

for purpose of investigation to determine the client's assets, or for purposes of clarifying any particulars related to his income . . . documents, certificates, and to request information and clarity from any person who may have knowledge of these matters short of entering a person's abode without a permit of entry." The National Insurance Institute may petition other persons to elicit information.

What is particularly regressive is the punishment that may arise in the form of financial fines and recall of funds for clients presenting misinformation. In addition, there are residency laws which state that the recipient must reside in the country for a period of 24 months before receiving benefits. It should also be noted that the law often fails to specify what constitutes need, what services are to be provided, or what is considered adequate relief. Lazin has put it in these terms: "Ministry administrative guidelines and regulations clarify broad statutes, but detailed laws are absent."

While the above features place the client in a vulnerable position, there are a number of positive steps which the law has introduced. Emphasis is placed upon retraining, enabling clients to return to the marketplace with new skills and opportunities. In addition, persons receiving children's allowances also qualify for public assistance. These benefits are computed independently. But in the main, the law is heavily weighted toward the means test, placing barriers before the clients' rights to assistance.

Summary and Conclusion

This paper has addressed separation of income maintenance and treatment in the Israeli social welfare services. In the light of the long tradition during which assistance was inextricably tied to treatment, separation presents a major policy innovation. The thrust for separation was an outcome of professional thinking in freeing the social services from the "albatross of relief" and helping clients deal more effectively with their needs. Treatment would become more meaningful, new services would be initiated, new target populations and high-risk groups would be reached. While progress has been reported in these areas, whether clients are indeed benefitting from separation remains questionable.

Access has been a central problem for clients in post-separation situations. They are not knowledgeable of services and even if they were, it would take more than knowledge to bring them to agencies. Evidence clearly suggests that welfare clients desire and are in need of professional help. Separation has limited these opportunities.

Professionals who view separation as a progressive step in welfare policy question its efficacy for clients. Concerned about access, their own advocacy role, and the creaming off phenomenon, they see as crucial the price that is being paid for separation. Finally, the regressive features of legislation place into question forward-looking welfare policy in Israeli society.

The Negev and its Social Welfare

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. . . it is more plausible that attention will be given to ways in which the Negev can develop its human services through being more effective and cost efficient, in other words, adopting a strategy of "doing more for less". Through this approach, the planning process will take on greater importance, especially in terms of four basic tasks: 1) information gathering and problem definition; 2) setting objectives (or describing options) and prioritizing them; 3) choosing objectives (or options) and allocating resources; and, 4) collecting data on program implementation and then interpreting the information.

Introduction

The social welfare of Israel reflects a range of problems and needs that require attention at a time when resources are becoming increasingly scarce. While many persons involved with human services are concerned with issues such as maintaining present levels of service provision, there is one region which has remained a priority for new programming and initiatives for more than thirty years—the Negev.

In response to this situation, Ben-Gurion University's newly established Center for Human Services Development, the American-Israel Joint Distribution Committee and the Israel Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs initiated an effort in 1984 at a systematic assessment of the Negev's needs—specifically, in terms of human services, manpower development and training, service provision, and research. The purpose of this assessment was to lay the foundation for an incremental but planned approach to upgrading the region's social welfare. This article describes the Negev, its background and demographic characteristics, and reviews as well key findings of the assessment study.¹

¹ This study was funded by a grant provided by the American-Israel Joint Distribution Committee.

Background

The Negev

David Ben-Gurion said that "the future of Israel is in the Negev." Few can contest this statement in terms of the region's vastness and potential for development. Yet, throughout Israel's brief history as a modern nation, the Negev has been on the periphery of the country's social, cultural and economic development. While the region constitutes nearly two-thirds of Israel's land, less than ten percent of its population (i.e., approximately 300,000 people, 60,000 of whom are Bedouin) reside in the area.

In spite of the absence of any clear national policy regarding the Negev's development over the past few years, it cannot be said that the region has been without a purpose. During the 1950's, effort was generated to: 1) found and develop new towns and settlements, including Beer-Sheva as a regional city and primary industrial center, as part of a strategy for dispersing the waves of newly arrived immigrants; 2) establish a presence of sovereignty over the largely unpopulated territory for defense purposes; and, 3) utilize the area's untapped natural resources and incorporate it into the national economy.²

² For a detailed description of the Negev's de-

The settlement of people in a desert environment was of special concern to the founders of Israel. "Conquest and cultivation of the neglected desert areas were major objectives of the Zionist movement"³ With a shortage of water and fertile land, however, the Zionist ideology using agriculture as the instrument for developing the Negev was not particularly feasible. Gradus and Stern have noted:

Successful absorption of the masses of new immigrants required that they be placed mainly in urban centers rather than in agricultural settlements. The agricultural sector in the country was not suited to realizing the Zionist dream due to natural constraints, as well as the lack of employment opportunities due to mechanization. In addition, the new immigrants had been predominately city dwellers in their countries of origin. In order to avoid the formation of large urban agglomerations, it was decided to create a network of small urban centers which would be interlinked with the agricultural settlements—a compromise between ideology and reality.⁴

Thus, in the areas north and west of Beer-Sheva, four towns were established as goods and services centers for their agricultural surroundings: Qiryat Gat⁵, Sederot, Netivot and Ofaqim.

development, see Yehuda Gradus and Eliahu Stern, "Changing Strategies of Development: Toward a Regiopolis in the Negev Desert", *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, October, 1980, pp. 410-423.

³ E. A. Altman and E. R. Rosenbaum "Principles of Planning and Zionist Ideology; the Israeli Development Town," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 1973, p. 316.

⁴ Yehuda Gradus and Eliahu Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

⁵ Various definitions exist regarding the territorial parameters of the Negev including its population centers. For purposes of this article, the Israel Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs' definition is used including the city/towns of: Beer-Sheva, Dimona, Arad, Yeruham, Mitzpe-Ramon, Netivot, Sederot, Ofaqim and Elat. The people of these locations as well as the region's kibbutzim, moshavim, Bedouin "settlement" towns (e.g., Rahat and Tel-Sheva) and nomadic Bedouin constitute the Negev's approximately 300,000 residents.

A second approach to the establishment of towns in the Negev was based on the region's raw natural resources. During the early 1950's, two government owned companies were organized—the Dead Sea Potash Company and the Phosphate Mining Company—along with smaller companies for the production of kaolin and gypsum. The need for workers' housing became central to the planning and creation of Arad, Dimona, Yeruham and Mitzpe-Ramon located east and south of Beer-Sheva.

By the early 1960's, it became evident that the region's development towns were not succeeding. Among the reasons being: kibbutzim and moshavim had their own marketing and purchasing organizations by-passing the towns set up for that purpose; the quality of minerals was inferior and world market prices were low, necessitating government subsidies to cover plant losses; the number of plant workers was too small to support the towns' economy; the work, especially that associated with mining, was physically demanding, limiting the participation of women in the labor force.

From the beginning of the development towns' existence, their population has consisted primarily of immigrants from North African and Middle Eastern countries. These people have been characterized as having low levels of education, large families, and a lack of professional training. Substantial resources have been committed to upgrading the quality of life of the development towns' population through a patch-work of special projects; yet, time and effort do not seem to have significantly altered the profile that has emerged of these locations. That is to say, the towns are characterized by small populations with patterns of much transience, low levels of health, education and social services, as well as high levels

of unemployment and poverty relative to national averages.

The Negev's primary population center is Beer-Sheva where nearly half of the region's Jewish population reside. Considered as the Negev's capital city, Beer-Sheva's population characteristics are similar to those of the region's small development towns and nearly half of the local social welfare agency's clientele are residents of the "Dalet" neighborhood including Dalet North, East and Central.⁶

Table 1 provides key demographic characteristics of the Negev's population centers. From the data, it is interesting to note that most locations show a modest population rise in terms of percentage, however, the actual increase in numbers of people has remained low reflecting almost no population migration to the region over the years. Also, it is important to point out that in all locations, crime and delinquency rates are above the national norm; in most cases considerably so.

The Study

General agreement exists among program and policy makers in Israel that the Negev is an underdeveloped region and its network of human services must be built up. Basic services are present and most crisis situations are addressed; however, there is a need to improve the manner in which human services are managed and how clients' needs can

⁶ Approximately two-thirds (66%) of Beer Sheva's population are people from North African and Middle Eastern countries including their Israeli-born children. This proportion is lower than the average 75% found among the development towns but higher than the 50% amount for the nation. For a detailed description of Beer-Sheva and its social welfare problems see Richard Isralowitz, "Beer-Sheva, Capital of the Negev: A Profile of Social Welfare Problems", *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (Spring, 1984), pp. 256-260.

best be met. It is unlikely, especially at a time when Israel is faced with reducing its level of spending, that government funds will be available to supplement the present level of service provision. Rather, it is more plausible that attention will be given to ways in which the Negev can develop its human services through being more effective and cost efficient. In other words, adopting a strategy of "doing more with less". Through this approach, the planning process will take on greater importance, especially in terms of four basic tasks: 1) information gathering and problem definition; 2) setting objectives (or describing options) and prioritizing them; 3) choosing objectives (or options) and allocating resources; and, 4) collecting data on program implementation and then interpreting the information.

At every level of human service organization (i.e., national, regional and local), there should be a reasonably accurate assessment of needs for the client. Also, this is true for the service provider particularly in those regions such as the Negev where knowledgeable and experienced personnel, working with adequate resources, are in short supply. Long range organizational development is absolutely dependent on knowing the nature and scope of such needs. And, because such needs change over time as a result of new policies and decisions, economic conditions and shifting population trends, such information gathering or needs assessment should be current.

There are many ways of conducting a needs assessment. The study carried out by the Center for Human Services Development focused on the Negev's human services manpower development and training, service provision, and research.⁷

⁷ Needs assessment, data collection and analysis technology developed by the Human Services De-

Table 1.
Selected Demographic Characteristics of the Negev

	Population	Population Increase %	Percentage of Large* Families	Dependency Ratio: (0-19 and 65+ yrs of age)	Rate of Children per 1000 population (0-18) placed in Institutions	Infant Mortality Rates	Crime Rate per 1000 population	Rate of Juvenile Delinquency per 1000 male population aged 9-18
Israel	4,063,300 ¹	7.2	41.5 ²	.99 ¹	—	11.6 ³	63.4 ²	27.5 ²
	3,789,800 ⁵		14.5 ⁵	1.02 ⁵	7.05 ⁵	13.8 ⁵	56.5 ⁵	22.0 ⁵
Beer-Sheva	112,600 ¹	9.0	38.5 ²	.91 ¹	6.2 ¹	19.4 ¹	111.4 ²	41.0 ²
	103,300 ⁵		27.9 ⁵	.92 ⁵	8.0 ⁵	19.5 ⁵	82.0 ⁵	28.9 ⁵
Dimona	27,600 ¹	1.1	50.1 ²	1.13 ¹	9.3 ¹	15.0 ¹	96.2 ²	43.2 ²
	27,300 ⁵		39.3 ⁵	1.19 ⁵	8.7 ⁵	23.7 ⁵	58.2 ⁵	42.6 ⁵
Elat	19,600 ¹	7.7	34.6 ²	1.10 ¹	2.6 ¹	2.1 ¹	154.9 ²	36.1 ²
	18,200 ⁵		14.5 ⁵	1.13 ⁵	7.0 ⁵	13.8 ⁵	56.5 ⁵	18.0 ⁵
Netivot	8,500 ¹	13.3	59.2 ²	1.21 ¹	11.6 ¹	16.1 ¹	99.9 ²	101.4 ²
	7,500 ⁵		61.4 ⁵	1.23 ⁵	19.3 ⁵	31.0 ⁵	67.3 ⁵	47.4 ⁵
Arad	12,900 ¹	27.7	37.0 ²	1.29 ¹	3.2 ¹	3.2 ¹	111.1 ²	20.6 ²
	10,100 ⁵		15.7 ⁵	1.37 ⁵	5.5 ⁵	27.3 ⁵	76.3 ⁵	19.4 ⁵
Ofaqim	12,700 ¹	13.4	50.1 ²	.93 ¹	12.7 ¹	15.6 ¹	123.6 ²	69.8 ²
	11,200 ⁵		50.6 ⁵	.89 ⁵	11.7 ⁵	18.4 ⁵	112.6 ⁵	57.2 ⁵
Sederot	9,000 ¹	8.4	48.6 ²	1.04 ¹	7.8 ¹	12.4 ¹	74.1 ²	77.6 ²
	8,300 ⁵		42.0 ⁵	1.11 ⁵	13.9 ⁵	31.8 ⁵	114.3 ⁵	23.6 ⁵
Yeruham	6,600 ¹	8.1	57.6 ²	0.63 ¹	16.2 ¹	10.0 ¹	83.8 ²	82.8 ²
	6,100 ⁵		69.3 ⁵	1.02 ⁵	23.5 ⁵	5.8 ⁵	66.4 ⁵	35.1 ⁵

* Families with four or more children.

¹ 1982. ⁵ 1978.

² 1981. ⁶ 1977.

³ 1980. ⁷ 1976.

⁴ 1979. ⁸ 1975.

Note: The Negev's population, based in the cities and towns listed above, increased 9.1% from 1978 (192,000) to 1982 (209,500).

Subject and Measures

This study was conducted during the first quarter of 1984 throughout the Negev. The target population included workers providing social services for local and regional social welfare, health, mental health, rehabilitation, probation (youth and adult), and national insurance agencies as well as neighborhood youth centers. Also, the three direct service social workers of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs who are responsible for the Negev's Bedouin population were asked to complete the survey forms.⁸

sign Laboratory, School of Applied Social Sciences, Case Western Reserve University (Cleveland, Ohio) was applied to this study. The author of this article was Director of the Laboratory from 1978-1982.

⁸ A total of 36 local and regional human service agencies/organizations in the Negev were surveyed.

The questionnaire used for this effort was developed from two sources: 1) the National Child Welfare Center's survey instrument for assessing child welfare inservice training (School of Social Work, University of Michigan, 1981); and, 2) the Urban Institute's (1979) self-assessment checklists for local child welfare services. Both instruments were modified and translated into Hebrew for use in the Negev.

The survey questionnaire was distributed to the workers at the beginning of February. First, however, a letter of introduction was sent to human service agency directors explaining the assessment's purpose. Next, a meeting was held with each agency director and the agency's workers to discuss the survey forms, to solicit their cooperation and to provide assistance, if needed, to help respondents understand the questions. Once the questionnaire was received by the workers they were given, in general,

one week to complete it. For those agencies (i.e., director/personnel) slow or reluctant in completing the questionnaire, key personnel of the Joint and the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs telephoned the agency director to encourage participation. Project staff arranged with each agency director when they would return to collect the completed forms. After a four week period which included the questionnaire's distribution and collection, an 89% (N=405) return rate was achieved. In the words of a Joint Distribution Committee program officer, "this survey represents the most comprehensive effort of its kind in Israel to date and the level of cooperation received by agency personnel exceeds expectations."

Findings

Much data have been collected and is under analysis; for purposes of this study selected worker related information and responses are presented to provide a preliminary profile of the Negev's human services situation. Because this study has been conducted only in the Negev, national data and that from other regions in Israel are not available for comparison purposes.

Among the major findings are:⁹

Human Service Workers

—a total of 456 persons were found to be providing human services for those agencies surveyed;

—agency directors reported 58% (264) of their workers as having professional status and 42% (192) as being paraprofessionals;¹⁰

⁹ Statistics presented are calculated on the total number of respondents to each survey form question.

¹⁰ Disagreement exists among human service agency directors, representatives of the Joint Distribution Committee, Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, and the Department of Social Work, Ben-Gurion University as to who is a "professional" worker. The issue is one of whether the job

—among the "professional" workers, 53% (140) have a B.A. degree and 32% (85) are graduates of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs' Social Work Training Institute.¹¹ Fifteen percent (39) of the professional workers have advanced degrees or training certificates;

—60% (84) of the "professional" workers with a B.A. degree have studied social work and 40% (56) have majors in social/behavioral sciences, sociology, education, psychology, etc.

Manpower Development and Training

—among the respondents (317) to the question whether in-service training is received to improve professional skills and abilities, 28% (90) of the workers reported not receiving any such assistance;

—human service workers reported in-service training is needed to improve their skills and job performance in the following areas (listed in terms of priority):

1) the ability to work together as a team and coordinate efforts more effectively; 2) interpersonal and inter-agency communications; 3) effective client case review and monitoring techniques; 4) family and group counseling methods; and 5) supervision of agency personnel;

—a need for college level social work education was expressed by 32% (145) of the Negev's entire human service work force;

—the major provider of social work related in-service training (i.e., 36% of all training received by workers) is provided by the Beer-Sheva Social Work Training Institute;

—the principal provider of university training for the Negev's human service workers is Tel-Aviv University at its main campus (Ramat-Aviv). A considerable amount of time is lost and cost incurred for workers to receive training from Tel-Aviv University because of its distance from their place of work.¹²

responsibilities or the person's education should be the criterion to determine the worker's status.

¹¹ For a discussion of social work education in Israel see R. Isralowitz, "Beer-Sheva, Capital of the Negev", *op. cit.* (footnote #13), p. 257.

¹² The need for regionalizing university in-service training for human service agencies is one reason for the establishment of Ben-Gurion University's Department of Social Work. The Department's first class of students will be graduating

Service Problems

- forty percent (4,234) of all human service agency cases in the Negev are considered to be of a family/child welfare nature; 12% (1,270) relate to issues of the elderly; and, about 5% (529) deal with youth. The remaining percentages and numbers are scattered among problems and needs associated with the physically handicapped, developmentally disabled, physically ill, etc.
- agency directors (29) reported nearly 10% (44) of the region's human service positions were unfilled as of September, 1983 primarily due to the lack of qualified personnel;
- workers (266) reported the major agency problems affecting human service provision are (listed in terms of seriousness): 1) lack of organization and management of client case records; 2) caseworkers' difficulty in identifying and setting priorities for their clients; and, 3) an absence of uniform operating procedures among workers in similar situations and cases.

Research

- survey respondents (299) reported the most important areas for research are (listed in terms of importance): 1) the effectiveness or impact of services on clients; 2) the degree of agency accountability (i.e., does the agency do what it is supposed to be doing); and, 3) a more specific understanding of client needs.

Conclusion

The Negev's human service problems and needs are just one facet of the reflection of the region's being on the periphery of Israel's development. It has been noted by Gradus¹³ that:

Israel, with its highly centralized, non-spatial, ideological, political system, tried to execute a national policy of balanced regional development, but failed because such development is basically a territorial and bottom-up process, as well as a process of allocating resources from above. In the existing top-down system, the gap between the affluent core and the relatively impoverished national periphery is growing.

It is evident that the problems faced by Israel's leaders especially those of an economic and security nature, supersede the generation of new plans and initiative for vitalizing the Negev. Yet, it seems that the Negev's immediate future relies on these same leaders (those from government as well as private organizations) to prioritize the development of this region as a "new national mission". Such an effort must include policies which promote social, cultural and economic development. Certainly, this cannot be done apart from a positive, well-defined working relationship with Jewish communities outside Israel including their associations with business, industry and universities. If this is not done, the Negev's future does not appear promising.

¹³ Yehuda Gradus, "The Emergence of Regionalism in a Centralized System: The Case of Israel," *Society and Space*, Vol., 1984, p. 97.

The Social Role of the Israeli Community Center*

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There are opportunities as well as risks inherent in the development of community centers [Matnassim]. The greater the risks, the greater the chance that Matnassim will play an increasingly larger role in Israeli society, not only in the realm of leisure time activities but also [in providing] . . . differentiated services . . .

DESPITE the interest in community centers (*Matnassim*) in Israel, very little research has been done and little has been written on the subject there. This article will acquaint the reader with the historical background of the *Matnassim*, their operational principles and objectives and the social roles which they fulfill in Israel.

Historical Background

Community centers have existed and operated in Israel for the past seventy years. Originally, *batei am*, or cultural centers, were established by political parties and ideological movements. The aim was to offer a variety of educational, cultural and recreational activities for various age groups.

In the course of their development, three distinct types or models of community centers emerged: First, there are those associated with social-ideological or political movements. Here, activities tend to be unidimensional and such institutions are often short-lived, in part as a result of financial dependence on a single source of support. Second, there are community centers based on the "country club" model. Activities are provided with an aim towards profit-making and little concern for the needs of the community. The third type of community center is based on an elitist model. Membership is contingent upon

a particular organizational tie or other prerequisites.

In the wake of changes in Israeli society and possibilities of financial assistance from abroad,¹ a new generation of community centers has risen which is neither dependent, transient, indifferent to the environment, elitist, nor profit-making.² This generation is represented by the *Matnas*, an acronym standing for culture, youth and sports center.

Matnassim were established by a government association and today operate in some 100 cities and neighborhoods throughout the country. The majority of *Matnassim* have been established in distressed urban areas and neighborhoods or development towns. Others have been set up in well-established areas.³ In general, we tend to think of cities, especially large cities, as focal points for many of the social and demographic problems of society. Government statistics indicate, however, that in

¹ Chaim Zipori, *The Emergence and Development of Matnassim in Israel*, Jerusalem, The Joseph J. Schwartz Graduate Program for Training Community Center Directors and Senior Personnel at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1972 (In Hebrew).

² David Macarov and Uri Yanay, "Some Preliminary Findings Concerning Community Centers in Israel," *The Journal of Jewish Communal Services*, 51, (4) (Summer 1975), pp. 332-340.

³ Uri Yanay, "Community Centers in Israel as Service Delivery Agencies". An Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, April 1982A (In Hebrew).

* Based on the Arnulf M. Pins Memorial Lecture, 1983.