Community Organization and Housing Policy in Israel

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... poor people placed in middle-class neighborhoods do have moderate problems of adjustment and integration. These problems are amenable to social work and community intervention designed for the short term and emphasizing systems linkage and system management.

ADEQUATE housing has been a major problem in Israel throughout the thirty-five years of statehood. During the period 1948–1951 Israel absorbed 329,049 Jews of European origin, survivors of the Nazi holocaust and 330,400 Jewish refugees from the Arab countries of the Middle East. The total population of Israel on the eve of independence in 1948 was 650,000.[1]

To meet the needs of this immigration, the government embarked on a massive construction program. The amount of construction increased from 843,000 sq.m. in 1948 2,137,000 sq.m. in 1952. Housing and public works increased from 45 percent of all capital investment in 1949 to 70 percent in 1951. Due to the importance of housing to national policy, the government undertook 66 percent of all housing construction and 100 percent of housing construction for new immigrants and other special needs groups. Of the 600,000 housing units completed between 1948 and 1967, 375,000 were built by the public sector. By 1970, the total amount of construction by government for immigrants, young couples in need and slum clearance reached 40,000,000 sq. meters.

During the early years of Israeli statehood, the seeds were planted for the housing problems of the present period.

The pressure for housing solutions for the mass immigration led the authorities to settle families in abandoned Arab dwellings and in houses in the main cities built half a century before. These temporay solutions soon became areas of rapid deterioration. Second, in order to relieve the immediate need of the families located in absorption camps, the government pursued a policy of building very small (although structurally sound) apartments. These small apartments did not meet the user needs of the immigrants and concentrations of them rapidly became overcrowded with a selected population (the weaker the family, the greater their chance of remaining in the neighborhood). As Jews of Afro-Asian origin tended to have families far larger than those of European immigrants, they suffered disproportionately from the effects of overcrowding in the areas of their resettlement.[2] Third, the government policy of removing all immigrants from the jerry-built absorption camps to neighborhoods of permanent settlement was not fully successful. Whether due to the perceived inadequacy of the new housing or to other problems, some of the families remained in the camps and permanent low-income slum neighborhoods developed around them.

[1] General background data regarding demography and housing in Israel is taken from *Statistical Abstract of Israel* and the *Encyclopedia Judaica*.

[2] In 1961 the number of children per married Jewish woman aged 45–49, who immigrated after 1948 was 1.9 for women of European origin and 6.3 for women of Afro-Asian origin.

Lastly, in spite of avowed policy, the government was not successful in reversing the tendency of the established Jewish population to settle in the central coastal plain. Approximately 78 percent of the Jewish population was settled in the coastal cities and towns from Haifa in the north to Gedera in the south. There existed a social, political and defense imperative to decrease the density of the central area, to distribute the population to fill the country and to settle the border regions. Although the government was not successful in redistributing the established population, the weaker, immigrant population was more vulnerable to government pressure and were relocated to development towns distant from the main cities. These towns were to experience serious economic, social and security problems. The result was often re-migration to the center of the country and resettlement in the worst neighborhoods of the main centers, thereby further frustrating the problems of over-crowding and deterioration in these areas.

This brief review indicates that the roots of the present housing dilemma of Israel are to be found in the mass immigration following the establishment of the State and in the policies pursued in providing housing for this population. In addition, we find that for various reasons, the Afro-Asian immigration suffered more from inadequate housing than did the European immigration. To the extent that this is true, it indicates a failure of the ideology of the Zionist movement which was the avowed basis for government policy dvelopment.

The two main elements of Zionist ideology relevant here are: *Kibbutz Galiot* (the ingathering of the exiles) and *Mizug Galiot* (the mixing of the exiles).

Ingathering of exiles is based on the belief, basic to the very existence of Israel, that all Jews have a place in the Jewish State. This is defended in the Law of Return which gives any Jew the legal right to Israeli citizenship. This policy is advanced at the governmental level by the Ministry of Absorption which encourages immigration with a complex set of tax benefits, special financial assitance, social services, employment benefits and housing rights aimed at assisting the new immigrant in his settlement.

The mixing of the exiles is based on the Zionist ideology which sees Israel as the heritage of a single Jewish people that has been dispersed throughout the world. This Diaspora, the ideology continues, has created numerous cultural differences among Jews of different origins. These differences are seen as artifacts that will become minimal as the various groups integrate in an equalitarian Jewish state.

The policy of dispersion of the population within the country was seen, in addition to its other functions, as a way of advancing the ideology of mixing the exiles. It was hoped that the immigrant population would mix with the established population in planned development towns. This amalgam of West and East, immigrant and old timer, did not occur. The policy of dispersion was successful only with the weaker elements of the society (i.e., immigrants) and only within the even weaker elements of that cohort (especially Afro-Asian immigrants). Today, in the third decade of statehood, the degree of failure of this policy is apparent, as shown in Table I.

As seen in Table I, the overwhelming majority of the population of the three exemplary development towns are of Afro-Asian birth or origin, while the established population (Israeli-born of Israeli father) is only a negligible proportion of the population. The picture that develops in these towns (and the other development towns created in the same period) is the exact opposite to the ideologic aim of mixing the exiles. In

Table I.
Percent of Population by Origin of Father in 3 Development Towns

Town	Afro-Asian born	Israel Born+ Afro-Asian Father	European Born+ Born	Israel Born+ European Father	Israel Born+ Israeli Father
Ofakim	56.1	37.8	3.7	2.6	0.6
Dimona	49.8	24.4	12.3	6.1	3.3
Qiriat Shmona	43.2	35.1	12.7	6.8	2.4

[3] *Urban Statistical Areas in Israel.* State of Israel: Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, 1979.

itself this might be a problem only for the ideologists, but one must take into account one additional fact regarding the development towns: for those immigrants relocated there, they were not desirable places to live. In addition to the *de facto* segregation, the development towns suffered from numerous problems, such as inadequate employment opportunities, inadequate education, proxmity to border squirmishes and rocket shellings, etc.

Table II summarizes the migration pattern in the three towns mentioned in Table I, as compared to three towns in the center of the country, close to the Tel Aviv metropolis.

The data in Table II indicate a strong trend of out-migration coupled with low rates of in-migration in the development towns and strong trends of in-migration and low rates of out-migration in the towns near the Tel Aviv metropolis. The urban and industrialized Tel Aviv area is a clearly preferable place to live. In Table III we com-

pare the six towns in terms of socioeconomic variables and demography. We see that while approximately one-half of the total population of Israel is of Afro-Asian origin, the development towns are far above that proportion while the suburban towns are quite beneath the national rate. Conversely, the level of socio-economic status as measured by vehicles per 1000 population shows the reverse trend. The development towns tend to be far poorer and tend to a higher crime rate. It is important to point out that while the percent of population in the suburban towns approaches the national average, this does not indicate integration. Rather there exists a situation of segregated sub-communities wherein the trends of ethnic separation continue to be evident.

Table IV looks at one of these towns, Ramat Hasharon,. in terms of a breakdown by statistical area. Here we chose to use density of housing as an indicator of socio-economic status.

Table II.
Internal Migration Rates (In-migration rate and out-migration rate) in Selected Towns

Town	1973 In Migr.	1973 Out Migr.	1975 In Migr.	1975 Out Migr.	1977 In Migr	1977 Out Migr.
1. Ofaquim	32.8	33.8	14.9	47.5	25.2	62.3
2. Dimona	27.8	62.7	30.9	62.1	24.5	56.8
3. Qiriat Shmona	16.1	46.9	23.9	49.4	31.3	50.7
4. Raanana	66.5	22.7	94.8	29.9	104.1	30.2
5. Ramat Hasharon	60.4	26.3	72.2	30.6	84.4	38.1
6. Herzlia	39.7	25.6	55.0	29.3	65.9	36.2

[4] *Social Profile of Cities and Towns in Israel.* State of Israel: Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, 1979.

Table III.
Socio-Economic Status and Percent of Populations of Afro-Asian Origin in 6 Towns

Town	Motor Vehicles per 1000 popul.	Percent of Population Afro-Asian Origin	Crime Rate	PerCapita Income from local Taxes
Ofaqim	37.0	93.9	112.6	493
Dimona	43.5	74.2	58.2	443
Qiriat Shmona	72.6	78.3	94.6	671
Raanana	150.6	44.9	55.8	1,241
Ramat Hasharon	195.3	36.1	57.7	1,287
Herzlia	164.2	48.5	73.0	1,765
All Israel	115.5		56.5	

These data again support the view of Israel as maintaining patterns of exclusion in housing. In Table IV we see a clear relationship between ethnic origin and inadequate housing. Within the township of Ramat Hasharon the communities (as defined by statistical areas) can be easily identified as either predominantly Afro-Asian neighborhoods or minimally Afro-Asian. In the two Afro-Asian neighborhoods, the probability of families living in overcrowding of three or more per room is eleven times greater on the average than in the four neighborhoods wherein Afro-Asian Jewish families are the minority.

These data seem to suggest that in spite of professed ideology, the experience of urbanization and settlement of the State of Israel in the last thirty-five years has created housing patterns of separation. The situation is rather dif-

ferent from the situation of the United States. Danielson points out that in the U.S. the pattern of separateness found in housing is the result of a "politics of exclusion":

> Throughout the development of the differentiated metropolis, those ethnic and racial minorities whose ranks included large numbers of poor people have been the prime targets of exclusionary practices. The barriers erected by more established groups to protect their neighborhoods, combined with poverty, ethnic rivalries and ties of language, custom and religion to produce ethnic clustering in the rapidly growing cities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ...[5]

Danielson indicates that in the U.S. there exists a complex set of private and public attitudes and actions that create an exclusionary situation which limits access of low status groups to higher status neighborhoods. However, beyond the individual prejudice and repression existing in the society, the process of exclusion is advanced by the legal and political values and structures of the society. Suburbs for example, are politically separate and legally insulated from the needs and problems of the inner city. The fragmentation of authority creates a situation where the possessors of resources are disengaged from the problems requiring those resources for

Table IV.
Ramat Hasharon by Statistical Areas

Statistical Area	Population Density Percent of Population 3+ per room	Percent of Afro-Asian Origin
91	15.3	69.8
92	10.7	60.1
93	2.6	23.4
94	1.1	18.0
95	0.8	21.1
96	0.4	24.6

[5] M. N. Danielson, *The Policy of Exclusion.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1976, p.7.

solution. This condition exists within a value framework which justifies and defends local community self-rule.

This situation in Israel differs in several central ways. Greenberg[6] argues that while the social problems of the U.S. are aggravated by the destruction of traditional authority, conflict regarding the distribution of power, anomie expressed as neo-hedonism, government by competing interest groups and various forms of dehumanization, the Israeli society suffers considerably *less* from these elements. He argues that, in Israel, the integration force of Zionist ideology, Jewish traditions and the realities of war and immigration have created a situation of basic social cohesion. To the extent that he is correct, we would not find legitimization of institutionalized racism nor tolerance for institutionalized segregation. As has been stated, Zionist ideology before the establishment of the State of Israel envisioned a new society essentially socialistic with relative economic equality and a fair division of labor. The absence of an aristocracy and the fact that much of the land belonged to public organizations buttressed the strong egalitarianism of Israel.

These factors are commonly believed to contribute to a condition in Israel of relatively little institutionalized racism and less inter-group hostility than found in many western countries. The literature supports this popular belief. Peres[7] points out that the concept of "inherited inferiority" is extremely rare in Israel. His data show that most Israelis believe that the non-Western ethnic group *will eventually be incorporated into the society as equals* and that this is in fact desirable. However, he also

found ". . . considerable social distance between Jews of European and Oriental descent and the majority of respondents had at least some reservations about involving themselves 'too closely' with the other group." (p. 1034) Regarding attitudes toward mixed housing, he found that in his sample of European subjects, 67 percent agreed or definitely agreed to rent to non-Europeans and an additional 7% agreed, but preferred to rent to their own group. These findings add evidence to the perception that there is little strong objection to inter-group relations and that there exists a broad national consensus that integration is inevitable and desirable. Despite this, there continues a condition of separation in housing which is to the clear disadvantage of the non-Western groups.

To understand the relationship of housing to social segregation in Israel, we must understand the meaning of housing satisfaction. Yuchtman Ya'ar, Spiro and Ram[8] investigated the satisfaction of slum residents who were relocated in housing projects to their new environment. These authors found that while there was overwhelming satisfaction with their new apartment, their satisfaction with the housing project was considerably less. The authors explain this phenomenon by the fact that while the residents' wish for decent housing was satisfied, they were frustrated in their desire for upward mobility. The residents felt that in moving into a low-income housing development inhabited primarily by Afro-Asians they have not progressed in their desired upward mobility and social integration. The authors rejected their initial hypothesis that neighborhood dissatisfac-

tion relates to mourning the "loss of community" experienced in moving from the old neighborhood. For these residents and for the non-Western communities in Israel as a whole, there is little, if any positive value in ethnic separateness. Their goal is integration.

Carmon and Mannheim (1979)[9] studied the effects of heterogeneity in housing. Their concern was to evaluate the viability of integration in housing as a means of advancing social integration. They found that Westerners were three times more positive toward non-Western ethnic groups in neighborhoods of mixed, inter-ethnic, housing. These authors conclude that housing policy can be used as a vehicle for achieving the social goal of integration and inter-ethnic amity. Specifically, the social policy of creating ethnically mixed communities by assigning new immigrants of mixed origin to housing increased social integration and lessened the inter-ethnic distance between groups. Their study also showed that the above process did not slow down the concomitant processes of economic development and the creation of a sense of rootedness of the immigrant in the country. Ginsberg and Morans[10] in their study of a new immigrant town also found that there were no significant negative effects of mixing ethnic groups on micro-neighborhood success and that ethnic mix is a viable social policy in development towns and perhaps other areas of equal economic and occupational status.

These findings are not unique to Israel. In the United States studies have found that there is good reason to support a policy of inter-group housing.

Meir and Friedman[11] found that residential contact between racial groups, even if beginning on a superficial level, may lead to more intimate contact and the reduction of prejudice: this is the case of *equal status* residential contact. This point is of considerable importance. Our data shows that in Israel there exists a strong relationship between low social status and disproportionately Afro-Asian enclaves. If the findings of Meir and Friedman hold for the Israeli society as well, then we will continue to see *de facto* discrimination in housing being rationalized in terms of the desirability of equal status neighborhoods. If, on the other hand, we can find that in Israel, (perhaps due to the integrative forces existing in the country) equal status is not a necessary condition for integration in housing, we can encourage government's pursuing a vigorous policy of integration in housing.

We have found an objective situation of separateness in housing in development towns and in metropolitan areas. We have found that this pattern is to the detriment of non-Western groups, who suffer by fact of their location in areas of inadequate housing and related social problems. We have also seen that there is a wide consensus advocating the eventual integration of all ethnic groups and against racism. Indeed, in those areas of equal status and mixed residence, we find that the integration of ethnic groups has been successfully achieved, in areas of Afro-Asian majority we have found dissatisfaction. We now consider the question of integration of ethnic families of low status into higher status areas as a solution to the housing problems of the poor and as a basis for governmental housing policy.

[6] H. Greenberg, *Israel Social Problems.* Tel Aviv: Dekel Academic Press, 1979.

[7] Y. Peres, "Ethnic Relations in Israel," *American Journal of Sociology,* 76 (1971) 1021–1047.

[8] E. Yuchtman-Ya'ar, S. Spiro and J. Ram, "Reactions to Re-Housing: Loss of Community or Frustrated Aspirations, *"Urban Studies,* 16 (1976), 113–119.

[9] N. Carmon and B. Mannheim, "Housing Policy as a Toll of Social Policy", *Social Forces* 58(1979) 336–354.

[10] Y. Ginsberg and R. W. Morgans, "Forced Mix in Housing: Does Ethnicity Make a Difference?" *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 7(1979) 101–112.

[11] B. Meier and E. Freedman, "The Impact on Negro Neighbors on White Home Owners," *Social Forces,* 45(1966) 11–19.

The Study

The data presented herein are the result of an action research project carried out by the community organization department of the Tel Aviv housing corporation called Halamish. Halamish has built and managed nuemrous large housing developments in the city. In addition to housing construction, Halamish purchases and manages a stock of apartments throughout the greater Tel Aviv area, as an alternative for families who qualify for public housing but for various reasons are not relocated in the large housing developments. Two additional points need to be underscored. First, the apartments from the housing stock of Halamish, are purchased on the open market. The main criterion for their purchases is their value as an investment of the corporation's capital. These are high quality apartments. Some of them are in the more exclusive of Tel Aviv's neighborhoods. All of them are in very adequate residential neighborhoods that carry no stigma of poverty nor lower ethnic group character. Second, many of the families resettled in stock apartments not only are from the worst of Tel Aviv's slums, but they are referred to stock apartments because they are poor risks for integration in the housing projects. Halamish is reluctant to place a multi-problem family in the corporations's developments as that may lower the chances of success *for the development.* Halamish is vulnerable to public and political pressure and the vast sums committed to the developments make the company extremely cautious.

Thirty-two families who had been referred to stock apartments were included in the study. They were randomly selected from the company's files. Ten of these were single-parent families. The families tended to have many children. Three families had no

children and three had eight or more children. Eight of the families were still in the process of resettlement. Nine families were chosen from a list of problem families whose neighbors petitioned for their removal from the neighborhood. This was done to insure a high representation of hard-core cases in the sample.

The interviews were carried out by the community workers of Halamish who were prepared in staff meetings. The workers explained their contacting the families as being related to research, but were instructed to relate to all requests for assistance as if they were applications for service. There were three main purposes of this study. We were interested in finding out more about the problems involved in integrating hard-core problem families of low social status into middle-class neighborhoods. Second, we were interested in getting initial information regarding the types of difficulties encountered by these families and their ability to deal with these problems. Third, we wanted to learn more about the usefulness of community organization as a vehicle for facilitating the integration process and in developing a professional intervention policy in these cases.

Findings

The survey of clients in stock apartments found that these clients presented a wide range of personal and social problems. These problems included physical disability, mental retardation, mental illness, alcoholism, drug abuse and prostitution. However, it was felt that the situation was far less problematic than expected. While the sample included situations of considerable difficulty, it was found that the great majority of clients were managing their problems reasonably well. The community

workers indicated that 26 percent of the sample had serious and multiple problems. The case of Irit is representative.

Irit has been living in _____ (an exclusive neighborhood in Tel Aviv) for the last four years as a divorced mother of three children. She has recently remarried. She is the target of numerous complaints from neighbors who claim that her children destroyed the landscaping and are engaged in generally wild behavior, creating a nuisance at all hours. Neighbors complain that the family has no respect for public property and they keep an unpleasant dog. In addition, Irit's first husband is to be released shortly from prison and the neighbors fear a reoccurrence of unpleasantness which in the past required police intervention. The neighbors believe him to be quite dangerous.

In most of the cases the relationships with neighbors were less disintegrated than in the case of Irit. The most common complaints related to non-payment for communal expenses of maintenance and generally disruptive behavior. In spite of the difficulties in relationships with neighbors, residents of the stock apartments were decidedly satisfied with their condition. Systematic information was gathered regarding resident satisfaction and it was found that only 21 percent of the sample were dissatisfied with their apartment and 29 percent dissatsified with neighborhood. (Neikrug, 1985). Yet in spite of their satisfaction, only five families felt that they could manage their problems without any external assistance. The rest indicated at least one area of problems and requested assistance from the community organizer. The dissatisfaction that was expressed related to three basic problems; hidden costs of middle-class neighborhoods, problems of social integration and the intensification of previous problems caused by the relocation process.

Many of the families expressed difficulty with the increased strain on family budget in middle-class areas. The out-

door markets of the old neighborhood were a source of inexpensive food stuffs and clothing. Need to dress children for school on a higher standard was frequently mentioned. Many services in the areas of health, education, welfare and recreation that were either subsidized or free are now beyond the reach of these families. Transportation to work and to visit family and friends is an additional hidden cost.

Respondents indicated several ways in which the move to their new apartment caused further deterioration in their personal and family problems. First, for many, the relocation triggered crisis or crisis-like situations. They experienced disorientation, were depressed over loss of contact with relatives and friends, felt rejected by neighbors and felt alone in their situation. Second, the distance from previous helpers, both formal and informal, and problems of agency jurisdiction areas have cut many of the respondents off from their support system. Social workers, nurses, teachers, and others who were in contact with these families are no longer available to them and these families are not powerful enough to re-establish support systems in the new community.

The stock apartments are all located in condominium buildings which is the model housing pattern in Israel. Apartment ownership and shared ownership of stairwells, entrance areas, landscaping and boilers have made inter-neighbor relations an endemic problem. The fact that many of the cases were involved in various degrees of discord with their neighbors was to be expected. The special problem in these cases is that as non-owners the status of Halamish clients is considerably unequal. Also Halamish as a public and politically sensitive corporation can be influenced by powerful neighbors. For these reasons subjects expressed vulnerability and powerlessness.

Intervention Plan

The results of the interviews were presented by the community workers in staff meetings. Five of the thirty-four cases were found to be managing adequately and neither requested nor required further intervention. The remaining 85 percent had requested help from a community worker. This high percent is due in part to the fact that social work assistance in Israel is predominantly seen as a right and carried much less stigma than in the States. The problems were evaluated in conference with this writer as consultant and an intervention strategy was developed. The strategy was based on supportive contact with the client in a short-term action-oriented design emphasizing system linkage and system management with formal and informal systems.

The case of Irit is again representative. The community worker allowed her to express her rage and listened to her complaints against the neighbors. She felt the petition for her removal to be without cause. She admitted that in the past there had been serious problems with her first husband from which she suffered more than anyone, but when she needed help no one complained. She felt that she was a good tenant and was confused by the response of her neighbors. Even the dog was no longer a problem as he was taken away by the city. As Irit works out of the home, it is hard for her to supervise her three children and she can see no possible solution to that problem. The worker identified a general sense of helplessness and fearfulness regarding her ex-husband. An intervention plan was established and its results were:

1. Community worker met with the residents' committee which in face-to-face contact was less aggressive than in letters. Apparently the committee was being encouraged to a more extreme position by one neighbor who had befriended Irit when she first moved. The community worker recognized the problem, met with the neighbor and helped her deal with her feelings. The committee was greatly relieved at the intervention of the worker which defused the situation.
2. Irit was linked to the homemaker service

to get help for her children when they were home with no care.
3. Contact was made with a previous social worker who would help Irit to deal with problems around her ex-husband's release from prison and other problems as they arise.

After two months it was decided that there was no further need for the community worker to remain active in this case.

In summary, 15 percent of the 34 cases needed no social work intervention. Sixty percent established professional relationships with one of the workers and within three months had terminated successfully. Seven cases (20 percent) were still active after three months. Of these, four requested help in leaving their apartment, indicating preference for the old neighborhood. Of the nine cases taken from the list of problem families, seven exhibited significant improvement. Of the cases wherein no complaints had been filed, the integration of poor and middle-class families was far more successful than anticipated by the community workers. Only two cases showed no noticeable improvement.

Conclusions and Implications

This project showed that poor people placed in middle-class neighborhoods do have moderate problems of adjustment and integration. These problems are amenable to social work and community intervention designed for the short term and emphasizing system linkage and system management. Despite the problems experienced, less than 10 percent requested to be removed from their apartment. In general, the satisfaction with both neighborhood and apartment was quite high. The subjects were optimistic about eventual adjustment and were willing to engage with the community workers in a process of problem solving.

Considering that our sample was heavily weighted by intentionally including families with very deteriorated relations with their neighbors, our findings are very encouraging regarding the possibility of integrated housing in Israel's main cities. Our findings tend to agree with those of Scobie[12] and others who found that the percent of severely problematic families in families eligible for public housing is far less than commonly expected. Scobie suggests (and this study supports his position) that the negative reputation of public housing tenants is best explained by labeling theory, rather than by the fact of the situation.

The experience of the community workers also indicated that considerable problems could be avoided if clients were able to maintain the supportive relationships especially those with professional help givers. If supportive relationship could be maintained, the clients may not experience as much powerlessness and feel better able to deal with the increased stress of the relocation and integration process.

Lastly, the study process has been encouraging to the community workers who participated. They felt a growing sense of competence at being able to assist clients who were reported to be the most problematic in the Israeli urban context. The corporation management received considerable support for continued use of stock apartments as a primary housing strategy. Management felt less vulnerable to residents' organizations which applied pressure to remove clients. A general attitude began to emerge that all people can have conflict with neighbors, that this is not a problem solely of public housing tenants and not a *prima facie* reason for removing tenants. The ability to offer successful community work services further strengthened this attitude.

Integration continues to be a goal of the society in Israel. The study described here and previous research cited encourage the application of housing policy to this goal. Housing can be a powerful force giving the poverty resident the optimism to hope and work for his own improvement, and neighbors the proximity to come to know and eventually accept him. Community work can be a useful catalyst in this process.

Further study is still indicated to deal with such questions as: What is the critical proportion of poverty residents that can be incorporated into middle-class neighborhoods? How should services be reorganized to allow for continuous service delivery throughout the process? What additional tactics and interventions can facilitate the integration process?

Perhaps one of the more interesting results of this study was learned from a "non-finding." Our interest in the status need of poor families and their aspirations must not be seen in isolation from the needs of the current residents in the communities. Frishman indicated that the entry of minority groups into new neighborhoods can be disruptive of the status needs and aspirations of the previous residents, causing a change in their image of their neighborhood. The exodus of white residents after an influx of black residents in the United States is a well-known response to this change in image. Perhaps due to the lower mobility rate in housing in Israel and the predominance of apartment ownership, this phenomenon is not widely seen. The community workers found little evidence of plans on the part of residents to relocate due to the entry of poverty families in their building. This is in keeping with the above reported values toward egalitarianism and social integration in Israel and is encouraging

[12] R. S. Scobie, *Problem Tenants in Public Housing.* New York: Praeger, 1975.

for the further utilization of an existing stock policy.

It is our conclusion that integration must occur in the desirable middle-class neighborhoods and not in distant *development* towns only. The strategy of using stock apartments rather than housing developments for the resettlement of the urban poor creates a context wherein integration is possible. Our finding that there is considerable tolerance for the poverty family on the part of the more affluent neighbors is in keeping with previously reported experience.

The future of ethnic relations in Israel will be affected strongly by the process and policy of urban slum clearance and housing for the low-income newly marrieds. Housing projects will do little to break down mistaken stereotypes regarding the poor while creating a deeply felt sense of dissatisfaction in project dwellers over their lack of opportunity for social mobility. We have shown that previous policies which led to segregation in the main areas of the country are not in keeping with the Zionist ideology which rationalized their implementation. On the other hand, it appears that housing integration through the use of stock apartments in middle-class areas supported by social community work is a viable strategy and deserves more extensive application.

Twenty-Five Years Ago in this *Journal*

In almost all human societies, the adult group sets ordeals for the adolescent in order for him to test and prove himself worthy of adulthood. This was true in the Jewish culture and used to culminate in Bar Mitzvah. "Today I am a man" in our society is a farce. What has replaced it? When the adult society fails to provide *rites de passage*, the group culture sets up an out-group to fulfill the function. I contend that when the parents and the agency seek to eliminate the "proving" element from Jewish youth groups without a substitute, the groups will find other substitutes perhaps even less palatable to their elders. The question of the adolescent Jewish culture needs study now. Jewish agencies are operating on emotion and community pressure rather than facts and sound theoretical analysis. Open adolescent groups, denying self determination for grouping, would have to be demonstrated to me under carefully controlled conditions for me to accept this notion.

ALAN F. KLEIN
Summer, 1960

Fact and Opinion

SAMUEL SPIEGLER

The Dilemma of Jewish Education

Fortune Magazine each year lists the 500 top U.S. corporations in descending order of annual revenues. In 1984, the bottom corporation in the list took in $418 million. That is just about what was spent that year nation-wide on Jewish education.

What is that $400 million buying? Not enough, most studies—there have been dozens over the last ten years or so—show. So ... what's the answer? More money? New York City's Fund for Jewish Education is going to try to see if that works. It is aiming to increase its present $5 million endowment fund to $25 million, which will enable it to greatly expand its grants to supplementary and day schools from the $1.1 million it disbursed to such institutions in 1982–83 for operations, scholarships and welfare benefits for teachers. The Fund has committed over $45 million to support of various aspects of Jewish education over the next ten years.

Throwing good money after bad, say some. The majority of Jewish kids attending any Jewish school are enrolled in supplementary schools which, at best, critics say, make students feel better about being Jewish without really giving them any firm grounding in Judaism. At two to six hours a week, spread over three to five years of attendance, supplementary school pupils get a total of 700 hours of instruction. That is less than the equivalent of one year of regular public school instruction. Failure inheres in such a system, the critics say. One dismisses the supplementary schools as "places for baby-sitting and hanging out."

All-day schools are given a larger chance of success. The number of such schools has grown from 30 to 550 over the past 40 years. Still, of the 360,000 kids in any kind of Jewish school, two-thirds are in afternoon or Sunday schools—except in New York City, where the reverse is true. Most of the all-day schools are Orthodox. Their champions contend that they afford better secular education than most public schools, as well as religious education.

The effectiveness of the various schools apart, the facts remain: of the approximately one million Jewish children aged 7–18 in the U.S., scarcely more than one-third are enrolled in any of them. And if—as seems widely agreed—the two-thirds of that one-third that are in afternoon and Sunday schools are, as put by Alvin Schiff, executive vice president of the Board of Jewish Education of Greater New York," in there in order to get out," it follows arithmetically that not more than one Jewish child in eight or nine is getting any significant Jewish education.

Schiff is pessimistic. "We're fighting a lost battle," he says. At the same time, he observes that the Board that he heads has spent some $900,000 in the past ten years promoting Jewish education, with the result that about 9,000 Jewish kids have enrolled in Jewish classes; and that, he says, "is pretty cost-effective." But, if the battle is already lost ...?

Well, if F. Scott Fitzgerald had it right, what Shiff reveals is "a first-rate intelligence," the test of which, wrote Fitzgerald (exactly where your editor no longer remembers), "is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in the mind at the same time and still retain the ability to function. One should, for example,