
Food for the Body and the Soul

Hebrew-Israeli Urban Foodscapes

TAL ALON-MOZES

Among the various settling models of the country, there is one which has not received the appropriate recognition of our settling institutions—the small urban farm. This model lives as a stepchild, without tending to and nursing.

—*Shlomo Krolik, 1946*

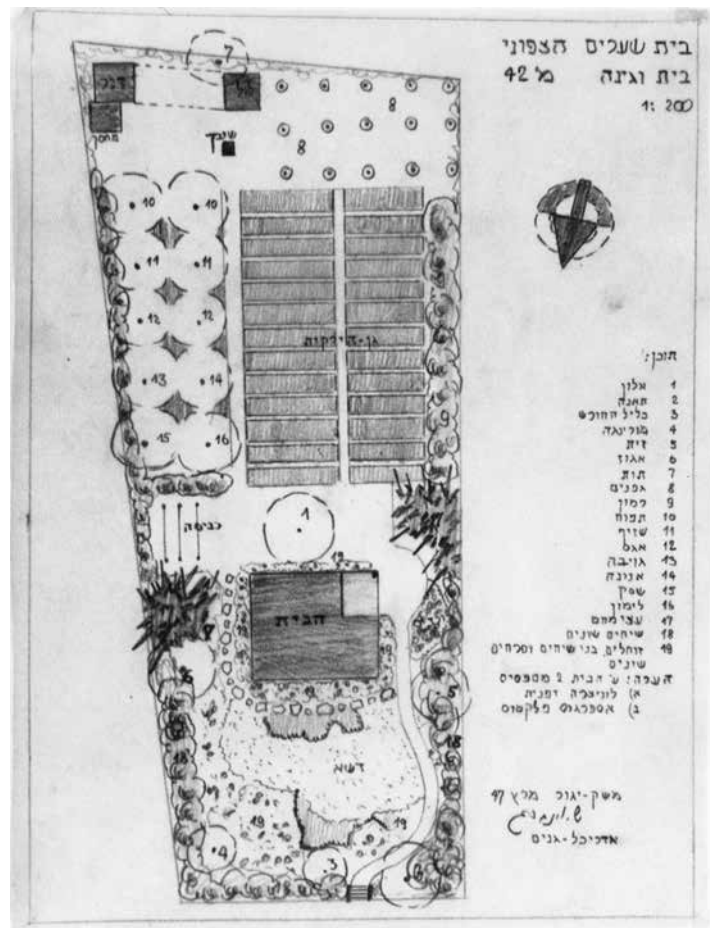
THE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF SMALL URBAN FARMS THAT WERE established during the first decade of Israeli statehood, between 1948 and 1958, mark the culmination of a generation-long settling project that aimed to create a new way of life and a new landscape for the Zionist settlers of Palestine. The enterprise, named *Mishkei Ezer* in Hebrew (freely translated as “assisting farms”), first materialized in the 1920s and 1930s in laborers’ neighborhoods on the outskirts of the urban centers of Tel Aviv and Haifa, and featured fruit trees, vegetable plots, chickens, goats, and an occasional cow on a patch of land that was barely half an acre in size. These small urban farms had the potential to become a unique model of Hebrew ruralism, which was founded both on European romanticism and Zionist ideology (Figure 3.1). But small urban farms neither shared the glory enjoyed by the early Zionist agricultural settlements—the kibbutzim, the moshavim, and the moshavoth²—nor were they recorded in the history of Israel’s urbanism. They disappeared as the cities expanded and agriculture lost its preeminence within the nation-building project, becoming part of the business of rural settlements. Today, only a few traces of Israel’s small urban farms remain, and little documentation was left to tell their story.

This chapter explores the roots of this phenomenon, its significance, and its history over a generation-long period. As the term *Mishkei Ezer* lacks an equivalent in English, the chapter uses the term “small urban farm” to describe this phenomenon. In general,

FIGURE 3.1
 Small urban farms
 in Kiryat Avoda,
 mid-1930s,
 general view.
 Photograph courtesy
 of the Holon
 Municipal Archive.



FIGURE 3.2
 A typical scheme for a
 small urban farm.
 Photograph courtesy
 of the Kibbutz Yagur Archive.



it refers to smallholdings (one hundred to two thousand square meters) located in urban areas or next to urban areas in which amateur farmers or gardeners grew produce for their own consumption as a part-time occupation. Such farms were attached to a house and, with other farms, created a community of farmers who shared common values and lifestyles. While there were many differences among urban farms that were established in Palestine and later in Israel between the 1920s and 1950s, the similarities between them are more significant, enabling us to view them as a single unique phenomenon (Figure 3.2).

Background

Under Ottoman rule (1517–1917) and the British Mandate that followed (1922–48), the region of Palestine was rural, dotted with fields mainly of wheat and barley. Vegetables of various kinds grew in irrigated areas, especially along the coastal plains. The land was cultivated by Palestinian farmers who were often tenants of absentee Arab landlords (living in Syria, Lebanon, or other regions). Operating in an essentially feudal context, Palestinian agriculture during the Mandate period barely took advantage of local and global changes. A lack of mechanization, shrinking land size due to the population growth, high taxation, and high debt to landowners forced many of the farmers to seek their livelihood in nonagricultural jobs.³

Zionist settlers and Christian travelers who were coming to Palestine from the end of the nineteenth century onward perceived this landscape as a desolation waiting to be redeemed by their colonial enterprise. Zionist settlers intended not only to create a national home for the Jewish people, but also to shape the landscape and the identity of its people. The rural ethos governed their vision, and particularly the vision of members of the Labor movement and the Socialist circles who were dominant among the immigrants. They aspired to become farmers, overtly abandoning the traditional range of “Jewish occupations.”⁴ As argued by Iris Graicer, the connection between national revival and agricultural work was nurtured by various sources: religious motivations, a European romantic worldview, and revolutionary social ideas of equity, simplicity, and manual work.⁵

In contrast with the Palestinian practice of agriculture, Jewish settlers, since the first wave of Zionist immigration to Palestine (1882–1903), developed highly modernized agriculture, first in the moshavoth and later in the cooperative settlements—the kibbutzim.⁶ Their settling project was based on intensive acquisition of Palestinian lands, first by philanthropists like the Baron Rothschild and later by the Jewish National Fund and other Zionist private or public agencies.⁷

But regardless of the rural ideology, most of the Jewish population in Palestine (85 percent) prior to 1922 inhabited urban centers.⁸ Nevertheless, until the mid-1920s, there was a close ideological proximity between rural Hebrew settlements and towns due to the desire to combine towns and villages into one cooperative society. The idea was expressed by the philosopher and rector of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Professor Hugo Bergmann: “The town was a kind of a suburban village.”⁹ Various proposals during the late 1910s promoted the idea of integrating rural neighborhoods into existing towns

like Jerusalem, Tiberias, Tel Aviv, and others. The garden city and garden neighborhood ideas, as developed in England and Germany, were very popular among the Jewish planners of Palestine and especially among the Socialist circles.¹⁰ Unlike its urban predecessors in the diaspora, the new Hebrew town was planned to be both productive (through small urban farms) and egalitarian (through the communal ownership of land).

But during the mid-1920s, the myth concerning the equilibrium between rural and urban development was dispelled. With the arrival of one hundred thousand people during the 1920s, there was little available land and less financial support for establishing new rural settlements. Consequently, immigration to Palestine resulted in the overcrowding of urban centers such as Tel Aviv and Haifa. From the early 1920s, the Labor movement advanced a new model for settling urban workers: the laborers' neighborhood. The nature of this new model was a matter of debate: an utopistic, autarkic, large urban farm next to existing towns, or a practical small urban farm forming an integral part of the city fabric. Zionist institutions, which were to finance the project, decided in favor of the small urban farm, and, from the 14th Zionist Congress (1925) onward, the laborers' neighborhood became a new form of settlement in Palestine.¹¹

First Steps

In 1922, three years before the Zionist Congress approved the laborers' neighborhood as a model for settling in Palestine, fifty families of urban workers of Polish and Russian origin settled on a sandy, hilly site northeast of Tel Aviv. Kiryat Borochov—named after Ber Borochov, the founder of social Zionism and the Poalei Zion (Zion Workers) party—was the first community of urban farms in Palestine. The goals for these settlements had already been defined in its 1919 manifesto:

- providing decent accommodation for urban workers;
- concentrating urban workers in one neighborhood in order to consolidate their social and political power;
- and addressing urban workers' cultural and social needs within the framework of small urban farms through cooperative practices and education.¹²

The Kiryat Borochov settlers bought the land with resources provided by the Jewish National Fund as well as with their private money, and they established farms of four and a half, two and a half, and one and a half dunams (one dunam equals one-quarter of an acre). They planted orchards, grew vegetables, and raised cows and chickens. The community organized itself as a workers' cooperative for the production and sale of agricultural produce and asserted its social ideology with a ban on hiring laborers, renting houses, and engaging in commerce with its neighbors (with the exception of doing this through the cooperative shop). Most of the men (73 percent) worked outside the neighborhood;¹³ as a result, most farmwork was done by women. Twenty years after its establishment, the community numbered 350 families and was considered a success story to be replicated in other sites (Figure 3.3).¹⁴



FIGURE 3.3

Children in Kiryat Borocho, 1924.

Photograph courtesy of the KKL-JNF Photo Archive, d3067-055.

Precedents

Small urban farms in Palestine were not a purely Zionist invention. They drew on multiple precursors, reflecting the origins of the members of Zionist settling organizations, their political views, and the influence of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ideas of rural/urban settlements in Germany and other European countries.¹⁵

In 1927, five years after the establishment of Kiryat Borocho—the first community of urban farms in Palestine—members of the workers movement discussed European models of rural/urban settlements in the *Anthology for Laborers' Neighborhoods*.¹⁶ This volume presented a comprehensive statement of the goals, structure, and rationale for laborers' neighborhoods. The anonymous author listed the European workers movement, the garden city movement, and a trend for constructing small gardens around big cities among the sources that influenced the design of laborers' neighborhoods in Palestine. He mentioned the English towns of Letchworth and Welwyn as models for designing inexpensive housing projects that contributed to the residents' well-being and prevented land speculation through cooperative construction.¹⁷ Nonetheless, the Austrian model, which emphasized food provision, was presented as more fitting to be adopted in Palestine. The author favorably described postwar housing projects in Vienna that were initiated by the Socialist government. There, workers and residents were responsible for building their neighborhoods and cultivating their gardens after work, while cooperative organizations were in charge of all commercial activity. The anthology downplayed the role of German and Russian models as the precursors of the Zionist enterprise; however, more recent research emphasizes the German influence.

In an unpublished research proposal, landscape historian Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn cited three historical social movements that challenged the opposition between urban and rural Germany and influenced the creation of small urban farms in Palestine: the inner colonization movement, the supplementary homestead movement,

and the allotment movement.¹⁸ The inner colonization movement, with its history extending back to the seventeenth century, aimed to improve the living conditions of German rural workers by settling them on uncultivated lands, such as moorland. As early as 1886, Prussian authorities launched a program to settle German rural workers in the Polish-dominated region of Poznan. The Prussian government bought land from German or Polish landowners and divided it among small farmers. The Poznan model was based on a five-hundred-square-meter plot with a long-term lease and a high degree of state regulation. The model was highly influential among Zionist circles, in part through the promotional efforts of Dr. Arthur Ruppin, a native of Poznan and the head of the Palestine bureau that managed the Zionist settling of Palestine between 1908 and 1945.¹⁹

Other inner colonization projects made their way to Palestine as well, including the work of Ernst May, a renowned architect and head of the Silesian Rural Settlement Authority (1919–25).²⁰ May designed more than four thousand dwelling units in suburban areas outside the cities of Frankfurt and Breslau, as well as in rural areas. Next to these dwellings, there were small gardens complete with children’s play areas, garden huts, chicken coops, compost heaps, and plantings. Each garden featured beds planted with vegetables and lined with fruit-bearing shrubs and vines. A community gardener supervised the planting in order to “guarantee visual unity and avoid blunders.”²¹

Chronicles of the success of these German projects appeared in the Palestinian press. In December 1931, the workers’ newspaper *Davar*, published in Tel Aviv, featured an article about a neighborhood in Brandenburg where the government built forty-five-square-meter dwelling units on a plot of six hundred square meters, each with a vegetable and fruit garden, chicken coop, and shed for goats, pigs, and a cow. According to this newspaper, the program aimed to create thirty to forty thousand small urban farms and to secure their workers a living in areas of high unemployment.²²

The second movement was the supplementary homestead movement, which allowed poor and homeless people to settle on the urban fringe in very inexpensive, small houses on rather large plots. In 1936, the principles of this movement were publicized internationally in *The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics* by the planner Erich Kraemer of the American Resettlement Administration.²³ The model provisioned agricultural activity for domestic consumption as a secondary activity. It called for the establishment of five-hundred- to five-thousand-square-meter plots adjacent to houses on the peripheries of towns as well as in the countryside. According to Kraemer, more than three million homesteads were documented in Germany in 1933. He emphasized the benefits they offered to individuals and to the nation as a whole: better nutrition, better quality of life, relief during times of crisis and unemployment, stronger family ties, and an increasing birthrate. Kraemer argued that supplementary farming was expected to increase production and domestic trade, both to strengthen the border regions and to connect “the most valuable elements of the population to the soil and prevent them from migrating to the cities or to foreign countries.”²⁴ The mechanism of the homestead project included initiating legislative measurements, establishing semipublic land settlement companies,

selecting potential settlers, and equipping them with the financial and material means required to establish and maintain their farms.

As a social movement, allotments were established in Germany against the backdrop of the technological, economic, and social transformations of the nineteenth century.²⁵ Unlike the inner colonization and homestead movements, allotment gardens were not extensions of dwellings, but rather were located on the outskirts of towns, where land was more affordable yet remained easily accessible from the center. Municipalities controlled the assignment of the four-hundred-square-meter plots, which in the post-World War II period reached a total number of eight hundred thousand.

The concept was advocated by Leberecht Migge (1881–1935), one of the leading landscape architects in Weimar Germany. Migge argued that the utility garden was the symbol of the “new” garden culture and a reaction to the picturesque or romantic



FIGURE 3.4
Leberecht Migge's proposal for Palestine, from *Kleinsiedlung und Bewässerung: Die neue Siedlungsform für Palästina* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1920).

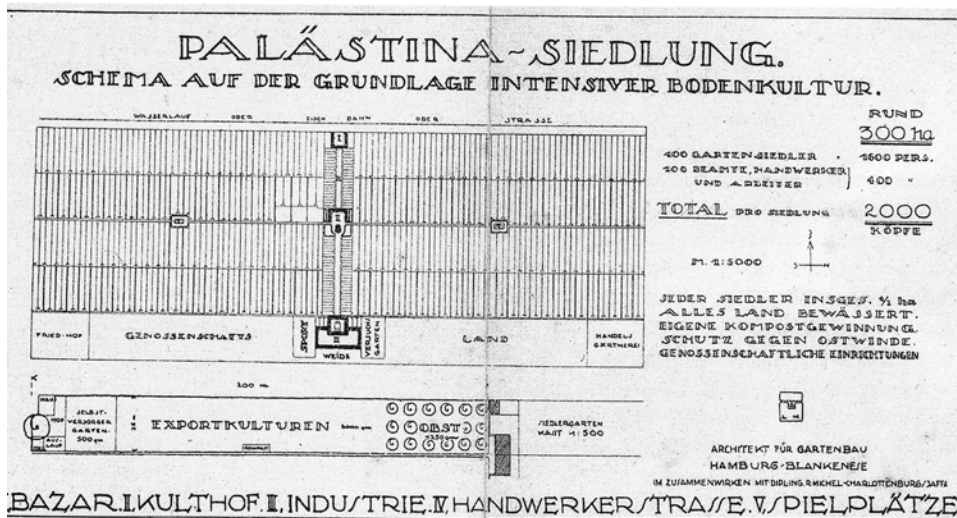


FIGURE 3.5

Nahariya, 1939.

Photograph by Rudi
Wissenstein; courtesy
of the KKL-JNF Photo
Archive, du106-022.



traditions.²⁶ His work and his arguments in favor of a self-sufficient family unit were known in Palestine.²⁷ But the most notable link between Migge and the Zionist establishment was the work of Selig Soskin (1872–1959), a Russian-born agronomist educated in Berlin, who worked in Africa as an expert in fruit cultivation; in 1918, he was nominated as manager of the planning department of the Jewish National Fund in The Hague.²⁸ Soskin immigrated to Palestine in 1896 and developed the concept of the small intensive farm in the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1920, he published a manifesto called *Small Holdings and Irrigation: The New Form of Settlement in Palestine*, which featured designs by Leberecht Migge (Figure 3.4). Soskin presented his concept of fully irrigated small farms of five dunams at the 12th Zionist Congress in 1921, initiating a heated debate among the leading Zionist settling experts, including Yosef Weitz, Arthur Ruppin, Akiva Ettinger, and Yitzhak Vilkansky,²⁹ who advocated mixed farming of one hundred dunams and other rural models for settling Palestine. Soskin had to wait two decades to see his vision realized—in the mid-1930s—with the establishment of Nahariya of the northern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, not far from Haifa. This was a middle-class settlement of German Jews who had arrived in Palestine during the 1930s and established a community composed of small urban farms (Figure 3.5).

The German models were popular due to a combination of social, economic, and ideological reasons³⁰—the desire to settle masses of immigrants and to allow them to engage in productive practices; the need to colonize new territories in order to claim national ownership over more land; and, finally, the similarity between German ideology of native attachment to the fatherland and the Jewish ethos of returning to the historical cradle of the nation. In addition to these reasons, but no less important, were personal connections between the elite of the Zionist settling organizations and their German colleagues. As argued by Derek Penslar, these relations enabled the translation of planning ideas and settling models from Germany and other European countries to Palestine.³¹

The Israelitische Gartenbauschule in Ahlem, near Hannover, offered another means for transferring agri-horticultural concepts from Germany to Palestine. Eastern European Jewish youths who attended this vocational school followed a curriculum that focused on horticulture and garden design.³² Garden architects such as Georg Pniower, Heinrich Zeininger, and Max Schemmel (who was a colleague and friend of Leberecht Migge) taught in Ahlem, and in all probability promoted the idea of allotment gardens, the homestead movement, and inner colonization. Many of their students immigrated to Palestine and subsequently contributed to the establishment of small urban farms. Prominent among them was Shlomo Weinberg-Oren, who designed dozens of schemes for small urban farms in the community of Beit She'arim.

The Small Urban Farm as a Laboratory

Following the success of Kiryat Borochov, Zionist settling authorities established small urban farms all over the country. During the 1930s, the settling company of the Labor movement (Shikun Company) established Kiryat Haim and Kiryat Amal in the northern district and Kiryat Avoda not far from Tel Aviv. A decade later, they established small farms in Afula Tiberias, Kfar Ata, and other locations.³³ Kiryat Haim was the first community that followed the decision of the 14th Zionist Congress. The neighborhood, which was planned by the renowned architect Richard Kaufmann, included in its first phase two hundred dwelling units on a plot of one dunam; another dunam was available for rent on the outskirts of the neighborhood. The residents of the neighborhood worked in Haifa and nurtured their gardens with the help of other family members (Figure 3.6).

Following the establishment of these small farms, Zionist settling authorities recruited various experts to apply more advanced scientific methods in order to increase their productivity. A generation of agronomists, gardeners, and planners prepared matrices composed of the geographical area, crop and potential crop rotation, plot size, manpower, and other variables to deduce the economic viability of small urban



FIGURE 3.6

Kiryat Haim, 1939.

Photograph by Avraham Malevsky; courtesy of the KKL-JNF Photo Archive, d704-005.

farms. The nutritional needs of an average family served as the basis for these detailed calculations.

In 1927, Yosef Weitz (1890–1972), director of the Land and Afforestation Department of the Jewish National Fund, published the following recommendations for a 1,300-square-meter family farm in the coastal plains of Palestine. It was to include five orange trees, one lemon tree, twenty-five banana trees, fifty grapevines, four hundred square meters planted with vegetables, another seventy square meters planted with flowers and decorative trees, and twenty-five chickens. According to his calculations, the cultivation of this garden required 340 hours per year, which was less than an hour of daily work.

Following this early scheme, settling organizations, gardening instructors, and other authorities prepared numerous schemes for small urban farms as well as detailed plans for the organization of space. For example, in 1946, the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO) and Shikun Company published a brochure in which the size of small farms ranged from 165 square meters for Kiryat Avoda to 2,000 square meters for Kiryat Amal and Kiryat Haim (in the northern region) (Table 3.1 and Figure 3.7). As very little empirical knowledge was available to such experts as Weitz and others, they made various assumptions that were often contradictory.

The 1942 census cited 4,669 small urban farms that were in Palestine at that time.³⁴ The size of most of these farms (74 percent) was 1,000 to 1,900 square meters, followed by farms of 2,000 to 4,900 square meters (15.5 percent) and farms of more than 5,000 square meters (10.5 percent). Like its European precedents, the Zionist small urban farm was carefully structured, with the aim of achieving economic efficiency. Land was divided according to specific uses, creating distinct areas for growing vegetables, planting orchards, and raising livestock. Ultimately, this farm differed from its European predecessors in its composition of crops and cultivation techniques, due both to environmental and social factors.

Among these differences, the importance attributed to decorative plantings among Jewish settlers is quite unique and interesting. While Migge argued that aesthetic values derived from functionalism, the small Zionist farm devoted only two-thirds of its area to producing foodstuffs, leaving the remaining third for leisure and recreation. Zipora Gihar, who was a WIZO employee and garden instructor, advocated the construction of small decorative areas within the urban farms in a 1946 brochure: "A green lawn, even a small one, a bed of colorful flowers—these broaden a man's mind and make his leisure time enjoyable."³⁵

Every manual to small urban farms addressed the composition of the ornamental garden extensively, including lists of preferred trees, vines, and flowers. Shlomo Weinberg-Oren, a graduate of the Israelitische Gartenbauschule in Ahlem, wrote in 1927: "The settler garden will be divided into a decorative garden and a functional one. The first will be an extension of the house and the other will be at the back of the house or next to it. The two gardens will correlate in correspondence with the laws of aesthetics and rhythm, preserving the principle of usefulness and utility."³⁶

TABLE 3.1

Various models for small urban farms.
















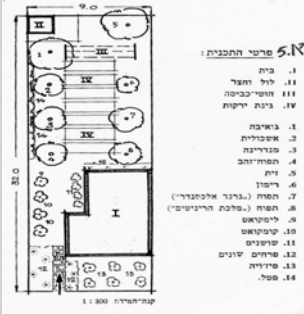

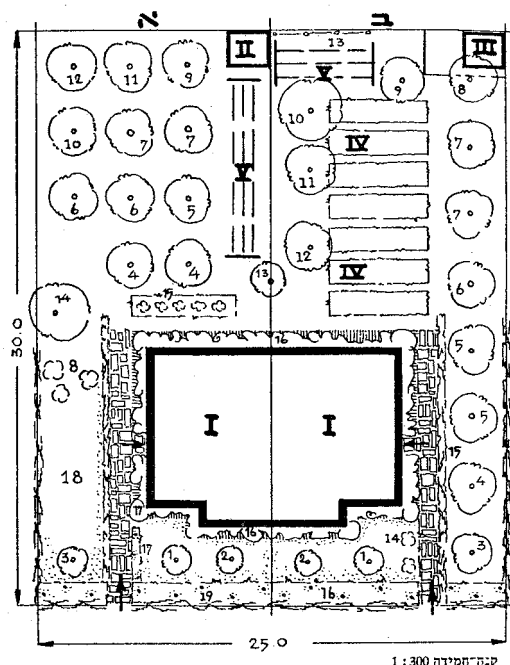
	THE GOALS	RECOMMENDED AREA (M ²)	COMPONENTS	REMARKS
Weitz (1927)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a hygienic retreat for the urban worker • easing life struggle by self-sustenance • a connection to nature 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • garden work by family members • based on vegetables for all year round • three fruits for all year round • an hour a day of work (average)
coastal plain		1300	×25 chickens  ×5 oranges  ×1 lemon  ×25 bananas  ×50 vines  400 m ² vegetables  70 m ² flowers 	
mountain area		1600	×25 chickens  ×6 apricots  ×10 apples  ×80 vines  ×2 olives  ×2 nut  250 m ² vegetables  70 m ² flowers 	
Kauffman (1938)		225–330		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • intensive cultivation • guidance • cooperate marketing of surplus • competitions in order to encourage gardeners • trees around the gardens

TABLE 3.1 ~ continued

	THE GOALS	RECOMMENDED AREA (M ²)	COMPONENTS	REMARKS
Shoshana Dubkin (1946)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • diverse produces • education 	1000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ×20 chickens ×2 beehives vines citrus fruits 200 m² strawberries flowers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • based on women's work (part time) • irrigation system an integral part • guidance • joint provision of seeds • cooperate marketing of surplus
Flis z. (1946) Kiryat Avoda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • maximum produce through intensive cultivation 	150–200	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> intensive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fruit bearing hedges • professional spraying against pests 
Lowe (1946)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • food production for self-support based on the spare time of household owner, his wife, and their children • healthy lifestyle—body and soul—especially for children 	1250	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ×13 chickens 250 m² fruit trees and vines ×1 goat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the principal source of income is not the house • soil, capital, and man power determine the structure • 2.5 hours per day

מס' 5. הצעת תכנית לגינה

השטח — 375 מ"ר לבית דו-משפחתי בשכ' הפועלים בבני-ברק



פרטי התכנית:

- | | | |
|--|----------------------|----------------|
| 3. אשכולית | 9. גואיבה | 1. בית |
| 4. תפוחי-זהב | 10. חבוש | 11. מחסן |
| 5. קלימנטינה | 11. ולנסיה | 111. לול וחצר |
| 6. ולנסיה | 12. לימון | 117. גינת ירק |
| 7. לימון | 13. רימון | 17. חוטי כביסה |
| 8. גואיבה | 14. זית | |
| 9. חבוש | 15. ורדים | תכנית א. |
| 10. אגונה | 16. בני שיחים ופרחים | 1. קומקואט |
| 11. אבוקדה | 17. פרחים | 2. שסק |
| 12. רימון | 18. מדשאה | 3. קלימנטינה |
| 13. גפנים | 19. גדר חיה | 4. תפוח זהב |
| 14. שושנים | | 5. אשכולית |
| 15. פרחים | תכנית ב. | 6. ולנסיה |
| 16. גדר חיה, דודוואה דביקה (Dodonea viscosa) | 1. קומקואט | 7. אגונה |
| | 2. שסק | 8. פיוזיה |

FIGURE 3-7

The Women's International Zionist Organization's schemes for small urban farms.

Reproduced from *Gardens and Small Urban Farms in the Neighborhood* (Tel Aviv: Field Press, 1946), 25.

The Role of Women in the Small Urban Farm

The role of women in establishing the Zionist version of the small urban farm was unique as well. Throughout the 1920s and the 1930s, small urban farms were primarily the domain of women. Three groups of women collaborated on this project: women pioneers of the second wave of immigration, who arrived in Palestine in the early twentieth century (1904–14);³⁷ female immigrants of the third and fourth waves of immigration (1919–23 and 1924–28);³⁸ and middle-class women who were members of Zionist conservative women's organizations.³⁹ Women pioneers arrived in Palestine with the desire to practice agricultural work just like men did. As unmarried women, however, they couldn't own farms in the moshavim, or agricultural settlements. Instead, they found themselves acting as gardening instructors within the community, helping other women who came to Palestine during the 1920s to set up gardens and to overcome any

FIGURE 3.8
Women's International
Zionist Organization
instructors in
the "garden."

Photograph courtesy of
the Women's International
Zionist Organization.



initial difficulties. These women mostly came from an urban background and had no preparation for agricultural or gardening work. Living in small shacks surrounded by sand dunes, they found themselves burdened by young children and without permanent jobs. By the end of the economic crisis of 1925, they were almost starving. Planting gardens was a perfect means of solving the immigrants' economic difficulties while developing green areas within Hebrew towns. The project was managed by WIZO, which had been founded in the early 1920s.⁴⁰ One of its leaders defined the goals of the organization in her memoir: "Our ultimate dream was a Jewish farmer and supporting him, his wife, trained in agricultural work in the land of Israel."⁴¹

Following the American and the English models of "traveling instructors," WIZO recruited well-trained instructors of the second wave of immigration. They visited immigrants in their homes in different parts of town and helped them to set up hundreds of gardens next to their homes (Figure 3.8). They identified the potential of involving children in creating gardens and, in parallel to home gardens, developed projects in school yards and kindergartens.⁴²

Food for the Body

The primary purpose of the small urban farm was to satisfy the family's needs with a wide range of fresh fruits and vegetables throughout the year. In order to realize this goal, the project's initiators had to overcome several obstacles. Most important among



FIGURE 3.9

Women in the garden.

Reproduced from *Dvar Hapo'let*, April 20, 1948.

them was the lack of gardening knowledge. The majority of Jewish immigrants hailed from small towns or large cities, and they were unfamiliar with agricultural, or even gardening, work. Only a few among the more zealously Zionist immigrants had some agricultural training in Europe. In addition, the idea that immigrants could efficiently manage their small urban farms while also attending to their other household needs was unrealistic, reflecting their idealistic assumptions and ignorance of everyday practices.

Kiryat Avoda, which was established by Shikun Company in 1936, serves as an example of a well-organized community. The settling company found that providing immigrants with the basic equipment—garden layouts, gardening tools, irrigation devices, and personal guidance—was crucial to the project's success. It initiated various committees, which in practice managed the life of the community. The planting committee was among the busiest, as it organized the work of agricultural instructors as well as community exhibitions and competitions among gardeners. It also recruited children to take an active part in the agricultural experience.

Education had to include cooking classes. WIZO instructors taught settlers how to cook tasty meals from unfamiliar produce (such as eggplants and tomatoes) or how, during food shortages, to prepare squash that would taste like chopped liver. With an increasing yield, a new problem arose—namely, vast quantities of fruits and vegetables of the same kind could no longer be consumed by the communities, leading to the development of pickling and jam-making home-based industries (Figure 3.9).

Despite these efforts, the proclaimed goal of providing households with fresh produce year-round was very rarely attained. Given these shortcomings, the fact that small urban farms continued to prosper indicates that they served to provide not only food for the body, but also, and no less importantly, food for the soul.

Food for the Soul

Memoirs written by people who worked on small urban farms, family photograph albums, personal columns in local and national newspapers and journals, and archival documents reveal the particular significance of Hebrew small urban farms in Palestine at the personal, communal, and national levels.

Women's Empowerment:

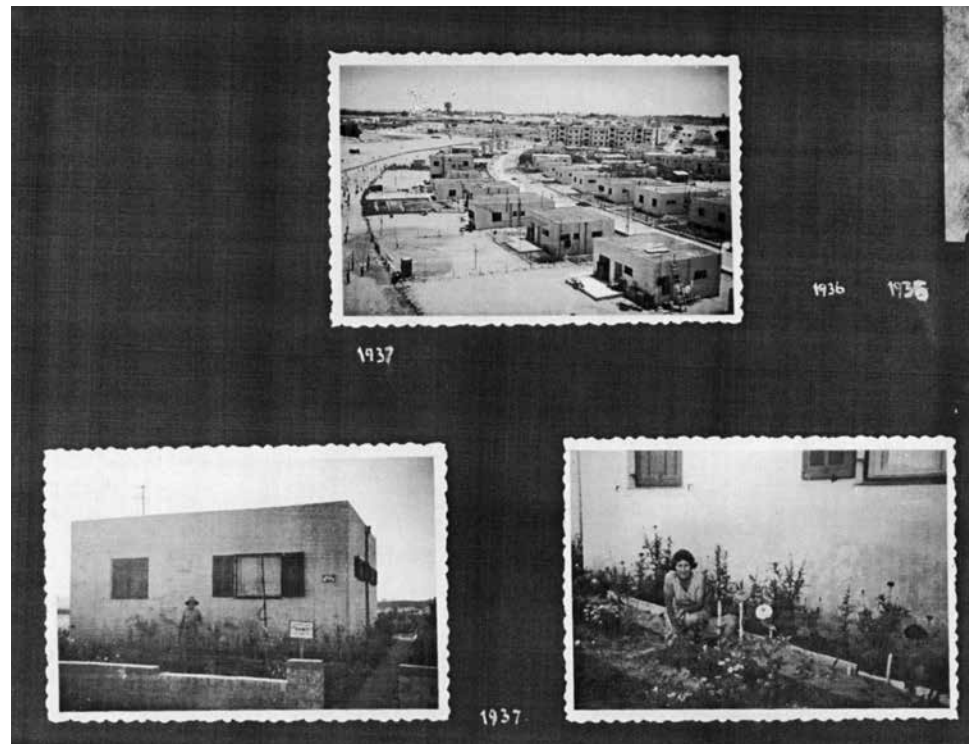
A Sense of Independence, Self-Fulfillment, and Accomplishment

Women described their work in the garden as analogous to nurturing a newborn child. Ruth Hashman, a gardener from the northern community of Kiryat Haim, wrote in her memoirs: “The plants started growing, new leaves appeared, and then flowers, and I learned to know them. I watered them, took care of them, and they produced fruit. It is such a joy to see the first fruit! Sometimes I worry that I did not take care of them properly, that I did not water them on time . . .”⁴³

The metaphor of maternal care was sometimes substituted with the metaphor of having an erotic relationship with mother earth. Women often adopted the Zionist masculine voice, putting themselves in the role of the (masculine) pioneer mastering the (feminized) land. In the words of Ruth Hashman, “a virgin land—makes you imagine a shy, brownish, flat and submissive woman, begging the pioneer to come and conquer her.”⁴⁴

Rachel Karsel-Lichtigshtein, who was a resident of Kiryat Avoda, was similarly explicit in her description published in a local magazine: “The secret key that allows

FIGURE 3.10
Page from the photo album of Dr. Eliezer Mansbach, which describes the settling process of Kiryat Avoda. Gardens are the subject of each photo.
Photograph courtesy of the Holon Municipal Archive.



uncovering the treasures of this cruel and strange land lies in the passionate desire to come in contact with her. Her subjugation bore fruit; the soil's hidden secrets were revealed to us. We invested our labors in her and she rewarded us with many riches."⁴⁵

Ruth Hashman found garden work to be a means of personal rejuvenation: "From a distance, one could not distinguish whether the figure was a woman or a girl—we were suddenly young. It was good, because our hearts were filled with new hopes of maybe truly creating something new."⁴⁶

Work in the garden led women to change their attire. It was not comfortable to work wearing a dress, so many women changed to trousers. This change was revolutionary and bore deep symbolic meaning, as it meant breaking away from Jewish religious codes (which forbade wearing men's clothing) and also adopting some behavioral codes exclusive to men.

While these female gardeners focused on their personal, intimate experience, male gardeners colored their stories with mythic, biblical, and nationalistic undertones. One of them, A. Israeli, perceived his struggle to maintain a garden in the sandy neighborhood of Kiryat Avoda as an epic battle between desolation and fertile land, a heroic fight against the desert and chaos: "The sand fights for its right, the right of the desolation, firmly resisting the attempts to rob it of its land. The war is continuing, without respite and withdrawal, stemming from a belief that this desert must become a blooming green garden."⁴⁷

In 1936, Dr. Eliezer Mansbach documented his settling process in Kiryat Avoda in his photo album, which borrows its title from the book of Exodus: "and they went to the desert."⁴⁸ The construction of the new neighborhood is described as a reenactment of the biblical story of colonizing Canaan (Figure 3.10).

Cultivating the Community's Cohesiveness

Kiryat Avoda was intended to serve as a semirural settlement for the members of the Labor Party. The communal ownership of land and the role of public institutions that served the entire neighborhood fostered a sense of community, as did the gardening work. Although every resident cultivated his/her own plot, the work was coordinated and directed by the dynamic planting committee. Local gardening competitions, which were publicized locally and nationally, became a source of pride for the neighborhood.⁴⁹ Inviting the children of other laborers' communities to participate in Arbor Day plantings was a way of sharing the pleasure of agricultural work with other members of the party: "The neighborhood belongs to all worker communities. Each of them has a share in it, their children too, and not only those who reside in the neighborhood" (Figure 3.11).⁵⁰

While early small urban farms were created by the organization responsible for settling immigrants, run by the Labor Party, this project was not solely identified with the values and ideology of the Socialist circles. Small urban farms were promoted by private companies and individuals who were looking for new models of settling in Palestine. For example, Rassco, which was a private settling company for the middle class, promised in its 1940 brochure to settle those who wished to leave towns in a homogenized

FIGURE 3.11
Arbor Day in
Kiryat Avoda.
Reproduced from *Davar*
LiYeladim, February 11, 1937.



community.⁵¹ In Nahariya, as already mentioned, middle-class refugees from Germany established small urban farms as a new way of living and as a means of creating a community of common origin, not of common political affiliation.

Sharing a National Mission

As discussed previously, establishing small farms in Kiryat Avoda was a personal act and a communal project, but it was also a symbolic national mission. In the context of the Zionist ideology, which venerated fulfillment through agricultural work and scoffed at urban life, the garden prefigured the future of urban workers, who aspired to become farmers and waited to move to agricultural settlements, as well as the future of their children, who were preparing themselves to settle in the countryside. A youth magazine published in 1934 claimed: “A young boy and girl in the city will find great pleasure in planting a garden near their home, nurturing flowers and green saplings. They will experience the delight and serenity of ‘sitting under one’s vine and fig tree,’ the emotional effect of agricultural life, which, out of love for the land, is doubly significant in deepening their roots in the soil and inspiring love for the nation and the homeland.”⁵² For those who relinquished the dream of becoming farmers, establishing urban gardens became a symbolic way of participating in the grand Zionist settlement project of reclaiming the land through manual labor and sweat. Amos Oz, the renowned Israeli author, describes the motivation to create a tiny garden in his family house in Jerusalem: “Some agriculturally minded visitors, Mala and Staszek Rudnicki from Chacellor Street, once brought me a gift of three little paper bags containing radish, tomato, and cucumber seeds. So father suggested we should make a vegetable patch. ‘We’ll both be farmers,’ he said enthusiastically. ‘We’ll make a little kibbutz in the space by the pomegranate tree, and bring forth bread from the earth by our efforts!’”⁵³ Oz claims the garden was as big as the world map hanging in the corridor, an analogy serving as a perfect metaphor of this tiny garden’s great importance.

Reconsidering the Project

Twenty years after the establishment of the first small urban farms in Kiryat Borochoy, the project, despite its proclaimed importance, remained limited in terms of the number of participants (fewer than 4,700 farms).⁵⁴ The settling organization of the Labor Party, which was responsible for creating the majority of urban farms, established various committees to identify the reasons for the limited success of this initiative. Numerous reasons were cited, from a lack of national policy to support such projects to the insufficient supply of irrigation pipes. In general, the report recommended establishing one-thousand-square-meter family farms that would be rationally planned, planted, and carefully monitored by experts, who would help not only with instruction but also with purchasing seeds and tools and with marketing the surplus produce.⁵⁵

Small Urban Farms after the Establishment of the State of Israel

With the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the project attracted national interest. At the end of Israel's War of Independence, the young state faced new challenges. More than seven hundred thousand Palestinians fled from cities and villages during the war, and their land was defined as absentee property. According to the 1950 law, the state became the custodian of these lands and could lease them according to its wishes. At this point, large waves of immigrants were arriving in Israel: European refugees from the Holocaust and Oriental Jews who were driven out of their Arab homelands. Both groups differed from the earlier waves of immigrants in various ways, most significantly in their ideology: few of the postwar immigrants aspired to become farmers or to join rural settlements. In response to the need to supply these immigrants with accommodation, work, and food, the state initiated national-scale projects of mass settlement along Israel's new borders and experimented with new settling models. While the first postwar immigrants settled in the existing towns—Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem—later waves were directed to the rural peripheries and agricultural settlements (*moshavim*). At a later stage, during the 1950s, around thirty new towns were established, mostly in the country's periphery. Some of these towns were completely new, while others were built in close proximity to previous Palestinian settlements or Jewish *moshavot*.

Three years after the war ended, the state approved its first master plan, prepared by architect Arie Sharon, a graduate of the Bauhaus school and a member of the Labor Party.⁵⁶ The plan boldly aimed to create a new landscape that would both reflect and shape a new Israeli identity. Still in keeping with the earlier rural ethos, the preference for agricultural development was one of the fundamental elements of this plan. It defined agriculture as the primary land use, and the young state initiated ambitious projects aimed at turning untilled territories into fertile agricultural land, conveying water from the Sea of Galilee to the southern part of Israel, and establishing new agricultural settlements throughout the country. The project, according to a saying popular at the time, was to make the desert bloom.

Reviving the idea of the small urban farm was an integral part of the national vision. The shortage of food during this early statehood period catalyzed the implementation

FIGURE 3.12

Israel Master Plan, 1951.
On the right side of the image are the small houses and the area for the small urban farm.

Reproduced from Arie Sharon,
Israel Master Plan (Jerusalem:
Government Printer, 1951).



of existing schemes for small urban farms within the new master plan. According to the Sharon plan, thirty new development towns were based on the neighborhood unit model, where small urban farms situated next to three- and four-story houses created a new urban landscape (Figure 3.12).⁵⁷

The schemes for new small urban farms were prepared by the Planning Department of the Prime Minister's Office. As early as 1949, it published the rationale for supporting this project, even though it was generally viewed as only moderately successful. At the core of the report was the proclaimed Zionist vision of reengaging in agricultural work. The author, Shmuel Baumgart, stated: "Our best national energy, thought, and funds were directed toward this settling enterprise, both in the past and in the present."⁵⁸ The report presented the small urban farm as a compromise between utopia and reality, where budgetary limitations did not allow settling the mass of immigrants in agricultural enterprises and where immigrants lacked the knowledge and motivation for living in a rural environment. On the other hand, the author pointed to the economic, social, and cultural advantages of the small urban farm. He defined the advantages of this project as reducing the living expenses of workers and their families by 30 percent and stabilizing their economic situation. From the perspective of national economy, he perceived the small urban farm as an efficient means of reducing the workers' wages without substantially decreasing their standard of living. The logic behind this thinking was that the decreased wages would reduce production costs while increasing production, thus preventing a reliance on imports. In addition, the author pointed to the role of a healthy lifestyle and better nutrition of urban farmers as benefiting national health and national economy. Culturally, Baumgart emphasized the importance of the urban farm in the context of the acculturation process of post-World War II and post-War of Independence immigrants, who differed from the earlier immigrants in their attitude toward agricultural work. "Practicing urban farming is their chance to build their lives based on new, healthier foundations. Only in this manner will they experience a

desirable change of values.”⁵⁹ This somewhat patronizing claim, which reflected the common attitudes of “veteran” immigrants toward the newcomers, foreshadowed the failure of the whole project. Examining the existing small urban farms, Baumgert found that their success was determined by the following factors: appropriate size and good-quality soil; good supply of production materials and effective marketing of the surplus; close proximity of the worker’s farm to his principal workplace; use of women’s and children’s help; systematic professional guidance; and a certain measure of economic difficulties (as, otherwise, settlers tended to neglect their farms).⁶⁰ Based on detailed calculations, the optimal size of the small urban farm was determined at one and one-quarter dunams.

In Practice

Following Baumgert’s report, during the first decade of statehood, tens of thousands of small urban farms were established throughout the country, mainly in the periphery: in the emerging new development towns, next to veteran moshavoth, and in other locations. Most of these small farms, managed by a single family, were situated next to denser neighborhoods of two- to three-story housing units (Figure 3.13).

Very little documentation concerning these small farms remains. Unlike the first generation of urban farmers, who documented every step of their settling process, the second generation concentrated on survival and was less conscious of any potentially heroic undertones of its enterprise. Scholarly literature hardly touches on this topic, and the “official” history of these towns and neighborhoods tends to ignore their role in the development of these settlements (as compared with the ample documentation concerning small urban farms created during the 1940s).⁶¹

Nonetheless, state administrators were engaged in discussing this topic. Under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture, various public and state agencies cooperated with the aim of advancing this project.⁶² Their support included financial aid, a four-year



FIGURE 3.13
Small urban farms in
Ofakim, 1963.
Photograph by Moshe Fridan;
courtesy of the National Photos
Archive D260-027.

FIGURE 3.14
Cover page of *Mishkei Ezer Magazine* (October 1957).
The magazine includes working instructions for managing food trees, vegetables, decorative plants, chicken coops, and goats.



loan from the Urban Farm Fund, and ongoing guidance by professional Ministry of Agriculture instructors. From 1957 onward, a monthly magazine was published, providing settlers with useful information about the cultivation of fruits and vegetables and the raising of chickens and goats. It was written in punctuated Hebrew with clear diagrams, which made it easier for the new immigrants to read. The magazine insisted on the cultural and social importance of this project for families (and especially children); success stories appeared alongside the descriptions of failures. Starting in October 1958, the ministry also broadcast a weekly radio program. In addition, the national campaign for urban farms included the creation of sample plots, a national exhibition, and gardening competitions. Furthermore, the Ministry of Agriculture exempted the sale of surplus produce or livestock from taxes (Figure 3.14).

Despite this support, the small urban farm project slowly waned for various reasons. First and foremost among them was the fact that the need to grow one's own food became negligible due to the rapid development of the agricultural sector. With the modernization of Israel's agriculture, farmland expanded by 150 percent throughout the second half of the 1950s, and the number of Jewish rural settlements doubled from three hundred to six hundred.⁶³ Most of this growth took place in the kibbutzim and the moshavim, which were located in rural areas and were separated—physically and spiritually—from urban centers.

At the same time, as land value increased (mainly in the central area of the country), it became more profitable to build houses on the land previously occupied by gardens. Kiryat Avoda serves as a perfect example of such a process. In the mid-1930s, its site was considered the periphery of the emerging town of Tel Aviv. During the 1960s, this neighborhood became part of the metropolitan area, and each plot was divided in order to enable the building of housing.

In the periphery, and especially in southern areas of the country, the reasons for the decline of small urban farms were different. There, the project was doomed from the start, as harsh environmental conditions—hot climate, unfertile soils, and frequent sandstorms—made farming almost impossible. Consequently, settlers abandoned their plots, one after another, and the dream of blooming gardens turned into a landscape of neglect and desolation.

But the most important reason for failure was the fact that the establishment of small urban farms was a European project that was appropriate for the pre-state days but not for the later period. As Baumgert wrote, the human factor was crucial to success. It succeeded when practiced by European settlers who were familiar with small urban farms from their homelands. It was less successful when it involved the newcomers of North African and Middle Eastern descent, who immigrated to Israel after 1948. They did not dream of becoming farmers or reversing the occupational pyramid of the Jewish people, which was a proclaimed goal of the Zionist enterprise.⁶⁴ They were sent to settle in the peripheral areas against their will, with very little motivation to turn the harsh unfamiliar landscape into a productive blossoming landscape.

Conclusion

Small urban farms were an episode in the history of the Zionist settling project in Palestine and Israel. This model, which was based on European (mostly German) developments, was implemented top-down by the elite of Zionist settling organizations, which found that its principles suited their ideology and the social and economic situation of the first decades of the twentieth century. Interestingly, this model was accepted by various segments of the Jewish population of Palestine—which had a shared connection to the biblical landscape through manual labor—despite political and social differences. Therefore, small urban farms thrived in the laborers' communities as well as among the middle-class settlements, in the communities of immigrants who came from Russia and Eastern Europe, and those who came from Germany.

With the establishment of the State of Israel, the project flourished briefly as a short-term solution to the problem of food shortages and as a means of giving employment to the large numbers of new immigrants. But because these people came from different social backgrounds and because the environmental conditions of their settlements were harder, the project slowly dwindled, despite the intensive support of state agencies.

Once agriculture became business, there was no longer an economic rationale for growing one's own food. As a result, the first pillar of small urban farms—food for the body—was no longer relevant. And as agriculture, despite its prestigious status in the context of Zionist ideology, lost its relevance, the other pillar of small urban farms—food for the soul—also collapsed. Today, the rising awareness of the importance of a sustainable lifestyle and healthy eating once again places food production at center stage. Community gardens and urban agriculture plots substitute for small urban farms as sites of food production—mainly for the soul and, to a lesser extent, the body. Currently, veteran Israelis as well as new immigrants cultivate more than two hundred such productive gardens all over the country. For new immigrants, and especially for the community of Ethiopians, these gardens are a locus of ethnic food production, social gatherings, and a point of connection with the soil of their new homeland.⁶⁵ A similar motivation was expressed by a community of young American Jews who, in 2005, offered a five-month residential agricultural apprenticeship program in Israel: “Together we are farming Israel, returning to the/our foundation from exile, finding grounding in the haze of a dreamscape. We are unraveling the letters from their holy scrolls and making a huge mess of them all over the soil of the land. We are planting the letters and giving them the energy to re-root themselves, from the books into the soil. . . . We are planting ourselves.”⁶⁶ Whether these trends will revive the idea of the small urban farm in a new spatial form is too early to decide. But it is clear that although the concept of the small urban farm as a settling model failed, the idea behind this model is still attractive for twenty-first-century Israel.

Notes

- 1 Shlomo Krolik, "Hakdama" (Introduction), in *LeMahut Mishkei HaEzer, Tafkidam, Mivnehem VeRentabiliut* (The Essence of Small Urban Farms, Their Purpose, Structure and Profitability), ed. Yehuda Lowe (Tel Aviv: Bitan, 1946), 5.
- 2 Kibbutzim (plural of kibbutz) are a unique type of Israeli settling community; they subsist mainly on agricultural production and are based on social values, such as equality among people and ideological and economic cooperation. The first kibbutz was established in 1909; others followed the same model. Moshavim (plural of moshav) are a type of cooperative agricultural community of individual farms pioneered by the Labor Zionists during the early twentieth century. The first moshav was established in 1921. Moshavoth (plural of moshava) are agricultural settlements in which all land and property are privately owned. The first moshava was established in 1876.
- 3 Alon Tal, "To Make a Desert Bloom: The Israeli Agricultural Adventure and the Quest for Sustainability," *Agricultural History* 81, no. 2 (2007): 228–57; and Charles S. Kamen, *Little Common Ground: Arab Agriculture and Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1920–1948* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991).
- 4 Traditional Jewish occupations included a very small group of farmers (very few were landowners) and a large population of small merchants. The Zionist movement aspired to reverse this occupational pyramid as one of the means of making the Jewish nation similar to other nations.
- 5 Iris Graicer, "HaBasis HaIdeology shel Yachasa shel Tnuat HaAvoda Klapei Hityashvut Haironit Bein 1905–1928" (The Ideological Basis for the Approach of the Labor Movement toward the Urban Settlement between 1905–1928), *Ofakin in the Geography of Eretz Israel* 12 (1986): 126–41.
- 6 Thirty-four colonies and farms were established during the first wave of immigration. Although just one-quarter of immigrants settled in these rural communities, their contribution and influence on the future development of Palestine was much greater.
- 7 According to *Great Britain, A Survey of Palestine 1* (Jerusalem, 1946), 372, Jews owned 25,000 dunams in 1882, but held 1,604,800 dunams in 1941. See Nathan Weinstock, "The Impact of Zionist Colonization on Palestinian Arab Society before 1948," *Journal of Palestinian Studies* 2, no. 2 (Winter 1973): 49–63, 56.
- 8 Graicer, "HaBasis HaIdeology shel Yachasa shel Tnuat HaAvoda Klapei Hityashvut Haironit Bein 1905–1928," 126. In 1925, thirty years after the publication of *Altneuland* by Theodor Herzl, the young Labor leader (and future founding prime minister) David Ben-Gurion claimed at the 14th Zionist Congress that only one of every forty-two Jews living in Palestine actually made his living from farming.
- 9 Hugo Bergmann, "Mekom HaKfar BeTchiatenu Haleumit" (The Place of the Village in Our National Revival), in *Hakfar Haivri beEretz Israel* (The Hebrew Village in the Land of Israel) (Tel Aviv: Massada, 1946).
- 10 European Jewish planners who were involved in the garden city movement and other planning initiatives contributed to the Zionist project of settling Palestine. See note 31 for more details.
- 11 Graicer, "HaBasis HaIdeology shel Yachasa shel Tnuat HaAvoda Klapei Hityashvut Haironit Bein 1905–1928."
- 12 Gideon Karsel, *Schunat Borochoy: HaHistoria shel Schunat HaPoalim HaRishona* (Borochoy Neighborhood: The History of the First Workers' Neighborhood) (Givaatim: Borochoy Neighborhood Veterans, 1961), 23–27.
- 13 Julius Beger, "Shcunat Borochoy, Nisayon Mutzlach" (Borochoy Neighborhood, a Successful Experiment), *Bustanai* 44 (1931): 11–12; and Julius Beger, "Shcunat Borochoy, Nisayon Mutzlach" (Borochoy Neighborhood, a Successful Experiment), *Bustanai* 45 (1931): 13–14.
- 14 Shimon Kushnir, "Mishkei Ezer BaShikun" (Small Urban Farms in the Neighborhood), *Dvar HaKirya*, July 1943, 3.
- 15 Susan R. Henderson, "Ernst May and the Campaign to Resettle the Countryside: Rural Housing in Silesia, 1919–1925," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (2002): 188–211.
- 16 *Kovetz Schunot HaOvdim* (Anthology for Laborers' Neighborhoods) (Tel Aviv: Culture Committee, 1927).

- 17 The garden city idea was appealing to the Zionist construction of Palestine, as it denied private ownership of land and encouraged the pastoral image of the city. For the expression of this idea in the creation of Tel Aviv, see Tal Alon-Mozes, "Rural Ethos and Urban Development: The Emergence of the First Hebrew Town in Modern Palestine," *Planning Perspectives* 26, no. 2 (2011): 283–300.
- 18 Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn and Tal Alon-Mozes, "Small Hebrew Urban Farms in Palestine—The Land of Israel during the First Half of the Twentieth Century, Cultural Transformation of European Ideas" (unpublished research proposal, 2005).
- 19 Shalom Reichman and Shlomo Hasson, "A Cross-Cultural Diffusion of Colonization: From Posen to Palestine," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74, no. 1 (March 1984): 57–70, 61.
- 20 Henderson, "Ernst May and the Campaign to Resettle the Countryside," 188–211.
- 21 Henderson, "Ernst May and the Campaign to Resettle the Countryside," 200.
- 22 *Davar*, December 2, 1931.
- 23 Erich Kraemer, "Supplementary Farming Homesteads in Recent German Land Settlement," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics* 12, no. 2 (May 1936): 177–90.
- 24 Kraemer, "Supplementary Farming Homesteads in Recent German Land Settlement," 182.
- 25 Birgit Wahmann, "Allotments and Schrebergarten in Germany," in *The Architecture of Western Gardens*, ed. Monique Moser and Georges Teyssot (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), 451–52.
- 26 David H. Haney, *When Modern Was Green: Life and Work of Landscape Architect Leberecht Migge* (London: Routledge, 2010); and David H. Haney, "Leberecht Migge's 'Green Manifesto': Envisioning a Revolution of Gardens," *Landscape Journal* 26 (2007): 201–18.
- 27 Migge's articles are mentioned in the bibliography of *Anthology for Laborers' Neighborhoods*.
- 28 Amiram Oren, "Trumato Shel Zelig Soskin LaHiyashvut HaChaklait BiShnot HaEsrin" (The Contribution of Zelig Soskin to Agricultural Settlement in the 20s), in *Historical-Geographical Studies in the Settlement of Eretz-Israel*, ed. Yossi Katz, Yehoshua Ben Arie, and Yehoshua Kaniel (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak ben Zvi, 1991), 2:185–205; Shmuel Avizur, "HaChalom VeShivro, Hadoktrina Shel Zelig Soskin VeNahariya" (Vision and Its Breakage, the Doctrine of Zelig Soskin and Nahariya), in *Nofim BaGalil HaMaaravi* (Landscapes in the Western Galilee), ed. Moshe Yedaaya and Avshalom Shmueli (Haifa: Department of Landscape Studies, 1977), 81–102; and Ita Heinze-Greenberg, "'Neues von Migge': Das Selbstversorgerkonzept für Eretz Israel," *Gartenkunst* 1 (1998): 135–43.
- 29 Oren, "Trumato Shel Zelig Soskin LaHiyashvut HaChaklait BiShnot HaEsrin," 1991.
- 30 Lilo Stone, "German Zionist in Palestine before 1933," *Journal of Contemporary History* 32, no. 2 (1997): 171–86.
- 31 Derek Jonathan Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy: The Engineering of Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1870–1918* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991). The agronomy professor Otto Warburg, third president of the Zionist Organization, was an active member of the German Colonial Economic-Scientific Committee. Arthur Ruppin, the head of the Zionist Palestine bureau, studied sociology and law in Berlin and directed Berlin's Bureau for Jewish Statistics and Demography from 1902–7. Richard Kaufmann, a prominent planner and architect of the Palestinian bureau, was a student of Theodore Fisher, an active member of the German garden city movement, and an implementor of the garden city idea in Palestine. Finally, the Jewish sociologist Franz Oppenheimer was well known in planning circles in Germany; his ideas had a certain influence on Migge. He advocated land reform and the return of the German poor to agriculture. Although he did not immigrate to Palestine himself, he exerted a significant influence on the shaping of its early settlements.
- 32 Ruth Enis, "On the Pioneering Work of Landscape Architects in Israel: A Historical Review," *Landscape Journal* 11, no. 1 (1992): 22–34.
- 33 Graicer, "HaBasis HaIdeology shel Yachasa shel Tnuat HaAvoda Klapei Hityashvut Haironit Bein 1905–1928," 139. While Graicer documents the establishment of small urban farms by the settling company of the Labor movement, the information concerning similar projects initiated by private settling companies is very limited.
- 34 Aharon Greatz, *HaHityashvut HaChaklait Haivrit BeMisparim* (The Hebrew Agricultural Settlement in Numbers) (Tel Aviv: Goren, 1945).

- 35 Zipora Gihar, "The Decorative Garden," in *Gardens and Small Urban Farms in the Neighborhood* (Tel Aviv: Field Press, 1946), 12.
- 36 Shlomo Weinberg-Oren, "HaGan BiShchunot HaOvdim" (The Garden in the Workers' Neighborhoods), in *Kovetz Schunot HaOvdim* (Anthology for Laborers' Neighborhoods) (Tel Aviv: Culture Committee, 1927), 44–49.
- 37 During the second wave of immigration, thirty-five thousand Jews arrived in Palestine, mainly from Eastern Europe. The immigration was composed largely of Labor Zionist immigrants: young single men and women who aspired to become farmers.
- 38 Almost seventy thousand people immigrated to Palestine during the fourth wave of immigration (1924–28). They came mainly from Eastern Europe, Russia, and especially from Poland. Most of this wave of immigrants were shopkeepers and artisans from middle-class backgrounds. They came from small towns with limited financial means and settled mainly in Tel Aviv.
- 39 These Zionist women's organizations, which were established in the early twentieth century concurrently in Europe, the United States, and South America, were part of a Western tendency to promote women's status and professional training. Zionist women's organizations sought to help Hebrew women create a Zionist home by acquiring creative and productive means to support their survival struggle. Their background included education, home economics, law, health and welfare, and agricultural work.
- 40 Ofra Greenberg and Hanna Herzog, *Voluntary Women Organization in Emerging Culture: The Contribution of WIZO to the Israeli Society* (Tel Aviv: Institute for Social Research, Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, 1978).
- 41 Levita in Greenberg and Herzog, *Voluntary Women Organization in Emerging Culture*.
- 42 For more information on women's role in gardening, see Tal Alon-Mozes, "Women and the Emerging Hebrew Garden in Palestine," *Landscape Research* 32, no. 3 (2007): 311–31.
- 43 Ruth Hashman, "BeTzel HaDyunot" (In the Shadows of the Dunes), in *Kiryat Chaim, Nisui BeUtopia Urbanit 1933–1983* (Kiryat Chaim, an Experiment in Urban Utopia 1933–1983), ed. Zvi Ganin (Tel Aviv: Milo, 1984), 173.
- 44 Hashman, "BeTzel HaDyunot," 173.
- 45 Rachel Karsel-Lichtigshtein, "Yishuv BeMidbar HaChol" (A Settlement in the Sand Desert), *Dvar HaKirya*, October 1946, 66–67.
- 46 Hashman, "BeTzel HaDyunot," 173.
- 47 A. Israeli, "MeMidbar LeKiryat Avoda" (From a Desert to Kiryat Avoda), *Dvar HaKirya*, October 1946, 66.
- 48 Exodus 19:1.
- 49 *Dvar HaKirya*, October 1942.
- 50 *Davar LiYeladim*, February 11, 1937, 14.
- 51 Rassco, *El HaKfar* (To the Countryside) (1940).
- 52 *Hasadedeh La-Noar*, 1943.
- 53 Amos Oz, *A Tale of Love and Darkness* (Tel Aviv: Keter, 2003).
- 54 Shmuel Baumgart, *LiSheelat Mishkei HaEzer* (The Question of the Small Urban Farms) (Jerusalem: Planning Department of the Prime Minister's Office, 1949), 1. According to his observations, only a few hundred small urban farms were added to the list between 1942 and 1948.
- 55 Kushnir, "Mishkei HaEzer BaShikun."
- 56 Arie Sharon, *Israel Master Plan* (Jerusalem: Government Printer, 1951).
- 57 According to the 1951 *Israel Master Plan*, 842 small urban farms were planned in Afula and 540 small urban farms in Kiryat Shmona. Their sizes ranged between 140 and 1,200 square meters.
- 58 Baumgart, *LiSheelat Mishkei HaEzer*, 1, 6–9.
- 59 Baumgart, *LiSheelat Mishkei HaEzer*, 9.
- 60 Baumgart, *LiSheelat Mishkei HaEzer*, 15.
- 61 The book *HaAsor HaRishon* (The First Decade), ed. Zvi Zameret and Hana Yablonka (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi, 1997), which is a comprehensive description of Israel between 1948 and 1958, ignores the phenomenon of small urban farms although it discusses other settling initiatives.

- 62 Among these agencies were the Settling Department of the Jewish Agency, WIZO, Guidance Authority for Small Urban Farms, agricultural workers of the Histadrut (the largest labor union), the Agricultural Center, the Fund for Small Urban Farms, and the Center for Agricultural Guidance. All of these agencies collaborated on establishing *Mishkei Ezer*—a small urban farm magazine, which was published in 1957.
- 63 Tal, “To Make a Desert Bloom,” 235–36.
- 64 One of the goals of the Zionist project was to reverse the occupational pyramid of the European Jews, who were mostly merchants and white-collar workers, to include more farmers as common by other nations.
- 65 See the website of Shvuat Haadama, “Earth’s Promise,” <http://earthspromise.org>, accessed April 10, 2014.
- 66 “Jewish Farm School,” <http://www.jewishfarmschool.org>, accessed November 25, 2014.