from the U.N.R.W.A are called Palestinian refugees. Not all Palestinian refugees remained in the camps; some of them -especially those who owned houses ,land, and businesses in the city - moved out from the camps. For this study those still living in the camps were not included, and only 15 households were included because of the physical intermingling between their houses and those houses which were designated to be included in the survey area. Since I have introduced some of the socioeconomic characteristics of this ethnic group in previous chapters and earlier in this chapter the following material briefly discusses educational attainment, occupational achievement, and income for this group.

1. Educational Attainment

Because of the political and financial difficulties that face the U.N.R.W.A., which adminsters the educational system in Palestinian refugee camps, schools fail to fullfil all the needs of the educational system . For

refugees education is considered the most highly rewarding investment. But financial difficulties and imperatives of supporting families prevented some of them, at the time of exodus, from continuing their education. Little kids were not forced to quit school and join the labor force only because jobs for youngsters are scarce. Also affecting educational attainment, despite the passage of 35 years since their expulsion or what they call "Al Nakba" or the disaster. Heads of households who were born at that time are expected to have the least educational attainment, the lowest occupational status, and the lowest income, not only among other ethnic groups but also among the members of their own group.

Table 6-4 which shows educational attainment of the head of household by birthplace, shows that 46% of the refugees occupy the lower educational status. Their portion of this category which includes those who are illiterate or who have elementary schooling, exceeds that of the other two groups. Those with preparatory or secondary schooling constitute 35%, putting them in third rank among the other two groups, thus leaving only 19% for the high status educational group. This confirms expectation that they are more likely to have low educational attainment. Yet, the refugees do register second to the traditional urbanites among those with graduate degrees interjecting some additional variance into

the expectations confirmation.

2. Occupational Achievement

Occupation and education ought to be positively related. To reiterate from my earlier discussion about educational attainment , it was found that Palestinian refugees occupy the lowest educational status level among the three groups; therefore, they are expected to have low status jobs and to be the least employed. Table 6-12 shows the occupational distribution for Palestinian refugees heads of household . As expected the majority of Palestinian refugees constitute the highest proportion of those occupy low status jobs . 61 per cent of them fall within this low status occupational groups. Looking at the high status occupations , the table suggests that only 20 percent of them were employed in these high status occupations . Their proportion is lower than that of the other two groups as indicated in table 6-7. It shows that the percentage of their employment in industry ,trade and retail commerce, and government is lower than that of the other two groups.

Table 6-13

Occupations and Occupational Status distribution of the
Palestinian Refugees, Nablus 1983, in percentage.

Occupation Division	Refugees
Selfemployed	46%
Other	15%
Total Low Status	61%
Administrative	9%
Government	11%
Total Middle Status	20%
Industrial	6%
Trade @ Commerce	13%
Total High Status	19%
Totals	327 (100%)

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

It is more likely that their low share in the city's employment was not only due to their educational attainment but it might be looked at in their high mobility comparable to the other groups . They move from one city to the other and sometimes from one country to the other looking for better employment opportunities .

3. Income

Likewise, the previous discussion increased the expectations that Palestinian refugees are more likely to have the lowest income status. But the survey's relevant findings indicate the dismissal of our expectations. Data presented earlier in table 6-8 Income Distribution by Birthplace, showed that Palestinian refugees had the lowest percentage of those families with less than 1000 Jordanian Dinars annual income, with only 10% compared to 12% of the traditional urbanite and 13% of the rural migrants. Their proportion of those with family incomes of 1000-1999 J.Ds. exceeds that of the rural migrants by 6% and is lower than that of the traditional urbanites by 2%. Among the families with annual income of 2000-3999 J.D., their percentage exceeds that of the traditional urbanite by 6% and the rural migrants by 3%. They reported the lowest percentage among those families with annual income of 4000 J.D, dinars and over: 20% compared to 23% for the traditional urbanite and 26% for the rural migrants. Money sent to refugees family from members living abroad could be responsible for such differences.

Now I am going to present a recapitulating list of this study's discoveries about the socioeconomic characteristics of rural migrants, traditional urbanites, and Palestinian refugees :

1. With 20% of their members in colleges, rural migrants are generally better educated than traditional urbanites or refugees.

2. Traditional urbanites have the lowest rate of illiteracy and the lowest percentage -16% - of those with graduate degrees.

3. Traditional urbanites have the highest percentage - 74%- of those with twelve years of schooling category.

4. The Palestinian refugees have the highest percentage of those with low educational status. Among the middle status group the refugees' proportion is the lowest.

5. Palestinian refugees' proportion in the low status jobs is higher than those of the other two groups.

6. The traditional urbanites' proportion in high status occupations is lower than that of the rural migrants.

7. Rural migrants' proportion in low status jobs is the lowest. Their percentage in the high and middle status occupations is the highest.

8. With regard to income, rural migrants reported the highest percentage of those with high income, 57% have family incomes of 2000 Jordanian Dinars and over. Traditional urbanites the second highest with 51% .

9. The Palestinian refugees reported the lowest income. Traditional urbanites' reported higher income, but rural migrants reported the highest income .

In summary, the interpretations of crosstabulated data,

particularly data measuring and inspecting educational and occupational attainment ,suggest that differences in socioeconomic characteristics among rural migrants, traditional urbanites, and Palestinian refugees, all of whom live in Nablus, are insignificant. In the context of this study it follows, then, that the paradigmatic migratory hypotheses of Young, Maunder and others- all indicating a selective process funnelling mostly the young, better educated, and more skilled into migratory stream- must be modified to explain migratory streams in other countries.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Relationship of Socioeconomic Characteristics and Satisfaction with Housing

A. Introduction

Socioeconomic characteristics and socioeconomic status for each of the three sub-groups under study were presented, explored and analyzed in the previous chapter. Earlier in chapter five housing quality and satisfaction for each sub-ethnic group were explored and analyzed. Now I will analyze, using the results of my 1983 survey of Nabulsians, the interrelationships between in the one hand several socioeconomic variables-such as family size, age of the household head, educational level, and occupation of the household head- and on the other hand satisfaction with housing for all the Nabulsians within the survey area regardless of the place of birth of the head of household. Expressed as a question, this guiding interest asks, is satisfaction with housing related to residents' socioeconomic characteristics? In answering, I may refer to but, will not analyze the interrelationships between housing quality variables- such as the dwelling units' interior; its space, facilities, and amenities : the date

of building the house; and the occupant's ownership or tenancy status.

Correlations between residential satisfaction variables -such as, the direct question about housing satisfaction, -are you satisfied with your house? the intention to move question, and finally the question about the heads' of household home evaluation, and socioeconomic variables are expected to be high. The direct question, measuring housing satisfaction, had two possible responses "yes" or "no". This was adequate and reliably discriminating since the distinctions between two values of Becker's three valued variable, commonly used to measure housing satisfaction, were unclear to both the interviewer and interviewed " (Becker, 1974, p. 191). The clear difference between very much and fairly well, in Becker's measuring, is unclear for both the interviewer and the interviewed. There is also very little perceptual or statistical distance between the responses of being very satisfied with your housing and being fairly well satisfied. Therefore I preferred to use "yes" instead. Accordingly, if residents perceive their housing conditions as excellent or good I expect them to exhibit higher degrees of satisfaction and lesser intentions to move. Although knowing whether a resident intends to move or not accurately measures residential mobility can not be used alone to explain mobility or satisfaction. Mobility may in some instances be viewed as

an intervening variable. Among those who have studied mobility, Speare, 1974, who found out that there is a strong inverse relationship between satisfaction and the intention to move , in spite of the weak relationship between satisfaction and actual moves. He also found that satisfaction was much more highly correlated with the wish to move than were a series of background variables usually considered important in mobility decisions (1974, pp:180-195). The findings of the present study are consonant with the expectation that there is a strong association between satisfaction and the intention to move. Those who reported no intention to move reported higher levels of satisfaction than those who reported an intention to move. It is noteworthy that when heads of household were asked to evaluate their housing conditions, they were not given any scale with which to measure their responses with, rather they were asked to make an evaluation based upon their perception of their residence. For both the interviewer and the interviewed it was difficult to define good housing because of conceptual and methodological difficulties. It is beyond the scope of this study to examine these difficulties. After considering these difficulties I decided to collect data on residents' evaluation of their housing using the popular and commonly used school evaluation system which almost everybody is familiar with. Then, I collapsed the five categories appearing in the respondents' questionnaire into three categories: good, fair

and needs repair.

Studies of residential satisfaction almost always show high levels of satisfaction (Andrews and Breslauer, 1976; Becker, 1974; Campbell, et al. 1976; Cooper, 1970). Though some studies showed differences in levels of satisfaction. Sociologists studying the relationships between satisfaction with housing variables and socioeconomic variables have yet to find consistent differences. In regard to the purpose of this study I will not investigate such differences but will introduce them when necessary(*) . Among those who have studied residential satisfaction, Hillman. In a paper comparing studies done on residential satisfaction in new towns in Britain, Scotland, Finland, Sweden, and the U.S., Hillman pointed out that most residents, when asked about their satisfaction with their residence, reported that they are generally satisfied. In spite of some complaints residents appeared to have adjusted to their communities since they reported satisfaction (Hillman, 1974, pp. 8-13). Another study conducted by Western et al., 1974, compared data from two surveys of housing satisfaction in Singapore. They concluded that despite the vast differences in housing type and location, both samples not only registered relatively

(*) It is noteworthy that factors associated with satisfaction are best understood when information is available about all of them. But their diversity and complexity make it difficult for any one researcher to investigate all of them at once.

high levels of overall satisfaction with their housing but also voiced highly similar concerns about their housing conditions . Becker , 1974, examined the results of his study with reference to background variables of the respondents and it was found that satisfaction was related to family composition. Families with no children and young children were the least satisfied; the elderly were the most satisfied. To the contrary, Gulick et. al. found no relationship between satisfaction and number of children in a family. However, couples without children (especially those whose children had grown up and left home) were the most satisfied ,and those with children under the age of six years were the least satisfied.

Satisfaction has also been found to be related to income : high income residents are significantly more satisfied than moderate income residents (Becker, 1974, pp.192-196). Campbell et al. 1976, found that satisfaction with housing was found to be lowest for those in the lower middle income group (1976, pp: 225). They also reported that people 65 years of age and older reported substantially higher satisfaction than those 18-24 years (1976. pp:225).In other words they found a positive relationship between increasing age and increasing satisfaction. Specifically, they pointed out that those who were most satisfied were those who were the least well-educated (1976. pp:225-226). They argued in general that there is an inverse relationship

between level of education and the degree of satisfaction (1976. pp:136-145). Gulick et al. in a study of newcomers in a North Carolina community, found a U-shaped relationship between housing satisfaction and education (1962. pp:324-325). Housing satisfaction has also been found to be related to marital status by Andrews and Withey 1976, who in particular found differences in satisfaction between those who were married and those who were unmarried. With regard to the relationship between gender and satisfaction with housing, Campbell et al., 1976 found that housing knowledge of genders provides the researcher with no knowledge of satisfaction (Campbell et al. 1976, pp: 287-91).

A. Relationship between Satisfaction with Housing and the Size of the Household.

The aforementioned studies indicates that a number of social characteristics have been found to be related to residential. satisfaction more frequently or more strongly than others. The findings of this study suggest the same. Some are consistent with previous findings and some differ. Throughout this chapter the findings of my study will be reported for each variable separately rather than by reference to any standard socioeconomic status scale

which is usually constructed by education, occupation and income variables. I did, however, cross tabulated several socioeconomic characteristics with the three measures of satisfaction mentioned earlier. And findings relevant to the social characteristics of the respondents are summarized here. With regard to the relationship between satisfaction with housing and the sex of the heads of household, based upon the findings of my study, I found that female heads of households to be more satisfied than male heads of households, with 81% reported satisfaction compared to 77% for the male heads of household. The cause of such differences has to be investigated, those causes are beyond the scope of this study. With regard to two other variables, studies conducted in the U.S. reported that birthplace or ethnicity was found to have no association with satisfaction with housing. These studies reported variations in satisfaction, but no regular patterns of variation in satisfaction among different ethnic groups were discernible. Becker, (1974), found no association between ethnicity and satisfaction, whereas Campbell et al., 1976, found some variation. The present study showed that rural migrants were the most satisfied with their housing with 81% reporting satisfaction while the other two ethnic groups were somewhat less satisfied with the refugees least satisfied and the urbanites medially satisfied.

Each of the three measures of satisfaction, the direct

question about satisfaction with housing, the respondent's evaluation of their housing and their intention to move statement was cross-tabulated separately with the size of the household.

The needs of children have been often emphasized in the literature on residential satisfaction, as evidenced by the almost universal research practice of ascertaining whether children inhabit the home, and if so how many. Where these needs normally become expressed is not in matters of mortgages, interest rates and other financial considerations, for children's needs are indisputably different from adults because their worldly knowledge is yet small, but in considerations of facilities usefull to children. Indeed, studies have found that the presence or absence of play facilities for children systematically influences adult's reporting of residential satisfaction (Lansing, et al., 1975; Cooper, 1975). Other studies dealt with the relationships between residential satisfaction and the number of children in the household; Gulick et al., (1962), and Andrews and Whitney have shown that satisfaction remains constant regardless of how many children there are at the home. Turning to my study, the reader must remember that Palestine has a different culture than America's, and that satisfactions needs and the like may be conceived differently. Since children are treated radically different in Nablus, where parental demands on

children are high, the characterizations of their needs will be culturally dependent.. Even though children are financial " liabilities," their absence within the family structure engenders Nabulsians will not collect old age pensions, Retirement benifits are scarce and when found are not sufficient and can not secure the parents' old age needs . So when typical adult thinks about sickness ,being old and disabilities , normally visited upon one in old age, he visualizes a declining or nonexistent income. But he also visualizes maturing children who ought to act as benefactors, as he acted towards them in their youth. They are in their youth the future helpers, the food providers, and the highest yielding "investment " when sources become tight, especially during old age . This situation forced many to get married at earlier stages of life. For these newly wed couples the biggest rewarding challenge of their life is to bring up their children , to equip and to prepare them with compassion and knowledge adequate to handle life's opportunities, responsibilities, and carry on the burdens of life. Therefore,given a median household size within the survey areas of eight -nine members. I concluded that Nabulsians consider children to be vital and necessary, and because of their overlapping ages acting as a continuous resource for the future. The larger the family the more space its members needs. At least conceptually, a satisfactory fulfillment of this simple function ought to induce satisfaction with one's housing. Yet in the world of

social reality, where more cash is needed to raise children and where the deteriorating Palestinian economy is less able to generate such cash, I expect that family resources instead of being used to acquire more home space or to improve the family's housing conditions go to raising the children. Thus with each new family member, demands for the use of common facilities increase probably making the residential environment more unsatisfactory. Therefore I expected a negative relationship between satisfaction with housing and the number of children in the household. Such expectations, however, are not supported by my findings. Data presented on table 7-1 shows satisfaction by the size of the household in percentage.

Data presented in table 7-1 shows that satisfaction with housing is more likely to increase as family size increases. Households of three five members and nine members or more, reported the highest percentage of satisfaction with 83 percent satisfied, far above that reported by one and two member families, 76 percent. With regard to the two other measures of satisfaction: the intention to stay and the residents' evaluation of their residence. Those families of nine members and more showed the highest percentage of those reported no intention to move. It generally appears that larger families have stronger intentions to remain in their present home. The families with the strongest intentions to move are these

families with one or two members.

Table 7-1

Satisfaction with Housing ,as measured by Three Variables, by Size of the Household, Nablus, 1983.

	Family Size			
	1-2	3-5	6-8	9 @ +
1. Satisfied				
Yes	76%	83%	82%	83%
No	24%	17%	18%	17%
Total	N.707 (100%)	1419 (100%)	297 (100%)	29 (100%)
2. Intention to Stay				
Yes	61%	69%	68%	83%
No	39%	31%	32%	17%
Total	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
3. Evaluation of Residence				
Good	32%	36%	36%	52%
Fair	51%	50%	51%	34%
Needs repair	17%	14%	13%	14%
Total Males	N.(317)	N. (708)	N. (179)	N. (22)
Females	N.(390)	N. (711)	N. (118)	N. (7)
(Percentages total 100%)				

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

But life cycle may, in this case of the smallest family be a confounding factor since many small families are made up of newly married couples who have no solid economic base, who have just began to establish their lives, and

who relegate most expectations to the future. With regard to residents' evaluation of their residence, the present study found that the increase in family size was accompanied by an increase in the percentage of those who evaluated their houses as good . The group with the highest percentage of houses needing repair is the one two member group followed by the three five and the nine or more groups. Differences between the three five and six eight member groups are insignificant with regard to their evaluation of their houses.

B. Relationship between Residential Satisfaction
and the Age of the Head of Household.

The literature presented earlier in the introduction to this chapter showed that increasing age is positively associated with residential satisfaction (Andrews and Withey, 1976; Campbell et al., 1976; Becker, 1974). The findings of my study do not exhibit such an association . Data presented in the following table shows residential satisfaction by the age of the head of household.

Momentarily glancing at table 7-2, the reader detects a curvilinear relationship between residential satisfaction and age of the household head . That is, as age increases residential satisfaction increases,.

Table 7-2

Residential Satisfaction by Age, Nablus, 1983, in percentages.

	Age of the head of household				
	Under 30	30-40	40-49	50-59	60 @ +
1. Satisfied					
Yes	69%	77%	80%	79%	78%
No	31%	23%	20%	21%	22%
Totals	N. 121	N. 317	N. 368	N. 255	N. 165

All percentages total 100

2. Intention to Stay

Yes	66%	66%	66%	69%	67%
No	34%	34%	34%	31%	33%
Totals	N. 122	N. 316	N. 368	N. 255	N. 165

All percentages total 100

3. Residence Evaluation

Good	36%	40%	40%	33%	24%
Fair	54%	48%	47%	49%	55%
Needs repair	10%	12%	13%	18%	20%
Totals	N. 117	N. 317	N. 369	N. 256	N. 167

All percentages total 100

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

but after the age of 59 the reverse occurs. Those who are in the 40-49 cohort showed the highest percentage of reported residential satisfaction. The least satisfied were

those heads of household who are under 30 years of age . The 30-39 age group showed slightly more satisfaction than heads under 30 years. As previously mentioned, satisfaction is a psychological variable; thus the range of individual variation is large. . What may be satisfactory to an individual may be dissatisfactory to another because of personal differences socially unquantifiable.

Looking at the other two indicators of satisfaction; the intention to stay and the resident's evaluation of his/her residence. I failed to discover an association between a resident's intention to stay and his age. But regardless of age, household heads who intend to stay in their current homes tend to be highly satisfied. With regard to the heads of households' evaluation of their residence. Respondents were asked to evaluate their residence by choosing one of five descriptive categories : excellent, very good, good, fair and needs repair. These categories were then collapsed into three categories : excellent and very good became one category called good, good and fair became fair, thirdly the needs repair category remained unaltered. When considering the effect of age, I found much variation in heads of household's evaluation of their residence. Among all age groups, those in their 30s and 40s showed the highest percentage of residential satisfaction. Those in their 60s reported the highest percentage of houses needing repair. It is noteworthy that these age group had inherited houses or

built them with their limited resources and without complying with building codes and regulations. Logically their homes should be more frequently in need of repair because the structures are aging and were built deficiently. be considered outdated. To further examine the impact of age upon housing satisfaction , I cross tabulated age with residential satisfaction for five nabulsian districts. The findings are presented in the following table in percentages.

Table 7-3

Residential Satisfaction in Five Districts by Age, Nablus, 1983.

District	Under 30		30-39		40-49		50-59		60 @ +	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
I	5%	2%	17%	6%	21%	8%	17%	5%	15%	4%
II	7	6	21	9	17	12	9	8	6	5
III	7	4	23	4	31	2	17	2	11	2
IV	8	0	26	2	32	0	24	2	6	1
V	12	5	18	9	23	4	16	4	7	3

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

According to the data presented in table 7-3 showed those living in district IV showed the highest percentage of residential satisfaction . Among all other age groups followed by the residents of district III . The least satisfied age group were those under 30 years living in

district one . Regardless of district of residence, those under 30 years old were the least satisfied.

C.Relationship between Satisfaction with Housing and Educational Attainment of the head of the household.

Educational attainment for each sub-ethnic group was presented, explored, and analyzed in chapter six, where a measure of socioeconomic status was constructed. In this section of this chapter I will is to analyze the relationship between measures of satisfaction with housing in one hand and one component of socioeconomic status - educational attainment- of the head of household in the other. A working hypothesis I propose : Those of higher educational status are more likely to be satisfied with their housing. They are also more likely to have higher intentions to move from their houses because they probably make more money than those with less education, allowing them more choices and widen in the housing market (Michelson, 1977). With regard to the relationship between satisfaction with housing and the educational attainment. The literature presented throughout this chapter supports different views. Gulick et al., 1962 found a U-shaped relationship between satisfaction with housing and education - those who were best and least educated were

most satisfied . Whereas, Campbell et al., 1976 found an inverse relationship between the two. Andrews and Withey, 1976, found no differences in satisfaction with housing between different levels of education.

The relationship between educational attainment and income was presented and analyzed in chapter six. I found that the relationship between income and education is weak (see chapter six). I have also found a strong positive relationship between educational attainment and residential satisfaction . This means any increase in educational level is accompanied by an increase in reported satisfaction. Whereas 64 percent of illiterate heads reported satisfaction with their housing compared to 79 percent of those with 1-12 years of schooling and 81 percent of those college degrees reported satisfaction. With regard to the relationship between the intention to stay and educational level of the head of household . The relationship is of the curvilinear type. That is, an increase in educational level is normally accompanied by an increased intention to stay . Any increase in educational level above a certain level will not result in an increase in a person's intention to move. That is, those with college degrees did not show higher intentions to move , rather they showed a lesser intention. The high percentage of reported satisfaction complies with the overall findings of other studies (Cooper, 1970; Becker, 1974; Campbell et

al., 1976). Data presented in table 7-4 shows satisfaction with housing of the head of household by his/her educational attainment.

I expect that highly educated people like their homes more than moderately or scantily educated people. The findings of this study are consistent with this. Table 7-4 indicates the percentage of those who are best educated, who perceived their housing as good, is higher than the percentage of those heads with lower educational level.

Table 7-4 shows that forty eight percent of those with college degrees evaluated their houses as good, compared to 20 percent of the illiterates. Only 9 percent of the houses occupied by college educated household heads reported their homes to be in need of repair while 20 percent of those with 1-12 years of schooling needed repair. Illiterate heads had the lowest proportion of those who evaluated their homes as good. They had the highest percentage in the two categories, fair and needs repair. In sum, the findings of the present study show that within the survey area there is a strong positive relationship between satisfaction with housing and educational attainment of the heads of household exists in Nabulsian society. Table 7-4 shows satisfaction of head of household by educational attainment of heads, Nablus, 1983.

Table 7-4

Satisfaction by Educational Attainment of the Head
of Household ,Nablus. 1983.

1. Satisfied -----	Illiterate -----	1-12 years of schooling -----	Beyond High School -----
Yes	64%	79%	81%
No	36%	21%	20%
	----- 100%	----- 100%	----- 100%
 2. Intention to stay -----			
Yes	63%	68%	65%
No	37%	33%	35%
	----- 100%	----- 100%	----- 100%
 3. Residence Evaluation -----			
Good	20%	35%	48%
Fair	48%	45%	43%
Needs repair	32%	20%	9%
Total (Ns.)	----- 154	----- 867	----- 205

Source: Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

Table 7-4 shows that satisfaction is strongly related to the educational level of the head of household. Those highly educated heads reported high satisfaction, high evaluation of their residence. Their relative middle score in their intention to move might be attributable to the district of residence as some of them live in district one.

D. Relationship between Satisfaction with Housing and the Occupation of the Head of Household.

Chapter six earlier discussed the occupational achievement of the three ethnic groups under study. It also discussed the relationships between the constitute variables used to specify socioeconomic status : education, occupation and income. The findings in chapter six showed that the relationship between occupation and income is stronger than that between education and income. In the light of these findings I will form the following hypotheses to guide my presentation in this subsection : Those with higher income are more likely to have more chances to select satisfying homes. The focus, then in particular , will be : Those in higher status occupations tend to be more satisfied than those in the lower status occupations.

Satisfaction is more likely to be related to occupational status. That is enhancing the expectation : Those who are the most satisfied with their housing are more likely to be skilled and to be engaged in high status occupations and vice versa. In the sample as a whole satisfaction was most often expressed by those in the industrial, trade, and retail commerce occupations, of whom 82 percent were satisfied compared to 77 percent of those in administrative and governmental jobs. In the negative, the general level of dissatisfaction was highest among the

selfemployed and the unknown or other occupational divisions. Data presented in table 7-5 show satisfaction with housing for the head of household and his/her occupational achievement.

Earlier in chapter six, I constructed an occupational index, where the selfemployed and the unknown, or the other, all occupied the lower status. The administrative and governmental employees occupied the middle status and industrial, trade and retail commerce occupied the highest status. It is a fact that higher income is associated with wider housing choices and consequently produces higher housing satisfaction, this guides me, as a working hypothesis, to generally expect those holding low status, low paying jobs to be dissatisfied with their housing, and to specifically expect my study's sample. Because it embodies such a large number of low status workers- 56 percent hold low status jobs-to have a low level of housing satisfaction.

Compiled data in table 7-5 shows all three measures of housing satisfaction form positive association with the variable occupational status. In order to grasp and delineate the complete nature of housing satisfaction I want to individually explore each measure of satisfaction. First, although fully three-quarters or more of all household heads, regardless of occupational status, are satisfied with their housing, more high status heads are

satisfied. Second, like wise a large segment -

Table 7-5

Satisfaction with Housing by Occupation / Status of
the Head of Households, Nablus, 1983.

	Selfemployed @ Other	Administrative @ Governmental	Industrial, Trade @ Commerce
1.Satisfied	(LOW)	(MIDDLE)	(HIGH)
-----	-----	-----	-----
Yes	77%	75%	82%
No	23%	25%	18%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
2.Intention to Stay			

Yes	64%	64%	77%
No	36%	36%	23%
Totals	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
3.Residence Evaluation			

Good	29%	38%	51%
Fair	54%	47%	40%
Needs repair	17%	15%	9%
Totals	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Ns.	(725)	(231)	(270)

Source:Author's survey, Nablus, 1983.

at minimum two-thirds of each status group- of all household heads demonstrate housing satisfaction by indicating their intention to remain housed where are . The high status heads, more often intend to remain and thus are, again the most satisfied. Third, while half of the

high status household heads appear highly satisfied with their housing , indicated by fifty one percent who evaluated their residences as good, half of the intermediate status and half of the low status heads appear only moderately satisfied. This is indicated by about half of each group evaluating their residence as fair. Unlike the other two reasons , the proportion of those recording high housing satisfaction - a good evaluation - progressively level of housing satisfaction is recorded becomes larger. Each time occupational status is incremented- from low to middle and from middle to high. These discriminatory powers perhaps suggest that residential evaluation is the best measure of housing satisfaction.

Despite my expectation that surveyed Nabulsians would be dissatisfied with their housing , primarily because of their low occupational status and low income , two of the three satisfaction measures showed most of them to be highly satisfied with their housing .

Data presented earlier in table 6-4 _ chapter six - occupational distribution of the Nabulsians, showed that 41% of all the Nabulsians were selfemployed and 15% of them were engaged in the unknown or the other employment group. This means that over half of the interviewed heads had low occupational status. Those who occupy the high occupational status constitute only 12% of the interviewed . The middle status group constitutes one third of the

respondents. It is thus more likely that those in the lower status occupations to be dissatisfied with their housing and those in the higher status to be satisfied . Table 7.5 showed that those in the lower status occupations are more satisfied than those in the middle status occupations with 77% of them satisfied compared to 75% for the middle status occupations. It also shows that there is an association between high occupational status and satisfaction with housing . It shows that those in industry , trade and retail commerce - high status occupations- are the most satisfied group with 82% of them reported satisfied. With regard to the intention to stay, those in high status occupations showed a high intention to stay in their residence more than the two other occupational groups. Those in the lower status occupations showed the highest intention to move. Residence evaluation as good was higher for the high status occupational group than the other two occupational status groups. Low status occupations had the highest percentage of those houses which need repair and the lowest percentage of houses reported as good . This low status occupational group had the highest percentage of those houses which were evaluated as fair . Those in administrative and governmental occupations- middle status- were in the middle in their evaluation of their housing . It is noteworthy that the median houses which were evaluated as good reached 39% of

the total compared to a 47% median for those houses which were evaluated as fair. The median needs repair houses was 14%. It is surprisingly that those medians can be read as actual percentages for the evaluation of those who are in the middle status occupations.

Summary and Conclusions

Measuring housing satisfaction is a difficult task especially when it involves a cross section of a city where uniqueness , cultural diversity , complicated political situation and above all people who have never been exposed to surveys. The difficulty also stems from the absence of a comparison group or of similar studies conducted in the same geographical setting . The findings were presented and compared to studies done in different economic social, political and cultural settings. Never the less the present study, took the generally used method of measuring housing satisfaction into consideration ,used a modified method of its own to measure and explain the relationships between satisfaction with housing and several social and economic characteristics of the respondents. It confined its measures to the widely used measures; the direct question about satisfaction, the mobility intentions and the evaluative indicators. Together they made up the measure used to study the abovementioned relationships. A

technical evaluation of these measures' reliability and validity is beyond the scope of this study.

This chapter explored and analyzed the relationships between satisfaction with housing and some of the socioeconomic characteristics of the households within the survey areas in Nablus. In conclusion, the findings can be summarized as follows:

1. With regard to gender, women heads of household show a slightly higher percentage of residential satisfaction than male heads.

2. Rural migrants have a higher percentage of satisfaction with their housing than the two other Palestinian groups.

3. Residential satisfaction increases with the increase in family size. Those households with three to five members and with nine members and more report the highest percentage of satisfaction.

4. The relationship between residential satisfaction and age of heads of household is of the curvilinear type.

5. A strong positive relationship between educational attainment of the head of household and satisfaction with housing exist.

6. Satisfaction with housing and the occupation of the head of household is strongly related. Namely those who are in the higher status occupations are the most satisfied.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Rather than writing a final summary of the findings of each chapter, I opted to present this summary sub-chapter:

The chapter on the ecological organization of the city focuses on the forces underlying the spatial arrangement of Nablus. Land use patterns are discussed with reference to the three major theories; the concentric zone theory, the sector theory, and the multiple nuclei theory. The findings indicate that the spatial arrangements of Nablus can not be explained and understood by these theories only. Though some spatial arrangements of the city comply with these theories as presented in chapter three . The city reflects the Islamic influence and the description of preindustrial cities introduced by Sjoberg. As was the case in the European baroque town ; every thing is oriented around the palace, the great mosque area still polarizes most of peoples' activities. The city faces many difficulties, best described by one of the city officials who when asked about the city problems and its future he said ; because of the unplanned growth of the city, the massive migration of Palestinians and the surrounding camps in which they live, the stagnant economic conditions , 17 years of occupation, and the absence of a national government .The city's future is uncertain and cannot be predicted . But, also because

the city's department of planning could not enforce and implement its building regulations. Therefore land use patterns are not uniformed and mixed land uses exist in every district of the city. Th city's attempt to move existing machine and mechanic shops to the designated industrial areas in the east and the west will eventually result in the separation of noxious uses from residential areas. Thus, alleviating mixed land uses. The enforcement of planning codes and regulations in the newer districts made them more attractive than the central area.

Throughout the study the dominance of the central area is clear and evidenced both in population density and businesses concentration. Recently advantaged members of elite families moved out of the central area, leaving the disadvantaged brothers holding to their property. In such respect the outward fanning of elites to the periphery, the city's ecology will resemble that of the western cities. Furthermore, the creeping of new offices and administrative buildings to the C B D will reduce the important role of the great mosque, thus changing the ecology of the city. Except for the military compound all government offices are found in this area. Though the magnitude of its appeal is no longer strong it is still the center of most activities. The central area is not the home of rural migrants, like western cities. With regard to residential satisfaction, only 75% of all the respondents

within this area reported satisfied . In this respect they match those reported satisfied in district 5 , Satisfaction reported in other districts 88% in district 3 , 96% in district 4 and 60% in district 2. The area to the west of the central area is not attractive, thus people living in this area usually report high intentions to move. Among those who are already living in this area only 51% wanted to stay . This high percentage of those who want to move out of this district together with the low percentage - 11%- of those who want to move to it, make that area undesirable like central areas of western cities. Among the surveyed districts the central area has the most diversified uses , and the mosque is still the center around which economic and some social activities concentrate. District III, which may be considered exclusive showed some similarity in physical conditions with district IV. Houses within these districts are relatively new, 61% of the houses in district III were built after 1967 and 67% of district IV houses were built after 1967. The differences in socioeconomic characteristics were larger. Within the surveyed district there were no ethnic clusterings , except for the Samaritan Jews, who cluster in the foot hills of Jerzim mountain. The city could not be divided into distinctive ethnic districts. I also found that neither of the surveyed districts is dominated by any of the three Palestinian sub-ethnic groups : traditional urbanites, rural migrants, and

Palestinian refugees, except for the camps which are inhabited by the refugees.

The five surveyed districts display a variety of housing conditions and diversified socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents. Throughout the study the three Palestinian sub-groups were compared with each other with respect to housing quality, socioeconomic characteristics, and housing satisfaction. Surveyed districts were also compared with each other using the aforementioned measures. Overcrowding is a measure of housing quality includes: persons per room ratio, the difference between the less overcrowded and the high one is 1.3 persons . The highly crowded district is V with 3.0 persons per room ratio, the less crowded district, III with 1.7 persons per room ratio. The other three districts have the same ratio of 2.3 persons per room. Besides another measure of overcrowding -persons per housing unit ratio- was used. I found that the lowest ratio is found in district II with 7.2 persons per housing unit ratio, the highest ratio is in district V with 11.3 persons per housing unit. For the other districts the ratios are : 7.5 , 7.8, and 10.0 for districts I , III, and IV respectively. Another measure of housing quality , the age of the house . The major difference is between district I which is old and districts III, IV and to a greater extent , the relatively new district V . With regard to indoor facilities :

Plumbing, bathroom and kitchen, the differences are big, especially between district I, which lacks some of the aforementioned categories. In this district, 39% of the houses have no plumbing facilities, 76% have no bathrooms and 35% have no kitchen. In contrast houses in district IV almost do not lack any of these facilities. District IV superceeded all other districts in housing quality followed by district III, V, II and I. Homeownership versus rent within the surveyed districts prevailed some differences. District I has the highest percentage of renters occupied houses 38%, followed by district IV with 34% and district II with 22%. The other two districts IV and III have lower renters. Only 2% in district IV residents are renters, while 45% of district III are renters. With regard to building material, stone houses dominate the central area while brick and concrete houses dominate district III. Brick is mainly found in district II.

Using the differentiating categories mentioned earlier, the three Palestinian sub-ethnic groups show variations. Traditional urbanites dominate district I, while Palestinian Refugees live mainly in district II. Rural migrants can be found in district V and I. Traditional urbanites persons per room ratio reaches 2.02 while the ratio for rural migrants is 2.3 and 2.4 for the refugees. With respect to the date of building the house, traditional urbanites have the highest percentage of pre 1967 built houses. They also have the newest houses or those houses

which were built during 1980-1983. Stone is the main building material of traditional urbanites' houses. 75% of their houses were built of stone, while only 23% were of brick. As for the rural migrants 66% of their houses are built of stone and 31% are built of brick. Traditional urbanites report the highest percentage of homeownership with 69 percent of them homeowners, while rural migrants own only 8 percent of their houses.

With regard to indoor facilities differences among the three groups are clear. The refugees have the lowest percentage of homes lacking plumbing facilities, 80% of houses without plumbing are inhabited by refugees. 72 percent of the houses without bathrooms are inhabited by traditional urbanites. Only 10 percent of the houses without kitchen belong to rural migrants, compared to 20% of the refugees'. Rural migrants' houses are generally better equipped with indoor facilities than any other group's.

Measures of socioeconomic characteristics employed are : educational attainment of heads of households, occupational achievement of heads and annual family income. Data collected suggest that differences in socioeconomic characteristics among rural migrants, traditional urbanites and Palestinian refugees, all of whom live in Nablus, are insignificant, but show a deviance from the common norm. Because of insignificant differences among the three sub-

groups under study, social integration and quick assimilation among the three sub-groups might alleviate any clustering or sub-grouping. Rural migrants are generally better educated than the other two groups. Traditional urbanites have the lowest illiteracy among the three groups. Palestinian refugees have the highest proportion in the low status jobs. Rural migrants' proportion in low status jobs is the lowest, their percentage in the high and middle status occupations is the highest among the three groups. With regard to income rural migrants reported the highest percentage of those with high income, traditional urbanites the second.

Surveyed districts show also insignificant differences, with regard to the socioeconomic characteristics of their inhabitants. District I shows the extremes; it houses 42% of the those with graduate degrees, and at the same time, has the highest percentage of illiterate people. This might be explained by the presence of influential families who did not move out of this district. This district also lacks behind in preparatory and secondary schooling. District IV comes next to district I in having those with graduate degrees, with 21%. The district with the lowest illiterate people is district V. With regard to occupation district III is where those engaged in industrial activities live, 40% of them live in this area. District I is the home of the self employed, among those who live in this district 45% are self

employed. Those who live in district II are mainly in the unknown or the other employment category. District IV comes second in housing those engaged in administrative jobs. Districts II and V have the same share of those who held governmental jobs. District III and IV report a high median income than the other districts. Residents of district V had the lowest median income.

The study deals also with the push /pull forces, that affect rural/ urban migration. Because of the continuous improvement in rural areas living conditions, relative improvements in transportation - half an hour is the time between any single village and its urban center- , the availability of educational facilities, the increased cost of living in cities and above all the periodic curfew imposed on cities made rural areas livable. Therefore, I found that the paradigmatic migratory hypothesis of Young, Maunder and others - all indicating a selective process funnelling mostly the young, the better educated, and more skilled into migratory stream - cannot explain rural migration to Nablus. This period witnesses a reverse migratory stream from urban to rural. Those who are employed in the city, generally can afford a car, which can be considered income producing, because they use it in transporting other people. Rural migrants first residence and their movements within the city were difficult to obtain therefore, I did not discuss.

Demographic characteristics of the three sub-groups are explored in chapter VI. Marital status, age, sex ratio and family size. I found insignificant differences. Traditional urbanites has the lowest percentage -87%- of those married heads of household. Palestinian refugees married heads of households reach 92%, compared to 90% of the rural migrants. With regard to age of the heads of household, 15% of the rural household heads are 60 years or older, compared to 11% for the Palestinian refugees within this age category. Traditional urbanites household heads who are 60 years or older reached 14%. Difference in sex ratio was clearer especially between the Palestinian refugees whose sex ratio is 121, compared to 101 for the traditional urbanites and 108 for the rural migrants. Traditional urbanites have the lowest average family size or the ratio of persons per housing unit of 7.8 members while rural migrants' average family size reaches 9.6 members and the refugees' ratio reached 9.4 .

Surveyed districts showed some variation with regard to their inhabitants' demographic characteristics. District V has 91% of its households are headed by a male husband , compared to 90% for the households in district III. District I has the lowest percentage of those households headed by the husband, 80% of their houses are headed by the husband while district II with 87% and district IV with 86%. I found that district I is the home of the elderly 56% heads of households were 60 years or

older. It is also the home of those household heads who were 20 years or younger, in this respect district II have the same percentage of 43%. District IV housed the younger household heads, 7% of them were 60 years or older. Sex ratio differences were insignificant. Sex ratios found in the five districts were in order I-V : 100, 113 , 112 ,113 , and 118 successively. The differences with regard to family size reached 2.1. The highest average family size was found in district IV with 8.5 members, and district V with 8.0 members compared to 6.4 members for district I and 6.6 members in district II, and 7.9 members in district III.

The study addressed variations in housing satisfaction among the three Palestinian sub-groups. Chapter IV dealt with the housing conditions in the surveyed districts. Satisfaction with housing was the focus of chapters V and VII. Palestinian sub-groups reported variation in housing satisfaction. Rural migrants have a higher percentage of satisfaction with their housing than the two other Palestinian groups. Women heads of household show a slightly higher percentage of satisfaction than the male heads. The relationship between residential satisfaction and the age of heads of household is of the curvilinear type. a strong positive relationship between educational attainment of the head of household and satisfaction with housing exist. Satisfaction with housing is strongly

related to family income and the occupation of the head of household . Residential satisfaction increases with the increase in family size.

Districts showed variations among their residents in housing satisfaction. Residents in district IV have the highest percentage of satisfaction 96 percent report satisfied, followed by those in district III with 88 percent reported satisfied. The lowest reported satisfaction is in district V with 60% while districts I and V reported the same percentage of satisfaction of 75 percent. District I shows the lowest percentage of those who wanted to remain there, 51% want to remain while 79% of the residents in district IV want to remain. Residents in district III report the highest percentage among those who want to remain in their district, 85 percent report such intention to remain.

Nabulsians , who reported an intention to move , choose Rafidia and El Jabal El Shamalih areas more than other districts. It is clear that neither the geographical location , nor the availabilty of public services and life facilitating infrastructure, that attract Nabulsians to these areas, rather it is merely the social benefit gained from living in such exclusive localities. The high appeal of these areas will shape the future growth of the city as well as the redistribution of social and economic activities. It is noteworthy that land value in these areas is high, therefore, income will determine not only the

physical environment but the social fabric as well. There is another less expensive area in the east, which appeals less than the aforementioned area. Therefore, those who cannot afford moving to the exclusive areas will, if actually move, reside in this area. It is clear that income and affordability will alter present Nablus.

The findings of this study are unique to the situation of urban growth, relationships between housing quality and satisfaction with housing for three Palestinian sub-groups, and the exploration of the relationships between socioeconomic characteristics and housing satisfaction for the same ethnic groups. Throughout this study my focus is on the similarities and differences between my case study and the findings of other studies in different parts of the world. Because of the cultural similarities between Nablus and other Middle Eastern cities, the findings of this study are applicable to other cities especially in the West Bank, which live under the same conditions, and other cities in the region.

Throughout this study I tended not to deal in detail with some crucial factors that affect persons' residential satisfaction, their socioeconomic characteristics, their first residence, the movements they had made during their life either in the city or before moving to the city and their effect on the ecology of the city. Some of these factors which need further investigation include:

Prominency and the derived prestige a person can benefit from being born to an influential family, and the traditionally ascribed social tasks they have to perform, have also great effect on persons socioeconomic statuses and the related residential satisfaction. Culture and traditions still affect peoples' lives and to an extent achievements. Political circumstances do not only retard the construction process but leave West Bankers as well as Nabulsians in a state of uncertainty not only about their present life but their future as well. Including in political circumstances is, the role of the Jordan government, the Israeli military governor and the Palestinian Liberation Organization which affect peoples' movement, residential satisfaction and socioeconomic status as well. The validity of the findings of this study has to be assessed in the light of the aforementioned factors together with the stages of technological developments, the introduction and usage of these developments by the West Bankers . The applicability and the generalization of the findings of this study to other third world cities , because of the unique political, cultural , economic and social circumstances, are misleading, and have to be used carefully.

Questionnaire

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful,

Housing and Population characteristics in Nablus 1983.

	<u>card</u>	<u>column</u>	<u>V.res.</u>
1.D NO. (_ _ _)	1	1-4	1. ___
2.D. Address: (District)	1	5	2. ___
			1. ___ 2. ___ 3. ___ 4. ___ 5. ___
3.D.A. Head of Household	1	6	3. ___
			1. Husband 2. Wife. 3. Son. 4. Daughter. 5. Relative.
B.No. of household residing in Nablus.	1	7_8 9_10	4. ___ 5. ___
			1. Males (_ _) 2. Females (_ _)
C.No. of immigrants from the household.	1	11_12 13_14	6. ___ 7. ___
			1. Males (_ _) 2. Females (_ _)
4.D. Where was the head of the household born	1	15	8. ___
			1. in Nablus. 2. in a village. 3. in other Palestinian area, (a refugee) 4. in a foriegn country
			(XX 16 -17)
5.D. Age of head of household	1	18	9. ___
			1. less than 20 years. 2. 20_29 years. 3. 30_39 years. 4. 40_49 years. 5. 50_59 years. 6. 60 years or over.

6.D. Marital status of head of household.	1. Married. 2. Widowed. 3. Divorced 4. Single.	1	19	10. ___
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7.D. Educational level of the head of household	1. Illiterate. 2. Elementary. 3. Preparatory. 4. Secondary. 5. Two years college. 6. B .A. or B.Sc. 7. Graduate.	1	20	11. ___
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8.D. Languages spoken by the head of household.	1. Only Arabic. 2. Arabic @ English. 3. Other, Specify()	1	21	12. ___
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9.D. No. of marriages of the head of household.	1. Once. 2. Twice 3. More than twice.	1	22	13. ___
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10.D. If the head of household married than once, where the second wife resides.	1. In the same house.	1	23	14. ___
	2. In the same city, (in different houses)	1	24	15. ___
	3. In different cities or villages.			

11.D. Occupation of head of household.	1. Self employed 2. Private, White collar job. 3. Industrial job. 4. Governmental job. 5. Trade and Commerce. 6. Unskilled labor.	1	25	16. ___
--	--	---	----	---------

12.D. Annual income(in Thousand J.D.)

1980		1982				
1. Less than 1.0	J.D.	1. LT 1.0	J.D.	1	26	17. ___
2. 1.0_ 1.99	J.D.	2. 1.0_ 1.9	J.D.	1	27	18. ___
3. 2.0_ 3.99	J.D.	3. 2.0_ 3.9	J.D.			
4. 4.0_ 5.99	J.D.	4. 4.0_ 5.9	J.D.			
5. 6.0_ 7.99	J.D.	5. 6.0_ 7.9	J.D.			
6. 8.0_ 9.99	J.D.	6. 8.0_ 9.9	J.D.			
7. 10.0 or Over	J.D.	7. 10.0 +	J.D.			

13.D.Place of work of head of household.	1.Nablus. 2.nearby suburbs. 3.other villages. 4.Other city.	1	28	19.____
14.D.Did you add any member of your family who lives permanently outside Nablus.	1.Yes 2.No	1	29	20.____
D. Did you add any visitors.	1.Yes 2.No.	1	30	21.____
15.H.No of living units.	1.One apt. 2.Two apts. 3.Three apts. 4.Four apts. 5.Five apts. 6.Six apts. 7.Seven apts @ +.	1	31	22.____
16.H. No of floors.	1.One floor. 2.Two floors. 3.Three floors. 4.Four floors and +	1	32	23.____
17.H. No of rooms in your apartment.	1.One room 2.Two rooms. 3.Three rooms. 4.Four rooms. 5.Five rooms. 6.Six rooms @ +	1	33	24.____
18.H.No. of bed rooms in your apartment.	1.One room 2.Two rooms. 3.Three rooms. 4.Four rooms. 5.Five rooms and +	1	34	25.____
19.H.What is the area of your apartment.	1.Less than 100 Sq.M. 2.100_ 149 Sq.M. 3.150_ 199 Sq.M. 4.200_ 249 Sq.M. 5.250_ 299 Sq.M 6.300_ 349 Sq.M. 7.350 and over.	1	35	26.____

20.H.Your house is built of	1.Stone 2.Bricks and concrete. 3.Stone and concrete. 4.Other.	1	36	27. ___
21.H.Do you own land ?	1.Own in Nablus. 2.Own in villages. 3.Own in other cities. 4.Do not own land. 5. 1+2.	1	37	28. ___
22.H.Apartment ownership.	1.Owned by the head of the household or any member of the family. 2.No rent (Superintendent) 3.Rented from the department of absentee. 4.Owner is a relative, (lives abroad.)	1	38	29. ___
23.H.Value of the house (Owner or guardian estimate.)	1.LT 12000.00 J.D. 2.12000.00_29999.00 J.D. 3.30000.00_44999.00 J.D. 4.45000.00_59999.00 J.D. 5.60000.00_74999.00 J.D. 6.75000.00_89999.00 J.D. 7.90000.00 J.D. and Over.	1	39	30. ___
24.H.If you pay rent how much is your monthly rent ?	1.LT 20.00 J.D. 2.20.00_39.00 J.D. 3.40.00_59.00 J.D. 4.60.00_79.00 J.D. 5.80.00_99.00 J.D. 6.100.00_119.00 J.D. 7.120.00_ J.D. and over.	1	40	31. ___
25.H.I live in the house because...	1.owner. 2.Inherited the land and built the house. 3.Rent is affordable. 4.Near my work. 5.Near my relatives. 6.Property is family owned. 7.Other, specify...	1	41	32. ___

XXX 42 ___43

26.S.Do you intend to stay in this house ?	1.Yes. 2.No.	1	44	33. __
27.S.Are you satisfied with your house ?	1.Yes 2.No.	1	45	34. __
28.S.If you think of moving where would you like to go (Within Nablus)	1.Same area. 2.Rafidia. 3.Public housing/Askar. 4.Northern Mountain. 5.Balata.	1	46	35. __
29.Our way to the house is.	1.From the street. 2.From a common entrance. 3.Other.....	1	47	36. __
30.H. The house was built.	1.1983_1980. 2.1979_1976. 3.1975_1970. 4.1969_1967. 5.Before 1967.	1	48	37. __
31.H.We resided in the house in..	1.1983_1980 2.1979_1976. 3.1975_1970. 4.1969_1967. 5.Before 1967.	1	49	38. __
32.H.We get water from..	1.A public system. 2.An individual well. 3.Other , specify.....	1	50	39. __
33.H.Sewerage	1.Connected to public sewer. 2.Connected to septic tank or cesspool. 3.Nothing, Other specify (.....)	1	51	40. __
34.H.Does the house have Plumbing facilities (Water pipes, sink,toilet, ..etc.)	1.Yes all of them 2.Shared with other house. 3.Half. 4.Nothing	1	52	41. __

35.H.Does the house have Bathroom facilities (Flushtoilet, sink, bathtub.)	1.Yes only one. 2.More than one. 3.Half. 4.Nothing.	1	53	42. __
36.H.Do you have a Kitchen ? (sink, refregerator, stove, running water, faucets.)	1.Yes. 2.No. 3.Half.	1	54	43. __
37.H.Monthly cost of energy (Kerosine, Deisel, Wood)	(Elect. @ Centr.Ht)	1	55	44. __
1.LT 5.00 J.D.	1.LT 5.00 J.D.		56	45. __
2.5.00_9.99 J.D.	2.5.00_9.99 J.D.		57	46. __00
3.10.00 J.D. @ +	3.10.00 J.D. @ +		58	47. __00
			59.	48. __00
38.H.Do you have a telephone ?	1.Yes 2.No.	1	60	49. __
39.H.Air conditioning.	1.Yes 2.No.	1	61	50. __
40.H.Do you Own cars ?	1.One car. 2.Two cars. 3.None.	1	62	51. __
41.H.Do you have a parking space ?	1.Yes 2.No.	1	63	52. __
42.H.Is the house surrounded by plants or green grass ?	1.Yes. 2.No.	1	64	53. __
43.H.Please evaluate your house.	1.Excellent. 2.Very good. 3.Good. 4.Fair. 5.Needs repair.	1	65	54. __
44.H.Evaluation of the house by the researcher.	1.Excellent. 2.Very good. 3.Good. 4.Fair. 5.Needs repair.	1	66	55. __

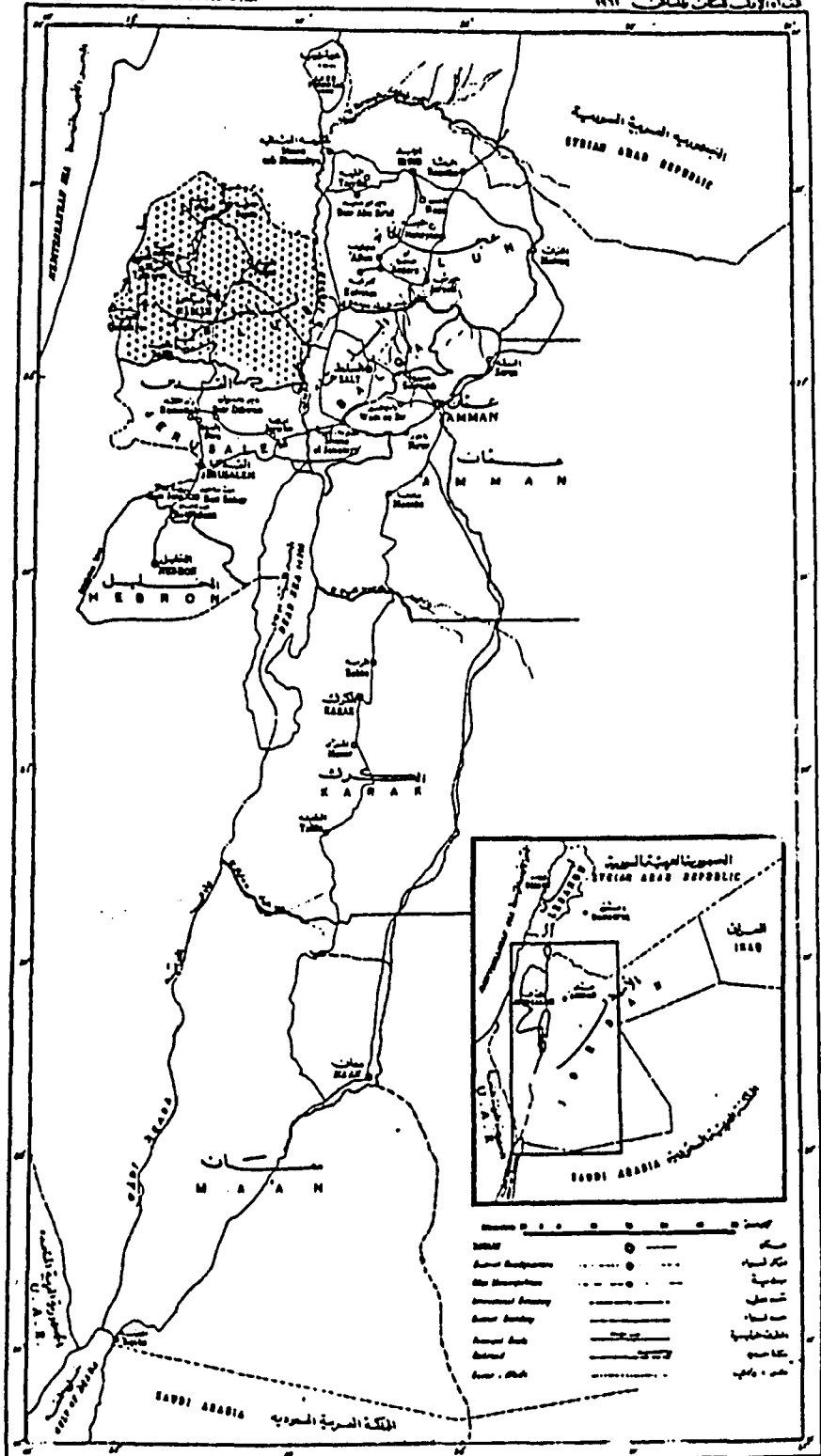
45.D.How many families live in this house ?	1.One family	1	67	56. __
	2.Two families.			
	3.Three families @ +			
46.H.Do you have any vacant rooms, how many ?	1.One room.	1	68	57. __
	2.Two rooms.			
	3.Three rooms.			
47.H.Do you think you need more rooms ?	1.One room.	1	69	58. __
	2.Two rooms.			
	3.Three rooms and more.			
		1	(XX 70_78)	
		1	80	59. __

خارطة الأحياء والبلديات

DISTRICTS AND MUNICIPALITIES

THE HAILEDITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
FIRST CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSES 1959

المملكة الأردنية الهاشمية
سنة ١٩٥٩ أول إحصاء للسكان والمساكن



Compiled by the Dept. of Statistics of Jordan
Based on the Dept. of Census and Statistics of Jordan

تم إعداد الخارطة بواسطة وزارة الإحصاء في الأردن
بناءً على إحصاء السكان والمساكن الذي أجري في الأردن سنة ١٩٥٩

التقسيمات التعدادية - لنوا نابلس

CENSUS DIVISIONS - NABLUS DISTRICT

THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN
FIRST CENSUS OF POPULATION AND HOUSING 1961

السلطة الأردنية الهاشمية
البيانات الأولى للسكان والسكنى ١٩٦١



Dept. of Statistics of Jordan
Map SEC 2/8 (June 1963)

إدارة الإحصاءات العامة في السلطة الأردنية الهاشمية
خارطة تقسيمات التعدادات A/T (يونيو ١٩٦٣)

District boundary	حد لنوا	Kilometers 5 0 5 10 15 الميل 5 0 5 10 15
Sub-district boundary	حد قضاء	
Hahlya boundary	حد ناحية	البلد الرئيسية
Census district boundary	حد لواء تعدادي	500 - 999 persons
Census area boundary	حد قطاع تعدادي	1,000 - 1,999 persons
C. D. boundary	حد منطقة تعدادية	2,000 - 4,999 persons
Census area code	رمز لقطاع تعدادي	5,000 - 19,999 persons
C.D. code	رمز لمنطقة تعدادية	20,000 or more persons
Principal roads	طرق رئيسية	

NABLUS

مخطط مدينة نابلس

البلدية قرية عميرة الشمالية

البلدية قرية عميرة الشمالية

البلدية قرية عميرة الشمالية

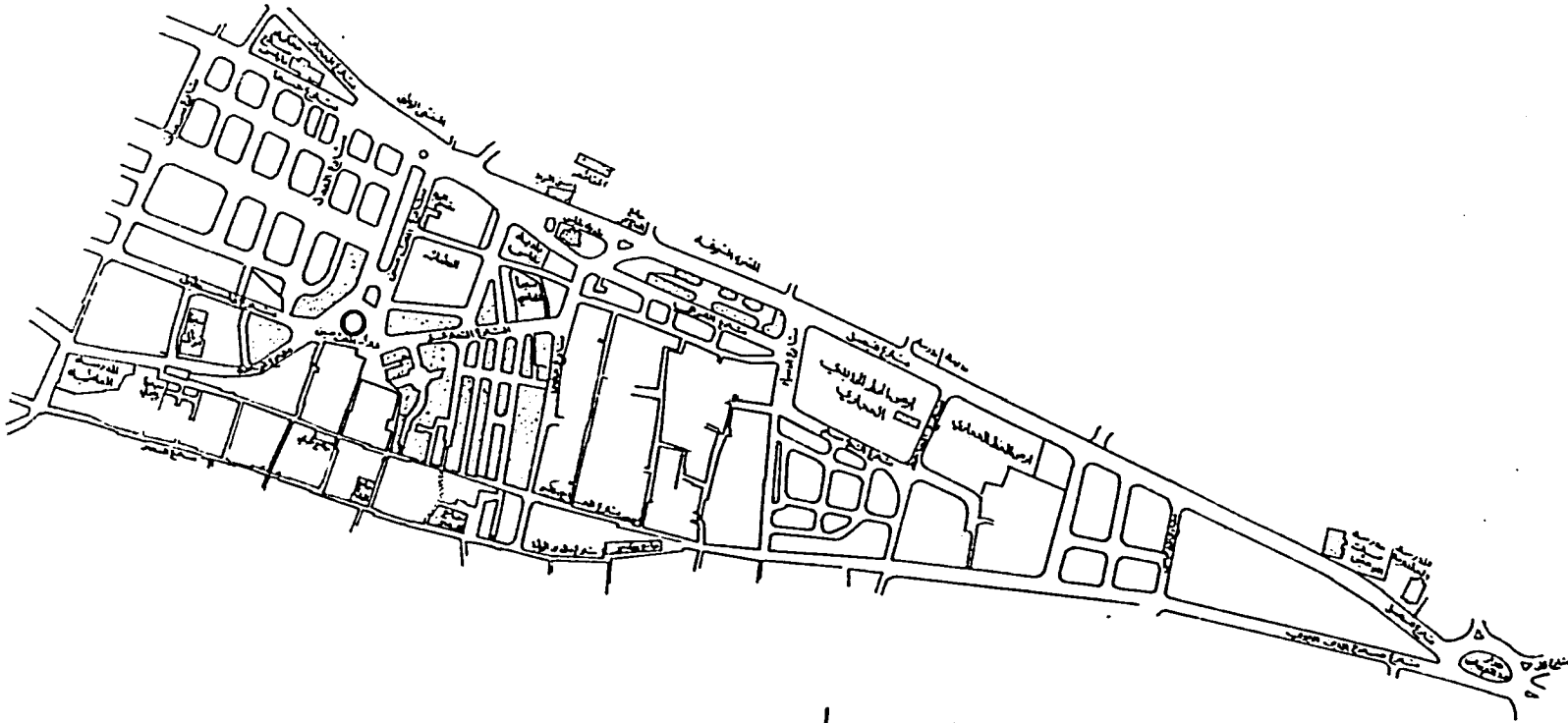


1. Eastern Public Housing.
2. Askar
- 2a. Askar Camp
3. Balata
- 3a. Vegetable Oil co.
4. East Northern Mountain
5. El Habali
6. El Quasarieh
7. Old city
8. El Qaryoun
9. C. B. D.
- 9a. C B D first expansion .
- 9b. C B D second expansion.
10. El Yasmenah.
11. Ras El ain
12. East Southern Mountain.
13. Western Cemetry.
14. Samaritan's Hai
15. El Ghrouz.
16. El Kafier.
17. Al Najah
18. Jamal Abd Al Nasir Park.
19. Al Basatten.
20. Elgharb.
21. Mars.
22. Rafidia.
- 22a. Western Public Housing.
23. West Southern Mountain.



Scale. 1:50.000

DISTRICT:1

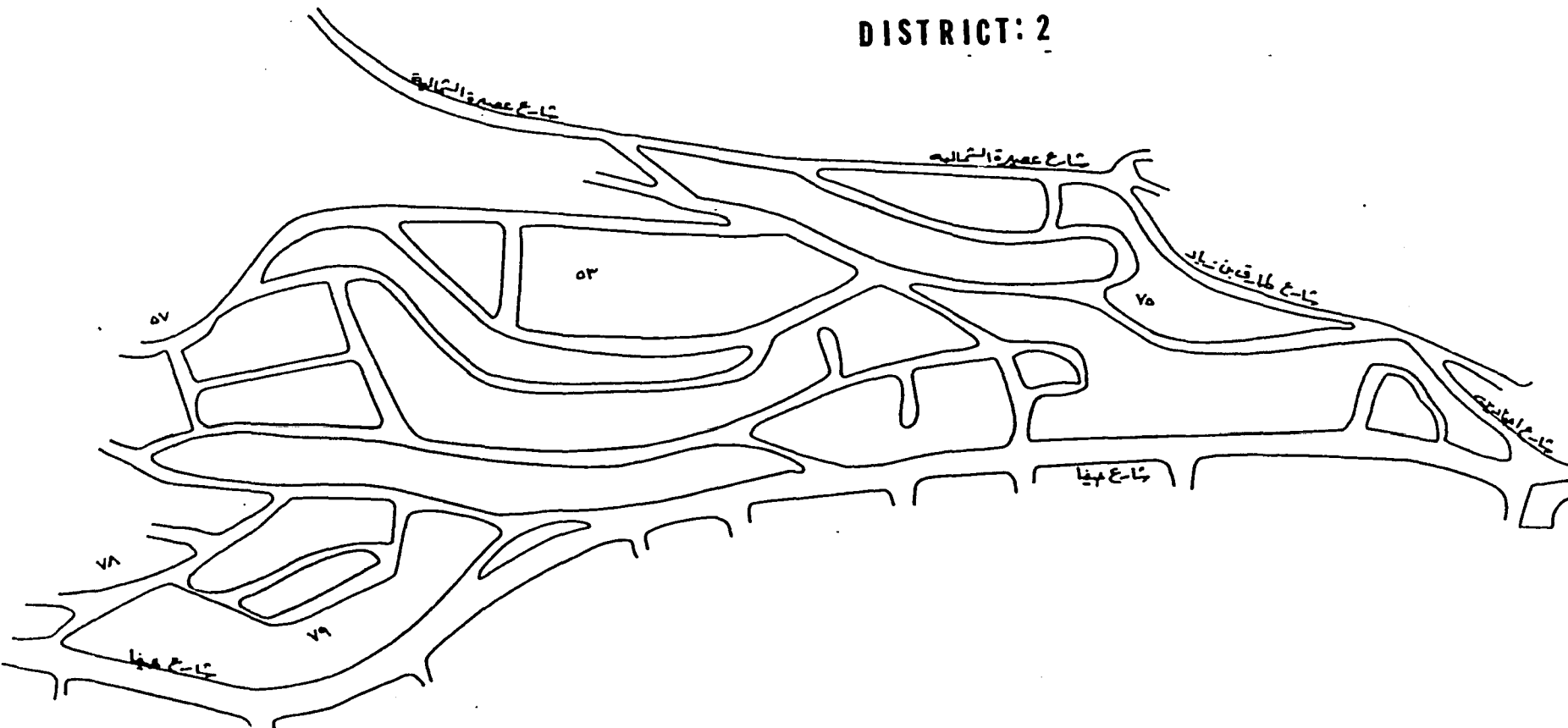


البلدية القديمة



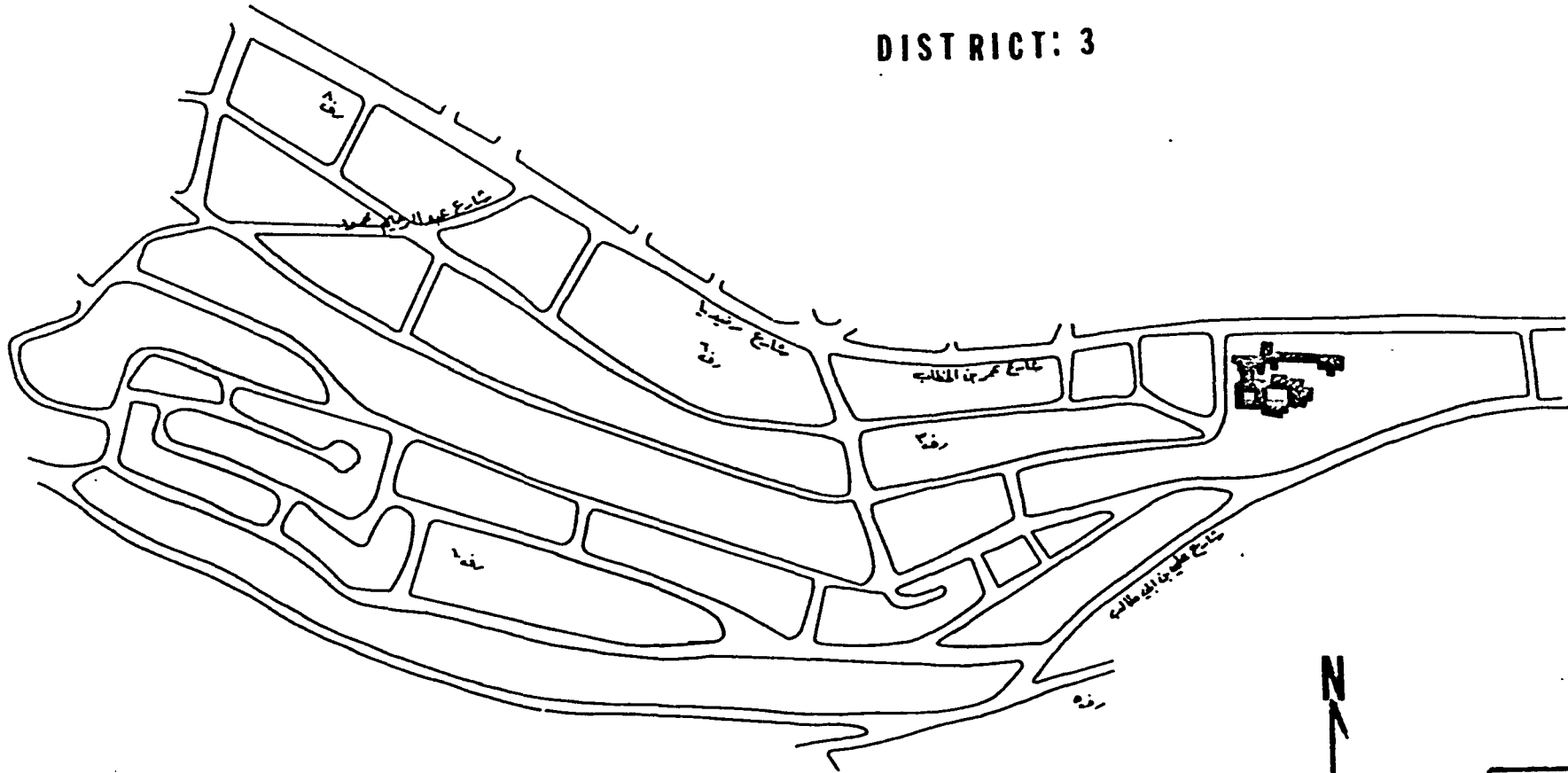
مقياس الرسم
١/٥٠٠٠

DISTRICT: 2



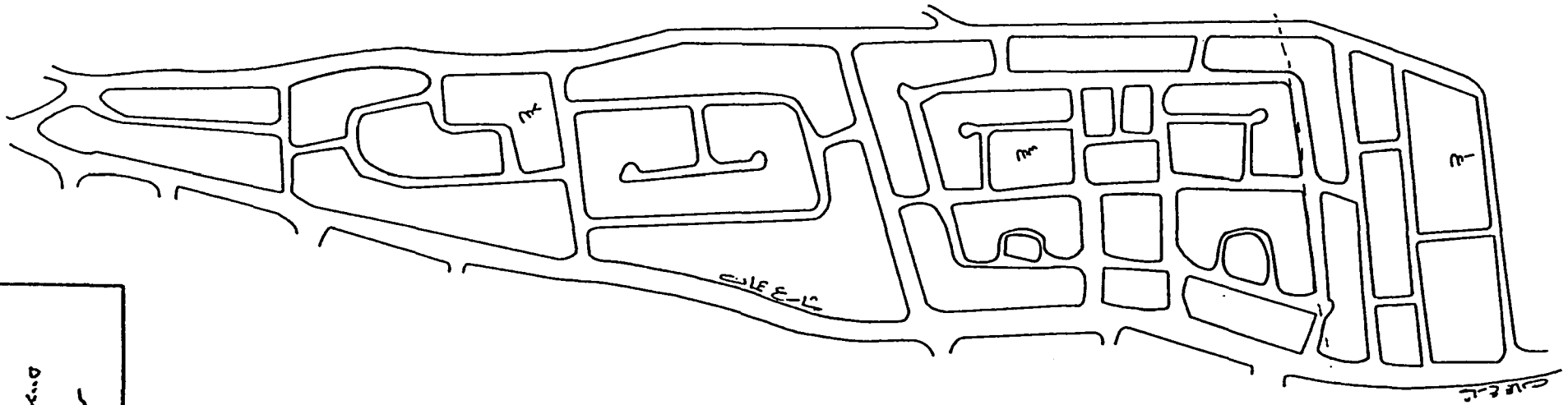
٧٥ : امواض تاليس
مقياس الرسم = ١/٥٠٠٠
منطقة رقم ٢

DISTRICT: 3



رف: احوال رفيديا
مقياس الرسم = ١/٥٠٠
نطقه رقم ٣

DISTRICT : 4

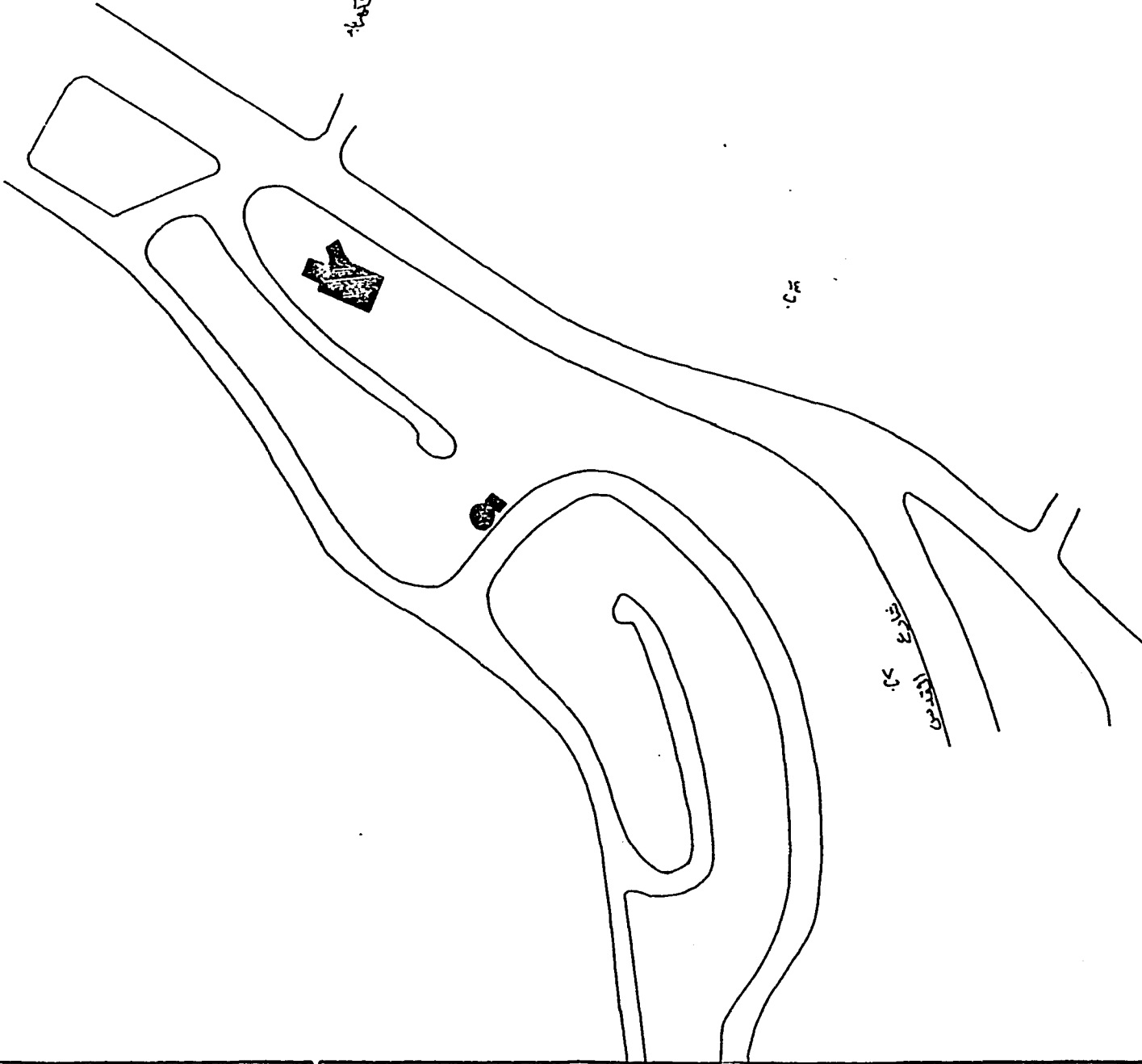


ع : احوال من عسكري
عقارون الرستم = (سويده)
منطقة رقم 4

DISTRICT: 5

C: احوال من بلادهم
ياس الرسم = ز / ٢٥٠٠
ملقة رقم ٥٥

ملقة رقم ٥٥



٥٥

ملقة رقم ٥٥

N

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