"Is Empowerment of Disadvantaged Populations Achievable through Housing Policies? A Study of the Impact of Social Housing on the Empowerment of the Poor in Israel"

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Contents

Abstract

This research project investigates whether the empowerment of Israel's population — and in particular those who suffer multiple disadvantages — is achievable through housing policies and whether successive Israeli administrations have helped or hindered this process. The research focuses on communities in publicly-subsidised areas during social housing programmes. The housing programmes analysed in this research were:

The Demolish and Rebuild Programme, which represents a top-down process, implemented with little residents' involvement.

Neighbourhood Renewal, which was a programme that formally offered partnership, giving residents partial share in decision-making.

Finally, Right to Buy represented a resident-led partnership, in which residents felt empowered to overcome their own disadvantaged conditions by taking a leading role in transforming housing policy.

The database complementing this research was compiled, in part, from 91 in-depth interviews with residents, policy makers and officials representing these three programmes. It is a unique aspect of this research, as it draws on perspectives about participation from those who have not necessarily had an opportunity to express an opinion before, and communicates a variety of views regarding the projects and residents' participation in them. This study focuses on how it actually affects *people* and can even create behavioural change among those who are normally considered dependent.

Another exceptional and distinctive factor provided by this research is its analysis of empowerment in the social and political context of Israel. By analysing the Israeli case, this research will contribute both to international knowledge and academic scholarship, highlight the conditions of an individual state and generate an original and provocative narrative. The issue of participation and empowerment in a society so riven with political, social, religious and ethnic tensions is particularly important. Learning from the Israeli experience has the potential to promote understanding of empowerment under pressure. Empowerment related to social housing policy is distinctive in Israel because housing is synonymous with security. Housing is more than a cultural issue, since in Israel owning a property is a matter of security. Another key feature is the focal role of central government which determines almost every aspect in the shaping of social and housing policy. Also critical is the influence of national politics on local decision-making. In Israel the political

agenda is based upon bilateralism and the demographic dispersal of population across the state's formal and informal borders.

Empowerment is a complex term. This research, however, explores examined and evidenced empowerment using just two main features: examination of residents' participation; and evaluation of public policy towards resident participation. This research offers a unique view on empowerment within social housing policies that are subject to multiple pressures, and offers interpretations that could be usefully applied to issues of empowerment in other pressure scenarios.

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Illustrations

Glossary and Definitions

Part One

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Overview

This research project investigates whether the empowerment of Israel's population — and in particular those who suffer multiple disadvantages — is achievable through housing policies and whether successive Israeli administrations have helped or hindered this process. The research attempts to answer the following questions: does the empowerment of disadvantaged populations matter to the delivery of social and housing policies; is empowerment of the disadvantaged population achievable; through what mechanisms it is achievable; what are the costs and benefits of that empowerment; and to what extent has it been achieved under different housing policies?

The research focuses on communities in publicly subsidised areas during social housing programmes. The housing programmes analysed in this research were established in the context of both domestic social and ethnic conflicts and land pressures brought about by high immigration which resulted in neglected and impoverished neighbourhoods. All fall under Israel's highly politicised social and housing policy. Three were three main social housing programmes, each one has been analysed, each representing a different housing strategy and a different approach to social policy. Consequently, their impact upon empowerment varies.

The first programme is Demolish and Rebuild (aka D&R, 1960 to date), in which old units were demolished and replaced by new, improved units, built using the sale of valuable land and through the exploitation of infrastructure in central towns.

The second programme is Neighbourhood Renewal (NRP, 1979 to date), which set out to improve housing conditions and social services in pre-existing poor neighbourhoods.

Thirdly, this research analyses the Right to Buy (RTB) legislation (1999–2004), initiated by residents of publicly subsidised housing, which aims to enable them to buy their units at discounted rates.

Although all these programmes targeted disadvantaged populations, they each represent a different strategy. Demolish and Rebuild represents a top-down process — a programme implemented with little residents' involvement. Neighbourhood Renewal was a programme that formally offered partnership, giving residents partial share in decision-

making. Finally, Right to Buy represents a resident-led partnership, in which residents felt empowered to overcome their own disadvantaged conditions by taking a leading role in transforming housing-policy.

The database complementing this research was compiled, in part, from more than 100 in-depth interviews with residents, policy makers and officials (out of which 91 were chosen to be quoted in this document) representing these three programmes. It is a unique aspect of this research, as it draws on perspectives about participation from those who have not necessarily had an opportunity to express an opinion before, and communicates a variety of views regarding the projects and residents' participation in them. While many researchers have thoroughly investigated housing in Israel from planning, construction and architecture, this study focuses on a critical aspect of housing policy: how housing policy actually affects *people* and can even create behavioural change among those who are normally considered dependent, and whether housing policy enables individuals to become empowered.

Another exceptional and distinctive factor provided by this research is its analysis of empowerment in the social and political context of Israel. By analysing the Israeli case, this research will contribute both to international knowledge and academic scholarship, highlight the conditions of an individual state and generate an original and provocative narrative. The issue of participation and empowerment in a society so riven with political, social, religious and ethnic tensions is particularly important. Of course certain conflicts and problems are not unique to Israel, such as shortages of land and resources; affordability; ethnic conflicts; religious conflicts; and a lack of community initiatives; national and bilateral pressures and internal financial, social and sectarian pressures. Chapter two offers more insights on multi-conflict societies.

Learning from the Israeli experience, however, has the potential to promote understanding on empowerment under pressure elsewhere. Empowerment related to social housing policy is distinctive in Israel because housing is synonymous with security. It is more than a cultural issue, since in Israel owning a property is a matter of security. Home ownership is an aspiration for all residents regardless of economic status or class and thus the percentage of home ownership in Israel is higher compared with, for example, Europe. Another key feature is the focal role of central government which determines almost every aspect in the shaping of social and housing policy. Those not familiar with Israel would expect local government to have the key role in shaping housing programmes, but in Israel this is not the case. In discussing Israeli housing policy, any mention of an official

institution refers directly to central government or to one of its agencies. Also critical is the influence of national politics on local decision-making. Whereas in almost any Western European country the political agenda is split between left and right and is reflective of divided opinion on social and economic issues, in Israel the political agenda is based upon bilateralism and the demographic dispersal of population across the state's formal and informal borders. The left wing in Israel, for example, supports negotiation with the Palestinians and softer land demands, whereas the right wing presents a firmer stand. At the same time anyone who is unaware of the nuances of Israeli politics might expect the social agenda to have a focal role in political debate; in fact it has less importance on the national political agenda.

Empowerment is a complex term. This research, however, explores examined and evidenced empowerment using just two main features:

- Residents' participation measured by the 'ladder of participation'.

- The official strategy that determined public policy or the extent to which central government allowed residents to join in the decision-making process, and provision of services and support in the empowerment process throughout social and housing programmes.

Examination of residents' participation will attempt to determine the extent to which residents took part in these programmes, the nature of their contribution, their influence on decision-making and outcomes. In order to measure the features or aspects that shaped participation, the following frameworks were used:

Evaluation of public policy based on residents' experience and its assessment on a positive-negative scale, as well as analysis of programmes, supporting funds and programme maintenance provided to them by official institutions.

One aspect consistently referred to by interviewees was the ways in which other neighbourhoods and communities compared in terms of the facilitation and support of empowerment in housing programmes. Publically funded housing schemes were implemented in the New Settlements and in the Kibbutzim (with each community heavily supported by one of Israel's political streams). The way in which empowerment had been executed in these schemes had a noticeable impact on residents' interpretation of empowerment, community cohesion and influence on decision-making.

To conclude, this research offers a unique view on empowerment within social housing policies that are subject to multiple pressures, and offers interpretations that could be usefully applied to issues of empowerment in other pressure scenarios.

1.2 Israel as a Unique Case

Perhaps the most interesting addition to knowledge that this research can offer relate to the investigation of a unique case such Israel. There are four key areas which define Israel as unique in terms of the structure of government, political organisation, security and population:

1.2.1 Dominance of Central Government

Israel is unusual in that local government is weak. Power is centralised in national government and very little responsibility is delegated to local government, which is expected merely to provide local services. It is important, therefore, to remember that local government has no real influence in policy making or implementation. There is a simple reason for this: Israel is a very small country. London has a greater population that the entirety of the Israeli State, and the Israeli government believes it is able to cope with the needs of its citizens and to control the delivery of policy without the assistance of local authorities. This type of centralised control brings with it centralised power, essentially rendering local government almost redundant. Housing is a particular issue that the government is keen to control, so much so that when agreements are made to hand over the management of services, it prefers to work with the private sector than to delegate control to local authorities.

1.2.2 The Political System

The political system in Israel is also centralised. All members of parliament are elected centrally and there is no regional representation for a vote, no spatial constituency.. Consequently, there is less parliamentary power in the regions which in turn increases the power and influence of single-issue political groups (such as the settlers or the Kibbutzim). Because power is centralised, there are fewer independent professionals in the civil service and more who are in the direct service of the current regime. This means that single-issue parties are able to access parliamentarians directly. A case where a minister will favour their own constituency and nominate a local team to run his ministry would be almost unacceptable in a European situation, for example, and yet it is highly possible within

Israel's current political system. Indeed, one of the dominant issues of the 2013 election campaign was the claim that the Housing Minister was serving only his own electorate and not the public at large.

In Israel, all policy is generated by central government. Since there are no regional representatives, local authorities have no say in budget planning or policy making, population dispersal, and support of border communities or specific ethnic or religious groups, beyond the national agenda. In terms of housing policy, programmes that were meant for the poorest neighbourhoods were also implemented in the more affluent New Settlements and Kibbutzim, indicating the extent to which central government ministers have the freedom to tailor a policy to serve a unique agenda.

1.2.3 Dominance of Security Issues on the Political Agenda

Security is a dominant, preoccupying issue for Israel. It is a country under constant threat of war from across any of its borders, to a point where even the two neighbours with whom Israel has signed peace agreements are seen as potential threats. In Israel, the Ministry of Defence is the second most important branch of government after the Prime Minister's office and has the largest direct budget. It is crucial, therefore, to bear in mind that most policy decisions are made according to matters of security above all else. That considerable support is given to communities near Israel's borders, no matter what their social status, or that population dispersal is guided by security requirements rather than the needs of citizens, are examples of how policy is prioritised in this way.

1.2.4 Ethnicity

Ethnicity also has a unique context in Israel. It is not of course unique to Israel as there are many countries that are challenged by multiculturalism and issues with immigration, its impact on social services and open borders. Israel is no different, but to all these complexities must be added the hegemony of one religion and its influence on minorities. Israel was founded as the home of the Jewish people, therefore anyone who is not Jewish is "likely to feel discriminated against, or 'less equal', at some point during their life".

Although it is not an official policy, non-Jewish minorities are also more likely to be found amongst the poorest of the nation and to have less access to services. There are also ethnic complexities within the Jewish population itself. Israel's aim is to be a home for Jews from all over the world and thus it has become a melting-pot for Jews not simply from a variety of nations but also of cultures. The majority of Jews who emigrated to Israel

before its establishment were motivated by a strong Zionist ideology to build a state for the Jewish people that would unite whole groups, yet some of the immigrants who arrived after the establishment of the State had no such motivation, as they were predominantly refugees fleeing social, political or religious persecution, or else were simply economic migrants. Compounding the harsh conditions that immigrants were met with upon arrival, especially in terms of housing, newcomers, particularly from Africa during the 1960s and the former USSR and Ethiopia in the 1990s, suffered from cultural shock and found themselves embroiled in conflicts with the old settlers, making it harder for them to successfully integrate into their neighbourhood communities.

There is extensive analysis in chapter two of non-Israeli examples, yet we believe it is still interesting to test how the unique socio-political and cultural reality of Israel under multi-conflicts is factored in when it comes to the analysis of the responses from interviews. We will also ask whether a similar exercise in a similar context can lead to the same results.

1.3   Summary of Chapters

1.3.1 Chapter two focuses on theories of empowerment and reviews the extant literature on empowerment. It discusses the following terms**:** communities, disadvantaged population, housing policy (government action that focuses on housing) and social policy, regeneration (including all kinds of social interventions and programmes), resident participation, housing organisations, training and education schemes and local social services. This chapter sets out the main elements used in this research to assess empowerment: residents' participation and the official strategy towards this participation. For the purpose of this study of empowerment in Israel, the term empowerment has two dimensions: community empowerment and individual empowerment. The latter refers to how an individual is able to improve their situation through involvement in a process; the former refers to individuals' ability to group together in order to take control of conditions and services within their local community, which at a developed stage can also help them to impact decision-making at a national level as well. The interpretation of the literature on empowerment in this research assumes that it encourages people to engage and set themselves inspirational goals, and to achieve greater success in urban regeneration while improving deprived areas. This research therefore aims to test whether housing policy in Israel has attempted to empower residents and to what degree empowerment has been achieved in the programmes investigated.

1.3.2 Chapter three provides a history of Israeli housing policy. It summarizes the evolution of the housing system in Israel, with special emphasis on social housing policy. The achievements of Israel's housing policy are noteworthy, considering both the poor housing conditions when the state was established in 1948 and the fivefold increase in its population over the past fifty years.

The history of housing policies in Israel highlights two major aims that coincided with national interests in the early years: immigration absorption and population dispersal. Those goals, dominant during the State's infancy, led to a high volume of housing construction. Following this, a further imperative was added to the original two: the provision of satisfactory housing to every household. A chronological assessment of the history of housing policy in Israel reveals that the market has shifted from being centrally planned in its early years (1948–1977) to the current market-oriented approach. This impacted upon official strategy and consequently influences empowerment. Over the past decade, housing solutions became the terrain of private investors as part of a policy of market liberalisation. This resulted in higher-quality housing, but only for those who could afford it. Hence, there was deterioration in the quality of publically funded housing solutions which affected the poor, despite the more general achievements noted above. This chapter outlines the process by which policy was modified to support demand instead of supply, how the publically funded housing system reshaped itself to meet the new challenges, and includes a discussion of the development of council housing companies, the structures that were created, tenure rights and the provision of services to different communities.

1.3.3 Chapter four outlines the research methods. The two main tools of this research were case studies and in-depth interviews. This chapter begins with a description of the case studies and their relevance to this research, followed by a description of the main method the in-depth interviews, with over 100 participants in the investigated programmes. The investigated programmes are Demolish and Rebuild (D&R), the Neighbourhood Renewal Programme (NRP) and the Right to Buy (RTB). The projects under these programmes operated across the country, in main cities and in the periphery; in large and small neighbourhoods; old and relatively newer neighbourhoods; neighbourhoods highly populated with Jews and with others; religious and non-religious neighbourhoods; neighbourhoods populated with new immigrants and with veterans; cities, towns, villages, kibbutzim and the New Settlements — essentially every type of housing scheme in Israel.

The case studies were selected to represent all housing types and all population groups to provide a comprehensive perspective on empowerment in social and housing policies in Israel. Participants were arranged into two groups — residents and non-residents — and broken down further into residents who had high or low levels of involvement and non-residents who were closely involved in decision-making, those who were outside observers or held other unofficial roles in the programme but were highly involved within it.

1.3.4 Chapter five analyses the Demolish and Rebuild (D&R) programme, which was first announced on 21 August 1960 and planned for the neighbourhood of Vadi Saliv in the northern Israeli city of Haifa (this is also one of the case studies analysed in this research). Different versions of the programme have been implemented up to the present day. Initially, the government controlled operations, but over time, responsibility was increasingly handed over to the private sector. In 1998, privatisation was formalised and the programme renamed 'Urban Renewal'. Since then, responsibility for individual developments has been in private hands; the government only identifies sites and monitors progress, whilst private developers are thought to be more capable of managing residents' demands under free market rules.

The 'Neighbourhood of Cardboard' in Tel Aviv, for example, is a project operated by the private sector. Vadi Saliv in Haifa, however, represents a central-government approach. Evidence collected from participants in the D&R programme underpins this study's evaluation of the degree of empowerment in a top-down process.

D&R represents a top-down process whereby residents have limited participation, their involvement more often denied and a very minor share in decision-making offered. Chapter six investigates the Neighbourhood Renewal Programme (NRP) which was announced by Prime Minister Menachim Begin in 1979 and in very few cases is still in existence today. The programme initially used central-government funding to regenerate increasingly dilapidated areas of social housing. NRP estates are different from the D&R estates discussed in chapter five, as they were built more recently, and their condition was less poor than the neighbourhoods that required demolition. Yet importantly, the NRP is the only social-housing project in the country's history to have explicitly set resident involvement and empowerment as a goal.

1.3.5 Chapter six investigates the Neighbourhood Renewal Programme (NRP) which was announced by Prime Minister Menachim Begin in 1979 and is still, in very few cases, in

existence today. The Programme initially used central-government funding to regenerate increasingly dilapidated areas of social housing. NRP estates are different from the Demolish and Rebuild estates discussed in the previous chapter, as they were built more recently, and their condition was less poor than the neighbourhoods that required demolition. Yet importantly, the NRP is the only social-housing project in the country's history to have explicitly set resident involvement and empowerment as a goal.

This chapter provides an assessment of the programme in terms of residents' participation and empowerment, as well as the official strategy towards this participation. Evidence collected from participants in the NRP underpins the study's evaluation of empowerment of residents in projects that run in partnership between residents and officials.

1.3.6 Chapter seven examines the passing of the 1999 'Right to Buy' legislation (RTB) in Israel. The legislation, similar to RTB laws in other Western European countries, is different in one main respect: the law was initiated by residents' groups in collaboration with opposition MPs against the official governmental stance. Residents living in publically funded housing were allowed to buy their homes at discounted rates, calculated according to length of tenure in the property. The very unique aspect of this programme was the social process in which residents of the less wealthy estates were able to lead social legislation against the government and the aim of developers to sell these homes to private investors. Residents of poor communities without a strong lobby, with almost no influence on decision-makers, managed to overcome the most powerful agents. The RTB case helps us to ascertain whether there was an exemplary level of resident participation and tests the hypothesis that residents' involvement in decision-making not only ensures a positive impact on future management of an estate, but also dramatically improves a project's chance of success. Evidence collected from participants underpins the evaluation of resident-led projects.

1.3.7 Chapter eight discusses the investigated social and housing programmes in Israel in terms of empowerment. In brief; the D&R programme represents a low level of participation (known as the information level) and a negative public policy. The NRP represents moderate resident participation (at consultation level) and a supportive strategy. The RTB represents a high level of participation (at partnership level) but an extremely

hostile governmental strategy. This enables us to examine empowerment in social-housing policy from multiple angles.

1.3.8 Chapter nine offers conclusions as to how far empowerment is achievable in social housing policy through resident participation, and through the enabling, support and facilitating of such participation.

Chapter Two
A Review of the Literature on Empowerment

2.1 Introduction

Empowerment is a stated goal of social-housing policy in numerous programmes around the world. This chapter reviews the existing literature, some of which advocates empowerment as a prerequisite to urban regeneration, some of which suggests that empowerment is a facilitating tool that aids poor residents to move up the social ladder, and some of which maintains that poor residents cannot be empowered as this requires a state of mind that they would not be able achieve because of the multiple pressures they are under. At the same time there are researchers who suggest that residents of poor neighbourhoods know better than any outsider what is best for them, there are others who believe residents of poor neighbourhoods should have a guiding hand (proper training, for instance) to grant them influence over management, while others think it is quicker and simpler to allow experts to decide.

A system of central government control over social policy and services represents one approach; another is localisation of services. Nevertheless, the majority of studies which investigate empowerment in social and housing policy, as well as programmes aimed at improving deprived areas, recommend resident participation. Programmes encouraging people to participate seem to have had greater success in achieving their goals than schemes which have not.

At the same time, this research also challenges common beliefs related to empowerment in Western literature and investigates whether the Western or Northern assumptions on and methodologies of empowerment and its disadvantages are relevant in multi-conflict scenarios or countries where there are multiple pressures which go beyond social issues. I also consider whether Western and Northern methodologies can also apply to the East and South.

Although categorised as a Western state, Israel's society and politics are influenced by a multi-conflict environment. It therefore provides a good example by which to test the presence of Western thinking on empowerment and whether it is a viable environment in which to execute it. The following literature review provides a set of conceptual tools that help us to understand Israel's position: whether it has taken empowerment into

consideration as part of its social and housing policy, and whether residents gain more power and are able to transform their situation from mainly disadvantaged communities with little power into influential, participating agents. These conceptual tools include the "ladder of participation" (Arnstein, 1969; 218) that measures residents' participation, in order to assess the public policy approach that has shaped official strategies towards participation in social and housing policies.

This chapter has six main parts that review different aspects of the empowerment process:

1) Social and housing policies that have aimed to empower the disadvantaged
2) Individual empowerment
3) Collective or community empowerment
4) Empowerment delivery
5) Multi-conflict societies
6) Limitations

Part 2.2 reviews the literature on empowerment in social and housing policies, describes empowerment of the disadvantaged in its main forms, both individual and collective, and how these forms are executed in housing policy, in particular through localisation of services.

Part 2.3 discusses individual empowerment assessed mainly by participation, measured against Arnstein's "ladder of participation" (Arnstein, 1969; 218), through studies on participation that refer to Arnstein, and studies that focus on additional factors of individual participation, such as leadership and continuity.

Part 2.4 considers collective community empowerment and includes an overview of the methods by which authorities support collective empowerment. This is manifested mainly in different types of publicly-provided services, and the influence collective empowerment has on residents, particularly in terms of increased commitment, responsibility and independence which not only contribute to the success of a project but moreover help residents move away from dependency on social welfare support.

This section discusses the different types of housing organisations that offer collective empowerment, such as co-ops (housing cooperations), tenant management organisations (TMOs) and resident caretakers, and how they generate trust between residents and the authorities. Finally, this section reviews a major tool in collective

empowerment — social protest and pressure groups, in which residents act collectively to promote issues and communicate their needs to the authorities.

Part 2.5 discusses empowerment in practice and focuses on the other main services and supporting tools authorities can offer to help residents improve their performance. This section discusses knowledge gaps and how training schemes can help residents to improve their skills and their ability to influence a programme. It offers a perspective on the practical experience of training schemes designed to help residents acquire new skills to improve their local housing conditions, and to handle problems associated with underachievement or unemployment.

Part 2.6 discusses multi-conflict societies and the ways in which social policy emerges when surrounded by other conflicts. Israel, as we know, accommodates more than one conflict and within the scope of this research we will attempt to analyse whether the Western literature is relevant in a scenario that involves more than just social conflicts.

Part 2.7 discusses the limitations of the empowerment process, which tends to revolve around issues of people (confidence and cost) and places (location and cost).

2.2 Perspectives on Empowerment and Housing Policy

There is a research vacuum concerning empowerment in housing programmes in Israel. This study must therefore look to research on empowerment located elsewhere. This section describes studies of empowerment of the disadvantaged in its main forms (individual and collective), the challenges of empowerment in social and housing policies aimed to support disadvantaged populations, and the public policy attempt to meet these challenges (localisation of services in particular). International studies show that participatory and supportive involvement tends to create an atmosphere of positive change, helps residents take responsibility for their situation and creates ways to improve it.

> Empowerment is a process that allows for development of confidence and skills in individuals or communities leading to their being able to take more control over their own destinies (Wates, 2000: 188).

Individual empowerment is often seen as synonymous with participation — i.e., taking control of conditions and services within the local community. A group of empowered individuals leads to collective empowerment which is a commitment to act and create change: "organisations challenge people not only to understand, but also to commit and to act" (Ganz, 2002: 3). From an operational standpoint, "solutions to exclusion through the

process of empowerment depend on the willingness of government to support such efforts"
(Young & Lemos, 1997: 4), and the degree of access to decision-making they allow, often
referred to as public policy:

> Empowerment of the individual is about enabling low income
> households, living in marginalised areas to affect conditions, influence
> decisions and play a role in improving their surroundings. (Power, 1992;
> 5-6).

Measuring empowerment of disadvantaged populations is challenging. When analysing the
participation of individuals, some studies have proposed 'ladders' to evaluate degrees of
participation (Arnstein, 1969: Likert 1967). Others define 'ladders' with more
organisational (Ganz 2002) or practical (Wates, 2000: World Bank, 2005) approaches. The
'ladder of participation' used in this study distinguishes between different levels of
individual participation, while others refer to redistribution of power through collective
empowerment as the real execution of empowerment *(*Likert, 1967).

Individual empowerment is the basis upon which collective empowerment can, but
does not always grow. If residents do not turn their participation into real influence they
are open to manipulation by the authorities (i.e. landlords). Young and Lemos (1997) argue
that 'citizen participation' does not always refer to real participation; rather, this may be
'politically correct terminology' to cover a lack of real participation. If participation
develops from the individual into a collective, it will help to improve conditions and
strengthen communities (Brichall,1988). Studies of collective empowerment consider how
the needs of the disadvantaged are met by governments and examine whether organisations
are meeting those needs (Ganz, 2002).

In contrast, the most common approach to social housing is through direct
government intervention within a welfare regime. It is clear that without government
funding, housing would simply not be built (Dunleavy, 1981), but public policy relates to
other aspects of the housing process, for example provision of decent services, improved
housing conditions and opportunities for residents to influence and improve their
conditions. Such provision, which is categorised as localisation of services rather than
centrally controlled services, is directed at the poor so that, by meeting their immediate
needs, they are able to access those things that will improve their situation, such as
employment and education.

2.2.1. The disadvantaged are individuals that social and housing policies are designed to benefit. This group is generally characterised as the unskilled, the redundant, newcomers, one-parent families, and those who cannot cope. Disadvantaged people are generally less educated and less organised/trained to be able to act collectively or individually, politically or socially; their ability to attain a better position in terms of employment or wealth has a lower starting point than that of the general public, who have the skills and opportunities to overcome many obstacles and barriers. Disadvantaged populations are often alienated and disconnected from opportunities; they lack the resources and skills of other social classes and are therefore less able to participate:

> People who struggle to survive at the margins become unrepresented in the wider system. Their ability to participate becomes more and more limited as their societal role narrows… they face many barriers on a number of different levels that prevent them from having a real stake in development activities. (World Bank, 2005; 5,6)

The problems associated with disadvantaged groups become more extreme in a nation that is trying to cope with massive immigration or pressures from minority ethnic groups (such as Israel). New immigrants are more than likely to meet the criteria associated with disadvantage. Newcomers in general will struggle to rise up the ladder of citizenship, and in many cases depend on social benefit schemes and have weaker starting positions within social-progress initiatives. Their empowerment is thus even harder to achieve:

> Even where they participate, people without work or with low-skilled work in a job scarce, skill driven market, have limited voice and little real power. If they belong to minority ethnic group, their participation may be even more circumscribed. (Power, 1999; 373)

Ganz (2002) links disadvantage to social exclusion, and although the 'disadvantaged' clearly have skills and knowledge, in the context of their relations with authority and the societal mainstream they may typically be of limited use (Clapham, 1989; Bell, 1986). Social exclusion often results from a long period of inadequate local services:

> Many of the areas, which fall into our definition of under-representation and powerlessness, were built as solutions to the very same problem in the old city slums. (Power, 1992: 5)

The next generation grows up in homes in disadvantaged areas where welfare dependency is widespread and access to government agencies or employment is difficult. Governments also disempower by moving low income populations away from urban

centres. This is particularly relevant in Israel where the central government is exceptionally dominant in housing and social policy. Central to this conundrum are governments which generally prioritise the wishes of the wealthier majority and fail to address adequately the needs of its disadvantaged population (McDonald, 1986), through, for example, localisation of services (Wates, 2000). Nevertheless, governments have been trying for decades to improve conditions through social policy, regardless of whether or not they have been successful.

2.2.2. Housing is a key indicator of the social and economic strength of a community or state, as it affects opportunities, opens paths to personal achievement and provides access to services ranging from education to employment. Lack of decent housing and the fact that this housing is often located in deprived areas can lead to increased aggression, anti-social behaviour and the risk of being exposed to danger and harm.

Publicly built housing estates are often home to the less affluent in all societies. Although publicly funded housing existed, particularly in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, such as Britain's 'Homes Fit for Heroes' (1919) and the German *Siedlungen* (1925–30), since the Second World War governments across the world and across the political spectrum have invested in publicly subsidised housing to alleviate poverty and homelessness. Some community advocates would argue that such housing solutions have generally failed to improve conditions for the disadvantaged, as these crowded council-housing estates are at the centre of a multitude of social problems, such as unemployment, excessive school drop-out rates, poor facilities, lack of decent services and high rates of anti-social behaviour. The combination of a desperate population housed in desolate places increases social problems. Since these areas are usually cheaper to live in, many poor people are neglected by the authorities and become stigmatised. The neglected areas further deteriorate, and the citizens occupying these neighbourhoods become poorer, more hopeless and dependent on services that are inadequate due to a lack of political will to meet their needs.

In situations of deprivation and poverty, the relationship of housing to personal progress is significant. Bell (1988) even suggested that decent housing in fair price should be first priority. Unsafe housing conditions fail, further alienating residents, with one of the most common outcomes being that

Solutions in one generation often became problems in the next, as well as unforeseen new problems arising (Power, 1992: 5).

This is even more pronounced when the housing is rented rather than owned:

Studies have shown that unsafe housing conditions are more prevalent among renters than owners (Cisneros et al, 2004: 3-4).

This goes against the idea of generating a sense of community and deprives residents of both opportunities and democratic expression. It also undermines residents' confidence in their ability to acquire personal skills or exercise their basic social rights. Research on empowerment in social housing policy suggests that policies which do not involve the empowerment of the disadvantaged will more often fail:

The idea that housing provision of itself would solve deeper social problems has proved wrong. A combined social and organisational focus can improve conditions radically, preventing chaos and helping to build community. (Power, 1999; 229)

Empowerment as an approach to solving social problems is now central in government development and planning, as its promoters claim that when the poor develop skills, they can lead them to independence from poverty and government support:

If those who are dependent on housing subsidy have access to education, job training, and employment opportunities that will create a path to independence (Cisneros et al., 2004; 5)

Diana Mitlin & David Satterthwaite (2004) focus on low income neighbourhoods that face the constant threat of eviction and various forms of violence. They argue that none of these problems can be addressed without local changes and local involvement, and since urban poverty is underpinned by the failure of national governments, their role is to facilitate that change:

The record, to date, of development professionals in reducing urban poverty is not very promising. Too many initiatives offered too little to too few people. Many have little lasting impact on the ground. (Mitlin & Satterthwaite, 2004; 479)

To support their argument, Mitlin & Satterthwaite include case studies of innovative government organizations (in Thailand, Mexico, the Philippines and Nicaragua) and community-driven processes (in India, South Africa, Pakistan and Brazil), which illustrate more effective approaches to urban poverty reduction:

> These research case studies show that it is possible to reduce much of the deprivation faced by the urban poor and to make significant improvement in their lives. (Mitlin & Satterhwaite, 2004; 479)

A solution, therefore, to poor housing conditions which have been pursued by progressive regimes is to invite resident involvement in the process and to increase local access to services**:**

> Although government funding targeted buildings, all governments required broad-based action to involve residents and address management and social problems. The Irish Government required local authorities to involve tenants and provide estate-based services. The Danish Government required social landlords to give tenants on each estate a controlling say in the priorities. The British Government insisted on local management and tenant consultation in each estate programme (Power, 1999; 66).

2.2.3 Localisation

Accessibility is a key factor in the provision of social services. Localisation, for the purpose of this research, is defined as services that are delivered locally (Clapham, 1989) and thus made accessible to all.

Localisation, or decentralisation ('bridges between the centre and periphery'), of services provides an ideal platform to test empowerment; it reduces social gaps, decreases feelings of alienation, offers better opportunities to residents and transforms a feeling of general negativity among residents into something positive upon which cooperation can grow:

> Resident-based structures needed nurturing, as without wider support they almost inevitably foundered. Estate rescue did not turn unpopular estates into stable ones, but they became more manageable and therefore more popular. (Power, 1999; 363)

In earlier research, Power (1994), and also McDonald (1986), Thomas (1985) and Turner (1972 and 1976), all declared that projects or solutions which were designed with

local groups worked better because the type of change was more precise and based on the real needs of the community.

> Deficiencies and imperfections in your housing are infinitely more tolerable if they are your responsibility than if they are somebody else's. (Turner, 1976; 51)

Localisation is therefore doubly important when it comes to housing programmes in poor neighbourhoods, since only residents know what is missing or required or not provided in their neighbourhoods:

> Estates need local effort: tenants on a particular estate cannot influence many of the wider issues, but they can make things work better at a local level if there is a small-scale, locally responsive organisation. (Power et al, 1991: 15)

Localisation not only ensures better access to services, but also grants the power to influence the way in which services are delivered as well as who delivers those services:

> Giving tenants a choice of landlord without changing the underlying power relationship is like offering slaves a choice of masters rather than giving them their freedom. (Clapham, 1989; 52).

Accessibility and power build confidence. Instilling a sense of self-belief should underlie any initiative that engages with the poor. Richardson argues that investing in community self help can unlock both peoples' desire and their potential to solve community problems:

> Community self help solutions are positive human responses to difficult situations… and often triple benefits in improving mainstream services, in generating neighbourhood renewal and reviving democracy. (Richardson, 2008; 250)

Wates indicates that delegation of power to residents, especially in housing policies, improves local services: "Conditions therefore improve, confidence grows, efforts become worthwhile and self-reinforcing" (Wates, 2000; 104). Delegation of power is reflected in wider issues such as employment, job accessibility, environment and facilitation of services. Localisation, according to Turner, improves residents' satisfaction and thus has a positive impact locally; he distinguishes between the traditional centrally-administrated heteronomous housing system controlled by the government and the bottom-up locally self-governing or autonomous housing solutions led by local communities. One is imposed and the other is self generated by the people.

Locally-based projects not only offer a solution that is tailored to the real local community needs, but where tenants are involved in the design of their community they become more committed to success, and the degree of negativity felt towards authorities declines.

When people influence decisions they tend to be more satisfied and, importantly, take responsibility rather than blame others for their failure.

> When dwellers control the major decisions and are free to make their own contribution to the design, construction and management of their housing, both the process and the environment produced stimulate individual and social wellbeing. When people have neither control over, nor responsibility for key decisions in the housing process, dwelling environments may instead become a barrier to personal fulfilment and a burden to the economy. The important thing about housing is not what it is but what it does in people's lives. (Turner, 1976; 5-6)

The impact of localisation on residents' commitment and responsibility during housing programmes is featured in early studies by Turner:

> If someone controls the process of building his or her own house, a crack in the wall can be easily tolerated or fixed. If an institution controlled the process, the same crack in the wall becomes a constant source of aggravation for the client and can negatively impact the relationship between the dweller and the institution (Turner and Fichter, 1972; 148).

and also in a subsequent study by Watts:

> It is widely recognised that this [more local involvement] is the only way that people will get the surroundings they want. And it is now seen as the best way of ensuring communities become safer, stronger, wealthier and more sustainable. (Watts, 2000; 194)

The argument is that the more involved residents are, the more committed they will be and therefore projects have greater success rates.

There are two main arguments against local control which the literature discusses: either the poor are unable to take responsibility over their communities and their daily lives; or they do not want to take that responsibility (even if they are capable). Due to the urgent issues facing the poor — such as finding sufficient income to support their families — the option to participate in policy-making might seem a luxury. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that disadvantaged people are often more focused on meeting their basic needs (food, shelter, clothing and security) rather than on developing a civic sensibility. Against these criticisms of empowerment, research has revealed the opposite,

however: when the opportunity was given, residents were keen to participate, to gain more responsibilities and to improve their housing conditions:

> When asked, it appears that the vast majority, even in very deprived and depressed areas, say they want to exert more influence over events and services affecting their lives. (Power, 1992: 18)

In a later study, Power (1999) revealed an example of the impact localisation can have on residents:

> In October 1992, an estate-wide ballot was held, with an independent ballot organiser agreed by the council. The question asked tenants whether they were in favour of tenant management of the housing service on this estate. Fifty-eight per cent of resident households voted. This turnout was double the level for local elections. Of them, 88 per cent voted yes in answer to the question. Resident support for independent management was impressive (Power, 1999; 210).

Local control as an approach to tackling social exclusion has recently been adopted by the UK Conservative Party's 'Big Society' agenda, which aims to empower citizens and 'give greater authority from the state to devote local services that people really want' (Cabinet Office; Cameron, D[1]; DCLG, 2010). Similar ideas were discussed by Gavena & Edwards in 2001 stating that Community activity allows its members to improve their participation and to conduct effective and comprehensive participation. That community organization, social movement campaigns and residents' influence on decisions in practice are all part of recent democratic thinking gives renewed recognition to the role and importance of civil society in governance:

> Big organizations have moved to adapt and embrace participatory approaches to change. Citizens' voice in the global debate promotes a genuine sense of equality and democracy. (Tunstall, 2000; 401)

To sum up, we have learned from the literature so far that empowerment is developed through a process whereby local control and community empowerment begins with individuals. Individual empowerment is derived from resident participation which is "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them" (World Bank, 2005: 1).

Strong, empowered individuals can carry the whole community to success. In poor, densely populated neighbourhoods, citizens feel discriminated against, hopeless and

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[1] The Guardian, January 18, 2006

helpless, feelings that are easily channelled into crime and protest against the government and local authorities. Housing policy in disadvantaged communities offers a unique opportunity to test the source of empowerment and its potential to lift a community. The role of government in building a better society can therefore be significant in public housing if managed properly, as it can help to tackle other related social problems. Where residents feel a sense belonging and ownership (and housing is central to this), their sense of responsibility grows and as a consequence their positive contribution to their surroundings develops. This is more often the case in privately-rented housing, where landlords normally trust their tenants to keep their housing in good condition and in return tenants have confidence that their landlords will attend immediately and in a professional manner any issue they might have with their housing. This is the code of honour and respect that governs the private housing market which is, in general, followed by all concerned. A sense of responsibility and professional conduct in the public housing sector would contribute to an adaptation of similar values.

Nevertheless, to become empowered, individuals need to take an active role in improving the conditions in which they live: Most reasonable is to grant such control to those affected by (Abrams, 1971). The next section considers the nature of individual participation and asks how such participation can be measured.

2.3 Measuring Individual Participation

This section considers the literature on measuring participation, and discusses approaches which will be used later on in the research to measure resident participation. The first part (2.3.1) presents the most common tool in the literature to measure resident participation: The Ladder of Participation. In a study conducted by Sheryl Arnstein in 1969, a wide-ranging ladder to measure levels of participation was established. The second part (2.3.2) presents later studies that focus on the relative significance of four categories. Many similarities exist across studies aimed at segmentation of the different levels of participation. For the purposes of this research, four levels of participation (information, consultation, partnership and control) will be used as an analytical framework to measure participation in Israel. The last part (2.3.3) discusses other aspects of individual empowerment (leadership and continuity) that have the power to transform individual empowerment into collective empowerment.

2.3.1. Sherry R. Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969) is a milestone in research on participation. Although Arnstein conducted one of the earliest studies regarding participation, the framework is still more inclusive and broader in its categories than other, more contemporary models and therefore worth considering. Arnstein includes theoretical as well as practical definitions in order to expose the gap between apparent and real participation; for example, she concludes that 'citizen participation' does not necessarily mean beneficial or real participation; rather, this may simply reproduce 'participation per se' rather than de facto and constitute a genuine agenda of involvement (i.e., to serve the needs of landlords, rather than those of residents). In such cases, officials claim that participatory measures were delivered, but evidence of progress in terms of residents' behaviour and/or the material improvement of areas is not evident:

> Participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless. (Arnstein, 1969; 218)

Arnstein was the first to provide comprehensive definitions for different levels of involvement and to categorise them by power, effects and intensity of citizen involvement granted to the disadvantaged population:

> It is the means by which they can include significant social reform, which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society, (Arnstein, 1969; 218)

The Arnstein Ladder includes three main stages from non-participatory through limited participation to real influence and ultimately control: the lowest level which Arnstein categorises as non-participatory is where participation is neither measured nor delivered. The next, slightly more progressive, category is tokenism**,** where citizens have the opportunity to hear and have a voice, but do not necessarily influence the process. The Control categories are the highest level where citizens control the decision-making process or have responsibility for full operational management. These three levels have sub categories as presented below:

Figure 1: Arnstein's full ladder of participation

> **Non-Participatory Levels:**
> **Manipulation**
> **Therapy**
> **Tokenism:**
> **Information**
> **Consultation**
> **Placation**
> **Control:**
> **Partnership**
> **Delegation of Power**
> **Citizen Control**

Source: Arnstein (1969)

The non-participatory levels (where there is almost no or very little power) include two sub categories: *Manipulation* and *Therapy*. Whereas in *Manipulation*, citizens are invited to listen to committees, but they have the status to neither influence the process nor permission to voice their opinions, in *Therapy* citizens are provided with the *impression* of involvement through attendance. At the *Manipulation* level, participation is used to rubber stamp ready-made decisions; power holders use this situation to create the appearance of accepting citizens who are merely bystanders with no active role. This is the level where participation can be considered merely a descriptive term, rather than a practical reality. Moreover, in many cases, power holders operate on this level in order to manipulate public opinion and/or the residents themselves, manufacturing a positive 'spin' on the process of participation, yet giving no real opportunity to participate (Arnstein uses the term 'therapy' to imply that power holders attempt to ease their consciences by giving residents a sense of involvement which is not available at the *Manipulation* level. The end result of therapy is similar in that real participation has not been exercised:

> Under a masquerade of involving citizens in planning, the experts subject the citizens to clinical group therapy. What makes this form of 'participation' so invidious is that citizens are engaged in extensive activity, but the focus of it is on curing them of their 'pathology', rather than changing the racism and victimisation that creates their 'pathologies' (Arnstein, 1969: 219–220).

Ironically, both non-participatory levels are important to this analysis, not only because they can reveal the true position of the authorities vis-à-vis participation but also because

their attitude can inspire the development of genuine participation among residents, as these obstructive levels — by allowing glimpses into ineffective participation — can help convince residents to demand other, more open processes:

> One hopeful note is that, having been so grossly affronted, some citizens have learned the Mickey Mouse game, and now they too know how to play. As a result of this knowledge, they are demanding genuine levels of participation to assure them that public programmes are relevant to their needs and responsive to their priorities (Arnstein, 1969: 219).

The next participatory category is *Tokenism* where authorities seek the opinion of residents (simulate token power). This category includes three sub categories: information, consultation and placation. Information is the lowest stage of this category, at which authorities inform (for real not per se) residents of their rights and responsibilities, yet information flows only in one direction, top-bottom, and residents' opinions and views are not welcome. While in the information stage, residents do not have the opportunity to affect processes or negotiate power, whereas in the consultation level, residents are invited to share their views and opinions, to participate in surveys, board meetings and public hearings; their views are given a forum, but there is still no guarantee that these will be taken into account.

Finally in *Placation*, the highest token level, residents are invited to participate on boards or committees as members, and are granted only a minority share; hence, their influence is limited. Being appointed to boards placates residents and reduces their dissatisfaction; yet as minority board members, residents must convince experts of their needs and justify their demands in order to gain a majority in their favour.

The next category, *Citizen Power*, includes *Partnership* which represents joint policy board management that runs programmes through a mutual decision-making process with shared responsibilities for planning, managing and solving problems on the basis of trust. In *Delegated Power*, however, residents are in a dominant position, ruling the decision-making process by holding a majority of seats on the board and have veto power over negotiated solutions, yet the authorities retain final veto. In *Citizen Control*, there is no authorities' veto to residents' full management; residents have final approval of power and full accountability. A majority of seats on a board are guaranteed to elected members of the community, and a representation allowance is given equally to all members of the community.

Individual participation is associated with the other aspect of empowerment (willingness and localisation) which is discussed in the previous section. Arnstein shows resident willingness to take part and influence a process, since her ladder represents power taken rather than power given, and reflects the consequences of tenants striving for power, rather than the results of being handed power through official action:

> In all but one of those cities [Model Cities programs in the northeast region of the U.S. analysed by Arnstein] it was angry citizen demands, rather than city initiatives, that led to the negotiated sharing of power. (Arnstein 1969: 222)

Arnstein's argument assumes that those in power hold on to their dominant positions unless, by not sharing power, they run the risk of losing it altogether, thus indicating that participation is necessarily an active rather than a passive condition:

> Throughout history, the powerless have extorted power or demanded vetoes over final decisions more frequently than they have accepted offers to share it. (Arnstein 1969: 222)

The methodology for this research is discussed in greater detail in chapter Four. Nevertheless, the methodology by which to measure participation in this research has been structured and designed according to Arnstein's and Power's Ladder of Participation.

2.3.2 There are many references to Arnstein's ladder in the literature on participation. When measuring participation of the disadvantaged, Wilcox (1994) reconfigured the ladder in five stages to differentiate partnership in more detail. Elizabeth Rocha (1997), redesigned Arnstein's ladder by creating her own ladder of empowerment which offered a tool for public planners to understand empowerment potential. Berkes (1994) discussed co-management and used aspects of the Arnstein partnership level (training, share of information, cooperation and building trust) to guide authorities on what should be delivered to residents. Arnstein's ladder has also been used as a tool for the research of participation in general. Conor (2007) used Anstein's ladder to analyse how participation can solve public controversy where lower participatory levels are designed to provide information to the general public but where higher levels are designed to facilitate leaders.

Weidemann and Femers (1993) explored the concept of conflict management as an approach to improve the quality of public services and focused on Arnstein's partnership and control stages. Dorcey, Doney and Rueggeberg (1994) used Arnstein's ladder when

researching citizens' involvement in Canadian Environmental governance, mainly to highlight the transformation poor residents had to go through in order to make an impact upon the decision-making process. Arnstein's ladder was also used in research on the impact participatory methods can make on agriculture professionals (Pretty, 1995).

In this research, Arnstein's ladder of participation has a key function in measuring participation. However, for this research we have adapted a narrower ladder that best describes the Israeli phenomenon:

Figure 2: The reduced ladder of participation as used in this research

    Information
        Consultation
            Partnership
                Citizen Control

Information is the lowest level of participation. In this study it includes manipulation (noted mainly in the D&R programme). In this category, authorities simply inform residents about future plans with no opportunity for residents to respond or to provide their opinion of, or let alone influence, the process.

Consultation offers the next level up in which authorities seek responses/opinions from residents when making a proposal for improvement or change (e.g., management structure). Some of the views might be addressed but there are no guarantees that views will be accepted or incorporated.

Partnership exists when tenants are part of the decision-making process, either as members of the project's management board or as part of a group that can influence the managing body.

Control exists when tenants have full control (or with some limitations) on project management, including facilities, resources and funds.

2.3.3 There are also other studies that refer to individual participation and focus mainly on features that affect mobility between stages, i.e. how residents can move up in that ladder. The majority of studies (see earlier notes on Berekers and Rocha who represent the minority) suggests that bottom-up pressure is the reason governments are forced to intervene. In other words, resident willingness and enthusiasm to participate is important in

persuading governments to sanction their participation. Alinski (1971), for instance, argues that without extreme and consistent pressure, there will be no change in policies

Achieving and maintaining individual empowerment helps residents to move up the ladder, the willingness of the individual to become involved is fundamental, it is only the first stage out of three. The second stage is developed leadership (when individuals become leaders they impact upon the whole community), whilst the third step compels continuity of participation features and takes into account the duration of participation, how long residents remain engaged and whether or not they are still supported and backed by their community (which is normally determine by local election).

The second aspect of individual participation through community activity depends on the calibre of leadership. Apart from those with physical or mental disability, members of any community have leadership potential. Studies have found that if the disadvantaged community as a whole is active, participation is much more effective, yet someone needs to motivate the community to act. In every community, there are often ordinary people with leadership qualities and desire to participate; leaders play a critical role in inspiring the community, triggering, and later sustaining local activity, motivating individuals to act, representing the community and even having the power to negotiate with authorities on behalf of the community:

> Tenants and community representatives play a vital role in solving local problems but local leadership is volatile. (Power, 1999; 213)

Richardson (2008) recommends support and encouragement of local leadership. Even if there are only a few local leaders their impact upon the whole community can be huge as they can push the whole community forward. Moreover, their impact upon a project is crucial as they can determine whether the community supports a project and who is able to contribute to its success:

> Appreciate the small numbers (leaders) that come forward, to encourage as many to act but to understand that only few are up for the intensive challenge. (Richardson, 2008; 262)

The third important feature in individual empowerment that can promote a programme and galvanise a community is continuity of participation in general, and of leaders in particular. Wates agrees that individual empowerment through participation can help residents to develop skills to meet management levels. Such skills help residents to

improve their performance and build up confidence to run or influence the operation of management boards. Maintaining these skills over the long term allows residents to move from the periphery to the centre of decision making and to remain involved in the future management of their communities. This research aims also to test whether the main features that appear often in advanced Western European research are also relevant in a multi-conflict environment or Eastern and Southern research.

Individual empowerment is achieved through participation, and the key model of participation remains Arnstein's ladder. This research adapts and interprets four participation stages — information, consultation, partnership and control, as executed in each of the analysed Israeli programmes. Individual empowerment is not only about a person being involved, it also about leadership; leaders can push the whole community to act. Wherever participation and leadership is consistently maintained and supported, it generates a positive influence on project operation. Individual participation is the first step in the empowerment process; residents participation, leadership and continuity together lay the ground for the second stage of empowerment — collective empowerment.

2.4 Collective Empowerment and Public Policy

Participation cannot be initiated only by residents' willingness to act. Individual empowerment, leadership and continuity lead to a sense of community and the desire to act together, yet if individual participation is not simple, how does a group successfully function? Apart from community cohesion, there are also aspects of knowledge and experience that are needed if residents wish to be involved in local projects. Although residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods know better than any outsider what is needed in their community, they have little operational knowledge of what it is to be a member of the management board of a housing programme, and with this lack of experience comes a lack of confidence. Having said that, when given the opportunity they are committed and enthusiastic about creating change and reviving their community.

In order to approach these two aspects, support for community activities and training for those who wish to overcome knowledge gaps in order that they can make a worthwhile contribution to their community are needed. This provides, essentially, the basis for collective empowerment — enabling the community to get together and act, facilitating its members who wish to gain more knowledge and supporting their learning processes. These services are usually provided by the authorities, and those that support empowerment will contribute by providing services to strengthen a community and allow collective

empowerment to materialise. We call this process public policy — the official strategy and type of government investment made available to communities that enable them to get involved. Positive or supportive public policy indicates to residents that attempts are genuine and develops trust, understanding and confidence in working together.

These views were first proposed in the 1970s, when public policy was linked to authorities' responsibility to ensure residents were facilitated so that they could participate properly, even local authorities with restricted resources could create a difference (Abrams, 1971).

Such views have become more prevalent recently, Moser (1990) suggested that governments need to provide residents with such skills that can help them to effectively participate, as part of a larger debate on who should be responsible for estates and their residents. Most (like Dunleavy, 1981) agreed that the greater responsibility in initiating such schemes belonged to the authorities, since they had both the power and capability to support a given area:

The following analyses suggest that the greater the support given to a local community, the higher the chances for success in its operation.

2.4.1. Collective empowerment begins with successful cases of individual empowerment which creates an environment that allows for resident participation, and supports and develops the performance of those with potential leadership capabilities. Allowing such participation to continue for a long period generates trust and confidence among residents. When individual empowerment is evident, additional support is required in the community arena. When such support is given it indicates cooperation and a commitment to success:

> Empowerment for a person begins with taking responsibility, and empowerment for organisations begins with commitment. (Ganz, 2002; 3)

The most common elements of authorities' encouragement of collective empowerment are support of community cohesion and provision of the necessary tools for the community to develop the means to influence processes. Services provided tend to be mainly housing and other social policies, such as social clubs and community centres which bring the community together, training schemes which enhance resident knowledge, courses that enable local residents to access jobs, improved services with a focus on involving the local community in setting the standard of services and local support, helping

residents' representatives gain experience and improve their influence and performance in pivotal decision-making forums. Yet previous experience shows that collective empowerment can be most effective only when the local community is strong and the process is based on successful individual empowerment. Collective empowerment "[can] not work when communities have not been involved in rule formulation or when sharing of benefits with communities is minimal" (World Bank, 2005: 2). Similar outcome failures are evident in projects which were initiated by outsiders and did not involve the intended beneficiaries (World Bank, 2005: 7).

On the other hand, success stories in housing policy accrue where local authorities and residents each have the motivation and ability to take up the opportunities created by legislation and funding. Authorities have the most important role, as revealed by Mitlin & Satterthwaite (2004); even the poorest governments can support collective empowerment in local housing schemes:

Empowering governments tend to concentrate expenditure on housing projects in poor areas and direct budgets in such a way that services include local involvement. In doing so, there is an improved fit between required local authority services and the needs of tenants, who in many cases are unemployed. This not only offers the resident an opportunity to rejoin the employment market, it also encourages them to be more informed and involved, to care twice as much and, therefore, show a higher level of commitment:

> if those who are dependent on housing subsidy have access to education, job training, and employment opportunities — that [inevitably will] create a path to independence. (Cisneros et al, 2004:2)

The World Bank, in redefining its guidelines for community-oriented projects and their operation, argues that if earlier projects were based on expert analysis only, current schemes have been re-orientated toward a more collaborative approach between government and communities. In the new modules, in order to create an appropriate environment for real participation, "residents re-join society and have no limitations on their responsibilities and rights in management"[2]

Likert (1967), Putnam (1993) and Ganz (2002) all agree that collective empowerment increases commitment which consequently encourages residents to be more engaged with a project and more determined for it to succeed:

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[2] http://web.worldbank.org

> Empowerment for a person begins with taking responsibility, and empowerment for organisations begins with commitment; organisations challenge people not only to understand, but also to commit and to act. (Ganz, 2002; 3)

Collective empowerment helps to boost resident confidence in their capabilities not only as individuals but, more importantly, as a community. They learn to trust that together they have both power and influence. Community cohesion and the ability to act collectively is a new concept among disadvantaged communities that helps to reduce the atmosphere of fear, apathy and isolation that is often typical in deprived areas. As resident confidence grows their self help/involvement becomes more intense, whilst greater responsibility leads to a more active role in creating solutions, and results are improved: "development of confidence and skills in individuals or communities leading to their being able to take more control over their own destinies" (Wates, 2000; 188).

Self help is noted as an achievement by any resident, yet in poor neighbourhoods it is twice as rewarding:

> Community self help in poor neighbourhoods triple benefits in improving mainstream services, in generating neighbourhood renewal and reviving democracy. (Richardson, 2008; 250)

Both Newton (2010) and Gavana & Edwards (2001) argue that collective empowerment helps the general public as well, as it establishes a strong civil society, genuine equity and introduces democratic processes amongst the very poor. When such transformation occurs among the disadvantaged population, the whole community benefits and progresses:

> A nation of individuals who have meaningful access to opportunity and live in thriving, dynamic communities is a nation of strength. A nation that invests in decent housing and supports the development of strong, thriving communities is a secure nation. (Cisneros et al., 2004: 8)

Clapham indicates that collective empowerment is best tested in housing organisations:

> The provision and management of rented housing is best carried out by an organization collectively controlled by residents. (Clapham, 1989:24)

The next section will look at resident-run housing organisations.

2.4.2. A well-known example of collective empowerment in housing policy is the co-operative, where residents have a share in equity and/or management. There is no single, defined framework for co-ops, as there are different types, sizes and shapes, located in different areas with different types of properties and varieties of tenants. Nevertheless, they are good examples of how people can gain the advantages of small-scale housing management:

> What co-operative housing has done already is to burst the bubble of a few long-held myths: that owner-occupation is the only way in which people can gain consumer control over housing and that council housing is the only way in which disadvantaged people can gain access to decent housing. (Brichall, 1988; 190)

The ICA (International Co-operative Alliance) established a set of guiding principles for co-ops in 1995 (see Lambert & Bliss, 2012):

- Self-help and responsibility (to sustain community development and growth); democracy (all members have an equal vote);
- Equality (they are open to all members);
- Equity (members contribute to the capital of their co-operative and have a stake in its surplus if they decide to sell their share);
- Solidarity (all co-ops cooperate at local, national, regional and international levels); honesty and openness (they are managed openly by their members who actively participate in their operation);
- Social responsibility and caring (they provide education, training and information to all members).

The opportunity to influence the employment market through housing organisation is one of the pivotal contributions collective empowerment can generate within the community. One way in which local projects can create jobs is to emphasise the caretaking of properties; unemployment rates among those who live in social housing are generally high, and those without jobs who have the skills to do repairs may appreciate the opportunity to join the workforce, as long as this is part of wider empowerment approach which conveys to residents the feeling that the jobs they take are valuable to their local community:

> Residents' caretaking is only likely to succeed as an integral part of estate-based management, not as a separate and isolated service, with its own hierarchy. (The PEP Guide to Local Housing Management, 1987: 13)

Caretaking jobs could be offered to tenants not only to provide jobs for the unemployed, but also to improve the level of service. Since tenants are on site, they would respond more quickly and efficiently to requests for service. This policy also develops trust between residents and authorities:

> Residents should be able to notice that their opinion counts and that services are improving, small visible improvements can create a 'change' in trust. Trust can help local communities to be more visible and responsible and to tackle anti-social behaviour, as well as to increase a sense of community. (Richardson, 2008; 270)

Hothi (2008) adds that empowerment can improve community and residents welfare, safety and happiness. Offering caretaking jobs as an agenda is well established by Tenant Management Co-operatives or Organisations (TMOs), (DPMO, 2002). TMOs offer training for residents to improve their skills and performance with the intention of involving service provision on the estate:

> TMOs are providing an effective service in terms of their own aims and objectives. In most cases, they employ local residents and doing better than their host local authorities and compare favourably with the top 25% of local authorities in England in terms of repairs, rent collection, and tenants satisfaction. (McDonald, 1986: 16)

A TMO is one successful housing programme, unique to the UK, where residents are involved in board operation and offered responsibility in management tasks for the landlords under a management agreement (The Housing Regulations Act (1994); Tenant Management Authority, 2008). This responsibility includes daily management, budgets, rent collection, maintenance, office services, staff recruitment and employment. Resident board members represent the local community, give updates on daily operation, provide services and delegate needs at board level: they are "a small group of working people who collectively take control of a substantial part of their lives, their housing" (McDonald, 1986: 14).

Early co-ops were established in the UK in 1975; in 1985 TMO initiatives became legal. 1994 legislation allowed residents to initiate processes that would lead to their control. TMOs are often located in the most deprived areas and in 2005, it was estimated

that were 250 managing around 80,000 units throughout England (DPMO, 2002). Rebecca Tunstall, who researched TMOs in the UK, suggests (2011) that such principles encourage community empowerment and gives those who are less involved to become more involved as they are given greater responsibility locally.

Good examples of residents' successful management are noted in WATMOS in Wallsal and in Weller Street: "During 3 years of operation, they spent over £7M on improving housing conditions, which resulted in a very high level of resident satisfaction" (McDonald, 1986: 16). In the TMOs the review of annual reports and collaboration in drafting operational guidelines is encouraged. Landlords are encouraged to exceed standards by being innovative, promoting residents' involvement and rewarding those who are voluntarily active. Tenants, on the other hand, are encouraged to be involved, share their feedback, aim high and expect to exceed standards, work in partnership with other tenants and with landlords and record their dissatisfaction if landlords do not meet expectations (NFTO, 2011). Another evidence to support this view comes from an unusual document prepared by low-income residents (with no page numbers) and presented to the LSE PhD and Master students in the housing programme. The document (*Inspiring People*, 2004, Case Study 3) quote residents from TRA (Tenants and Residents Association) at the Bentley House Estate in Manchester and in the East Rose Community Group in Blackburn who confirms that resident involvement has inspired their communities: "activity has given me sense of purpose and has made me feel useful"

There are other successful case studies of housing organisations which represent the variety of organisations and residents' involvement. If TMOs represent a higher level of resident involvement (control or partnership), The Bradford Community Housing Trust (Howley, 2005) represents a model in which residents are consulted:

Other cases can be found in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets (McEleney, 2005) and in the Irwell Valley housing estate in Salford in which Angela Raftery, the managing director, confirms in a talk at the LSE Housing Programme that resident feedback is focal in improving the estate and increasing satisfaction: "Residents consult experts before making choices and plans, thereby increasing the level of commitment and association with decisions taken" (Raftery, 14.10.05).

There have been landlords who have let residents lead the way in terms of local improvements, a famous example being the impact made by the local community, noted in WECH, in which resident involvement was sustained and developed over a long period, turning the estate into one of the leading examples of the positive effect residents can have:

> The experience on Walterton and Elgin shows that ordinary working class people can have a positive influence on their environment. This has led to evaluation of a management style that is different from most social landlords and is more effective at supporting individuals, instilling citizenship and building community. (Rosenberg, 1988; 37)

The contribution of empowerment in WECH is well known has also been noted by Ambrose & Stone (2010).

Collective empowerment can also influence authorities which have not paid attention to the needs of a struggling community. When acting together, residents have the power to improve a process that is conducted jointly or, controversially, when local government is either unaware of or choosing to ignore local needs. In such cases a community can act to put pressure on the authorities to direct more efforts and finances towards an area in need. Pressure groups are therefore another sign of collective empowerment.

2.4.3. Pressure groups are another way in which residents attempt to influence decision-makers when participation is limited or prevented or when their views are not heard or denied. These are organised groups that seek to influence government policy or legislation. They also allow residents to raise awareness of an argument, a case, a need or any other issue they wish to bring to the public spectrum in order to draw attention away from decision-makers. Since pressure groups were focal to this research, the following section provides some background to the phenomenon, the way they operate, their aims and the different types of groups that exist. One means by which pressure groups can raise attention or voice their opinion is through protest. Residents' protest indicates that they have reached a point of dissatisfaction where they are willing to express their frustration publicly. Bottom-up pressure from a group of people can act as a catalyst for community cohesion and for change in residents' behaviour, as Alinski (1971) quote Franklin D. Roosevelt who called for pressure in order to create a political change, stating that politicians cannot ignore public pressure and when the pressure is high they must respond.

Pressure groups are generally known as interest groups, lobby groups or protest groups. Group sizes are varied; some are huge and operate nationally (the confederation of all home owners or council housing estate owners, for example), while others are smaller and act at a local level (the Hagoren Estate which united 10 families who campaigned for more frequent rubbish collections). Modes of operation also differ; there are groups which might consider illegal activities (some of the Israeli NS movements which acted to build unauthorised housing solutions, for example), some act by the rules and focus on generating links to political parties and decision-makers (e.g. some the residents groups).

The aim of pressure groups is to influence decision-makers but not to govern themselves. Generally, pressure groups approach all decision-makers in order to gain wider support. Pressure groups can have indirect political influence, one famous example from Israel being the influence of the RTB on residents (through local pressure groups), who in the 2000 election voted in favour of the supporters of legislation, turning their backs on the traditional vote. Residents' groups traditionally linked to the right-wing regime shifted their support to the left which altered the balance of power and decided the election by giving the majority to the left-wing parties. The RTB pressure groups, for instance, acted within the law, protesting in order to voice their opinion. They also drafted the first version of the legislation, were involved in the campaign, lobbied in support of their version and participated in the parliamentary working session that prepared the final version.

Pressure groups can act in a national and local environment. National groups act across the country for issues that are relevant to all residents, for example, calling for investment in council housing (www.insidehousing.co.uk, 14.03.2012), or protesting against cuts in housing services (www.insidehouseing.co.uk, 08.09.2011). Local groups deal with exacting issues relevant to a particular estate, such as protesting against new houses built in the village of Bourton-on-the-Water (*Gloucestershire Echo*, 1 April 2013). There are also groups that act across a regional zone which is larger than a community but smaller than the whole nation — the group of all communities in the Glasgow area is one example.[3] Some groups acts internationally; there are pressure groups in Brussels aiming to influence decisions at EU level, for example. Most groups follow the rules and laws, yet there are groups which also allow illegal activities. The Justice for Crisis group founded in 2008 was an illegal tent city erected on disused land owned by Birmingham City Council to draw attention to the need for more housing (BBC News bulletin, 6 May 2009). To sum

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[3] www.communitycouncilsglasgow.org.uk

up, pressure groups tend to be good sign of community activity but a less positive sign of cooperation between residents and authorities.

To conclude, there is no perfect model for collective empowerment; however, there appears to be some evidence of the need of governments to work with communities, if collective empowerment is a stated policy:

> The estate in 1994 was incomparably better-run, more stable, more popular and more viable — thanks to the combination of efforts by the City of Cologne and the two management companies, with the cooperation of residents and the advantage of greatly increased demands. (Power, 1999; 190)

The housing schemes mentioned above (co-ops and TMOs) are examples of housing organisations managed on the basis of collective empowerment and which demonstrate that collaboration between governments and authorities is achievable. In cases where such collaboration is not evident, empowered communities organise pressure groups to promote their ideas or needs. Collective empowerment based on participation alone cannot succeed, however, if residents are given the opportunity to participate yet lack the knowledge to perform — then both project and empowerment fail. Residents might know best what is good for their community, but they do not always have the capability to put that knowledge into practice. In order to bridge this gap, operational experience recommends providing communities with the proper tools to enable social development, such as training schemes that endorse community skills and bolster confidence. The next section analyses training and education schemes, their aims and how they are planned in order to overcome knowledge gaps among residents. It also offers insights into training in practice and operational guidelines.

2.5 Providing Tools in Practice: Training Schemes

Training for residents to overcome their knowledge gaps is a main theme that appears both from academic studies and practical experience. Knowledge gaps are one of the main obstacles preventing residents from taking a substantial role in housing programmes. Even when individual empowerment (residents are willing to act) and collective empowerment (authorities create the proper environment and allow such participation) meet, knowledge gaps can delay residents in achieving real and meaningful participation. Collective empowerment also includes facilitating residents with tools to be able to overcome those

gaps; training schemes for the local community is one of the most efficient and notable solutions.

The idea of training is not new but was first proposed in the nineteenth century by Octavia Hill, who was involved in the management of poor estates. She highlighted the importance of tenants' involvement and commitment in achieving local improvements. She advocated that tenants should be given a say and responsibilities, and she considered their involvement essential to the revival of run-down estates. Hill believed that such participation and involvement could be achieved by accurate and consistent training for housing managers that was then delivered to tenants:

> It was the essence of her faith that the whole success of housing the poor lay not in bricks and mortar, but in skilled and trained management. (Bell, 1986: 82)

More than a century later, these values are still valid and are demonstrated in academic research and in practical operation as an efficient tool to overcome knowledge gaps.

2.5.1. Knowledge gaps

Members of disadvantaged populations, although eager to participate when the proper environment exists, often have neither the skills nor the experience to develop 'top-flight' participation on their own. Residents of poor estates are often less involved and more dependent, while suffering lower levels of education and higher rates of unemployment. Without adequate support and training to cover these gaps, their participation cannot meet even basic standards, and the initial intention of involving them collapses. Disconnection and alienation from society consequently increases, forcing the disadvantaged further out of the public system. Training provides knowledge and can overcome gaps; as Sir Francis Bacon noted over four centuries ago, knowledge is power. In order to gain the knowledge inherent in management and negotiation skills, residents need to become familiar with how systems work. They need to gain experience in dealing and negotiating with government bodies and representatives when making demands for their communities. It takes a range of skills to represent the community and to appropriately manage an estate. Through training, potential tenant representatives can obtain the knowledge and, thus, the power to influence decisions. The PEP Guide to Local Housing Management, 1987 recommends:

> a real effort to provide proper training for leaders. In every community, there are ordinary people with the leadership qualities and the desire to participate…. We also recommend offering caretaking jobs to tenants which provide work for the unemployed and at the same time improve the level of service (the PEP Guide to Local Housing Management,1987;11 - 13)

Freire (1971), who lived in deprived neighbourhoods as a youth, acknowledges that training helps people gain confidence and have the chance to make a real impact. Freire uses his experience to justify the contribution of training to encourage freedom and provide residents with the ability to ask critical questions and offer solutions. Gavena and Edwards (2001) found that local social activities have a focal role in collective empowerment, as they not only provide opportunities for residents to get together for leisure, socialising, exchanging views, but they are also a base for the networking of information about the community and can act as a platform for community activity. In times of disputes, tenants can use these connections to form pressure groups and organise campaigns. Training enhances knowledge and power, enabling residents to create an environment in which positive motivation flourishes.

2.5.2 Training in Practice

Practical experience suggests an effective formula for training schemes in the community. It requires long-term commitment from the authorities to provide resources for proper training and also to monitor its impact, in particular to encourage local leadership to be involved so that they can inspire the whole community. An example of such a training scheme is Locality UK which aims to strengthen communities by providing training for leaders that hopefully pushes the whole community forward. The Community Organisers programme enables us to involve more local people in identifying what matters to them in their communities and what they would like to see changed for the better. The programme recruits and trains up to 500 senior community organisers and 4,500 part-time and voluntary organisers in some of the most deprived communities in the UK:

> Through our network we will strengthen current and aspiring members to promote community enterprise, community asset ownership, and social action within their communities.[4]

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[4] Locality UK, http://locality.org.uk/about/mission-vision/, page 1 of the mission vision page.

The first essential step in such training, however, is residents' acknowledgement of their often-poor conditions — poor enough, in fact, to make them seek escape. As awareness of conditions increases, so does a sense of community, and once this sense of community has been formed, projects can move forward. The Citizen Organizing Foundation (UK) is another training programme that focuses on leaders and enables them to improve their skills. Training is offered to individuals from a variety of backgrounds and takes place locally to identify and develop new leaders. Courses as described in the group website deal with "how to connect faith and values to practical action; the role that power and self-interest play in holding a group together; campaigning methodology that helps strengthen organisations and gains recognition and dignity for individuals, families and the community".[5] Outside the UK, Tenant Democracy in Denmark (Jensen, 2006) provides special training for leaders and board members to help them improve their performance. Residents' roles include wider responsibilities in addition to representation of the local community, such as budgetary planning, problem-solving skills, efficient management and the ability to produce assessments and feedback to sponsors.

In addition to designated training schemes for leaders, training for the whole community is the main means of providing tools to overcome gaps among the general community. One successful example of the impact training had upon a community was Columbia's Escuela Nueva Program, which involved the local community and followed an introduction of proper training: "The result has been to boost morale, reduce drop-out and repeater rates, improve achievement scores, and expand enrolment demand."[6] Another barrier that training schemes aim to tackle is residents lack of confidence in their own abilities and lack of faith in the authorities' intention to support poor communities. Evidence to support this view comes from an unusual document prepared by low-income residents and presented to the LSE students in the housing programme. The document (*Inspiring People*, 2004, Case Study 2, no page numbers) quote Debbie Holmes, from Burton Park Residents Association in Rhyl, who admitted that before training she did not have the confidence to take even 'slight responsibility', yet training allowed her to gain "the confidence I desperately needed to become one of the best and most rewarded community activists in Wales" (Inspiring People, 2004, Case Study 1, no page numbers).

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[5] http://www.cof.org.uk/.
[6] *World Bank Participation Sourcebook*, Washington, D.C., 1996. 'Participation in the Education and Training Sector', Appendix II: Working Paper Summaries, p. 231.

Organisations that offer local residents caretaking jobs to service the community also includes training to ensure that residents are facilitated properly:

> These targets were strictly enforced by the outstanding resident estate superintendent, using some of the most advanced and efficient equipment. His one year training course in cleaning and caretaking supervision had a remarkable effect on confidence and performance. This caretaking, with nine staff, made Broadwater Farm one of the cleanest and best maintained estates of its kind in the country. Visitors from all over the world came to study its style of service, of community involvement, of youth action and of local control (Power, 1999; 200)

WECH (Walterton & Elgin Council Homes in London), offer similar perspectives on the positive impact residents' caretaking had on the estate:

> I was struck by the open meetings. I came away feeling invigorated and inspired by the sense of shared vision and determination from the residents, their advisors and supports. It was an enormous powerful force. (Rosenberg, 1987: 17)

There are many other success stories related to training schemes that have empowered communities. One example described in an unusual document prepared by low-income residents and presented to the LSE housing programme. The document (*Inspiring People*, 2004) provide examples of schemes in housing organisations where residents were dominant in management, such as TRA (Tenants Residents Association), at the Plas Madoc Estate in North Wales where residents confirmed how effective training schemes are and what influence they make locally:

> Before the courses, she was not able to fill in official forms, but afterwards she became so successful that she now teaches others. (*Inspiring People*, 2004, Case Study 4, no page numbers)

There are also stories where residents were less active and more dependent. The National Communities Resource Centre at Trafford Hall in Chester, UK, is a charity that offers training and support to those living and working in low-income areas allowing them to develop skills, confidence and the capacity to tackle problems and reverse poor conditions:

> Courses aim to bring people together to share ideas and experiences, learn new skills and increase levels of confidence. Courses designed to meet

the needs families, young people and adults, are regularly evaluated to ensure that they are achieving the charity's aims.[7]

Recently, Trafford Hall initiated the 'Tenant Feature Training': low cost courses for residents of housing associations in England, focusing on positive local action to tackle problems and for the development of management of social housing.[8] There have also been schemes designed to overcome the inadequacies of previous courses and sustain their positive impact, such as at the Ballymun Job Centre (in Power, 1999) which proves the necessity of consistency in order to enable long-term involvement:

> Training schemes were often short-term. It was hard to keep them going permanently, when once capital programmes were completed. This severely limited their impact.

By contrast, where training could be maintained over a long period, the chances of empowerment success were greater as appear in WECH (Rosenberg, 1997).

There are also many success stories related to collective empowerment. Authorities allow participation and provide tools to overcome knowledge gaps and facilitate residents to perform well in their local programmes and there are housing organisations that attest to this, and yet collective empowerment in housing policy is not a common phenomenon. In this research we analyse the participatory flow in Israel: whether there is development of individual empowerment into collective empowerment and also the impact of multi-conflict on communities, social policy and empowerment (in both individual and collective terms).

Creating the participatory environment for community empowerment to flourish requires a supportive official strategy in which local governments have a central role. Not all authorities or the general public are convinced of such an approach and in the Israeli case in particular the role of local government is extremely limited when it comes to housing policy. This also reflects upon the analysis of social policy under multiple external pressures and how multi-pressure situations influence the ability of local government to become involved. Community empowerment requires resources, commitment and funding

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[7] http://www.traffordhall.com/?s=Chester%2C+UK, page 1 on community learning page under Chester UK search

[8] http://www.traffordhall.com/?s=capital+programmes+, page 1 on community learning under capital programme section

and not all authorities or the public are willing to make the necessary provision for them. The next section discusses the critics of collective empowerment.

2.6 Multi-Conflict Societies

Israel is a special case. It is unique because it brings multi-conflicts into a single 'melting pot' society. Social policy in a multi-conflict scenario is only one conflict out of a few or even many. This research aims to investigate the role of social policy in a multi pressure environment and what is, if any, the balance of power between social policy and other pressures when it comes to decision making.

One type of pressure is ethnic conflict, such as in the case of refugees. UNHCR research has identified a pattern in dealing with refugee problems in many corners of the world, which tends to involve a collision between care and human rights on the one hand and an attempt to simply 'erase' the problem by despatching it to an area beyond the authority's control (such as by repatriation), on the other. It was also shown that social policy was not a priority of authorities facing refugee problems:

> the poverty of most refugees receiving stats combined with inadequate international assistance meant that refugees were often viewed as been a drain on the local economy. Representatives of the international community occasionally came under pressure to encourage refugees to go back home. (Allen & Morsink, 1994;5)

Cole has noted that one ethnic pressure — refugees — can collide with the cultural and political issues of an authority, social policy being one of them: "it is increasingly accepted that it is concerned with 'such basic issues as social and economic development" (Coles, 1989:211)

Stein, who focuses on refugee issues in conflict areas, has indicated that most refugees return home, more because of the deterioration of conditions in their country of residence than because of improving conditions in their home countries. Other research suggests that during conflicts, priorities are not necessarily driven by social policy. (Larkin, Cuny and Stein, 1991; Cuny, Stein and Reed, 1992).

In research conducted by the EU to gain support for civil society organisations, one of the main challenges appears to be that in time of conflict, the ability of authorities to provide support decreases:

> Another emergent risk appears to be in the political divergence of civil society: as politicians and policymakers shift attention towards dealing with populist reactions to specific policy failures or deficiencies, CSO that deals with issues that are not in

the limelight may well be relegated to lower level of attention. (Shahin, J. 2003; p.46)

In analysis published by UNESCO, Giordan (1992) highlighted the challenges posed by multi-ethnic and multicultural societies to current regimes which create difficulties for authorities in dealing with growing internal pressure and demands for attention to social needs.

There has not been a great deal of research on social and housing policies in multi-conflict societies, and since Israel is a special case, where many conflicts come together, this research provides an opportunity to raise another question: whether Western thinking is valid when applied to multi-conflict areas.

2.7 Limitations

Convincing the public and the authorities of the importance of empowerment is perhaps the first challenge of empowerment supporters. Although academic research and case studies have shown that localisation of services, enabling resident participation and the provision of tools to improve performance can turn projects into successes, there is no guarantee that the authorities or the general public will favour such programmes because they are targeted at low-tax-paying minorities. There is more research among Western economies on the advantages of empowerment in housing policy than on its limitations, and on why these empowerment projects in social policy are more widespread.

The main limitation of empowerment is therefore the shift from individual activities to the public arena. Participation is vital for empowerment but at the same time without a supportive public policy that allows participation and grants residents influence, empowerment is highly unlikely to develop.

Authorities do not always believe in the notion of empowerment, and sometimes argue that free market rules can solve problems better than government intervention. Some do not approve of greater investment in a proportion of the population that falls outside the ruling hegemony. Whereas the general public can also be less supportive of empowerment schemes, the majority of tax payers wish to see their taxes re-invested in their communities and in issues that are relevant to them (such as education, health, security) and not elsewhere.

Another limitation of empowerment is the dominance of central government. Satterthwaite and Mitlin (2014), have found growing number of examples to confirm that democratisation processes and decentralisation have led to a rise in power of local government which has proved itself more attentive to low income residents.

In a smaller arena, residents have a greater impact on decision-makers. Satterthwaite and Mitlin give an example of participatory budgeting from Porto Allegra in Brazil where residents of poor neighbourhoods have the power to impact upon the operation of local government and even replace the mayor if he/she is not delivering.

Another limitation is relations within the community. Since small communities can act together to generate power, influence decisions and create change, there is a need for community cohesion that as Power suggested (2007) sometimes starts at the family level. If these are strong empowerment can grow, when these are weak empowerment declines:

There are also limits to self-help, in terms of how much the individual should invest in order to act, in order to improve their position, and at the same time how much support the authorities need to offer. There is also the issue of de-politicisation, as discussed in more detail in chapter Six, where authorities intervene in order to influence the shape and form of the local residents' group.

Similar views have been presented by participants of poor neighbourhoods in Israel against groups who, because of community cohesion, have managed to get better housing terms. We will aim to analyse whether these arguments are also valid in the Israeli case or whether multi-conflict situations are another limitation of empowerment in the social housing policy case altogether.

In order to overcome these limitations, the main argument in support of the importance of empowerment is its impact upon people and in creating healthier societies which allow the disadvantaged to integrate with the general public and turn them into committed citizens that wish to pay back into society and make a contribution like everyone else. Another argument is associated with the potential impact upon an area. Poor areas are inhabited by concentrations of unemployed and unskilled disadvantaged populations, but it is not only these characteristics that prevent such areas from flourishing. Supportive public policy towards these neighbourhoods, providing improved services and greater care, can create positive changes which turn redundant areas into places that are more accommodating.

Finally, regeneration is ultimately the authorities' responsibility. It is not the fault of residents that their neighbourhood is poor, that they are alienated from decent services and have limited access to them. It is these factors that *create* marginalisation. Authorities have a responsibility to all residents, and some argue that if the authorities allow the creation of such poor and marginalised neighbourhoods, then they should also assist in their revival through "political will on the part of central government and commitment by key actors" (World Bank, 2005, Appendix 2a: 3).

Even when authorities and the public are convinced as to the necessity of empowerment, either as a solution or as a national value or even as a moral responsibility, they still need to fund it. In other words, they must allocate greater budgetary support to those who contribute the least financially. The opponents of funding empowerment argue that it is in the nature of capitalism that ruling groups use their power to achieve their self-interests at the expense of weaker, marginal groups. Others claim that social expenditure recycles itself, as it provides no real cure but only temporary solutions, like "A wart (a

virus) that spreads very easily, is very resistant to treatment and has a tendency to reappear" (Power, 1992; 8-9).

Empowerment supporters respond that social payouts without persistent care perpetuate the conditions of the disadvantaged. The response to financial concerns should therefore be to argue that in the long run, empowerment provides effective financial solutions in the form of reduced long-term costs, and these can be considered a real benefit.

2.8 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has considered the key issues in the existing literature concerning empowerment and provided the basis upon which this research on social and housing policy in Israel has been modelled. Empowerment of the disadvantaged is a challenging and complex task. Empowerment is about people (individual empowerment), communities and authorities (collective empowerment). People may be reluctant to fully participate in the process, since local organisation is often precarious, especially in areas of neglect, inhabited by the poor and alienated, and deprived both in physical and social terms. However, residents have a direct role to play in tackling problems and improving their neighbourhoods; moreover, without their input, priorities can be misdirected and programmes backfire. Nevertheless, individual empowerment is only the first step in the empowerment process. Studies show that individual empowerment (residents' participation) needs to be supported with localisation (improved local services accessible to all residents). It should also facilitate and support leaders from the local community with tools to improve their involvement, gain their trust and guarantee commitment, and in order to sustain these achievements programmes need to be consistent. This leads to collective empowerment — the next phase of the empowerment process which allows for the delegation of power to those among the local community who prove they are capable of taking on responsibility.

Empowerment therefore involves community-based programmes and resident participation. The local community should be involved and have a real share in project management. Resident participation is essential because of tenants' familiarity with a place and its problems, their ability to accurately assess what is needed and, ultimately, their desire to create and become committed to change. WECH prove how residents' involvement can develop and empower the community (Rosenberg, 1997).

Individual Empowerment and community cohesion need supportive public policy which allows participation, provides improved services to be delivered locally, encourages and maintains leadership and offers consistent support to the community. Training and education schemes are examples of the provision of tools to help residents develop the necessary skills to improve the quality and extent of their participation. Residents of poor estates might know best what is good for them but not necessarily how to bring that into practice. Knowledge is power, thus these schemes can facilitate appropriate techniques to confront officials and incorporate project management.

The main arguments against empowerment-based programmes are related to cost (funds directed to small groups rather than to the general public), the idea that the private market will eventually solve financial problems, that central investment can only cause harm, that places are neglected because residents do not care and thus any investment will be a waste as it can create only marginal change. It is key that governments recognise that the potential of empowerment can be reached only through the acknowledgement of problems. Problems have a tendency to grow rather than disappear when ignored. A governments' acknowledgement that problems will not fade away unless a joint effort is made involving them and local communities is the first step towards empowerment:

> The poor condition of the council stock is made worse by poor maintenance and underinvestment. These problems have built up over the years. (The Inquiry Commission for Council Housing Problems in Birmingham, 2002: 15)

Once empowerment is considered as a possible solution, participation should be encouraged and authorities should provide localised improved services that generate trust and commitment. This also generates a far-reaching impact on wider issues such as employment, job accessibility, environment and facilitation of services. Localisation, therefore, improves conditions, builds up residents' confidence in their abilities, closes gaps and removes obstacles; efforts become worthwhile and self-reinforcing.

Empowerment not only about helps individuals to survive in different difficult circumstances; it is about responding to structural problems and making major social changes. It is about helping the disadvantaged to become a cohesive, well-organised group and about enabling groups that might otherwise remain powerless to gain some control over their lives and living conditions. It is about providing residents with the appropriate tools to improve their community and offer them a route out of social dependency. Individual empowerment combined with collective empowerment and public support may offer poor neighbourhoods the opportunity to build a community that can act to improve its present conditions and work towards a better future. The current literature suggests that housing policy should embrace empowerment methods, however this research attempts to investigate whether these approaches are valid in a multi-conflict environment. It is this proposition that this study examines with relevance to Israel.

Chapter Three

History: The Chronology of the Housing System in Israel

3.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the evolution of the housing system in Israel, with special emphasis on social housing policy, to provide an essential contextual understanding of the main focus of the research on empowerment of a disadvantaged population which is based on resident participation and public policy. As a starting point, studies confirm that Israeli social housing policy faced great challenges with reasonable success:

> The achievements of Israel's housing policy are noteworthy, considering both the poor housing conditions when the State was established in 1948 and the five-fold increase in its population over the past 40 years. (Carmon and Czmanski, 1990)

Interestingly, in light of such achievements, the philosophy behind Israel's housing policy has changed from central planning in its early years (1948–77) to the current market-oriented approach. The first part of this chapter discusses the main characteristics of Israeli housing policy chronologically.

The second part discusses the development of publicly-funded housing policy in poor neighbourhoods and in other areas. Publicly-funded housing policy in Israel is controlled fully by central government; although many in Europe find it hard to understand, there is almost no local government housing policy in Israel and almost every aspect of housing policy is decided by central government. This part provides the main characteristics of the system including the changes (reduction) in government intervention and the shift in social policy design to focus more on funding solutions in the private market. It describes the structure of publicly-funded housing, including the formation of housing companies, the distribution of tenure and spread of services in poor neighbourhoods and other communities where government invested in providing publicly-funded housing solutions.

The third part presents the main housing programmes and brings all these issues together in order to highlight the contribution of history to the understanding of empowerment in social and housing programmes in the very unique case of Israel. In Israel the role of central government in housing is focal. It is a society that absorbed a high

percentage of new immigrants of mixed ethnicity over a short period of time, a society that is based on a preferred religious group, a society that is dominated by security concerns, a society with growing gaps between rich and poor, where politics is embedded in the decision-making process and impacts upon a policy design that diverts and allocates funds not only according to social criteria but according to all the factors listed above. In order to understand Israeli social housing policy it is important to understand its chronological evolution.

3.2. Chronological Evolution of Housing Policy in Israel

Research into the early years of Israeli housing policy highlights two major aims that coincided with national interests at the time: immigration absorption and population dispersal. These dominant goals led to high-volume, low-quality construction of housing. Following this, a more ambitious goal was added to the original two: the provision of *satisfactory* housing to every household and, over the past decade as part of a policy of market liberalisation, housing solutions have become more and more the responsibility of private investors. This has resulted in higher-quality housing for many, and mainly those who could afford it, but which at the same time led to deterioration in the quality of social-housing, despite the more-general achievements noted above.

In brief, the chronological description begins in 1930 before Israel was established as a State, when private market rent was the common housing solution, and continues with the establishment of the State and the creation of transit camps to house the thousands of new immigrants. In 1952 those camps were turned into newly built and publicly-funded neighbourhoods ('Shikunim').

During the 1960s the first social inequalities began to appear between publicly-funded neighbourhoods and upcoming private-built, high-standard housing. This was also the period when the first Demolish & Rebuild programme was introduced. This momentum continued throughout the 1970s with more budgets directed to fund solutions in the private market and less to build solutions for those in need.

In the 1980s, the Neighbourhood Renewal Programme was introduced to improve housing standards in poor neighbourhoods, with other minority groups (such as the Israeli Arab population) being included in social housing programmes later in the decade.

The new wave of immigrants that arrived during the 1990s forced the government to return to the housing market and renew the public housing build in order to meet growing demand. In 1998 the first sales of publicly-built units under the RTB began, but

were frozen a few years later. In 2003 the eviction of Jewish settlements from the Gaza Strip (the disengagement) began and the government built temporary housing for the evacuees. In the beginning of 2011 massive demonstrations against the lack of affordable housing erupted and in early 2013 election results indicated how far dissatisfaction with social policy and housing has taken a prime role.

We have provided each of the policies, programmes, case studies, and even participants with an illustration. The main photos which describe an important factor in the chapter have been added to the main body of text, the rest have been placed in the appendix. The choice of illustrations is related simply to priority and selection, as this research has many images to present and we did not want to overload the chapters.

Table 1

The following table summarises the main events in Israeli housing policy in chronological order

Year / period	The social housing hegemony
1930s to 1948 (Before the Establishment of Israel as a State)	Renting as a Common Housing Solution
1948–1952 (Establishment of the State and the Early Years):	The Transit Camps
1952–1959	The Transition from Special Transit Camps to Publicly-Built Neighbourhoods
The Early 1960s	Substantial Building Programmes and the Initiation of Demolish & Rebuild
The Late 1960s	The Emergence of Social Inequalities
The 1970s	Private Market Take-Over
The 1980s:	The introduction of The 'Neighbourhood Renewal Programme'
The Early 1990s:	A Massive Immigration Wave and the Rebirth of Government Intervention
The Late 1990s:	The introduction of the 'Urban Renewal Programme'
From 1998 Onwards:	First Sale of Council Units and Social unrest

Below is a detailed chronological description of the events

3.2.1 From the 1930s to 1948 (Before the Establishment of Israel as a State): Renting as a Common Housing Solution

The Mandate instrument passed by the League of Nations on 24 July 1922 granted Britain a mandate and formalised British rule over the area currently occupied by Israel, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Jordan. The British Mandate for Palestine, which ended on 14 May 1948, was a legal commission for the administration of the territory that had formerly

constituted the Ottoman Empire. The mandate document formalised the creation of two distinct British protectorates — Palestine (AKA the State of Israel), as a national home for the Jewish people under direct British rule, and Transjordan, an Emirate governed semi-autonomously by Britain under the rule of the Hashemite family, also known as the State of Jordan (and includes parts of what is currently known as the Palestinian Authority).

Housing status at the time was achieved with private capital, and renting was the common solution to housing needs (illustration 3.1).[9] During this period, 90% of household heads were living in rented accommodation (Vertzberger And Reshef, 1991: 30). This period was characterised by severe housing shortages that ultimately created a bullish rental market with shortage of units for rent, rapidly increasing rents and house prices. Consequently, to defend tenants against this rent inflation, the ruling government announced regulation to prevent landlords from charging disproportionate increases in rent. The new rules, together with high inflation, meant that building property for rent was no longer worthwhile. Loans for buying dwellings, as well as tax reductions for those who decided to move from renting to private owning, caused the private sector to flourish (illustration 1). A decade later, when the State was established, rentals accounted for only 12% of the total housing market (Vertzberger And Reshef, 1991: 30).

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[9] Illustrations that appear in this form – i.e. 3.1, 3.2., etc. – can be found in Appendix 7, under chapter headings.

1. <u>Tel Aviv in 1930s</u>. A crowded city with new immigrants from Europe who replicated their home cities, with shops, cafes and private rental housing.
Source: http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?p=20640210

3.2.2 1948–1952 (Establishment of the State and the Early Years): The Transit Camps
When the State of Israel was established in 1948, housing policy faced two major obstacles; poor housing conditions as a result of the war between Jews and Arabs especially in the extreme population-density in the main cities (an average of 3 people per room in 1946 [Carmon, 1979]) and a massive Jewish immigration wave to the newly established State which further intensified the housing shortage. Absorption of hundreds of thousands of people forced the new State to create immediate solutions, even if they were only minimal shelter.

The first government housing innovation which aimed to provide minimal shelter for the newcomers and which was able to house significant numbers of people was the *Ma'abarot* — the special transit camps (illustration 2). The first camp was created in May 1950 near Jerusalem[10] and within two years the Ma'abarot were home to 220,000 new immigrants (20% of the population of Israel at the time)[11]. A Ma'abara was a very basic, low-quality housing solution of mainly cloth tents on wooden frames, or cardboard or aluminium sheds with no amenities, sanitation, or even at times, running water. Almost none of the solutions were solid build, and some were made of asbestos. Furthermore, they

[10] Davar. The first Ma'abara for new immigrants was built near Jerusalem and its residents worked in Jerusalem forest, 23.05.1950.
[11] Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999.

were without electricity, gas infrastructures or moveable facilities. They were a short-lived solution and built as such. The first to be pulled down were in 1954 and by 1959 all the Ma'abarot were either demolished or were the sites of new cities.

2. <u>Immigrants arrive in Ma'abara, 1949</u>. Immigrants doubled Israel's population in 3 years: 600,000 new immigrants arrived during the State's first three years. Many were diverted to temporary tent camps called Ma'abara.
Source: http://dancutlermedicalart.com/AlbertEinstein'sZionism/08Einstein'sZionism1950-1955.htm.

In the collective memory of the Israeli population, the *Ma'abarot* symbolise extremely poor housing conditions and at times engendered shame or stigma for their occupants, yet researchers, focusing not on housing conditions and social perspectives but on policy-making under pressure, describe the process as enterprising:

> Looking back as planners, we can appreciate the endeavour; the Ma'abarot were part of an ambitious development plan [to allow all the Jewish people to enter the state in consideration of employment opportunities]. (Carmon and Czamanski, 1990: 519).

The Ma'abarot were, therefore, a unique innovation, an impressive emergency response by a very young government to intense housing pressures, yet they were only a temporary solution (illustration 3).

3. <u>A Ma'abara camp, 1950</u>. Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maabara1950.jpg.

3.2.3 1952–59: The Transition from Special Transit Camps to Publicly-Built Neighbourhoods

Between 1948 and 1958, the number of Jewish citizens increased dramatically from 650,000 to 1,810,000 — an expansion of 180% in ten years (Drin Hayim, 1959: 13). In order to ensure that the entire land was equally populated, population dispersal became a key priority (illustration 4). This was influenced by many factors (economics, security, politics) but was not a social policy. Nevertheless, one social issue that emerged was a plan to solve housing problems by preventing the over-concentration of the population in the main cities (illustration 3.2), which led to the development of the more remote areas (Drin Hayim, 1959: 14) (illustration 5). In 1949, the national housing corporation, *Amidar*, was founded in order to execute this housing policy, to provide housing solutions for eligible tenants, mainly by building housing units. In addition, the corporation was involved with housing management, which entailed providing housing access for new immigrants; unit maintenance and damage prevention; rent collection; property registration, and all other housing activities. Ten years later, more companies were founded to provide local housing solutions, yet criteria and funds were all directed by central government.

4. <u>Transforming Ma'abara to housing</u>. Source: http://www.ariehsharon.org/Archive/Physical-Planning-in-Israel/Layout-and-Architecture/17156839_Qq5djj/1316061390_2xs3B3J#!i=1316061390&k=2xs3B3J.

5. <u>Transforming Ma'abara to housing</u>. New housing replaced the Ma'abara tents. Residents' group private collection.

Appendix 1:1 provides details of the quantity of new building every year. The decline/increase between 1969 and 1975 and 1995 to 1998 reflects the massive immigration waves.

3.2.4 The Early 1960s: Substantial Building Programmes and the Initiation of Demolish & Rebuild

Between 1952 and 1964, the annual rate of population growth dropped to around 5% (much lower than the average of 20% in the first three years of the State). The government therefore had greater freedom during the 1960s to invest and plan more permanent solutions, in the shape of huge complexes called *Shikunim*. More than 500,000 units were built in twelve years, the majority being government owned and managed (illustration 3.3). The principle, based on previous experience, was simple: to provide proper dwellings instead of temporary transit camps, which had become slums. In this regard, it was relatively successful:

> towards the end of the period only 4000 households remained in transition camps, and one could count about 400 new small agricultural settlements (most of them cooperatives) and some 30 new development towns with modern housing, infrastructure, and services, most of them in the less-populated areas of Galilee and the Negev. (Carmon and Czamanski, 1990: 519) (Illustration 3.4)

Appendix 1:2 shows how public building dominated during the 1960s compared with the drop over the following years.

Housing policy in general has continued to be shaped by the initial objective of population dispersal, which continues to dominate policy making. Some argue that it relates to national defence and the need of the Israeli State to strengthen its periphery and boarders to protect against hostile neighbours (Cohen, 1969). To achieve this, settlements were constructed in remote areas near borders. Up until 1959, public building dominated the housing market; private building as a share of completed building initiatives was negligible, even though the young State faced high demand and a massive wave of immigrants (illustration 6).

6. <u>Early Immigration</u> – New immigrants arrive into Haifa port in the State early days. Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/jewishagencyforisrael/4035060276/

For example, if in 1949 the number of units owned by Amidar, the main housing corporation, was 10,000, by 1958 this number had climbed to 125,000 and reached 200,000 in 1962 (Katz I, 1997: 192) (illustrations 7 & 8 present rapid build during the 1960s and its consequences thirty years later).

7. <u>Yaski Neighbourhood in Kiryat Gat in the 1960s</u>.
Source: http://www.mouse.co.il/CM.articles_item,419,209,44771,.aspx.

8.<u>Yaski Neighbourhood in Kiryat Gat in the </u>1990s. Currently a very poor estate with only 16 families left (out of 226). Source: http://www.mouse.co.il/CM.articles_item,419,209,44771,.aspx

The first sale of public units was therefore initiated not as part of a deliberately planned policy, but through limited initiatives that depended on large, hard to manage council-housing stock in particular locations. Sales allowed tenants to purchase their dwellings at a subsidised discount that reduced prices by 25%. This was the first indication of the transformation of public solutions into private ones (illustration 9). From the 1950s through to the end of the 1980s, 180,000 Amidar units were transferred to private tenure. Analysts calculate that the initiative saved the state $75,000,000 per annum in running costs, equal to $420 in annual maintenance per unit (Bar Dadon Israeli, 2000: 6). Early in the 1960s, the government also introduced the Demolish and Rebuild Programme (D&R) which focused on old neighbourhoods with extremely poor and inadequate housing located in central cities, in order to build a new standard of housing on valuable land (illustration 3.5).

9. <u>A publicly-funded peripheral housing estate in the 1980s.</u> These long, low-rise buildings, all similar in appearance and size (small-moderate) offer basic facilities, and were built rapidly to provide quick housing solutions to new immigrants.

Source: http://www.themarker.com/realestate/1.1655926. Photo by Alon Ron.

3.2.5 The Late 1960s: The Emergence of Social Inequalities

The reduction in the number of immigrants, a resulting economic recession and, above all, rising concerns about residents of the temporary camps who lost all patience on the day of their move to permanent housing, as well as conflicts between groups of residents of different ethnic origins packed into small sites led to a change of policy. Ethnic disputes led to dissatisfaction with the central authority, with many camp residents feeling discriminated against by a government which allegedly treated each ethnic group differently. New immigrants from Asia and Africa were directed to the camps in remote locations while those from Europe were directed to new neighbourhoods in the cities.

There was a huge effort under pressure of time to provide decent shelter for all new immigrants, yet residents' disputes forced the government to consider moving away from delivering social housing solutions. When decision-makers realised that all their efforts did not bring them the support and rewards they had anticipated, but precisely the opposite, they formulated a new strategy to allow the private market to step in and offer services which residents could not contest. As a result, government involvement in building social housing solutions significantly decreased,[12] while offers of funds to residents to find their own solution in the private market increased.[13] Subsidies and supervision took over from actual construction, and government-led housing programmes were handed over to developers, who were in return tempted by rewards for rapid building. In other words, the housing budget, which was used by the government to build social housing, was now used to subsidise low-interest mortgages that were not fully indexed. The number of housing solutions the government had to offer decreased and therefore the criteria had to be revised, with less people meeting eligibility. In fact, although the government did not build any new public housing, it spent much more on funding the growing need through the private market (Appendix 1:3 shows the decrease in public building in the late 1960s).

An example of the growing social inequalities across Israel was that, by the end of the 1960s, there was almost no private housing in the south of the State (an area that was considered to be poor), whereas in the centre (Tel Aviv), 42% of housing was under private ownership (illustration 10). The fact that public housing was less available in the centre offered little freedom of choice for those under housing support, mainly concerning location, employment, social and cultural links (Lu-yon & Kalush, 1994: 6) (illustration 3.6 presents central housing vs. the periphery). The public housing market was also

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[12] The Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics.
[13] The Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel.

restructured and the Housing Ministry established regional companies to manage the stock and deal with residents locally (Alexander, 1981), and with separate groups of residents (illustration 3.8).

10. Housing in Central Israel, Tel Aviv 1960s: larger housing units with more space and better amenities. Source: http://www.clctin.com/yossishdemati/old-pics-tel-aviv

Some suggest that the growing private market pushed the housing market forward. Although public housing in general was deemed to be low standard, in its early days it was considered pioneering in terms of modern design (Gerstel, 1980), a phenomenon quickly adopted by the private market:

> It is interesting to note that the public and not the private sector was usually the leading force in innovative design. In a typical scheme of an Israeli dwelling unit, full advantage is taken of every corner. This design started appearing in public projects of the sixties and was gradually developed by private builders (Carmon and Czamanski, 1990: 525).

The private sector also reduced density rates. Public housing was crowded. In the early 1960s, 24% of the population lived three or more people to a room. By the 1990s, the private housing market reduced that to 3.5% (Carmon and Czamanski, 1990, see also Appendix 2:1 for national average rates of density). Housing amenities were also improved. In the mid-1950s, 10% of households had no running water and twice that figure had no electricity, but by the late 1970s, such amenities were universally available.

3.2.6 The 1970s: Private Market Take-Over

The same pattern of reduced direct government involvement in the housing market continued, and in the 1970s the shift from the public housing market to the private was almost complete. 70% of Israeli houses became privately owned and only 15% were under public tenancy contracts,[14] which was an even tighter criteria since significantly less public housing solutions were available (Slijper, 1977). At the same time the private market increased housing standards and with it the demand for better quality housing than the publicly-funded solutions in the Shikunim. (See Appendix 5 for the growth in number of rooms per unit during these years).

Below are official figures from the Ministry of Housing[15] showing the share of public housing from overall completed units, and represent the dramatic turnover in hegemony from public to private in less than 40 years:

Figure 3: The share of publicly-funded housing units out of all housing units

Period	Share of public housing
1950–1954	78%
1965–1969	46%
1987	22%

Source: Ministry of Housing, 2005

The shift from public to private is well documented in the number of housing starts,[16] with the rare exception of government intervention in handling the massive immigration waves of the 1960s and 1990s:

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[14] The rest were other sorts of housing like agricultural cooperatives — Kibbutzim and Moshavim — or religious communities.
[15] Appendix 1 Ministry Housing, 2005.
[16] Appendix 2 Ministry Housing, 2005.

Figure 4: Share of publicly-funded housing starts out of all housing starts

Period	Percentage of public housing starts
1962	60%
1970s	35%–45%
1975	50%
1977	25%
1981	40%
1989	15%
1990	50%
1991	75%
1992	50%

Source: Ministry of Housing, 2005

Support of the table in figure 4 noted in the decline of investment in housing construction: from 13.7% of the national budget that spent of public housing in 1950, through an average of 10% in the years between 1953 and 1980; but only 5% by 1985. If public investment in the early years was almost equal to private, by the early 1990s it was four times higher (Carmon and Czamanski, 1990).

3.2.7. The 1980s: 'Neighbourhood Renewal'

One of the main characteristics of the 1980s in terms of housing policy was the introduction of the 'Neighbourhood Renewal Programme' (NRP) (illustration 3.9). Although the majority of the housing stock in Israel was not old, since it was built under time pressure without national planning and with poor maintenance of publicly-funded estates which were already stigmatised and considered sub-standard and inadequate, there was a desperate need for renovation.

The Neighbourhood Renewal programme (represented by Vadi Saliv a governmental led project and The Neighbourhood of the Cardboards privatised form of the /NRP), offered social and environmental regeneration of these sites. Begun in 1979 and managed by the public-housing companies, the programme offered renovation of building exteriors and yards, interior renovation of homes and loans for housing enlargements (illustration 3.10). The NRP officially invited local tenants and representatives to participate in project management. In the programme's early days, many projects

established local steering committees that were composed of officials and local residents in equal numbers, yet this has changed over the years, with a more dominant role taken by outsiders (politicians and high officials), due to a lack of a democratic tradition among participants and a reputation for corruption and mismanagement amongst officials. In the first decade, the programme included 90 neighbourhoods and, up until 1987, nearly half were completed or were in the process of renewal (Carmon and Gavrieli, 1987).

Another important focus during the 1980s was the attention to the minority Arab population. Much of the non-Jewish population of Israel (mainly Muslims-Arabs) tend to be amongst the poorest citizens; the majority live in traditional communities where only one working member contributes to the income of a family, facilities and conditions are relatively poor and planning and construction are almost non-existent. Except for mixed neighbourhoods of Jewish-Arab (in cities like Haifa, Jaffa, Acra, Ramle and Lod), the Jewish and Arab populations generally live separately, each in their own area. There are fewer government housing programmes for Arabs and residents claim they face discrimination either when trying to apply for publicly-funded housing (mainly located in Jewish neighbourhoods) or as a consequence of lower standards of maintenance in the very few housing solutions designated for them. Officials argued that during the mid-1980s, the government created eligibility criteria applying to all Israeli citizens (consequently improving the chances for non-Jewish citizens to apply for housing support). Nevertheless, the share of non-Jewish residents in council housing was small (illustrations 3.11 & 3.12).

3.2.8 The Early 1990s: A Massive Immigration Wave and the Rebirth of Government Intervention

A second large-scale immigration wave occurred in Israel between 1989 and 1994. As a result of the fall of the Soviet Bloc, 633,000 new immigrants arrived mainly from the former USSR, which required an immediate response to increase housing provision (State Comptroller Report no. 46, 1995: 133) (illustrations 3.13 & 3.14). In an effort to achieve this in a short time, the Housing Ministry regained control of the housing market and renewed public building. Between 1992 and 1994, 103,000 new public units were constructed. Interestingly, government public stock included 40,000 unoccupied units, yet the fact that they were located in unpopular areas, far from the centre and employment opportunities and with very poor transport links to the centre, forced the state to enlarge public building in prime locations where private market rules dominated (illustration 3.15).

The following box analyses the share of housing in the national development budget,[17] showing the significant rise in 1990:

Figure 5: Share of budget allocated for publicly-funded housing solutions out of the state budget[18]

Period	% of housing out of the national development budget
1972	27%
1976	28%
1989	2.5% (not a typo it was as marginal)
1990	30%

Source: Ministry of Housing, 2005

These fluctuations are also evident in a graph of average construction time.[19] In general, the private market was quicker to react and more efficient in its response, yet under pressure to house massive waves of immigrants, the government took control and delivered housing units in record time.

Figure 6: Average construction time of public and private housing solutions

Period	Private	Public
1894–1987	24 months per unit	28 months per unit
1987–1990	21 months per unit	31 months per unit
1991	22 months per unit	11 months per unit

Source: Ministry of Housing, 2005

One explanation for this reversal is that the government felt a sense of urgency to produce quick housing solutions to the thousands of new immigrants (Appendix 1:3 for the rise in public building in the 1990s) and, to its credit, responded quickly to solve an immediate and urgent problem. Still, working under time pressure cannot provide perfect results, and some of the aspects of planning were criticised. New solutions were not suitable to support elderly people who needed lower-floor apartments or which were remote from other

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[17] Appendix 3 Ministry Housing, 2005.
[18] In 2015 the state budget was 238,000,000,000 NIS which is 40,000,000,000 GBP
[19] Appendix 6 Ministry Housing, 2005.

immigrant centres, forcing new immigrants who ideally wished to live next to their families or residents of the same origin to struggle on elsewhere (State Comptroller Report no. 44, 1993: 174).

3.2.9 The Late 1990s: Urban Renewal

The delegation of authority to private developers in Demolish & Rebuild projects first began in the 1970s but became a phenomenon in the 1990s. The Ministry of Housing handed D&R projects, free of tender, to developers who agreed to take responsibility over a site. The new programme was similar to D&R, but offered residents guarantees before eviction (illustration 3.16). In the first stage, developers would build new houses into which residents could move; in the second stage, vacated units would be demolished and new ones built in their place, which allowed developers to gain profits from the sale. Since the negotiation was between developers and residents, in many cases they failed to reach agreement about eviction terms and only a few projects took off. During the massive immigration wave of the 1990s when land values rose dramatically and housing distress increased, projects became attractive to private entrepreneurs and initiatives for Urban Renewal become more common. However, studies (e.g., Fishbain, 2003) still suggest that developers' greed and the race for immediate and excessive profits led to disagreements with residents, mainly over their compensation, and this limited the chances for such projects to thrive.

The Urban Renewal concept also gained support from those who believed that the State of Israel was no longer capable of handling comprehensive housing projects (the attempt to control the operation of D&R Projects in the early 1960s failed, the deterioration of the Neighbourhood Renewal Projects in the late 1990s is another symptom of failure), and that market rules granted both developers and residents a win-win situation financially (Maor, 2003; Tzadik, 2006; Talias, 1999; Liberman, 2007). The view was that each site could be expanded at least threefold from its current status and that residents could gain up to a 25% increase in their property's value (Maiblum, 2002); In practice, putting decisions about the extent of compensation in the hands of private business, whose main interest was higher profits, had certain implications. For example, profit-oriented management seeking the extension of housing rights would almost certainly result in overcrowding and a high probability that the sites would become slums which was against residents wishes, as indeed has happened in two recent attempts (Fishbayin, 2003). Previous experience with regeneration programmes outside Israel suggest the benefit of cooperation between

residents, experts and officials, with the main interest being renewal of a deprived area rather than the generation of profits for developers (Maiblum, 2002). However, satisfying both sides (decent compensation for current residents and developers' financial needs) can be extremely difficult, and in many cases this has become a zero-sum game. In early 2008, the Urban Renewal Programme involved 109 neighbourhoods in 32 different cities, but in the interview with the programme manager we have learned that so far none appear to have offered residents an operational role in management. This indicates limited cooperation between residents and developers which has delayed or postponed projects.

3.2.10. From 1998 Onwards: First Sale of Council Units

> "Publicly built housing is a tool the state should use to intervene in order to guarantee appropriate housing for those in need" (Headey, 1978).

Here, appropriate means quantity, quality and affordability — factors that the market itself cannot provide to all residents (Ho, 1995; Bal, Harole & Martens, 1998). Over the years, there has been a severe decline in scope and services provided by council housing companies. The scope of available units has also been unstable; council units in Israel have been sold intermittently since the 1950s (Darin, 1959; Werczberger, 1995), yet RTB was the first attempt to structure and anchor terms of sale in the statute book. Simultaneously, according to social activists, another aspect of the programme was to combat the total privatisation of council-housing companies. The idea was that residents would at least be allowed to buy these units should the government decide to end the programme (Rachman, 2001). In order to finally get rid of unoccupied stock in public housing solutions in remote locations that were difficult to allocate, the Housing Ministry launched a programme for a general sale of units which was, however, unstructured but sporadic. Between 1990 and 1998, 20,886 (out of the total stock of around 120,000) public units were sold to residents, more than 10% of these (2,455) were sold to the general public and the rest to eligible supported tenants. Among the units that were sold there are units that were placed in NRP neighbourhoods. In this waythe RTB, in some cases, could overlap with the NRP. When housing officials realised that many were interested in purchasing under these generous terms, the rules were tightened, especially in central cities, and sales fell. The formal RTB which aimed to legalise the sale was introduced only in late 1990s.

Another D&R project was conducted in 2003 when the government announced the eviction of Jewish settlements (disengagement) from Gaza and re-housed evacuees in temporary sites. Housing problems continued to mount, however, and by 2012 inequalities in housing instigated huge waves of demonstrations across the country. Many middle class residents led protests against the lack of affordable housing, and two residents in housing distress even burnt themselves to death in protest. Moshe Sliman from Haifa was the first and his deadly activity shocked the country (illustration 3.17). A few weeks later, Akiva Mafei, disabled and wheelchair-bound, set fire to himself in the middle of a busy road near Yahud (illustration 3.18). These huge demonstrations also had an impact on the results of the 2013 election.

To sum up, the history of housing in Israel began with a new-born state that needed to create housing solutions for hundreds of thousands of new immigrants under pressure of time, and control population dispersal, ethnic conflicts and security issues, especially on the state's borders. From central government control of the housing market in the first twenty years the shift moved towards the private housing market where housing solutions were subsidised in the private market to less eligible people. There were three main social housing programmes: Demolish and Rebuild, Neighbourhood Renewal and the publicly-funded housing solution that was at the centre of the Right to Buy legislation. Israel's involvement in multiple conflicts coalesces in housing policy. Security issues and the need to secure Israel's borders (as well as the territories beyond), the country's multi-ethnic society, tensions between new immigrants and veterans and between different communities, political relations between certain groups and the authorities, together and individually have had an impact on policy-making.

The next section discusses the main areas where housing policy and social conflict meet. The publicly-funded housing structure, the council housing companies and their relations with residents and services, the housing policy in the Kibbutzim — a unique community, managed and controlled by its residents (illustration 11), highly supported by the labour party in the country's first three decades, and the housing benefits residents of the Kibbutzim have gained – the New Settlements, a unique community, strong, coherent and powerful, located on controversial land (according to the international law) of the West Bank, supported by the right wing regimes of the last three decades which have had a great influence on decision-makers, gaining them housing benefits.

11. Life in the Kibbutz comprised many social events. One of its most famous was the communal meal in the dining room. Source: http://kids.gov.il/kidsnews/pages/3261

3.3. The Housing Programmes

The following part provides brief information on the main programme investigated in this research. A detailed description of the particular case studies opens each programme chapter. This part provides information on the housing programmes in general, Demolish & Rebuild, the Neighbourhood Renewal Programme, the structure of the council-housing companies, tenure and spreading. It also provides information on other communities, where publicly-funded housing was provided, although not considered to be poor. A major phenomenon in Israeli history is the decline in public investment in housing compared to the growing private housing sector. If in the State's early years most residents depended on publicly-funded housing solutions, by the late 1970s, almost 70% of Israeli citizens owned their homes, with almost 90% in 2006. As for those who still relied on public housing provision, by the late 1980s more than half lived in council housing (owned and managed by government-owned housing companies); others lived in subsidised rented accommodation in the private market. The next section focuses on this market.

3.3.1 Demolish and Rebuild

The idea behind Demolish and Rebuild (D&R) was to take advantage of valuable land that was currently the site of poor housing and to improve it. Many of these sites, located in the heart of Israeli cities, were old houses that had been affected by the war. Because their

poor status was never officially altered, no one ever bothered to renovate them. As a result, housing conditions on these sites before the establishment of the State and after (i.e. until D&R began in the 1960s) remained extremely poor and many buildings were deserted, thus making improvements impractical and extremely costly. Consequently, D&R emerged as a sensible way to provide housing that would benefit these communities with the potential to initiate social revival for residents. Another benefit seems to be use of valuable land to build not only better houses but also units in greater numbers.

Proposals for D&R emerged during the 1960s in Haifa, when plans were made to tackle poverty, improve social services and reduce indigence in the neighbourhood of 'Vadi Saliv', located in the city centre (Weiss, 2007). More recently, D&R has also brought added financial value: for example, restoring historic housing in the city centre has produced more value than just constructing new, completely standard buildings (Fishbayin, 2003). The D&R Programme evolved through two main strands — the first proposed direct government control and, in the later phase, the government handed responsibility for the sites and projects to private developers:

The first D&R projects were all under the control of central government The Demolish and Rebuild Programme was confirmed in law in1965. The law set terms for the first projects (up to the 1970s) by which the government controlled all operational aspects, including identifying sites to evict and re-housing residents in the newly built units. Officials claim that residents were consulted, offered decent compensation and better housing situations than what they had had previously. Studies (Weiss, 2007; Fishbain 2003), however, tend to disagree. Nevertheless, all concur that the operation was ungainly, protracted and slow, ultimately grinding to a complete halt.

When the centralised concept failed, the government handed the D&R to private developers. When private developers, as individuals, failed in few neighbourhoods, the model was re-thought and eventually modified to become the Urban Renewal Scheme, which was initiated in 1998 and is still in place. The aim of its creators was to release government from direct involvement in the housing market and allow free market rules, whereby financial issues would be resolved through direct negotiations between private developers and residents. Some (e.g. Levin, 2002) have stressed that the regeneration programme offers better use of land and infrastructure in central locations where physical renovation would be prohibitively expensive. It is also the only way for private entrepreneurs to capture available land for housing in central locations and thus it is in their interests to resolve compensation issues with residents. Overall, the main concept has

remained the same but operational responsibility has shifted from government to private entrepreneurs. This is in line with the socio-economic transformation of Israel from a socialist to a capitalist state.

3.3.2 Neighbourhood Renewal

A focal sign of the change of political power in 1977 (the first since Israel was established in 1948) was the announcement of the Neighbourhood Renewal programme (NRP), which is remembered as the new government's greatest social achievement.[20] Its intention was to bring housing renovation and social change to deprived areas, together with residents' involvement in the process. Although Israel was a relatively new or 'young' country, by the 1970s there was already a great need for refurbishment and renovation in a number of neighbourhoods for the reasons discussed above, resulting in low-quality construction and rapid building to meet the needs of the intensive immigration wave on the one hand and poor and limited facilities caused by inadequate maintenance on the other (Awidat, 25.12.06). Effected by political change and the social distress of residents in these neighbourhoods, the government re-prioritised its social expenditure and announced the new programme.

The criteria for identifying eligible neighbourhoods for the NRP were formulated in 1979. Through means-testing and surveys, the population of an area was assessed for its levels of poverty and social exclusion. One year after it was announced, it included 29 neighbourhoods. A few years later, 113 neighbourhoods were included in the programme along with 1,200,000 residents (17% of the state population). In the 1990s, when the scope of the programme began to decrease,[21] only 60 neighbourhoods were supported by the programme, with 50 neighbourhoods assessed eligible to undergo renewal remaining on the waiting list (Sinai 26.12.06). All in all the NRP was operated in 190 neighbourhoods located in 89 different cities or communities. The highest number of projects in one city was in Jerusalem which had 13.

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[20] See www.moch.gov.il.
[21] The Housing Ministry, 2011.

Figure 7: The Neighbourhood Renewal Programme – characteristics

1. Spread across the country:

Location	North	Centre	South	Total
Number of Neighbourhoods	40	22	27	89

2. Spread across religion:

Population	Jews	Arabs	Mixed	Total
Number of Neighbourhoods	74	10	5	89

3. Spread across types and sizes of neighbourhoods

Type	Cities	Regional councils	Villages and small communities	Total
Number of Neighbourhoods	52	15	22	89

Source: Ministry of Housing, 2011

The Ministry of Housing's 2003 NRP survey provides a good picture of the typical NRP neighbourhood, containing information about economic status, housing conditions, neighbourhood amenities, public order and other area characteristics (MOH, 2003), also reported in the media (*Haaretz*, 25.12.06). The survey results were acquired from a representative sample of eleven neighbourhoods and show factors that influenced the financial status of residents in such neighbourhoods; the aging of the population (44% were aged 40–59), marital status (one-fifth, 22%, were single, separated or widowed), and family status (17% of all heads of households were single parents), which also suggests financial strains.

The proportion of new immigrants was higher than national rates — more than 50% in the NRP compared to 1%–5% of the general population in Israel[22] — as the majority of new immigrants received government assistance for first housing solutions. Most of them ended up in one of the mass housing solutions created to ease housing tensions during the immigration waves. In the 1970s ethnic tension was a source of social unrest.[23] Educational levels were typically lower than the national average (66% graduated from secondary school, while 30% were only primary-school educated). In 8% of

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[22] The Central Bureau of statistics, 2011.
[23] Kimhi, Demographic characteristics, 1988.

households, problems of disconnected youngsters were identified: these youths were defined as those aged 15–18 who were neither working nor attending school. A quarter of the male and 45% of the female population were unemployed. Among the unemployed, 11% of men and 22% of women were 'potential workers' who, according to analysts, wanted but were unable to find a permanent job. Those employed did mainly manual and temporary work and were at higher risk of dismissal.

It was unrealistic to expect the NRP to tackle all these gaps, yet results collected during the years of programme operation reveal improvements in some areas. Density, for instance, was higher in neighbourhoods where the NRP operated than in the national average (see Appendix 2:1 for density in the NRP compared to the national average). Results show that the programme helped to ease density and reduce the number of people per unit (illustration 3.24). From over a fifth (22%) of households consisting of large families with six persons or more before the NRP operated, figures dropped closer to the national average, between one to two people per room, after the NRP became operational.

Major budgetary cuts, a politicised selection of the neighbourhoods included in the programme and difficulties in keeping communities engaged (some argue this was due to lower resident participation, some argue it was bad implementation of a potentially good policy), resulted in a decline in programme operation (Sinai, 26.12.06; Elgazi, 30.01.2000, Nir, 15.3.98).

The following graph represents the decline between 2000 and 2005.

Figure 8: Decline in government investment in the programmes
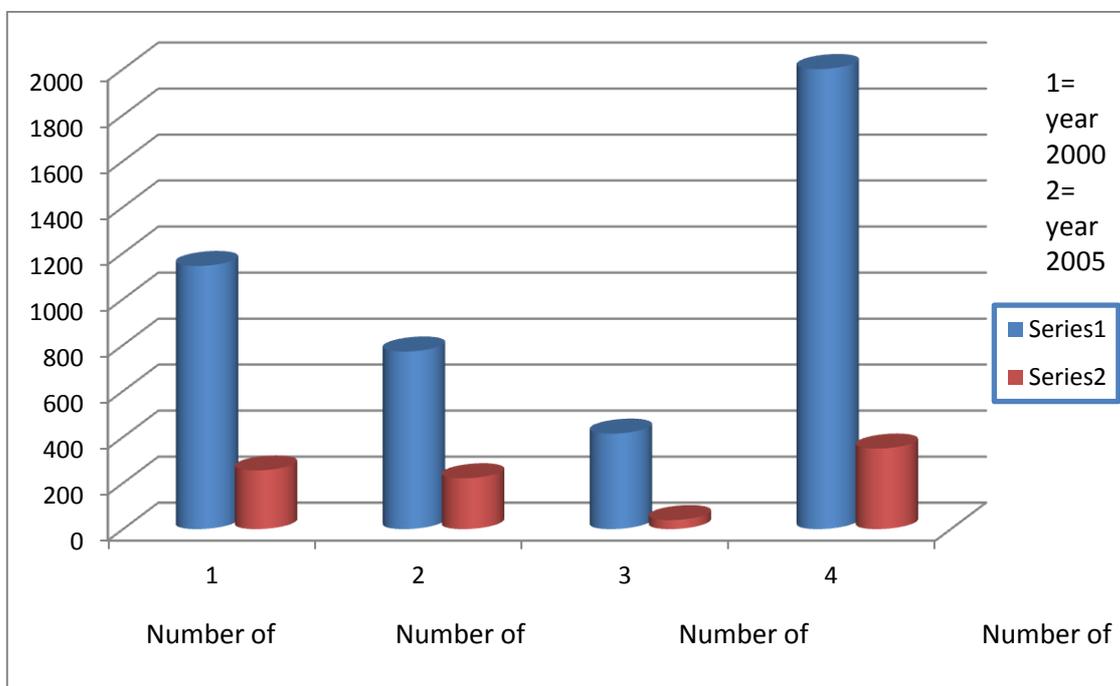
Source: Ministry of Housing, 2006; Tzadik, 2006

A more overall perspective of these cuts is presented in the graph below, which shows the dramatic decline in government investment in the NRP from 1979, when it was funded to the tune of 750,000,000 IS (Israeli Shekels, equal to £127,651,000), to 2006 when the programme was near termination and the budget was reduced to 48,000,000 IS (£8,169,000), representing just 6% of the original (Tzadik, 2006).

Figure 9: Government investment in the Neighbourhood Renewal Programme over three decades
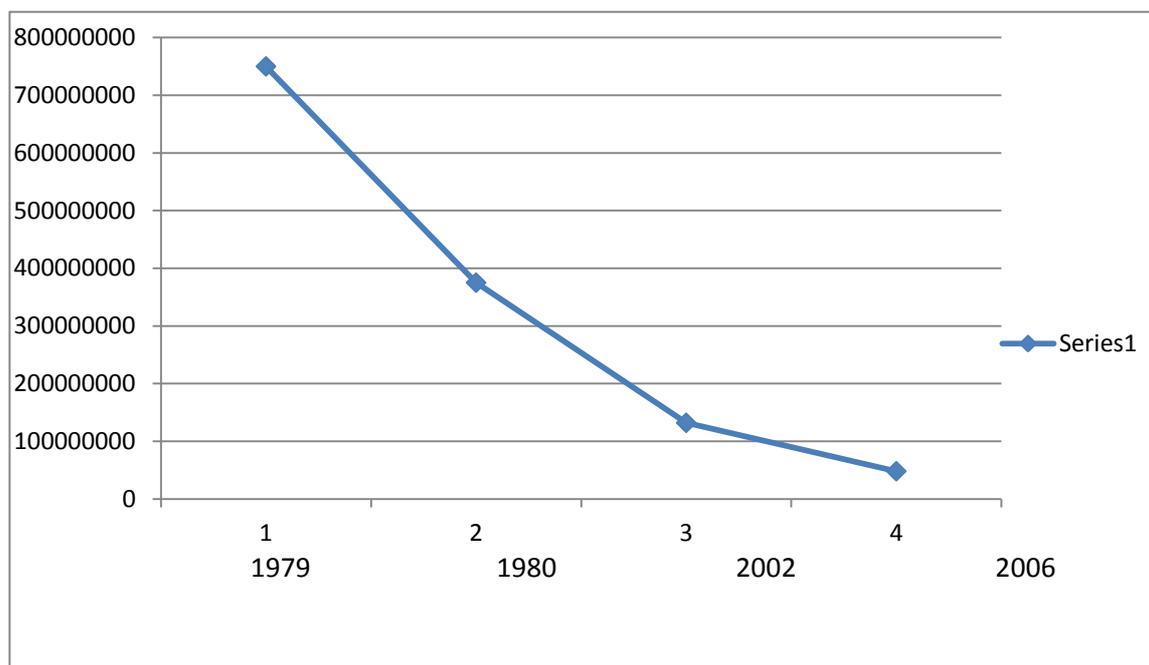
Source: Ministry of Housing, 2006

There had also been proposals from the Ministry of Finance to cancel the programme as early as 1995 (*Haaretz*,13.1.95), in 1999 (Maor, 2.9.99) and in 2006 (Sinai, 24.12.06), but the political lobby blocked them (Maor, 22.11.99; Mualem, 14.3.07). Internal MOH surveys claimed that wherever a project was terminated due to budget constraints, community and housing conditions declined rapidly (Hovav & Weinstein, 1997).

Current Status of the Neighbourhood Renewal Programme

Having agreed to keep the NRP alive, new voices amongst politicians called for the programme to be operated, managed and funded by private entrepreneurs and guided by private market rules (*Haaretz*, 29.8.99), which meant that private developers could take control over an area, be responsible for renovations, and gain all revenues (Kolka, 13.4.07). Social activists (Hovav, 27.1.04) argued against privatisation and claimed that only a social perspective — one in which resident care is the top priority and residents' opinions are taken into account — could achieve productive results (Shimshoni, 14.1.98). Other research has evaluated the NRP in Israel and, based on worldwide analysis of similar programmes, has stated that only consistent support and improvements in socially-oriented

policies can produce successful results in neighbourhood renewal in the long term (Carmon, 2003).

3.3.3 The Structure of Public Housing Companies

Public housing companies are state owned and run the public housing stock in Israel. All housing units in the RTB and the majority of units in the neighbourhoods which participated in the D&R and NRP are managed by these companies and thus they are relevant to this chapter. The key objectives of publicly funded housing are to provide shelter to whoever lacks housing or the money to fund housing on the private market. The key objective of the RTB was to allow those who lived in publicly funded housing and who paid their subsidised rent to purchase their home through discounted rent as if they had paid their mortgage against that home over a number of years.

Residents of publicly-funded council housing units (the stock owned and managed by the government-owned housing companies) include low income populations: veteran immigrants who arrived in the late 1950s and 1960s from Asia, Africa and East Europe; new immigrants who arrived from the former USSR and Ethiopia in the 1990s); elderly new immigrants arriving from USSR in the late 1990s housed in elderly accommodation mainly managed by Amigur (illustration 3.7); disabled and wheelchair-bound residents living in designated units; a designated neighbourhood in an Arab village, and other housing solutions for minorities in mixed communities in cities.

The type of publicly-funded solutions was also varied: most stock was located in central cities which was in higher demand and fully occupied, with some in the periphery, although these units were in less demand and thus not all were occupied. There were also publicly-funded estates in the New Settlements which are in less demand and are provided not merely according to socio-economic circumstances (Kiryat Arba, for instance, illustration 3.19). Other publicly-funded housing solutions built to re-house evacuees from Gaza settlements were initially intended to be only temporary but eventually became permanent. Most of the housing units in the Kibbutzim were also publicly built by the government (illustration 12). Another type, although small, of unique publicly-funded housing solutions were the 'key money' units, which were very old houses, mainly in Haifa, captured after the 1947 war and legalised for those residents only. Finally, there are the students' dormitories which are a new initiative by Amigur, offering subsidised housing for students involved in community activities (illustration 3.20).

Among the government-sponsored housing companies, Amidar is the largest, owning the majority of properties, with responsibility to build and manage housing solutions for newcomers. Their massive estates were made up of small, low standard units built quickly to house as many residents as possible.

12. The first Kibbutz, Dganya A, established in 1910. Photo taken in 1936. Source: http://www.snunit.k12.il/vmuseum/pal/degania/degania.html.

The vast majority of tenants were new immigrants coming from multiple backgrounds and cultures who struggled to cope and adapt to their new conditions, thus these neighbourhoods were considered poor and socially dependant. Amidar was therefore given another responsibility, to provide social support for the residents living on its estates, including provision of services, maintenance, gardening and so on. In 1962 Amidar managed 200,000 units and when the stock became too large and hard to manage, other companies were formed. Amigur (the second largest) held property in joint ownership with the government and the Jewish Agency (JA). Amigur also manages elderly housing for new immigrants and sites for the disengagement evacuees. There are other government-sponsored companies that manage regional properties: Prazot (which now belongs to the municipality) in Jerusalem; Halamish in Tel Aviv; Shikmona in Haifa; Afridar in Ashkelon and Heled in Peth-Tikva (see illustrations 3.12 & 3.22 & 3.23 & 3.24 & 3.25 &3.26 & 3.27).

Figure 10: Council Housing Companies in Israel

Housing Company[24]	Owned by	Location
1. Amidar	The government	Nationwide
2. Amigur	The Government and the Jewish Agency	Nationwide
3. Halamish	The Government and Tel Aviv Municipality	Tel Aviv – Jafa
4. Prazot	The Government and Jerusalem municipality	Jerusalem
5. Shikmona	The Government and Haifa municipality	Haifa
6. Afridar	The Government and Ashkelon municipality	Ashkelon
7. Heled	The Government and Peth-Tikva municipality	Peth-Tikva

Source: Ministry of Housing, 2011

The publicly-funded housing system offered housing solutions for subsidised rent. In most cases tenure was secure throughout a resident's life, yet there was no guarantee for the next generation, who in most cases ended up in the same housing distress as their parents. From time to time, there were sales to encourage residents to purchase their unit at lower-than-market prices using low-cost loans. However, these sales were sporadic and mainly offered units in the periphery where demand was already low. In the late 1990s, tenants of publicly-funded housing were estimated to occupy 120,000 units, a lower number than in previous years as a result of the decline in government investment in housing.

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[24] Arranged per size, full size figures in chapter 7

The Housing Company Amigur

One of the greatest controversies of the RTB legislation process was the debate over the properties managed by Amigur, which is owned jointly by the state and the Jewish Agency (JA: the link between the state of Israel and Jewish communities around the world, responsible for collecting money from Jews internationally to be invested in Israel. It was instrumental in founding and building the state of Israel and is one of the main funds used by the Israeli government t to raise money for the state). Amigur was founded in July 1971 to manage funds given by private individuals from the diaspora for use in social projects. After 1971, these funds were directed to the newly established company and thus indirectly managed by the state. When established, the company's main aim was to improve housing conditions and services for residents in need, particularly new immigrants. The company owned and managed a stock of around 19,000 council units at the time the RTB was first discussed (Maor, 2000).

The RTB allowed residents of council housing to purchase units at discounted rates, calculated according to length of tenure. JA representatives claimed that the state could not commit to selling units that were not under their ownership without compensating their "legal" owner. Amigur claimed that selling the proposed units would lose the company millions of dollars. This estimate was based on sales of 17,000 units between 1972 and 1991, which had generated $215,600,000; the remaining stock was calculated as being of similar value (Eldar, 1994).

In his memoirs, Ran Cohen, the legislator of the RTB, reveals that the real basis for the JA's intransigent position was the need to cover its growing debt to banks in the USA, and that the JA's financial advisors could not have wished for a better solution (Cohen, 2008: 122). Indeed, the JA treasurer himself admitted that the organisation does not intend to reinvest its share in creating new housing solutions, but will instead cover its debts (Cohen, 2008: 140). Given this financial imperative, JA managers took advantage of highly successful residents lobbying for the RTB. Amigur officials warned residents that they would not be included in sales if they did not convince officials to integrate them into the RTB.[25] Ran Cohen, the political leader of the residents, called this manipulation:

> For the first time in the history of Zionism, the poorer residents of Israel are funding the richest Jewish congregations of the diaspora. (Cohen, 2008: 54–55)

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[25] www.Amigur.co.il (1998)

Soon after RTB was legislated — and although the government intended to freeze the law and continue sales according to the act, which would mean Amigur units were excluded — residents' pressure was so intense that it was clear that the disagreement with Amigur had to be resolved. Protests and demonstrations escalated, and the government faced demands on two fronts: from residents generally who demanded that the government enforce the terms of the initial RTB, and from Amigur residents who insisted on their right to be part of the sales.

On 31 January 1998 the government decided to accept JA demands and Treasury Minister Meir Shitrit, who was also the former Treasurer of the JA, signed the agreement. Compensation had two main phases: 1) a minimum compensation fee for each unit, and 2) comprehensive compensation for the entire stock. Compensation for each unit sold was set at between $22,000 and $39,000; more seriously, in financial terms, the comprehensive compensation package included which was actually a governmental guarantee to buy Amigur's whole stock once 5,000 units were sold. These two obligations had major financial repercussions.

The compensation fee for each unit was much higher than the subsidised price residents had to pay, which alone meant that the state would have to fund the gap between residents' discounted price and the market value. The second phase — obligation to buy the whole stock — had even more serious repercussions. Amigur owned around 19,000 units, the majority of which were in remote areas and, therefore, were almost valueless in terms of market price. However, Amigur also had a smaller number of far more valuable units (approximately 5,000) in central locations. The company was easily able to sell these prime units to its residents under the RTB terms and claim compensation for each unit, according to phase one, and for the remainder of the stock, which they had struggled to rent in unattractive locations. Economists immediately tagged these peripheral units as 'dead public property' — i.e., worthless units that might have a paper value, but no real market value, as the housing market in these areas is almost non-existent (Plotzker, 1997). The government was obligated under the terms of the agreement to buy all these units and at the average market price for that particular city, as these were standard private units in the city and not poor units in a public housing estate.

This arrangement has proven extremely expensive for government, and the only way to subsidise the compensation agreement has been to use income from the general RTB sales. This has literally emptied the reinvestment fund for the creation of new housing solutions, despite heavy criticism. For example, one of the most severe attacks was from

the State Comptroller (Report 53/B), who not only pointed out the mistaken decision to agree to the terms, but also — more importantly — highlighted the consequences for the social-housing market. Instead of using the large budget supplement to reinvigorate social policy and services for the poorest within the country, the money had been sent outside of Israel. Residents and MPs also criticised the JA, an organisation created to raise funds to support the poorest in Israel, as it had essentially appropriated the budget for its own.

Government investment in housing was not only directed to poor neighbourhoods, there were other residents' groups that benefited from publicly-funded housing solutions and who were not necessarily considered the poorest. This phenomenon was frequently mentioned in interviews conducted for this research and is therefore relevant, especially when assessing empowerment. Publicly-funded solutions were noted in the Kibbutzim, in the New Settlements and amongst evacuees from the Gaza strip. The following section offers some background on these communities and the housing programmes. The analysis of these projects factored in the wider analysis of empowerment through housing policy in general and as a comparison of the empowerment of the disadvantaged communities in particular.

3.3.4 Other Forms of Publicly-Funded Housing Solutions Outside Poor Neighbourhoods

<u>The Kibbutzim</u>

The Kibbutzim are resident-run communities, unique to Israel. They are based on the idea of an equal society in which members share equal rights and duties. The Kibbutzim follow a communist-socialist agenda and spread across Israel at the same time as similar regimes spread in Europe during the early days of the twentieth century. They are considered to be the ideological bedrock of the labour regime which governed Israel from 1948 to 1977. Modern economics and liberal ideas, however, have affected the Kibbutzim in the last two decades: the number of Kibbutzim fell; membership numbers reduced dramatically; residents living in the Kibbutzim were no longer fully equal in all respects; and their management adopted various liberal economic changes in order to compete in the private sector.

Despite these changes, the Kibbutz society is still run by its members, who have a substantial share in planning and administering their lives and who exercise some influence, even though less than previously, on decision-makers. In the past, residents of Kibbutzim have used their strong political lobby to obtain free housing and, more recently, to extend their housing rights. In 1997 they asked that the Kibbutzim be legalised and

proposed 'The Tenure Rights Legislation for Rural Communities', a bill that would allow them to change land-use regulations from agricultural to housing and commerce. This dispensation resulted in an enormous profit potential for these communities (as land usage became commercialised) and its residents (allowing them rights on their housing for free).

This triggered a huge debate — both political and legal — amongst residents of 'council housing estates' who argued that they deserved similar rights. Residents of council housing argued that the cases were identical; both were publicly-funded housing programmes provided by the government with subsidised rent; both groups of residents were directed to their communities, a long way from the centre in most cases, by the government as part of its population dispersal agenda; in both communities residents lived in tough conditions for the first years; in both communities residents asked to have a legal right to the houses that they had lived in for many years, with both asking for a continuation of housing rights for their next of kin. This was the trigger for the 'Right to Buy' legislation.

These conditions changed over the years, with residents claiming mainly on the basis of their contribution. Also, as the value of land appreciated, both groups of residents claimed tenure rights. While the cases seem similar, the end result was not. In rural communities (the Kibbutzim), where residents operated a powerful political lobby, tenure rights have been given, whereas in poor neighbourhoods, tenure rights have been denied. The same ILA management board that denied housing-rights in the 'Neighbourhood of Cardboard' (case study analysed in this research) simultaneously authorised extensive building rights in the Kibbutzim (Cohen, 2007 and Los, 2007). Therefore, residents of council housing felt discriminated against and, like the residents of the Kibbutzim, believed they deserved to buy their properties and bequeath them to the next generation. This triggered efforts by residents to legislate a similar rule — RTB — while at the same time social activists petitioned the Supreme Court and demanded similar housing rights for council-housing residents to those given to residents of the Kibbutzim (Karif, 2007). This put the different groups in competition and they have been so ever since.

The New Settlements

These are Jewish communities in the territories on the West Bank and previously Gaza Strip which, according to international law, fall outside the formal borders of Israel. When it came to housing rights and government services, participants in this research referred to the residents of the new settlements as privileged by a greater provision of benefits and

amenities (see Appendix 1:5 for the higher share of public building in the NS compared to other parts of the country). A comprehensive report published by the Israeli research centre, 'Adva', investigating government provision to different types of settlements in Israel, revealed that the new settlements were given a greater degree of housing support than any other residential group including the fifteen wealthiest cities:

> Between the years of 2000–2006, 15,488 units were in the process of being built all across the New Settlements, representing, on average, an investment of 11,300,000,000 NIS (around £1,948,275,862), the government was responsible directly for 53% of buildings and for 43% of investments, whereas in all other areas, the government had direct responsibility to 20% of new buildings and only 10% of investments. (Savirski, Atias, Dahan, 2008)

Another aspect of government support for housing in the new settlements was its willingness to 'look the other way' when NS residents engaged in illegal building when the government was forced by international pressure not to build in this area. Media reports[26] and press coverage argued that the amount of illegal building in the new settlements amounted to a third of the total and "Activity of such scope could not be done without hidden cooperation with governmental officials and by hiding those figures from the general public" (Eldar, 2007). Only 10% of these illegal acts were ever brought to court, far below the figures for illegal cases in the housing market that were brought to court in other areas of Israel, especially poor neighbourhoods (Shargai, 2007) (illustration 3.28).

Ran Cohen, MP, the legislator of 'Right to Buy', argued that the government's excessive housing support for the new settlements came at the expense of the disadvantaged neighbourhoods inside Israel (Cohen, 2002). It was therefore no surprise that participants in this research consistently referred to housing projects in the NS to indicate what empowerment in housing policy is. Many believed that settlers' unity and empowerment gave them a sense of power which enabled them to be active in determining their benefits and rewards from the government and in pressuring officials to support their demands. The combination of high resident participation in and supportive governmental strategy to the New Settlements provide, according to interviewees, a great example of empowerment and validates the argument that it is essential for the success of a social or housing programme.

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[26] Harel, 2006; Eldar, 2006; Eldar, 2005.

One particular case of comparison made by participants in this research refers to the D&R programme during the eviction (disengagement) from the Gaza Strip (illustration 3.29). The disengagement was a decision made by the Israeli government led by PM Ariel Sharon to demolish (withdraw and evacuate) Israeli settlers from Gaza and house them inside the Israeli borders. 8,000 Jews lived in Gaza surrounded by 1.3 million Palestinians. The government's official statements claimed that this decision made sense from both a political (disentangling from a bi-national situation) and a military (completely indefensible settlements) perspective and that remaining in Gaza did not enhance anyone's security, least of all that of the Jews who resided there, who were pounded constantly by Palestinian rockets (Ne'eman & Chodof, 2006). In these cases as well, residents highlighted many similarities between the two D&R programmes (the D&R from poor neighbourhoods and the disengagement; D&R from Gaza), that triggered the comparison. In both cases, residents were asked to leave their homes and when they refused underwent relocation and were offered replacement housing; this is always problematic, as people tend to be bound to their homes and neighbourhoods whether they like it or not. Both sets of residents sought to improve their housing conditions during the process, and both felt that the end result failed to do so. Both groups protested against proposals made to them and the disorder associated with these protests featured a high level of violence, calling the legal rights and status of both groups into question (illustrations 3.30 & 3.31 & 3.32 & 3.33).

Although housing programmes for the minority (Arab community), or for the minority residents of Kibutzim, or for the minority residents of the New Settlements, seem at first to be less representative when it comes to national housing policy since they refer to small communities, they are very relevant in terms of empowerment because of the influence (positive or negative) the local community has had on the housing programme.

3.4 Summary

When both Israel's history and unique character are considered together in the light of empowerment theory, it is easier to appreciate why there is no strong local government in Israel. It is also easier to understand the fabric of Israeli society as a mix of cultures, opinions, religions and values which also have a significant impact upon participation.

Although resident participation is a prime issue in theoretical analysis, in Israel it is less developed, mainly due to widespread ethnic and multi-cultural conflicts and a

centralised political system with limited local authority, which has reduced opportunities for residents to participate, especially residents in poor neighbourhoods. Limited access to services and distance from decision-makers (as decisions tend to be taken at a national level) reduce residents' motivation to act and undermine their belief in their ability to create change. Resident participation is a phenomenon in Israel but only amongst certain groups with a single agenda and does not include the general public or the poor. Consequently, almost all the cases assessed in the theoretical review of management groups in publicly-funded housing estates or programmes, and the wide range of local training groups, are almost non-existent in Israel.

A chronological analysis of the history of housing policy in Israel reveals three main initial aims: immigrant absorption; population dispersal; and the provision of adequate housing to every household. Each of these had social consequences. The government took a central role in all housing procedures — planning, development, design, construction and directing tenants — and housing policy was a main element of national goals, with little concern for individuals' needs and preferences, but more for state security or political needs. Nevertheless, the main aims were met and the state's efforts to provide shelter, even if only temporary, to all new immigrants arriving into the newly born state was achieved. The government also managed to build communities in the periphery as well in the centre, receiving much praise for its quick, efficient and, at times, innovative response to huge immigration waves. However, the desire to improve social conditions and housing was less encouraging.

The state failed to deal with ethnic conflicts, and despite attempts to integrate people from different cultures in mixed neighbourhoods, tensions were still evident and there was little opportunity to build community cohesion. In addition there was a shift in economic philosophy and from government-controlled housing policy. The hegemony moved to the private market, the government ceased to build housing solutions dedicated to the poor and instead invested in subsidising solutions in the private market. The housing budget has not increased in line with the cost of funding solutions in the private market, resulting in fewer residents eligible for housing and greater consequent distress. Less available housing solutions and support combined with poor standards of housing in the poorly managed sites led to dissatisfaction and tenant unrest, which sporadically erupted in the 1950s and 1960s and spread in a larger scale during the early 1990s and again in 2011. An insufficient housing policy for the poor, yet impressive housing support for other groups of residents triggered one of the most consistent debates on the Israeli agenda.

Housing policy, although one the most essential services for many years now, is still a major problem in Israel.

This chapter's chronological analysis highlighted the main issues the newly-born state was presented with in designing housing policy and focused on issues that could well be misinterpreted if not misperceived in the Israeli context — the dominance of central government, the centralised political system and the importance of security in decision-making. Together these issues not only help us to understand the unique character of Israeli housing policy but also provide a context for the case studies that feature in this research. The next chapter provides the methodological context for this research. Following on from the review of empowerment theory and the history of housing in Israel, chapter 4 sets out the final part of the foundations for this research before we continue to the case studies.

Part Two

Chapter Four
Methods and Research Framework

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological approach that informed the techniques used to conduct this research and provides the analytical framework for understanding empowerment in practice in social housing programmes in Israel. There are two main methods used to investigate empowerment: case studies representing the three main social housing programmes in Israel: Demolish and Rebuild; Neighbourhood Renewal Programme and the Right to Buy, and in-depth interviews with over 100 participants, half residents and half non-residents, all involved in the investigated social housing programmes, concerning the implementation of the policy.

Section 4.2 describes the case studies which represents each housing programme. Section 4.3 describes the interview techniques; this includes how the sample of interviewees was selected, how interviews were set up and conducted and how the issues under investigation were addressed using card-sorting exercise. The issues of confidentiality, language barriers and translation, pilots, sample testing and support to residents who had never participated in such a survey before, are explained. The ethical considerations and approaches are covered, renders the data valid.

4.2. The Case Studies

Although case studies were not that long ago considered to be a controversial research method, they are now widely recognised in social policy research. One of the main guides for social policy research was conducted by Judith Bell, who approved the case study as a method:

> case study can be appropriate approach for individual researches in any discipline because it provides an opportunity for one aspect of a problem to be situated in some depth. (Bell, 2010: 9)

Similar outcomes referring to community-based programmes are provided by Johnson (2006), allowing researchers to go further in quantitative research and Tellis (1997), has studied behavioural analysis from the perspective of participants. The case studies in this research focus on different aspects of empowerment as they developed in different social

housing programmes. Each case study offers an insight into a particular aspect, detailed analysis and prime data for accurate investigation and assessment. That the investigation aimed to answer specific questions helped to define the limits for each case, which is an important factor in maintaining the rigor of the case study method:

> the more a study contains specific propositions, the more it will stay within reasonable limits. (Yin, 1994;137. See also Bell, 2010)

Each case study involved interviews and surveys in order to identify key issues which supported the investigation and offered a comprehensive response to the research questions. In order to create a pattern for the investigation and to assist the comprehension process, all case studies were analysed systematically. All the interviews and all surveys followed the same structure, the same questions and the same cards to allow fair and equal assessment. This enabled us to learn how each programme operated, and the key characteristics of the housing programmes, each community, project and case. It then enabled us to make a qualified comparison of them. The ability to cross-check information was crucial in this research, as it enabled us to identify issues that did not reflect upon other cases. By posing specific questions on each project, programme and to each community, it was possible to produce a comprehensive analysis of the principal concern of this research — empowerment of the disadvantaged.

4.2.1 Criteria for Selection of Case Studies

The case studies chosen assisted in the investigation of the empowerment of the disadvantaged population in Israeli housing policy. The section below determines the criteria for choosing these case studies as each represent different empowerment features. Each section provides details of the investigated programme, its main policy aspects, the main issues tackled and the different case studies representing the programme.

The process of selecting the case studies starts with identify the social housing programmes in Israel. As discussed in the previous chapter, there are three main social housing programmes in Israel: the Demolish and Rebuild; The Neighbourhood Renewal Programme and the Righ to Buy. We have then identify all the projects in each of the progarmmes and tried to identify the main patterns of each programmme according to which we have choosen the projects that mostly represent the main themes of eash

programme to be our case studies. The next sections will provide brief introduction to each progsarmme and detaild information on the selection of case studies to each programme

4.2.2 Demolish and Rebuild (D&R)

This programme's aim was to demolish old units and build improved ones using the sale of valuable land and infrastructure in central towns (illustration 13). Neighbourhoods in this programme were considered the poorest in the country; some were the scenes of infamous riots, as residents struggled for better housing conditions. In terms of empowerment analysis, this project represents a "government takeover" structure — that is, the project was implemented without residents' involvement. Demolish and Rebuild projects represented the lowest level of residents' involvement (manipulation of information) since residents were given no power in the process. Public policy include two implementation modes, the first mode, dominant in the state's early years, was government-led, meaning that projects were initiated, run and managed by the authorities. The second implementation type, more popular in the 1990s, was led by private developers.

13. <u>A Demolish and Rebuild in the Neighbourhood of Cardboard</u>, showing the old cardboard houses just in front of the new building. Photo by Yasmin. Source: http://he.wikipedia.org/wiki.

This was the main element that guided us when selecting the case studies. We have aimed to identify the most representative case study in each of the main modes of

operation of the programme. The case studies, therefore, represent these different modes. There are two main case studies and six minor case studies (see apendix 5). The two main case studies described here represent the two main implementation modes of the D&R programme, and also are famous case studies because of the major debate they have generated over the years. The firt case study is of Vadi Saliv. The first ever D&R project, it represents centralised government control. Another case study that represents this mode is that of the neighbourhood of Mamila. The other case studies represent the free market approach where developers were handed responsibility for project operation and include the Neighbourhood of Cardboard and the neighbourhood of Kfar Shalem (illustration 14).

14. Police assist the <u>eviction of residents from Kfar Shalem</u>. Source: 224.88. Photo: Mati Milstein, published in the Jerusalem Post, 01/06/2008.

We have have also examined additional case studies that will help us to gain an even greater understanding of projects under the different modes of operation. We have examined the case studies in the Neighbourhood of Mamila (representing the government control approach that failed and the private developers' approach that succeeded), the Neighbourhood of Kfar Shalem (representing the opposite scenario — a government approach that succeeded and a private developers' approach that failed), and collected information on the Nitzan temporary site (that subsequently became permanent), built to host the evacuees of the eviction from Gaza which many residnets referred to when comparing public policy towards residents' participation in D&R programmes.

4.2.3 The Neighbourhood Renewal Programme (NRP)

The programme's aim was to improve existing housing conditions and social services in poor neighbourhoods (illustrations 15 & 16). The focus of this programme was the renovation of the interiors and exteriors of buildings. In terms of empowerment analysis, this programme represents a "government partnership" structure (illustration 17), a process in which residents have partial involvement. Neighbourhood Renewal represented a moderate level of involvement, as residents were initially invited to participate on boards and in decision making. The official strategy towards residents' participation was supportive as it was one of the aims of the programme; in practice residents' participatory share was lower than planned; they were invited to participate in project-managing boards, but their role was mainly to observe as officials controlled the decision-making process, and its financial aspects. In many cases, officials also dominated board operation, and equal membership did not materialise. The impact on residents' empowerment was, therefore, less than anticipated.

15. <u>Neighbourhood Renewal Project before</u>. This is how the building in 132 Weitzman Street in Raanana looked before major renovation. The renovation includes strengthening of its foundations against earthquake, the creation of larger apartments, the addition of three storeys, with each current flat receiving an additional room and balcony, and for the whole building an elevator and a lobby. Source: Liran Sahar, 10 July 2011 http://www1.bizportal.co.il/article/277784.

16. <u>Neighbourhood Renewal Project after</u>. This is how the building in 132 Weitzman Street in Raanana looked after the major renovation. Source: Liran Sahar, 10 July 2011 http://www1.bizportal.co.il/article/277784.

17. <u>NRP community meeting at a project in the city of Lod.</u> The meeting was held in 2006, set up by the mayor's office and managed and guided by officials, where residents were invited to participate. It is an example of a committee where residents were less influential in the process. Source: http://www.lod.muni.il/show_item.asp?itemId=1301& levelId=44600&template=20.

The following case studies were chosen to represent Neighbourhood Renewal because they include all kinds of neighbourhoods — large and small, in the centre and on the periphery; all types of residents — veteran immigramts, new immigrants from Africa and Europe, Jews and non-Jews; and all locations — big cities and small villages across

the country; and all managed by council housing companies. The list of case studies therefore includes: the prorogrammes in the neighbourhoods of Katamonim and Pat (both in Jerusalem), and the ultra-Orthodox neighbourhood of Sanhedriya in Jerusalem, the neighbourhoods of Kfar Shalem and Shapira (in Tel Aviv), Kfar Gvirol and Kiryat Moshe (in Rehovot), Jessi Cohen (in Holon), the village of Jdeda-Maker (with its high percentage of Arab Muslims — a minority in Israel) and Kiryat Arba (in the NS).

4.2.4 The Right to Buy (RTB)

The programme was generated by legislation initiated by residents' groups in collaboration with opposition MPs. It allowed residents of council housing to purchase units at discounted rates, calculated according to length of tenure. In terms of empowerment analysis, this programme represents a "resident-led partnership" structure (illustration 18), where residents feel empowered to overcome their own disadvantaged conditions by leading housing-policy change.

18. The Right To Buy legislation process. Supporters of the RTB protest against the attempts to freeze the legislation. Photo by 'flash', taken in 30.8.2011. Source: http://savedem.org.il/?p=5720.

'Right to Buy' represented a high level of resident involvement; they were initiators, promoters and the main force in promoting and advancing the legislation. The official stance was supportive (Parliament), shifting from an initially negative position opposed to legislation, to a somewhat more supportive position, as the government eventually

cooperated with the legislators (both MPs and residents) in designing a formula that brought about the sanctioning of the RTB programme (illustration 19).

19. <u>MP Ran Cohen with family that purchased its home under the RTB</u>. Photo taken by residents during the visit of MP Cohen and used in Meretz campaign to support the RTB legislation, Jerusalem 1997. Source: Guy Doron.

The case studies that were chosen to represent the RTB include neighbourhoods managed by all the various housing companies, in many locations, and different types of residents (veterans, new immigrants, minorities, the elderly and disabled). The programme involved responses from residents, as well as non-residents, having lived in council housing estates in the Katamonim, Pat and Ramat Sharet in Jerusalem; Derech Lod/ Hatikva, Tel Kabir / Neve Ofer and Neve Saret in Tel Aviv, 4th quarter in Ashdod, the Arab village of Kfar Maker, the mix city of Lod, the New Settlement of Kiryat Arba, the evacuees' camp of Nitzan, Shaviv in Hertzeliya, Yoseftal in Kfar Saba, Kiryat Moshe in Rehovot, and the elderly care homes for new immigrants in Petach Tikva and for veterans in Lod. The case studies also include estates that are managed by all the council housing companies: Amidar, the national company and the biggest; Amugur Prazot in Jerusalem; Halamish in Tel Aviv; Shikmona in Haifa; and Heled in Petach Tikva. Since during interviews participents also discuss particular issues in the RTB that involve Amigur comany and the Kibbutzim we have also included background nformation on those two particular cases. The selection of case studies provides a fair cross-section of Israeli sociaty as it includes all types of commnumities (old and new cities, villages, Kibbutzim and new settlements), a representation of the main ethnic communities (Jews and Arabs, old and

new immigrants from Europe, Asia and Africa), the main religions (Jews, Muslims and Christians), sub-religious groups (orthodox, ultra othodox, reform and secular), social classes (poor neighbouthoods and the more affluent), and ranges across the country (centre, hinterland, borders west, east north and south).

The main measurements defining empowerment in this research were resident involvement and public policy towards residents' involvement. The case studies represent different levels of participation and official strategies towards participation. Residents' involvement is analysed mainly using the "ladder of participation". Alignments to different levels of participation are based on participants' self-assessments. Consideration of public policy examined to what extent residents were allowed to participate and what services were provided to support their participation.

4.3. Method of Analysis

This research is qualitative and the key methods used to investigate empowerment in housing policies were in-depth interviews within case studies. More than 100 in-depth interviews were conducted (91 were chosen to be included in the final document) with participants of case studies that represent the three main housing programmes in Israel. From these interviews we collected only those who responded to at least one progarmme fully and included them in the final database. These 91 participants include residents and non-residents who chose to be quoted and who appear in the tables of this reserarch.

This first section provides information on the methods of analysis of the case studies. The second section shows how we selected the interviewees. The third section presents the in-depth interviews. The interviews are presented as a method and as a contribution to qualitative research. The way they were set up, designed and conducted is also outlined. This includes the list of issues discussed in the interviews and their relevance for this research, and the way equality and accuracy was maintained during the interviews in order to gain the most out of the data collected. This section also presents the card-sorting exercise, which was a unique technique relevant to those interviewees who had reading difficulties or language barriers, and used images as titles in order to display the topics during interviews. The fourth section presents the participants and concludes with a summary of the ethical aspects (in section 4.3.5).

4.3.1 Methods of Analysis of the Case Studies

In order to analyse the case studies we have used mainly three main type of methods: reviewd official documnets (which could be done from remote) including media coverage, official reports and statistics, local city hall facts and figures and research, visit each case study site, observation and take photos which require actual visit to learn the community and finally interview the key actors which conducted normally in the site (see Appendix 4 for list of participants and the location of each interview).

Review of Documents

At this stage we reviewed publications, academic reserach, information, media reports, government and official reports, website and social media that discussed the social housing programmes that are investigated here. Although academic studies are few, there is plenty of news coverage in the media. There was also fair amount of information that available from the Housing Ministry and the Central Bureau of Statistics as well as from the local municipalities. In order to analyse residents' behaviour and find the key people to talk to we used local residents' networks, visited community centres and NGOs active on each site and introductions by social activists. Only recently has social media which offers another means of contacting key actors.

Site visits

As part of the data collection we visited each of the case studies in this research and many others that were not selected. Observations allowed us to familiarise ourselves with the case studies, learn about the local community, identify key actors and hear public opinion. During the site visits we visited community centres and playgrounds, participated in residents' group meetings and in site visits by officials from the housing companies or the municipality. We listened to residents and officials and have included their comments — with their permission — in this research as part of a random sample. We also took many photographs, some of them included here.

Interviews

All interviews with key actors were planned in advanced and most of them recorded and videotaped. Many of the interviews required more than one meeting and almost all the interviews led to another site visit to learn about a specific story, take photographs or get introductions to other key actors. Almost all requests for interviews were responded to positively. The only ones who refused to participate were decision-makers, mainly those

who were opposed to the RTB. M.K. Meir Shiterit set up three meetings with us but never really wanted to speak on record, former Housing Minister Efi Eitam agreed to meet but cancelled when he learnt about the essence of this research, former Minister Natan Shernaski, currently the head of the JA, agreed in principle but eventually asked us to speak with Yuli Edelstein who helped us to set up a meeting with Avraham Burg, former chairmain of the JA, who oversaw the agreement with Amigur. All others cooperated with great enthusiasm. Sometimes we felt that participants were so keen to tell their stories that they made a real effort to help this data collection succeed.

4.3.2 Interviewee Selection

Wherever we identified a case study that we wished to examine we conducted a site visit. On each site visit we learnt about the local community and tried to assess its key players (leaders and common participants). When we were convinced that we had enough information to conduct the investigation and that the case study included enough information for the research, we also conducted a site visit to collect random samples and to try and contact the relevent non-residents involved. This was to ensure unbaised data collection, as the author has previously been involved in housing policy, and is obviously familiar to the key players. We have tried to collect data from neighbourhoods which the author was not famiE with and from residents he had never met. This was in order to verify that the views expressed by leaders and common residents were also shared by the unknown/uninvolved residents.

The only element that was known in advance was the interviews with the decision-makers. The few main figures who appear in each social housing discussion in Israel are well known, therefore the only challange was to get them to participate.

4.3.3 Interview Techniques

In-depth interviews with residents measured their level of participation and involvement and helped to determine whether the attempts to empower the disadvantaged through housing policy were successful. The interviews with non-residents uncovered the fundamentals of the policies and supporting ideologies. The interviews were designed to include issues that enabled us to understand empowerment in social and housing programmes as described in the literature. They were also designed to collect data equally from all types of patricians in the investigated programmes, and in order to establish an equal platform for discussion, a unique exercise was deployed — card sorting, that

presented topics in both images and titles (in English and Hebrew), which ensured the unbiased treatment of all participants, as well as the interviewees' clear understanding of what was being asked of them (Appendix 3 presents a copy of the cards as exhibits A to M). The cards were presented to each interviewee in order to make sure all participants referred to the same terminology assessed in this research and to prevent biased analysis. In-depth interviews were a critical tool in this research as they not only enabled us to collect data on all the main issues from different perspectives but also allowed participants to give a wider view and share their own experiences. Interviews allow focused more on the personal experience of empowerment, the subjective experiences and personal feelings which interviews are more likely to expose.

<u>Background</u>

In-depth interviews are commonly used in social policy to acquire information from unique and influential actors. Chirban (1996:3) evaluates the Interactive-Rational Approach ('bonus values'): "self awareness, authenticity, attunement, personal characteristics and new relationship".

Interviews offer unique access, encompassing a wide variety of views of those involved in social-housing policy. The advantage of face-to-face interviews, therefore, is that participants can provide insights into emotions, motives, and perceptions; they also help in the recognition of values, beliefs and ideas which are essential to the investigation of empowerment. Setting up the interviews involved several key actions:

<u>Setting</u>

Interviews took place in the natural environment of the interviewee to achieve the highest degree of cooperation. Each interviewee chose the setting and the timing of the interview. All interviews were conducted face-to-face; comfort and confidentiality were offered to the interviewees. At the outset of each interview session, subjects received a thorough explanation of the process to avoid any concerns or 'problematic moments' during the interview. In order to reduce bias or untruthful responses, all interviewees were guaranteed confidentiality with evidence anonymised, and the stress placed on the importance of giving accurate answers. This approach allowed free and honest communication, exchange of views, ideas, beliefs and feelings about all the issues being investigated.

<u>Trust and openness</u>

The planned goal was to explore interviewees' personal perceptions, beliefs, interest and values in relation to the specific case study under review. It was clear to both sides that openness and co-operation would achieve better results; therefore, a setting that promoted the most authentic response was required. Previous relationships based on respect, truth and trust also helped to establish these conditions. Discussing these from an academic perspective using an open approach helped to provide valuable insights.

Equality

During the interviews with residents, a card-sorting exercise (Shefer, 2001; Sudman & Bradburn, 1982: 290) was used. This form of associational task facilitates an understanding of attitudes and the dimensions of the research's key issues. Each of the main themes—programme name, level of participation and type of housing — was not only discussed orally, but also presented using photos which were visually on cards. Thus, no bias or knowledge gaps could affect responses. (cards presented in 39). This method ensured equality, as interviewees represented different classes and educational backgrounds. The exercise ensured that all participants understood and referred to the same programmes, participation levels and housing forms. Cards were simple, clear, large and visible. Each card combined an image and title wording, in both English and Hebrew (cards presented in Appendix 3).

Question Formulation

The goal of the interviews was not only to collect factual or objective data, but also to measure subjective states — i.e., respondents' attitudes, opinions, perceptions and personal evaluations of events. Interview questions were then designed to be clear and easy to understand, specific and aimed at relevant issues, calibrated to trigger information and personal experience from respondents. Participation was therefore measured by evaluation analyses from all participants; residents were asked to locate themselves at a point along the ladder of participation and explain why they would define their participation as such. Non-residents were asked to use the same ladder to express their views on residents' participation during the projects. The policy towards the participation was assessed by both groups on a scale of positive-negative. During the interviews, residents raised additional issues related to empowerment that were analysed and compared: satisfaction rates (with both the projects and their participation in them), the impact of protests, training and

education schemes, assessment of similar housing schemes outside poor neighbourhoods, their implementation and their impact upon empowerment.

Accuracy

As the responses often relied on such subjective factors as interviewees' memories, descriptions of events and personal perceptions, accuracy in collecting responses was highly important (Eisenhower, Mathiowetz & Morganstein, 1991; Foweler, 1995). The interviews dealt with events that have great personal significance for the respondents. Thus, the questions were consistently organised and designed in a form that emphasised events and processes in chronological order to help ease recall, to encourage interviewees to dive into their memory banks and to elicit responses as detailed as possible. All interviews were videotaped, documented on paper, translated into English and finally analysed. All the videos and transcripts of over 100 interviews and hours of discussions are available.

Confidentiality

In order to reduce bias and untruthful responses, all interviewees were guaranteed confidentiality and allowed to review anonymously should they wish to. The importance of giving accurate answers was explained. This environment allowed for free and honest communication, an exchange of views, ideas, beliefs and feelings about all the issues being investigated. None of the participants in this research asked to remain anonymous, and few limited the usage of the data to academic purposes only.

Pre-interview evaluation of questions (pilot)

This was used to ensure all the above was achieved and each potential complexity had been dealt with. Using two languages (Hebrew and English) made translating certain terms particularly important and this had to be tested. The cards, the terms and images used were also tested. It was important to try out the questions to ensure their intelligibility; at the same time, the piloting stage helped to identify any important missing questions or subjects and to modify the structure of the interview and the investigated issues. The pilot was structured in two ways: 'think-aloud' questions and 'asking probing and follow-up questions'. These two techniques allowed respondents to share their thoughts regarding the interview's structure. The 'think-aloud' technique allowed respondents to present thoughts,

question unclear or missing elements while assessing their own answers. Not only could they respond to the simpler questions, but they could also delve further into their memories to recall "hidden" events that might be important to discuss. This raised issues concerning definitions of terms, clarity of questions, ability to respond, accuracy of events and times, confidence in responding to questions, familiarity with topics and missing points that could be included in the research.

4.3.4 The participants

The programmes represent one of the main housing policies in Israel; Demolish and Rebuild, Neighbourhood Renewal, and Right to Buy. The case studies represent the different types of projects within each programme and cover a broad-spectrum of the populations. Participants were all involved in one or more of the investigated programmes and were arranged into two main groups: Residents and Non-Residents. These groups were then sub-divided: residents were rearranged according to their residential status and level of activity, while non-residents were segregated according to their position in or relationship to programmes. This segregation allowed for an in-depth analysis of participants' views and helped create a more comprehensive picture of the empowerment features during the investigated housing projects.

Residents were divided into the following three sub-groups:

1. **Leaders** – residents who were the most active, mainly heading up residents' groups, and highly involved in the project overall.
2. **Common, moderate participants** – residents who were involved in the project up to a certain level.
3. **Random sample** – views collected randomly at sites where projects were implemented.

Non-residents were divided into the following three sub-groups:

1. **Informers / Supporters** – these included academics, social activists and political activists who were involved in projects
2. **Implementers** – managers and administrators who carried out government policy. Generally they are politically neutral and adopt a professional approach.

3. **Decision-makers** – politicians involved in shaping social policy in Israel, mainly by initiating the programmes investigated.

A list of participants and a general categorization table can be found in Appendix 4. In general, all 91 interviewees selected referred to almost all the policies and programmes, whether in a personal mamner as they related to their particular case study, or as a reflection of the broad prgrammes, or at times even of the entire policy.

The main measurement of participation was based on The Ladder of Participation, which is discussed in detail in chapter 2 and includes four main stages: Information, Consultation, Partnership and Control.

Public policy towards participation was measured based on the simple positive/negative scale and the three investigated housing programmes which were implemented mainly in poor neighbourhoods, but were also compared with similar programmes conducted in other communities, not necessarily poor.

4.3.5 Ethical Aspects

As in any scholarly study, this research outlines the ethical issues that arose and the ways they were approached.

<u>Residents</u>

In the opening of each interview, participants were given an ethical manifesto assuring them that the data, information and personal experiences that they were about to share would be used solely for academic purposes. All participants agreed to participate in this research and to share their stories of their own free will. That the participants seemed happy to participate and cooperate came of their common desire to gain an understanding of empowerment amongst the disadvantaged in Israel, and the hope that their stories would be used for further research, ideally to promote better understanding of social policy. All the residents who were approached for this research accepted the invitation to participate and openly shared their experiences.

<u>Non-residents</u>

In the opening of each interview, participants were given an ethical manifesto assuring them that the data, information and personal experiences that they were about to share would be used solely for academic purposes. The participants in this research freely agreed

to share their stories. The majority of non-residents that had been approached for this research accepted the invitation to participate and share their experience. Four decision makers, though, refused to participate: Meir Shitrit, who served as Housing Minister at the time of the field work and was one of the famous opponents of the RTB, refused to participate. Three other former Housing Ministers who served during the period when the government delayed RTB — Efi Eitam, Yitzhak Levy and Natan Sheranski — all refused to take part in this research. Each had their own reasons, but their responses indicated their reluctance to discuss their views and activities, their stand and position during the programme and they were aware of the social critique.

4.4. Conclusion

So far we have learnt from the literature that empowerment, under certain terms, is possible. This research aims to test global experiences in order to answer the main research question whether empowerment of the disadvantaged population through housing policies has been offered or implemented in Israel. This research has highlighted the housing challenges since the State of Israel was established, and in terms of policy we have identified the three main housing programmes. In order to investigate these programmes from all social aspects, this research has deployed in-depth interviews with over 100 residents and identified case studies that represent all types of projects within the main programmes.

Taking into account all of the above, this research developed the following hypothesis:

1. *If residents are involved in decision making, housing policies are more likely to succeed.*
2. *If housing management services are provided locally, resident involvement becomes more possible and services are more likely to improve.*

The following three chapters present three different policy case studies: Demolish and Rebuild, Neighbourhood Renewal, and Right To Buy. They set out the findings from the field research carried out as outlined in this chapter, giving detailed evidence about the case study areas and how the policies came to be implemented and also present the findings from the resident surveys.

Chapter 5
The Demolish and Rebuild Programme

5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the Demolish and Rebuild Programme (D&R), which was first announced on 21 August 1960 and planned for the neighbourhood of Vadi Saliv in the northern Israeli city of Haifa. The Programme has continued with some variations up to the present day. Initially, the government controlled operations but, over time, responsibility was increasingly handed over to the private sector. In 1998, this was formalised and the Programme was renamed 'Urban Renewal.' Since then, responsibility for individual developments has been in private hands; whereas the government only identifies sites and monitors progress (Kolka, 2007).

The D&R is central to this research in that it is the only social housing Programme in Israel in which residents have been almost completely denied participation. Initially, central government made decisions independent of residents' wishes, at times even ignoring them completely. When this structure failed to provide successful programmes or sites free of dispute, responsibility for projects was handed to private developers, who were thought to be more capable of negotiating residents' demands under the rules of the free market. A discussion of the origins and implementation of two different projects will address the two approaches of central-government management and free-market rules. The first case study, representing a central-government approach, is the first-ever D&R project, that of Vadi Saliv in Haifa. The second case study, representing a free-market approach, is the 'Neighbourhood of Cardboard' in Tel Aviv.

This chapter is organised as follows. Section 5.2 gives a brief history of the programme, its design and implementation of both government control and private developers. Section 5.3 consists of background information on the case studies neighbourhoods and focus mainly on the main empowerment aspects of resident participation and public policy. Section 5.4 presents excerpts of original data collected through interviews and surveys, and integrates the findings as to the level of empowerment during D&R in Israel. These findings consist of participants' views on participation, long term involvement, training schemes, public policy towards participation and levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Part 5.5 discusses another form of D&R, with slightly

different origins: the evacuees from Gaza. This example was used by interviewees as a comparative case to analyse empowerment features in a D&R when offered to another residential group. The chapter ends with some conclusions.

5.2 Background

The idea behind D&R (illustrations 5.1 & 5.2) was to take advantage of valuable land that was currently the site of poor housing and to improve it. Many of these sites, located in the heart of Israeli cities, The D&R emerged as a sensible way to provide housing that would benefit these communities with the potential to instigate social revival for residents. Proposals for D&R emerged during the 1960s in Haifa, when plans were made to tackle poverty, improve social services and reduce indigence in the neighbourhood of 'Vadi Saliv', located in the city centre (Weiss, 2007). The first D&R projects were all under the control of the central government. When the centralised concept failed, the government handed the D&R to private developers. When private developers, as individual, failed in few neighbourhoods, there were re thinking on that model too. It was eventually modified to the Urban Renewal Scheme.

5.3 Case Studies 1

5.3.1. Case study 1: The Neighbourhood of Vadi Saliv in Haifa

The total pollution in the city of Haifa is 272,170. The number of units is 105,878. The box below presents the figures for the neighbourhood of the Vadi Saliv as taken in 2001:

Figure 11: The Neighbourhood of Vadi Saliv: Characteristics

Characteristics	Measurements
Population in the greater neighbourhood	3,390
Population: new immigrants after 1990	820
Number of housing units in the greater neighbourhood	1430
Number of housing units in Vadi Saliv	187
Number of units (not for housing)	191
Home owners	<20%
Average people in a household before D&R of 1995	3.1
Average people in a household after D&R of 1995	2.4
Size of the neighbourhoods	0.15 km^2
Total size of all housing units	12,475 m^2
Average size of a unit	67 m^2
Total size of non-housing units	18,542 m^2
State of housing conditions	very poor
First attempt to operate D&R projects in the neighbourhood	1963
Recent attempt to operate D&R projects in the neighbourhood	1995
Change in housing units since recent D&R	-186
Change in non-housing units since recent D&R	697
Religious groups	
Muslims	40%,
Jews	30%,
Christians	18%,
Others	12%
Number of schools	0 (2 in the wider area)
Number of nurseries	1

Source – Municipality of Haifa, 2010

5.3.2 Background

Patterns of failure have been associated with the project in Vadi Saliv (illustration 20) since its early days, it was first announced as 'The Destruction of Poor Neighbourhoods Scheme' in August 1960, when the housing market, social conditions, financial resources and political structure and almost every aspect of life was guided, monitored, supervised and, in many cases, even operated by powerful centralised state institutions. Since it was the first ever D&R project in Israel, Vadi Saliv progressed in a 'trial and error' manner. Vadi Saliv was a poor neighbourhood located in the centre of Haifa, inhabited by new

immigrants who held no tenure documentation, as residents were ordered by officials to take over the abandoned houses of Arab refugees (Weiss, 2007).

20. <u>The Neighbourhood of Vadi Saliv before the D&R in the 1960s</u>. Source: http://www.98tv.co.il/Tahana17.

21. <u>The Neighbourhood of Vadi Salib in Haifa after the D&R</u> This photo shows a current view of the old and new in the neighbourhood. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wadi_Salib.

The result was an area of poverty, inadequate housing, high unemployment rates, high levels of antisocial behaviour, arrests, riots and intense social pressure (illustration 21). However, resident protests triggered a policy change that resultant with the project. Protests were the result of the government's inability to provide decent social services to combat poverty (Shapira, 1998). in Vadi Saliv in the late 1950s. The main social distress erupted after an incident in which the police shot a drunken resident, Yacov Elkarif (Akiva), a new immigrant from Morocco. This led to spontaneous riots mainly by new immigrants, against whom police used disproportionate force (illustration 22). Protests escalated [later remembered as the first large-scale social riots in Israel] and forced the government to institute a national committee of inquiry to investigate the sources of poverty and social distress in order to release pressure. Poor housing standards were one of the area left unattended by authorities, which intensified anger among residents (Weiss, 2007), therefore an immediate plan to improve these conditions was recommended in order to investigate severity of housing problems (illustration 23). The idea to operate a D&R project came after the housing survey at the site indicated that conditions and infrastructure were sub-standard, repairs ineffective, and that only the complete demolition of units and the implementation of a rebuilding programme could produce reasonable housing conditions.
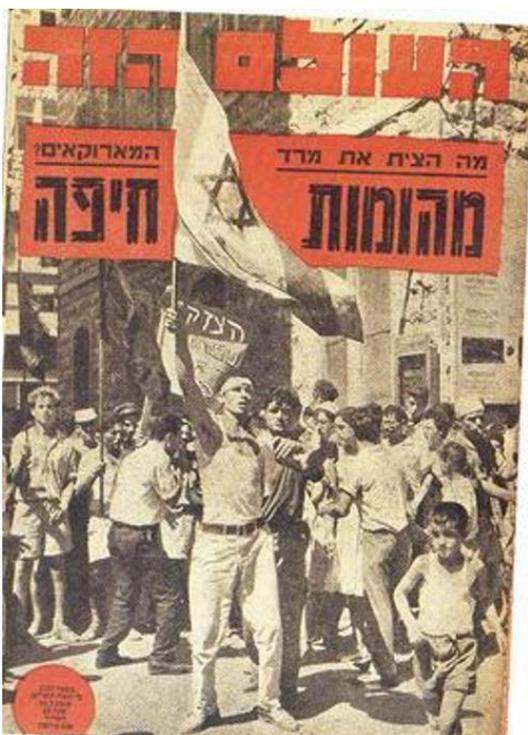
22. Vadi Saliv Protests. The famous cover of *This World* magazine, showing the riots in Vadi Saliv during July 1959, entitled 'Riots in Haifa: What Ignited the Moroccan Riots?'. The image has been reproduced many times since.

Source: Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Hakibbutz Haneuchdad, publishers of *Wadi Salib: A Confiscated Memory* by I. Wiess: http://www.vanleer.org.il/en/node/1064.

23. <u>Vadi Saliv Protest</u>. This is a photo taken by the Israeli Police on 9 July 1959 showing a residents' protest outside the police station in the neighbourhood of Vadi Saliv. Source: http://www.archives.gov.il/ArchiveGov/pirsumyginzach/TeudaBareshet/WadiSalib/.

During this period, offering the operation of a social housing project to a private developer was considered ideologically unsound — not that any private company at the time would have been able to bear the financial consequences of such a project.

The state, therefore, controlled all bodies and resources to operate the programme; the land was owned by the state and managed by the Israel Land Administration (ILA), which allowed a swift process of complete eviction which was also backed by law which was instantly legislated (Poverty Neighbourhoods Law, State Archive). The National Council Housing Company, Amidar, built the new council housing estates where residents were to be relocated, and the government directed the programme implementation (Project Board Committee, 1961).

5.3.3 Resident Participation

In the early days, centralised government could make decisions and force institutions to act in line with them. Government bodies, for instance, made laws to force residents to leave their units without the need of consulting the resident. More residents preferred to remain in their original community rather than to relocate to the new, improved neighbourhood without assurances that both their housing conditions and, more importantly, their social and community services would improve (445 chose to stay, while

218 did not. Weiss, p.156, 2007). Stil, 447 of the 740 families had been evicted already, against the will of the majority.

With a powerful central regime, residents' share in decision-making was limited, as cooperation with residents was never considered as needed. Consequently, operation of the programme moved spasmodically due to legal difficulties in handling refusals and unsuccessful compensation negotiations. Officials, by condemning the remaining buildings on the grounds that they were dangerous, used their power to force all the residents to leave. In terms of resident participation; residents were not asked for their opinions during the planning committee's work, let alone in the overall operation of a project. The management committee, on which residents were not represented, made all the decisions. Furthermore, the committee set compensation rates with no input from residents, and those who were eventually included in the project were not necessarily the poorest (Jacobson, 1975; Weiss, p.135, 2007).

5.3.4 Public Policy

Participation of residents was never broached in 'Vadi Saliv' because officials did not consider residents capable of offering constructive assistance. One project manager described residents as "A (human) waste concentrated in one area" (Kolka, 1989). When the management board decided to open an office where residents could offer suggestions and be allowed to discuss their ideas, an inspector and police officer were permanently placed at the site to keep public order. This reflected the board's negative expectations of the residents. The board also had a team of working mothers to socialise with resident wives in order to outwardly promote the attractiveness of the project, but also to guide them on hygiene and cleaning rules before integration with more-modern families already living in the new neighbourhoods (Weiss, 2007). With this kind of behavioural stigma, it is not surprising that residents were denied any involvement.

One of the main problems residents in 'Vadi Saliv' faced was dense housing conditions (density was a feature of the programme in general). Many new immigrant families were larger than those in the general population; they also suffered from higher unemployment rates and thus were generally more dependent on the government. This situation is typical of new immigrants; the head of the family is either too old or does not speak the language sufficiently well to get a job, thus forcing the children to become breadwinners. This is also why most of these families have to live together, in order to

survive. The new quarters planned in Vadi Saliv to re-house residents were tiny and densely packed which forced children to spend more time outside their homes.

This, in turn, had a negative impact on their educational achievements. The then Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion, was concerned that "some children had nice homes to return to after school and a place where they could focus on their homework, [but] others were forced to stay outside and do none" (Nesher, 1959). Nevertheless, the next generation in these neighbourhoods were not only unable to gain proper education, but they also had to go to work at an early age to support their families. There were many who could not find jobs because they were inexperienced, and so were pushed into criminality. Residents' fears about population density and its educational impacts in this case study were neither heard nor discussed.

The project in Vadi Saliv might have succeeded in re-housing residents, but it failed to improve their quality of life. In fact, in many respects, the project outcomes were less favourable than residents' previous solutions. Residents often found it more difficult and complex to adapt to new neighbourhoods (Weiss, 2007). Failure to listen caused an ethnic disaster for the elderly among the new immigrants who become alienated in their neighbourhoods and families. For instance, an important social focus for the Jewish residents, especially for the new immigrants whom many among them were practising Jews, was the local synagogue. It was used not only for religious purposes (many among the new immigrants in this neighbourhood were religious), but also as a social club where residents got together with neighbours from their countries of origin, spoke their native languages and shared new experiences. A local synagogue was an important factor and, at times, a precondition before residents would agree to relocate. Synagogues were promised and offered at the new sites, but they were not aligned to specific ethnic groups. As a result, residents of this case study lost their social clubs and their religious habits; they found it difficult and sometimes impossible to pray in a different style and many dropped out of the synagogue and chose to stay at home Research has shown that the lack of an organised social environment causes many conflicts within households (Hazani & Ilani, 1970), this could have been prevented through consultation with the residents.

5.4 Case Studies 2

5.4.1 Case Study 2 – The Neighbourhood of Cardboard, Tel Aviv

The total pollution in the city of Tel Aviv is 404,400. The number of units in the City of Tel Aviv is 184,826. The box below presents the figures for the Neighbourhood of Cardboard in the south east of Tel Aviv (illustration 24):

24. <u>The Neighbourhood of Cardboard in Tel Aviv</u>. poor housing conditions, similar to a shanty town.
Source: http://israblog.nana10.co.il/blogread.asp?blog=635228&blogcode=11423682.
Photo taken in November 2009 by Bal.

Figure 12[27]: The Neighbourhood of Cardboard: Characteristics

Characteristics	Measurements
Population	2,500
Number of households	800
Home owners	41.9%
Average amount of people in a household	2.9
Size of the neighbourhoods	0.765 km^2
When built generally	50% < 1948
When built (council)	1950–1970
Number of units	811
Total size of all units	55,158 m^2
Average size of a unit	68 m^2
Average size of a building (in the old part)	detached/3 storeys
State of housing conditions (in the old part)	Poor
Average size of a building (publicly funded housing)	3–4 storeys
State of housing conditions (publicly funded housing)	Moderate
Density	3,577 people in km^2
Density per unit	1.1
Religious groups	
Jews	88.7%
Others	1.3%
Employment	58.8%
Current value of a unit (in NIS)[28]	613,793
Value after D&R (cal per 300% housing rights, in NIS)	1,412,000
1st attempt to operate D&R project	1993
2nd attempt to operate D&R project	1996
3rd attempt to operate D&R project	2001
4th attempt to operate D&R project	2007

Source: Tel Aviv Municipality, 2010

5.4.2 Background

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[27] Figure 12 is as similar as possible to Figure 11 subject to the available information on the cases
[28] 1 NIS = £5.9

In 1992, when the then Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin visited the neighbourhood of 'Kfar Shalem', he famously commented: "I can't believe there are Israeli citizens who live in such poor conditions; it reminds me of views of Jebalia" (Fishbayin, 2003). 'Jebalia' was (and still is) one of the poorest refugee camps in the Gaza strip and is a symbol in the collective Israeli consciousness of how poverty can lead to problems, dependency and violence. This quote shows a lack of awareness among officials, and especially the PM, of the poverty and living standards that remain common in some parts of the country. Still, it signalled a new awareness and a change not only in rhetoric, but also in government social activism. Indeed, during the Rabin years, there was a notable increase in social budgets; moreover, 'Kfar Salem' in particular underwent an intensive social makeover, during which housing renovation and D&R projects were started (illustration 25).

25. Shanty town dwelling and new build in the Neighbourhood of Cardboard.

The Neighbourhood of Cardboard is one part of the 'Kfar Shalem' area. Housing conditions and infrastructure in this neighbourhood are poor. There are no paved roads, no signs of construction or planning, and some roads are still labelled in the old system of numbers, rather than by name. Local municipalities usually christen new roads as one would a new-born baby; however, the Neighbourhood of Cardboard's streets have never been authorised, and so have never been 'born.' Residents are second- and third-generation immigrants who were directed to the site on arrival. In many cases, housing units, most of which are shacks, have not changed in 40 to 50 years. Since the

neighbourhood was never formally authorised, planning and mapping have never been properly undertaken, and residents live in high-density accommodations. If official improvements are not allowed, residents are left with no other option than to build their own extensions.

As a local residents' leader explained, "Extension works are undertaken by each of the residents in person, from their own resources and in their spare time" (Dagan, 2006). Unprofessional and illegal extensions increase housing hazards and, as in many areas of poverty, the neighbourhood has also become associated with crime, drug abuse and unemployment. Very few residents consider the site as offering a proper standard of living; in fact, all those asked would leave if they had an alternative (Efrati, 2004). Significant social investment between 1992 and 1996, together with the rebirth of public building in order to house the huge numbers of new immigrants under Rabin , created a platform for change in neighbourhood conditions. The housing potential of the Neighbourhood of Cardboard is huge, as it exists in a prime location in the south of Tel Aviv near the main highway to Jerusalem and the southern part of the state. Most dwellings are shacks, and replacing these with high-rise blocks could almost immediately produce hundreds of units on valuable land.

5.4.3 Resident Participation

In the D&R conducted in the Neighbourhood of Cardboard, residents' involvement in shaping project terms was almost non-existent. Residents were denied any real influence in decision making, and their activity had very little effect other than to delay the project. The chaos in the neighbourhood (i.e., no formal planning, no registration of properties and unauthorised building extensions), together with the pressure to create instant housing solutions, pushed the government to use private developers without proper planning or involving residents in implementing project plans. The problems soon began when the "true" number of residents claiming housing rights and compensation was revealed, and the developer refused to compensate very many. The official landlord, the ILA, was unable to provide a categorical picture of tenures on the site (Leibner, 2008). Residents refused to deal with the developer as they were offered limited compensation, if any at all, and the entire project came to a halt (Fishbayin, 2003). Earlier attempts to involve a private developer in the project had also failed since residents refused to be forced into accepting terms on which they had not been consulted (Sinai, 2001).

The failures to make progress did not worry politicians and senior officials until residents began to openly protest against the project design. It was only then that 30 Knesset members signed a petition demanding that the Housing Minister (Meir Shitrit, at the time) put the the project on hold until alternative housing solutions could be offered to residents who needed to be evicted (Chai, 2007). The government also refused a parliamentary initiative to put the terms for D&R programme in the statute book to guarantee residents' rights (Tal, 2.6.2002). The power imbalance between residents and powerful developers allowed the latter enough time to manipulate and coax residents into agreeing with their terms; residents could respond to developers' pressure only if they were organised, united and had sufficient knowledge to negotiate collectively (Petersburg, 23.6.2002). Through collective action, residents at this site managed to delay the project's operation; however, this clearly did not improve housing and social conditions, as the project aimed to do. Although community activity and solidarity among residents can been seen as positive, in this case it merely served to halt the project. Allowing residents to have more of a say might have prevented the demonstrations and helped achieve a more rewarding result; this was Fishbayin's impression when she interviewed residents (2003).

5.4.4 Public Policy

There were two earlier state-controlled attempts to operate D&R projects on the site; in both instances, residents were excluded from project management, and both attempts failed (Efrati, 2004). This was no surprise since social services were so poor that even a list of tenures or residents on the site was never systematised, and no formal body could provide reliable records of the neighbourhood's inhabitants (Liberman, 2008). Moreover, among those who were labelled as squatters and ordered to leave their property, some were still paying their monthly rent to the housing company (i.e. legal tenants) and that there were many other examples of prejudice against residents (Rapaport 2007).

In 2001 responsibility for the project was offered to private developers, yet without cooperation with residents these schemes failed to progress. All attempts to initiate the project over a period of 6 years without allowing residents a share in decision-making or without consulting their views ended in failure (Leibner, 2007; Shvita, 2007; ILA, tender 250/98).

Pattern of negative attitudes towards residents

Negative attitudes of state institutions towards residents' participation are evident. The Israeli Land Authority (ILA) which owns the land on which the neighbourhood is located

was provided with incentives including substantial discounts and tax-free schemes (ILA, tender250/98, 1993), yet none went to compensating residents. Only when they asked for legal intervention, which ultimately led to rulings that the compensation was inadequate, did the ILA have to increase its offers (Rulings 6715/96, 6870/96, The Supreme Court). The 'insubordinate right' rule — which states that one refusal from a tenant can prevent the operation of an entire project — has been the residents' only recourse and has forced officials to communicate with residents (Cheshin, 1996). Some suggest the local municipality's attitude was a result of 'buy out' by developers who were willing to share the revenues:

> developers have tools to improve facilities, but local municipalities simply want the residents out of the site so developers can rebuild it and make huge profits, of which a share will be directed to the municipality instead of residents. (Leibner, 2008).

Yishayahu Hakshuri is the main developer involved in the Neighbourhood of Cardboard (illustration 5.3). He also did not invite residents to consult on plans for the site; nor did he ask for their input as to their needs or expectations and the compensation he offered has been inadequate, despite the company's huge potential profit (Fishbayin, 2003).

Summary

Analysis of earlier studies have indicated that resident[29] participation in D&R projects was very limited. Analyses of earlier studies have also indicated that in terms of public policy towards residents' participation in the D&R projects was negative.

5.5. Outcomes and Assessments

My findings, as outlined in Chapter 4, are more detailed compared to those collected in earlier studies. All the issues investigated and raised by the participants during the surveys and interviews were prioritized, starting with the main themes of this research and moving toward the more specific issues relevant to each programme. All interviewees that were selected to appear in this chapter are from those who are personally involved in the programme. The issues are divided into the two main themes of this research: Residents' Participation and Public Policy towards this Participation. The first section provides a general overview, a further analysis of residents' participation during D&R, and views on

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[29] Residents represent civil society

Training and Education schemes — whether they were implemented and to what extent. The second section discusses the various aspects of Public Policy: views on the level of government support for residents' involvement in the programme; the level of satisfaction with residents' influence and with programme outcomes; continuity of residents' involvement and long-term impact; residents' views on successful cases among housing projects where residents were empowered and the necessary changes in government attitudes to their cases which achieved a similar success rate.

As discussed in chapter 4, we have also examine additional Demolish and Rebuild locations / communities in order to get more comprehensive views on how the Demolish and Rebuilt was operated:

The Neighbourhood of Kfar Shalem

This is a neighbourhood in the south east of Tel Aviv known previously as the Arab village of Salame (Shalem is the Hebrew translation). In 1931 it had 3691 residents and 800 houses. By 1948, before the war, the neighbourhood had grown to 7600 residents, majority were Arabs, and during the war the neighbourhood was an area of conflict between Jews and Arabs which was abandoned on the 22 April 1948. New immigrants, mainly from Yemen, moved in to the abandoned neighbourhood, taking over the evacuated houses. The neighbourhood was given a Hebrew name — 'Shalem' — and soon became densely populated with over 20,000 residents.

In 1965 the government offered the first D&R which majority of residents refused to cooperate. Tension reached a peak in 1982 when one resident (Shimon Yehushua) who refused to allow the demolishing of his house, was shot dead by a police officer. In the 1990s, after the visit of Prime Minister Rabin and his famous comment, 'this looks worse than Jebaliya', greater investment was directed to the neighbourhoods and many residents accepted the chance to relocate to better housing. The new terms were much better as residents were allowed to build detached and semi-detached houses with a small garden. Nevertheless, around 400 were excluded from the project and remained in their old houses. 30 residents received an evacuation warning as it was claimed they were occupying private land illegally and were thus not entitled to reimbursement. On 25 December 2007 the eviction went ahead without the consent of the residents (Rapaport, 2007).

The Neighbourhood of Mamila

This is a neighbourhood in Jerusalem located between the old city and the Jaffa gate (illustration 5.1). It was first built in the nineteenth century and had a mixed population of Jews and Arabs. The neighbourhood lies just outside the old city wall and its prime location meant that it became a source of economic prosperity. Between 1948 and 1967 the neighbourhood stood on the border between Israel and Jordan and was subject to clashes and bombardment from both armies. Heavy artillery damaged the housing which was considered very poor anyway. After the 1967 war, the neighbourhood was completely demolished and after a long dispute involving legal, ethnic, religious and financial issues, a new neighbourhood was built. The renovated neighbourhood, now one of the most luxurious in the capital, was completed in 2006 and includes luxury housing (owned mainly by foreign residents), a high-end shopping mall, top-rated hotels and the best views of David Tower and the old city.

The D&R project begun in the 1970s, 700 families were relocated to other neighbourhoods along with all the small businesses. The eviction was completed in 1988 and the neighbourhood was demolished in 1989, costing more than $60,000,000. The eviction process was slow and raised many objections from the residents resulted in high profile protests and the creation of a social movement known as the 'Black Panthers'. Many of its activists are still involved in housing policy and were deeply involved in the RTB as well.

Nitzan

This was designed in 2005 as a temporary solution to house the evacuees from the Gaza strip (illustration 5.4). Prime Minister Sharon ordered a temporary, caravan-built neighbourhood only two months before the eviction The quick build that lasted four months (between May and August 2005) included 500 caravans. It was given special approval which bypassed the usual planning process and had support and investment from the Ministry of Defence. The site even extended further with more than 1000 temporary caravans hosting evacuees from the Gaza strip (Neve Dekalim, Katif, Gan Or, Morag, Rafiah Yam, Gadid, Bdolah, Nisanit). All together this is the largest site of evacuees, comprising 490 families out of the total 1667 evacuated. Residents who moved to the estate complain about its incomplete infrastructure, poor housing, which is too small for big families, and a lack of community facilities. All types of housing on the site were publicly sponsored and managed by the state: the council housing company responsible for the site is Amigur.

5.5.1. Participation

The measurement of empowerment used in this investigation is framed by features from Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (1969). This investigation formulated an eight-point ladder which is presented in the following table. An analysis of residents' responses of the D&R shows that they evaluated their participation as low-level. The majority of responses described their involvement as being at the information level. Non-residents' responses show a higher evaluation of residents' participation in programmes; however, this rating is still at moderate levels with the largest response being "consultation".

The table below provides a summary of interviewees' responses with regard to residents' participation in D&R. The ladder of participation consists of the following steps: Not Involved (1); Information (2); Consultation (3); Partnership (4). None of the participants claimed that residents were in control and thus this level is not presented in the table. Moreover, some of the participants did not respond on the subject and are therefore categorised as N/A – 0.

Table 2: Residents' Participation in the Demolish and Rebuild Programme

Total participants (in brackets)/ level of participation	1	2	3	4	0
Residents (53)	**12**	**17**	**12**	**1**	**11**
• Leaders (18)	5	8	5	0	0
• Moderate participants (17)	5	7	2	1	2
• Random (18)	2	2	5	0	9
Non-residents (37)	**4**	**6**	**12**	**6**	**9**
• Informers (21)	4	6	3	4	4
• Implementers (13)	0	0	8	1	4
• Decision-makers (3)	0	0	1	1	1

Source: Israeli NRP survey - Guy Doron, 2005–09[30]

Based on the ladder of participation, resident participation was low in all residential groups. Interestingly, the higher the leadership status residents had, the more excluded they felt. Most leaders chose 'not involved' to describe their level of participation, which is the lowest and most alienated level, while most ordinary residents chose 'information' as the most accurate level to describe theirs. Among the random sample, though, the most frequent view was of 'consultation'.

The data shows that in the investigated D&R projects, where no special intention to involve residents was ever declared, residents did not feel welcome. Those who characterised themselves as local leaders have attested that they have received some share in decision-making in other programmes but none in the D&R. These respondents described D&R as offering the lowest level of participation by comparison. Residents' evaluation of their low participation level in D&R is in line with the analysis of non-residents. Members of the informers/supporters group were assessing residents' participation as low ('information'). Implementers, however, noted a moderate level of participation ('consultation').

These differences derived from their role in the programme: those among the implementers who were directly involved in project operation spoke of the fact that

[30] Control Level: **Residents** – 0; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 0; Random – 0; **Non-residents** – 0; Informers – 0; Implementers – 0; Decision-makers – 0.

residents were involved to some extent, whereas informers (who were involved in resident groups) noted a less participatory approach in terms of influence. Overall, non-residents viewed residents' involvement as moderate, which placed residents higher on the 'participation ladder' than the residents placed themselves.

Residents argued that although their participation was low, they were nevertheless sufficiently skilled, experienced and committed to run a project on their own. That said, the majority agreed that professional supervision and guidance would improve performance and final outcomes, yet such guidance was extremely limited in an environment in which officials did not welcome resident involvement.

Residents confirmed their participation level was low and that it has an impact on programme success. Z. Adika, leader of a residents' group in Jerusalem, noted:

> If residents were offered managerial responsibilities, they could prove how skilled they are and prove their input on projects operation; the problem is that residents are not offered such opportunities. (Z. Adika)

S. Keshet (illustration 5.5), a leader of a residents' group from Tel Aviv, asserted that residents operated community training to improve their understanding and in order to be able to influence their community.

> We took responsibility over our community activities after we realised that the government has no intention of operating in this way. We managed its operation ourselves, setting plans and contents, financed our activities and all with no assistance. I think we are doing quite well. This is to show that we can run projects by ourselves.

Opinion supporting residents' ability to run projects was also collected from among the random sample, with the view that involve residents in local projects not only improve conditions locally but also reduce unemployment rates:

> Residents here are capable of taking managerial decisions, especially when people are unemployed and eager to do things or make any contribution. (M. Hamudi)

Most residents, although sure of their ability to run projects, were willing to engage in any courses or joint ventures with officials to have their skills monitored and assessed:

> There are skilled residents who are able to run and manage projects around here. We might be poor, but we are not stupid. (B. Arajuani, illustration 5.6)

> Our community is full of residents who are more than equipped to participate in local management, and if anybody doubts that, we invite a supervision body to evaluates our managerial performance. The problem is that authorities never had the willingness to give us a chance. (S. Meidani)

Others, who were less convinced of residents' ability to manage projects independently, suggested joint bodies through which residents' performance could be improved:

> Residents are not experienced enough to operate complex projects on their own — they need guidance. This is what the government stands for. Overall I would think that running joint boards — of residents and officials — is the best way of taking this forward. This would also be a sign of cooperation and partnership between the two and can lead the way to completing better projects. (D+R Balsi)

Residents admitted they were not involved in project management, they claimed that they are capable of running projects or at least having a pivotal role in the decision-making process. Having said that, acknowledging that they lack some professional skills, residents were very much in favour of joint bodies with officials or schemes in which they would hope to increase their knowledge. Such schemes however were almost always unavailable.

Non-residents confirm residents were not involved in the management of the D&R. Among non-residents, views regarding residents' ability to run projects on their own were less absolute, and there were those — especially among the implementers — who still did not see residents as being ready for managerial tasks. However, among informers/supporters, many agree that residents, if allowed a share of decision making, have the potential to positively impact project management.

R. Avnimelech (illustration 5.7), a social activist who was involved in residents' activities in the Neighbourhood of Cardboard, confirmed residents capabilities:

> Residents in this neighbourhood can influence the project, although in some fields they need expert advice, but this isn't different from any other neighbourhood. (R. Avnimelech)

M. Margalit (illustration 5.8), another social activist who also represented residents in the municipality of Jerusalem, agreed on the importance of residents' involvement, especially community-wise:

> There are some professional issues that require expertise, and in those areas, residents can contribute less, yet with issues that relate to social aspects, residents surely have the ability to manage their own projects. (M. Margalit)

A supportive view of residents' ability to run projects came from Dr Pialkov (illustration 5.9), the Deputy General Manager of the Housing Ministry, who confirmed that international experience proves that residents, if involved, can have a hugely positive impact on projects:

> I have seen an impressive example of resident management (TMOs) in the U.K., and I think that residents are definitely eligible to run housing projects. Residents' management is a brilliant idea where residents are offered responsibility and then make a commitment (i.e., residents become the local agents and are responsible for collecting and setting the rents and the rules for eviction when a tenant refuses to pay). The whole project is obviously supervised, but the main idea behind is that poor residents are not necessarily unskilled. (Dr C. Pialkov)

Still, most implementers did not feel residents were sufficiently reliable to be handed management responsibilities. S. Ben Eliahu (illustration 5.10), a former General Manager of the Ministry of Housing and the man in charge during the debates around the case study of the Neighbourhood of Cardboard, said such initiatives are potentially dangerous as he'd seen residents fail to take responsibility when it was handed to them:

> These schemes won't work in Israel. There is a lack of belief in the ability of local bodies to run projects, let alone in the residents of poor neighbourhoods. The D&R, for instance, is in residents' main interests and should actually be run by them, but it's not. Commitment and a structured ideology that shape residents involvement elsewhere are characteristics that are less than dominant in poor neighbourhoods in Israel. (S. Ben Eliahu)

P. Alalo (illustration 5.11), a social activist who is also a senior member of the Jerusalem City Hall, agreed that residents require support and guidance when it comes to project management:

> In some of the disadvantaged neighbourhoods in this city, residents can't even run their own housework, let alone a project. There are professional issues where residents agree they can contribute less, as this field is really an expert domain. The delegation of power to residents is obviously the right thing to do in term of social activity and providing sense of community, but it is a rather long-term process which requires intensive investment to renew residents' trust and confidence again. (P. Alalo)

S. Eldor (illustration 5.12), the Head of the new Urban Renewal Schemes in the Ministry of Housing, thinks that the new scheme offers guidance under which residents would be able to have a greater share in decision making:

> If residents are lacking particular skills, they should be educated or trained. This is still the responsibility of officials not of the developers and constructors who are not equipped to do that. This is why we need joint efforts from other agencies which are reliable to provide such services, as we believe empowerment of the local population is very important. (S. Eldor)

Summary
Overall non-residents agree residents were not involved in the D&R management or decision making. the views of non-residents were diverse. The majority of non-residents and members of the informers/supporters group supported greater resident involvement in decision-making, in that they believed residents to be capable of taking on such responsibility once given sufficient tools to do so. Implementers, however, were more sceptical about residents' ability to cope with the challenge.

5.5.2. Residents' long-term involvement

One of the most important factors of participation in creating successful empowerment, as discussed in Chapter 2, is continuity of resident participation and the extent to which residents maintain and develop their involvement. Participation has a long term impact and researchers therefore recommend the support and maintenance of residents' participation, as well as the support of local leadership in the hope that it might influence the community to become involved and support projects. The following section presents results concerning the continuity of resident activity. Continuity means to what extant residents have maintained, reduced or increased their participation in the project over the years. Table 3 shows the range of activity over period of time among residents and non-residents.

Around half among residents (55.5%) reported that they are still highly involved in their communities. A significant proportion (57%) of non-residents is still highly involved in the programme, and the remainder have either less or no involvement.

Table 3: Duration of resident activity and involvement in the D&R

Period of Involvement	Still highly Active	Highly active – moderately active	Highly active – not active	Moderately active – not active	Never active	Total[31]
Residents	10	3	1	0	4	18
• Leaders	7	0	1	0	0	8
• Moderate participants	3	3	0	0	0	6
• Random	0	0	0	0	4	4
Non-residents	8	3	3	0	0	14
• Informers/supporters	4	3	2	0	0	9
• Implementers	2	0	1	0	0	3
• Decision-makers	2	0	0	0	0	2

Source: Israeli NRP survey - Guy Doron, 2005-09

Involvement in the analysed case studies and in other D&R projects took the form of individuals participating in demonstrations and community activities rather than in project management. Involvement tended, therefore, to be more against projects than in support of them, which is a sign of dissatisfaction. Although residents admitted that community activity and protests within the project instigated their participation, motivated their activity and forced them to bond together, this was not the kind of influence they had hoped to have on project operation. In terms of real influence on the D&R, residents have none, however they have managed to act collectively to protest against their exclusion from decision-making. In terms of continuity, residents continue to fight for their homes, for their very survival. Residents have shown that local leadership was not supported by government, at least not sufficiently to lead the community to support the programme. Among non-residents almost half were not involved, as the project lasted for a long time and took many forms. Most officials and supporters had either retired or moved to other jobs.

One of the key features to maintain residents' participation is by providing them services and tools to increase their share in decision-making. This was also known as public policy.

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[31] N/A Residents 35; Leaders 10, Moderate Participants 11, Random 14; Non-Residents 23; Informers/supporters 12, Implementers 10, Decision-makers 1

5.5.3 Public Policy towards residents' involvement in D&R

Training and education schemes were considered by residents as the most immediate support the government could provide in order to build confidence and encourage participation, yet at the same time, such training schemes were barely provided. Nevertheless, governments could support communities through localisation, by providing better social services, improving housing conditions, raising the standard and accessibility of local services. The next section analyses residents' views on the extent and the type of government support within D&R.

The table below summarises participants' assessment of public policy towards residents' participation in the D&R. The assessment is based on a simple scale of negative to positive; however, participants could further categorise public policy into two more median stages (moderate support and high support):

Table 4: Public Policy towards residents' involvement in the D&R

Public Policy	Negative	Moderate Support	Supportive	Very Supportive	Total
All Residents	**23**	**9**	**9**	**1**	**53**
• Leaders	8	4	5	1	18
• Moderate participants	12	0	3	0	17
• Random	3	5	1	0	18
Non-residents	**5**	**16**	**9**	**0**	**37**
• Informers/supporters	5	9	3	0	21
• Implementers	0	6	4	0	13
• Decision-makers	0	1	2	0	3

Source: Israeli NRP survey - Guy Doron, 2005–09[32]

An analysis of residents' responses shows that a majority have observed a negative public policy towards their participation. In addition to a lack of training to support participation, one specific factor residents repeatedly mentioned is officials' lack of awareness of

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[32] N/A: **Residents** – 11; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 2; Random – 9; **Non-residents** – 7; Informers – 4; Implementers – 3; Decision-makers – 0.

residents' desire to take part. Another factor mentioned was the continuous disputes between residents and officials which becomes synonymous with D&R.

An analysis of non-residents' responses shows a slightly different set of results. The majority describe a moderate attitude from different governments towards residents' participation. Decision makers among those interviewed even declared a supportive attitude. Non-residents believed that the attempts to privatise projects and allow developers and residents direct links to negotiate under private-market rules would have both improved housing facilities and provided residents with better compensation. This belief, however, is contradicted by residents' frustration with unproductive negotiations and with the deterioration of social services during the new era. In many interviews it seemed like the government had turned its back on the disempowering consequences of moving low income populations away from urban centres or opportunities.

According to residents, one of the main reasons for the negative public policy towards their participation was the low status of social housing policy within the wider political agenda in Israel. Given the existence of multiple conflicts, social policy is understandably ranked lower than issues of terror, personal security or the consequences of ethnic and religious strife. The issue of the low status of social policy in multi-conflict scenarios was repeated often in interviews and we will therefore look at that pattern more closely in the other projects as well to measure whether a more general conclusion can be drawn.

Both decision makers and residents admit that social housing policy has yet to shape their political allegiances, therefore, it is unsurprising that it has consistently commanded less attention. In interviews, residents expressed frustration at this, as well as disappointment. Resident leaders Arajuani and Keshet admitted that they no longer participate in elections: "Decision makers run by personal preference, we have no more trust in politicians" (B. Arajuani, S. Keshet.

Other residents added that politician's main interests are to satisfy the wealthiest (such as the developers) rather than the poor, and therefore this is a lost battle for residents of poor neighbourhoods:

> Politicians are driven by their wealthy developers' interests. Only during election campaigns do they come to visit here and pretend to pay attention to social problems. (D. & R. Balsi, Z. Adika, D. Elimelech, M. Hamudi, D. & S. Azulai, S. Meidani)

A common conclusion related to the internal debate about where social policy is placed in the Israeli political agenda expressed by residents was that the majority of politicians do not focus on social issues, since they are not rewarding electorally. The social agenda matters only to a few policy makers who are already socially oriented. A. Dagan stated:

> Social issues are a burden, and the majority of policy-makers avoid social involvement or welfare planning. Only a few really care, and their agenda is indeed based on social policy philosophy and judgment.

R. Aberjel noted that social policy was treated lightly without long term planning or follow-up agenda. Only few policy makers who have links with specific residents' groups are sometimes committed to acting on their behalf:

> In Israel, social policy is like providing a cure to a particular pain only, rather than investing [in] a comprehensive or total cure. (R. Aberjel)

The fact that some policy makers clearly act on behalf of their supporters, as in the cases of other strong groups in Israel (e.g. the New Settlements and the Kibbutzim), has led many residents to believe that only by acting as a pressure group that has direct links with decision makers can they force social policy to rank higher on the list of priorities. In regional election systems, for instance, representatives are elected locally and thus more committed to their communities. Residents believed that implementing a regional representation system in national elections allowed greater influence of local communities on their representatives which, in turn, would result in greater commitment to local issues, at least for those representatives:

> Since politicians normally have a short term in power and since they seek publicity in national levels, they deal with issues that have the highest ratings in the national agenda rather than with social policies which in many case also involve local issues which are usually portrayed by the media as unpopular. This is to say that social policy has less weight than it should have. I would think that a regional election system could strengthen the links between representatives and the public that they are about to represent and, in turn, commitment towards social policy among politicians would increase. (G. Golan)

In practice, the current system, which is centralised with very little local representation, actually created the opposite scenario: many residents stated that their negative experiences of officialdom and government promises had led to civil apathy. A

central theme (as appears in the majority of interviews) was the loss of trust in the current system, to such an extent that more and more residents choose not to participate in general or local elections:

> Social policy should be on the public agenda truthfully this is not the case. Unfortunately, voters have become more and more apathetic, rather than more and more involved. (D. & R. Balsi)

> Since the Right To Buy's famous election campaign in 1999, I have no longer been active in elections. I was so let down that I became apathetic; it was the last election campaign in which I participated. I couldn't care less anymore. (Z. Adika)

> The majority of voters are depressed, frustrated, and in some cases even become apathetic towards the democratic system, as they are so fed up of promises that they have stopped believing in parties and politics. (D. Elimelech, M. Hamudi)

Despite these depressing views, some residents still expressed belief in the system and noted a slight increase in the importance of social policy in recent campaigns:

> In the last campaign, social matters became very relevant and parties that never used to have a social agenda developed and presented one. Although the traditional political discourses in Israel evolve mainly around security issues, voters have started to understand that there can be no national security before securing social security. (S. Keshet)

> Residents do care about social policy and that's shaping their votes, and indeed the last elections are a proof of that. However, although social policy was among the voters' highest priorities, it is not with decision-makers. (S. Meidani)

Another strong piece of evidence for the priority of social policy in the Israeli agenda appears in the following testimonials. Although residents were very active during D&R, in Israel's environment of multiple conflicts and pressures social policy has yet to drive their direct or indirect involvement in political decision-making:

> The main issues affecting voters in Israel still relate to security issues. Social policies are yet to occupy importance among residents. (A. Dagan)

> People speak highly about social issues but vote according to other aspirations. Personally, I belong to the left when deciding on social issues; yet I have consistently voted for the right-wing parties for other traditional reasons. This goes to show that there is no linkage between the importance of social policies and voting. (G. Golan)

I myself admit that what shapes my vote is foreign affairs and state security rather than social issues. (D. & S. Azulai)

The majority of non-residents confirm that social and housing policy does not lead policy makers which explains the little attention to those issues within the national agenda. Israel's current regime favours a liberal economic policy, rather than social values which were promoted by the old regime:

Unfortunately, there are more representatives who are led by political, religious or financial doctrines, rather than those who set their priorities according to social agenda. As a regime that mostly imitates the American way of life, this is not surprising. We tend to copy their liberal attitudes and care less about social issues. (J. P. Alalo, M. Margalit)

Israeli representatives are led by electoral and financial issues a lot more than by social issues. These create stronger links between politicians and the wealthiest citizens and in order to satisfy the latter, liberal, free-market policies are required. Furthermore, social issues are very uncommon on the media's front pages and, therefore, politicians aim elsewhere. (R. Avnimelech)

Most members of the *informers/supporters* group agreed with residents and noted the marginal influence social policy has on voters and, thus, on policy makers and potentially even on residents themselves: even among leaders who considered to be more involved in social policy, there are those who admitted that they tend to vote in a way that is not based on social principles:

Social policy is yet to really impact across the political spectrum of voters. As we get closer to polling day, residents are back to their traditional political segregations. For me as a citizen, there is a clear link between politics and society; therefore, social policy shapes my vote, but this has yet to be the case with residents. (S. Asheri)

Some argue that Israel's unique bilateral situation pushed social issues even further away:

The influence of social policy on voters is almost negligible. Bilateral issues, though, are more relevant to voters as they concern many more people. Purely social issues are yet to be as important. Maybe one day, when we'll live in a calmer and quieter society and surroundings, this might become a more central point of attention. (J. P. Alalo, R. Avnimelech)

The consequence is that in Israel there is lower priority for social issues, M. Margalit argues that social orientation is not politically valued in Israel and those who believe in social solutions are also not valued politically:

As was proven during the election campaigns, parties led by a social agenda failed compared to those with anti-social agendas. (M. Margalit)

Some *informers/supporters* noted an increase in the importance of social policy in the recent election campaign. The fact that both the public and the media were more aware of social exclusion and were receptive to dealing with its repercussions encouraged policy makers and political candidates to come up with new programmes and plans aimed at creating social change. This certainly enlivened social debate:

> During the last election, poverty was considered a serious problem, and social exclusion was considered as something that the government needs to confront. The reality struck back to us — leaders indeed declared their social commitment, yet failed to show this after they were elected. (S. Asheri)

Among implementers, social policy was generally considered unimportant in shaping voting behaviour. Also mentioned, however, were specific occasions in which social policy came to the attention of voters and inspired political debate. S. Ben Eliahu mentioned the election of 1977 (which led to the first 'Likud' government that initiate the Neighbourhood Renewal programme):

> [Social policy was a factor] only once, in 1977, when the first change of power took place. Begin's regime aimed at changing and creating new priorities led by a social policy agenda — and officials did follow that with care. (S. Ben Eliahu)

Dr Pialkof pointed to the "Right to Buy" debate during the election campaign of 2000 as a turning point at which social policy captured a central role in the political debate:

> I'm a long servant of the Housing Ministry and I must confess that cases where residents united to pressurise parties, as was the case during the RTB legislation, was unique. Very few will say that housing or social issues led their vote. (Dr C. Pialkoff)

A common practice literature for services under public policy were training and education schemes which is the essence of the next section.

5.5.4 Training and Education Schemes

Most interviewees referred to training and education as crucial tools for residents' empowerment, building tenants' confidence and promoting their current and long term participation. No one suggested that they were unnecessary in helping residents take part in project management. The next section investigates whether training was available for residents during the D&R.

Residents showed great interest in training and education schemes and confirmed that such courses had hardly ever been implemented in their communities during D&R. Where courses had been run, though, residents praised those operated by external experts and not by the official authorities.

The majority of residents stated consistently that training schemes would have great importance in improving the quality of their participation. However, as mentioned, the authorities have rarely offered them*:*

> Training and education schemes are very important. By participating in such courses, residents could improve their skills to get involved in projects and become more involved in their communities. Not only would the residents be learning, [but] they would also get practice and be supervised in the way they learn and perform. We have never been offered anything of this nature. All that government offices are interested in is to minimise our roles and if know less we would be less involved. (Z. Adika)

A. Dagan, a leader of a residents' group from the Neighbourhood of Cardboard in Tel Aviv, admitted that it is more than logical that a group that has no formal education or training would find it difficult to run a complete project on their own, but that it is possible with expert guidance: "Residents' experience, together with experts' supervision, should guide projects in the right direction" (A. Dagan).

R. Aberjel (illustration 5.13), a leader of resident group from Jerusalem who was also involved in the D&R in the Neighbourhood of Mamila and many others, insisted that due lack of trust between residents and officials, only schemes operated by external experts independent from officials, would do:

> If residents [were] getting professional consultancy and support, this should be an independent advisory body due to the bad reputation government institutions have in these neighbourhoods. (R. Aberjel)

Some resident groups insisted on training and thus decided to initiate training themselves where they knew such schemes were not provided by the authorities:

We arranged such courses for ourselves, which shows their benefits. Residents learned what their rights are and how to better achieve them. We weren't offered any courses or training schemes by authorities at all. We did ask for it but the housing company ignored us, [and] the local municipality which assisted us by funding the first group session dropped the others. We conducted some courses helping residents to learn about their rights, the housing market and the way to take care of themselves. (B. Arajuani, illustration 5.6)

Another group in Tel Aviv confirm a similar experience as the group leader describes:

We haven't been offered any courses or training schemes at all, therefore all activities deemed to increase resident knowledge are operated by the community and funded privately. We applied for support from the local municipality but were refused. (S. Keshet)

Equally well, E. Shachar, a resident from Tel Aviv, when reflecting on his past social experience, felt that had he been offered such courses, he would not have failed while negotiating with his local bodies and could have better represented his rights:

It is very important and necessary. Had I [had] the option to gain such capabilities, let's say negotiation skills, I could have protected myself from being misled by the housing company. (E. Shachar)

Training schemes initiated by residents appear to have had a significant impact on their empowerment. One resident revealed how training helped him while defending his rights during the project in his neighbourhood:

Education and training courses are definitely important. My personal activity helped me to gain more knowledge and gave me some opportunities to implement the skills I have gained. I feel that it helped me to smoothly get into my position as residents' representative, whether on the local residents' committees or whether it was at the national level where I participated in managerial and government boards. Indeed, the fact that officials were so shocked by residents' resistance to the project shows how undervalued residents were, or how disconnected officials were from the neighbourhoods and from residents' needs (S. Meidani)

The great impact of training was also noted by G. Golan, a local leader from the neighbourhood of Kfar Gvirol in Rehovot:

Training schemes give residents tools to learn how to do things, yet importantly the ability to merge into bigger and more complicated systems, as we successfully impact the project in this neighbourhood. (G. Golan)

Based on such experience, residents insisted that their skills were improved mainly by courses that were designed and operated by external experts and not by the authorities:

> We consulted and were supported by independent experts external to the project, as officials did not assume we were capable of dealing with such issues and thus rebuff provision of such courses to us. (R. Aberjel)

A. Dagan held a similar view saying that the huge mistrust between authorities and residents made such initiatives impossible to be delivered by the government and accepted by residents:

> I'm suggesting an independent body supervising resident operations to prevent actual inappropriate management decisions and suspicions against residents' corruption. (A. Dagan)

In general, training programmes were not offered during D&R and residents consequently argued that this showed that authorities did not assume residents could contribute or appreciate residents' opinion:

> No training schemes were offered to us. I would say that authorities are very comfortable with a situation where residents don't know much and stay poor. (D. & R. Balsi)

> I don't think that educating residents is prioritised as being in officials' interests at all; this is not Europe here. Had we [had] an offer, I would have gladly joined. I say to authorities, don't eliminate us just because we gain most of our education from daily experience, 'a street-wisdom' sometime more effective than others. (D. Elimelech, D. & S. Azulai)

The issue of lack of training was also noted while interviewing random residents:

> I once had a course to help me to finish my studies and get a diploma that was operated by the job centre. I was offered nothing similar from the housing company. Had I been offered any courses, I would have loved to have gone. (M. Hamudi)

The vast majority of residents supported the idea of training and education schemes, and those who participated in the few that were offered confirmed that the courses contributed greatly to their involvement and their sense of community responsibility. However, the majority of residents complained that these schemes were absent officially and when delivered after all, it was self-initiated or operated by NGO.

Non-residents agreed that training and education schemes were not available to residents under the D&R. Implementers doubted the ability of residents to develop

managerial skills through training courses and thus it were never planned as part of the programme. However, members of the informers/supporters group and even a few among the implementers consider training as important.

Members of the informers/supporters agree the importance of training schemes to better improve residents knowledge and participation, but they admit that such courses had not been offered to residents:

> Education, financial and specific expertise can contribute to residents and improve their ability to influence decisions; running a budget, for instance, is not a straightforward matter to an ordinary residents and needs to be taught in order to settled in . I don't remember training courses (either by the government or the housing companies). Had such schemes been offered, I am confident that many of the residents would have liked to join in. (R. Avnimelech)

Some argue that training courses are a long term vision, which not necessarily politicians or officials' agenda as they plan for the short term normally in order to keep their positions in place:

> Such courses, with long-term effects, have not been offered to residents, as very few measured and planned for the long-term. (J.P. Alalo, M. Margalit)

S. Asheri (illustration 5.14), a social activist in one of the main NGOs active in Israel , described their role to cover the gap left by the government in providing training for residents having learnt that that was what the local community wanted:

> Residents need to fill gaps in many subjects, such as financial issues, running budgets, negotiating and conciliating, setting plans and prioritising between the alternatives given to them. We — as an NGO — conducted a few empowerment courses for residents, [and] we also support local management initiatives. (S. Asheri)

Among implementers, views were different. Some mentioned that training is unnecessary as it almost impossible to improve the abilities of poor residents anyway:

> You can't teach leadership. If you haven't got it you won't get it anywhere. You might be able to improve leadership skills among current leaders, but how many among disadvantaged residents have that potential at all? Almost none. (S. Ben Eliahu)

Dr Pialkof, who is supportive of such schemes and convinced of their contribution, admitted that they have not yet become established in social housing policy planning in Israel:

> Courses offer real empowerment potential to residents. In theory residents are given tools that improve their independence, in practice, though, housing policy in Israel is still far from that, especially when the common belief is that residents shouldn't be trusted. (Dr C. Pialkoff)

D&R did not offer training, and the new Urban Renewal Scheme announced in 2006 which promised to deliver where the D&R failed, also does not include training and education schemes. The reason for this, according to the head of the programme in the Housing Ministry, is not through lack of recognition of their importance but lack of control, since the programme is to be operated privately. S. Eldor insists that these courses should be part of the local municipality's contribution to the new scheme but cannot be part of the agreement between the government and the private developer:

> Training schemes are important. If it helps anyone to gain some education through that and it pushes them forward, it is definitely for the better. [While] it is important to remember that my department coordinates between the government and private developers, who definitely won't invest [in] or operate such schemes, this is the duty of other government bodies. However, [if] these courses can be operated, I'd assume developers would be more than happy to benefit from them. The budget to fund such courses could also be found by local municipalities, but never from private constructors. (S. Eldor)

Summary

Non-residents agree that training and education schemes can make a contribution to residents, but they were missing from D&R. Moreover, many confirm that training is important and could potentially benefit projects. Implementers, however, feel that training does not necessarily have a positive impact on residents and projects and, thus, should not be included. Some felt that there was is a lack of interest in training amongst professionals.

5.5.5. Satisfaction with D&R: Overview

Another focal issue discussed in interviews was the level of satisfaction with the D&R programme. Residents were generally dissatisfied with the D&R as they were dissatisfied with public policy in general. Non-residents who had a role in programme operations were also dissatisfied with the programme impacts and with resident participation in it. Overall, participants have classified the D&R a social failure. One sign of the lack of communication and lack of cooperation between residents and authorities is the gap between residents' expectations and the government programme's plan. The failure was

well known in Vadi Saliv, it was evident that conditions have not improved but in fact, the opposite. The sense of failure was also evident in the Neighbourhood of Cardboard, even though its design was based on lessons learnt in Vadi Saliv. The government plan was to hand responsibility to private developers and they expected this would grant residents greater influence if they were able to negotiate with developers directly. Analysing residents' feedback, however, reveals that they expected the authorities to remain responsible for their social and housing conditions.

The following table provides a summary of participants' assessment of their satisfaction with D&R in general and with government support of resident participation in the programme.

Table 5: Levels of satisfaction with Public Policy during the D&R

Level of Satisfaction	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Residents	**20**	**33**	**53**
• Leaders	11	7	18
• Common participants	4	13	17
• Random	5	13	18
Non-residents	**21**	**12**	**37**
• Informers	10	10	21
• Implementers	9	2	13
• Decision Makers	2	0	3

Source: Israeli NRP survey - Guy Doron, 2005– 09 [33]

A large majority of residents (72%) declared themselves dissatisfied with public policy during the D&R, its outcomes, housing conditions and the social services provided to their communities. Dissatisfaction from the D&R is far more pronounced than in the other programmes investigated in this research and provides evidence for residents' claims that public policy was negative which resulted in solutions that did not address their actual needs and expectations.

More than half of non-residents, however, reported various levels of satisfaction regarding the D&R. Again, dissatisfaction rates expressed by non-residents were higher in

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[33] N/A residents 0; Non residents 4; informers 1, implementers 2, decision makers 1

D&R than in any other programme investigated in this research. Members of the informers/supporters group classified the programme as unsatisfactory, in line with residents, as many of them joined residents' activities and were as frustrated at their inability to impact on decisions. Implementers, on the other hand, wish to believe that the new innovation of privatise the programme improve the operation as it allows residents direct access to developers and, therefore, greater opportunities to influence results.

Results were slightly different when it came to measuring residents' with participation in the D&R. The table below is a summary of participants' assessment of their satisfaction concerning their role in the investigated case studies of D&R (the total number is lower than in Table 5).

Table 6: Levels of satisfaction with residents' participation in the investigated case studies

Level of satisfaction	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Residents	**10**	**8**	**18**
• Leaders	6	2	8
• Moderate participants	2	4	6
• Random	2	2	4
Non-residents	**4**	**10**	**14**
• Informers	1	8	9
• Implementers	1	2	3
• Decision Making	2	0	2

Source: Israeli D&R survey - Guy Doron, 2005–09[34]

The results in Table 6 appear to be incompatible with the previous set, with a little more than half of residents (55.6%) who experienced the D&R satisfied with their participation. This outcome different from the previous question and that's require an explanation; Where residents felt satisfied with their participation, it was not due to the provision of formal opportunities to participate. Instead, respondents explained that their mutual opposition to the project's format improved community cohesion and civil awareness. This

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[34] N/A: **Residents** – 0; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 0; Random – 0; **Non-residents** – 0; Informers – 0; Implementers – 0; Decision-makers – 0.

can be seen in the results collected from leaders. They was the most satisfied sub-group amongst the residents, although had no share in the formal decision making of a project, and this was due mainly to their role in organising protests against the proposed projects. Although highly dissatisfied with the public policy in general during the D&R (as presented in table 5), they were pleased with the progress they had managed to achieve on their own and, thus, described themselves as satisfied with their participation (which was a 'self-made' one).

Some might suggest that there is a methodological problem in cases where residents are satisfied with their participation although not with the outcome. We must emphasise that dissatisfaction with the programme's outcome was evident across the entire resident spectrum. However, since this research also went one step further and interviewed residents of varying status and at different levels of empowerment, we can present more complex data, for instance satisfaction with the overall outcome of a programme and a unique personal assessment of empowerment, or how the programme and its frustrating outcome impacts personal empowerment.

The majority of the non-residents (71%) involved in the D&R were dissatisfied with resident participation. Note that non-residents measured participation as having been in the actual programme itself, and as such, residents' participation was lacking. Those who were satisfied felt that residents' influence had increased as a result of the privatisation of the programme, as this had allowed them direct negotiation with developers. Still, among those who personally experienced the projects in the analysed case studies, this belief has rarely been articulated.

Residents were almost all dissatisfied with the D&R outcomes. While some respondents attributed the failure to their own lack of unity, many believed that it was the result of the negative public policy toward their involvement.

An oft-repeated theme in the interviews was that the programme's poor outcomes were the result of the officials' negative attitude towards residents' participation:

> I'm very dissatisfied. We are extremely disappointed, not only that the living conditions in this neighbourhood are poorer, [but also that] the lack of government support has caused further deterioration in our social and community conditions. (D. & R. Balsi)

> The project was a total failure and our attempts to be involved were denied; therefore, our involvement could be described as unsatisfactory and irrelevant. (A. Dagan, D. Elimelech)

Even among those in the random sample, a great deal of dissatisfaction was expressed:

> I'm very dissatisfied with the way we were treated, as a citizen that always followed the rules, I was plotted against! Not only was my home taken away from me, [but] I was also deceived during the project. (E. Shachar)

> I'm very dissatisfied. We have no social services, no proper education; all we have is our community to support each other, we don't trust politicians. We are desperate. (M. Hamudi)

A number of *residents* wanted to emphasise that, although they failed to change negative public policy, their internal cooperation as a community has improved because of these challenges:

> I'm not satisfied with the project, as we have yet to achieve any progress in our negotiations for fair compensation. Still, I'm satisfied with our involvement in the protests against the implementation of the project and as we stood together for our rights against the developer. (S. Meidani, B. Arajuani, G. Golan)

> Personally, we are satisfied, as our unity managed to get us a fair trade deal, but the fact that it began without consulting the other residents in the neighbourhood resulted in the current situation, where the project is stuck and many among us have yet to agree terms. (D. & S. Azulai)

Residents, especially leaders, were encouraged by their ability to inspire their communities and foster community cohesion against the D&R in their neighbourhoods. At the same time, residents evaluated the D&R programme in general as insufficient in terms of both participation and public policy that the programme offers . The fact that the D&R programme failed to involve residents or to offer better local services produced poor results in neighbourhoods where the D&R was operated, regardless of whether it was central government led or private.

Views varied between members of the informers/supporters (dissatisfaction) and implementers (satisfaction).

Most informers/supporters, as they were involved with resident groups, noted their dissatisfaction with the public policy towards residents' involvement:

> I'm mostly dissatisfied with the D&R and with the government attitude, especially to residents, as it was unfair and negative. (J. P. Alalo, M. Margalit, R. Avnimelech)

Some implementers were impressed with residents cohesiveness, and although agree the overall programme was a failure, they believe the protest inspired social and community cohesion that in the long term could have a positive impact:

> I'm partly satisfied. Lobbying for social policy is involving and inspiring for every community, let alone for a disadvantaged one. There is no doubt that residents benefited from and were empowered through their protests against the structure of the project. Yet maintaining this achievement is a long process that requires full and long lasting commitment and has many crises along the way. (S. Asheri)

Implementers, however, were generally pleased with the way the new Urban Renewal scheme had been conducted:

> Up till now, wherever we have initiated the new urban renewal scheme , we have received full cooperation from residents and the local municipality. Indeed, we can see that projects lifts the financial value of an area, renewing facilities and attracting new residents. I would assume that this is the reason for us getting the support of all parties involved. (S. Eldor)

Implementers felt that their attitude towards residents' participation was appropriate, and that if residents' influence *had* been insufficient, this was only because of their incompetence:

> I'm very dissatisfied with residents' low level of involvement. This low level is mainly because of the separation between different groups of residents. People are spread up and down the country, not united in community groups, not organised in pressure groups and this is added to by their financial and social weaknesses anyway. This lack of residents' power, reflects the low importance housing issues get. (Dr C. Pialkoff)

The former Managing Director of the Housing Ministry admitted that officials are not motivated to lead policy change and residents cannot expect innovations from their political representatives. The fact that residents of poor neighbourhoods failed to organise in a pressure group, resulted in their dissatisfaction:

> The common resident was ignored as having no importance really. The government operational system is designed firstly to protect its employees — i.e., to allow them to retire with dignity. Any changes and transformations are not recommended and, indeed, most government bodies are unable to bring on new innovations create new policies. Reforms are generally perceived by officials as dangerous and threatening initiatives and can only be forced on government bodies or initiated by outsiders or by the treasury section. In this respect the new urban scheme is an example of innovative solution by the state to remove obstacles from developers and allowed them to act freely. (S. Ben Eliahu)

Summary

Residents were generally dissatisfied with the D&R outcomes, in fact, many believed that the government's attitude was a major factor in the programme's failure. Some of the participants in the analysed case studies felt that, with a greater sense of community, they could minimise the negative impact of the programme since the majority of residents admitted that they were given confidence by the local activities and by the fact that they managed to postpone and prevent the operation of projects that were not in their interest. Non-residents' views, however, were varied; members of the informers/supporters group echoed the dissatisfaction experienced by residents (and the fact that they still managed to act locally to protest against the project), while implementers opposed that view and believed the new urban scheme represent a positive change, still agree that residents failed to push for better public service because they were not united.

5.5.6. Negative Public Policy – The Impact of Social Unrest

One key issue that emerged from the interviews and which was used by tenants to illustrate their frustration toward the negative public policy during the D&R was the role of social unrest (which many residents consider as their main form to protest against the D&R and their exclusion from influence decision making). Most residents who experienced the D&R were also involved in demonstrations and protests. This fact in itself proves their dissatisfaction with their exclusion from the decision-making process and the prejudiced attitudes they perceived in officials. Demonstrations, although contributing to residents' unity, did not change government attitudes. Social unrest in the analysed case studies appear in many forms from violent riots (in Vadi Saliv) to vocal protests which did not necessarily involve violence, even if in many cases they ended in physical confrontation when the police were called to the scene. The case of 'Vadi Saliv' is different; the riots were considered the most severe social unrest in Israeli history. The eruption of violence in Vasdi Saliv left one fatality and many injured over the few days of the police's 'siege' of the neighbourhood, but that was an exception. Social unrest was, in most cases, a collective action by residents who wanted to escalate their protest and make a more vocal presentation of their distress.

To many, resident protest was perceived as empowering for the local community. Residents were coordinated in their protest against a project in their neighbourhood that they considered likely to worsen their social and housing conditions. Moreover, their

forcefully and consistently stated demands to be included in the decision making shows an empowered response, one in which residents were sure of their capabilities, aware of their rights, and clear on what their proper role in project management should be. In many cases, these demonstrations also helped garner positive public relations and attracted media attention (illustration 5.15).

Despite the protests' empowering consequences which were noted by both residents and non-residents, when measuring its impact on policy, there is no evidence that they managed to change the government's approach or convinced it to accept the residents' demands. Yet protests did postpone and even sometimes revised plans which had been against their interests and, importantly, prevented developers taking on a particular project when they realised the seriousness of resident opposition.

In general, residents felt that demonstrations had raised public awareness but failed to make an impact on policy. While there was a sense that the demonstrations had consolidated individual communities, many respondents also described the violence protesters had suffered. The severity of the police response left many residents feeling that any gains made in the protests were essentially pyrrhic.

Most residents confirmed that demonstrations had been a response to their exclusion from influence decisions. As a tool to raise these issues, some still felt that the protests had been worthwhile:

> Demonstrations were highly successful as it got us some media coverage, which was what we aimed for. Many residents took part in these demonstrations; we managed to block some roads and raise public attention. (S. Keshet, D. Elimelech)

Although the protests attracted media attention, they were clearly considered to have failed to impact policy or allow residents a share in management. The protests did, however, have an impact on evictions and in some cases helped prevent them, as Adika and Balsi, protest organisers from Jerusalem and Tel Aviv (respectively) explain:

> I organised the protests in response to the eviction orders, [and] there were around 300 participants. Although we managed to raise awareness about the issue, and we proved our resilience to decision makers, apart [from] some media coverage and marginal PR, nothing significant happened and we had no consequence on the project. (D. & R. Balsi, Z. Adika)

Another issue mentioned repeatedly by residents was the disproportionate use of power against them by the police during the protests. This not only illustrated the negative

public policy towards their involvement, but also, in this testimonial, drove home the ultimate ineffectiveness of protest:

> The price we paid for that [protesting] though was high, as we were beaten like hell; we were treated very violently by the police. It was almost four years of encampment and the demonstrations kept up all along. Unfortunately, I can't say we were rewarded for that. (B Arajuani, R. Aberjel)

D, Azulai, described a similar pattern in the demonstrations held in Tel Aviv:

> There were severe demonstrations in this neighbourhood, and on one occasion, someone even found his death as we were treated with violence. (D. & S. Azulai)

Although most residents were proud of the resilience of their community, as demonstrated in protests, there were also different views among residents as to the role of these protests. G. Golan, on reflection, stated that the emotional damage the demonstrations had on the neighbourhood, which was already stigmatised as poor and badly behaved, was greater in the long run than any successes protesters might have enjoyed at the time, and therefore in his community they chose not to protest but to negotiate with the authorities:

> In our neighbourhood we had no demonstrations. Our experience shows that when a demonstration comes to its end, nobody promises that problems are about to be solved, while it is guaranteed, though, that the stigmatisation of the community is certain. Peoples' memories from such protests are negative rather than positive, and that surely does not help the community to take pride in itself. (G. Golan)

Non-residents varied in their views about social unrest. Many agreed that demonstrations had not changed policy, while informers/supporters noted that demonstrations made a massive contribution to residents' participation. Implementers denied any such claims about the significance of demonstrations in changing their attitudes.

S. Asheri supported the demonstrations and eulogized about their impact:

> We, as an NGO that supports resident groups, played a key role in operating demonstrations and protests. The demonstrations gave people a sense of togetherness and built up the community which was positive; it is important to remember that most of the residents involved in these projects are coming with a heavy load of trampled dignity, which they suffered from during most of their lives. Demonstrations helped to build up their confidence and

> self- belief. Going all the way to arranging demonstrations, to take [responsibility] for all arrangements and to put everything into practice was a very hard thing to do but, at the same time, a very empowering process. (S. Asheri)

R. Avnimelech was mainly impressed by the impact protests had had on building up the local community:

> Overall, the protests helped residents to get positive PR for their problems and needs; they also helped residents to publicly express their views, complaints and suggestions. Residents operated the protests; the vast majority of planning and organisation issues were dealt with by the residents, and this was also reflected in their share among the participants, which was high. (R. Avnimelech)

P. Alalo, who was both a social activist and a member of the Jerusalem council, spoke about how these demonstrations were greeted by officials and admitted that they were intimidating:

> The first response from officials was of panic, as they had bad experiences with social riots in Jerusalem. Officials feared the repercussions of protests and focused on residents' leaders, trying to eliminate them. (J. P. Alalo)

> By contrast, other implementers were less positive about the effect protest had on policy. They claimed that demonstrations had no real influence on their behaviour and that protests were operated mainly by politically motivated residents and not the very poor. Thus, they questioned whether protest truly represented residents' dissatisfaction:

> I was very unsupportive of the demonstrators. I thought that those who are unable to protest deserve more support than those who are protesting. It was immoral in my view to positively respond to those who had the time and ability to attend demonstrations at the expense of others who were unable to. I know for a fact that demonstrators were guided to [pressure] decision makers and threaten us in order to extort help, and I didn't take decisions under pressure. (S. Ben Eliahu)

Dr Pialkof also contended that the impact of the demonstrations on policy making was negligible:

> The rules are equal and identical everywhere, even if that means facing demonstrators from time to time or hosting tent camps outside the Ministry. (Dr C. Pialkoff)

Summary

Protests were a collective effort by residents and thus positive in terms of participation, but they also had a negative impact as many residents felt frustrated by being neglected and abandoned and, thus, questioned the value of their community activities. Informers considered demonstrations to have been an influential tool for encouraging resident participation; implementers, however, felt that protest simply perpetuated the negative attitudes that residents widely attributed to officials.

5.6. Another Form of D&R: A Comparison

A second theme that emerged during interviews was a comparison made by residents of the analysed D&R case studies with another form of D&R project conducted during the eviction from Gaza. Central to this comparison was the notion that in this D&R project, residents received preferential treatment due to political connections and thus have better services and improved solutions. Participants in this research used this example to demonstrate that a positive public policy could have contributed to the programme operations and could potentially have increased its success. Residents were all aware of the process and could assess the terms that were presented to residents of Gaza in order to be able to offer their opinions on the case study. Moreover, we have also conducted interviews with residents of the evicted communities in Gaza to ensure equality in the data presented. The eviction of residents from the Gaza Strip was considered a form of D&R since residents were evacuated from their homes, their homes demolished and residents relocated, it has not been analysed in this research as a case study since it was not operated in a poor neighbourhood per se. Nevertheless, in both cases, residents underwent relocation and were offered replacement housing, therefore participants interviewed to this research, considered the eviction from Gaza as comparable to the D&R operated in poor neighbourhoods (illustrations 5.16, 5.17 & 5.18).

The table below summarises interviewees' responses, comparing the eviction processes. The majority of residents (70%) believed that public policy towards settlers during the D&R in Gaza was more positive than in the analysed D&R case studies. Views were based on a comparison between public policy in each of the cases and presented in the following index order: Residents of the Gaza D&R were better treated throughout the eviction and demolish (1), Residents of the Gaza D&R were poorly treated throughout the process (2), Both groups were equally treated – fairly (3), Both groups were equally treated – badly (4).

Table 7: Participants' comparison of public policy regarding eviction and demolish

Comparison	1	2	3	4	Total
Residents	**36**	**1**	**3**	**8**	**53**
• leaders	14	1	1	2	18
• moderate participants	13	0	0	4	17
• random sample	9	0	2	2	17
Non – residents	**17**	**11**	**4**	**4**	**37**
• informers	12	4	1	4	21
• implementers	3	6	3	0	31
• decision-makers	2	1	0	0	3

Source: Israeli D&R survey - Guy Doron, 2005–09[35]

5.6.1 Participant perspectives

The majority of residents (70%) believed that public policy towards settlers was more positive which resulted in better social care, compensation and better relocation solutions for residents evicted from Gaza:

> In our neighbourhoods, we got nothing, no compensation or any other financial assistance that would allow us to relocate. In the ex-settlements of Gaza, residents received millions, which could buy them a luxury home in any other part of the country. (R. Aberjel, Golan)

> When residents lived in Gaza were relocated, they were offered full compensation for what they had lost. I haven't been offered anything yet, nor asked or consulted, not to mention negotiated with. (S. Meidani, D. Benisti)

> During the eviction in the Neighbourhood of Cardboard we experienced the same problems and expressed the same needs (as in the disengagement GD), but received nothing. Moreover, we were penalised by officials for acting as a community and raising these demands. (A. Dagan)

Political lobbying of residents of the Gaza settlements' D&R resulted in a generally more positive public policy in response to their demands, which was seen by participants in this research to have resulted in better solutions:

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[35] N/A: **Residents** – 5; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 0; Random – 5; **Non-residents** – 1; Informers – 0; Implementers – 1; Decision-makers – 0.

> When it comes to the compensation schemes, it's pretty obvious that residents in Gaza were better treated mainly since settlers were united, better linked and operated a very strong political lobby, which brought them more power to resist and to raise their compensation price tag… and to force the government to legislate a quick law authorising the additional benefits for residents in this D&R. (B. Arajuani)

At the same time, residents who experienced the disengagement D&R, believed it was another failed D&R project. Many among the relocated settlers complained about negative public policy towards their needs (Shragai, 2007), especially the delay in preparing new solutions after the eviction:

> I was not [eligible] for any housing assistance, just compensation for suffering. The rest of the community members were disassembled and dispersed among the temporary sites built to house the evacuees, which looked like a bunch of caravans — disorganised, unplanned and mainly squalid and unattractive, like in the poor neighbourhoods. They were inappropriate and highly unappealing sites to live in. (Shulavich, illustration 5.19)

The experience in Gaza D&R brought some of them to understand the impact of empowerment, sense of power and also to feel the difference when their influence collapsed:

> We almost controlled the creation of our communities, during which we had great contacts and excellent accessibility to decision makers. However, during the demolishing process, residents' level of participation dropped to ignorance. (Shulavich)

> …during the eviction process, we didn't want any negotiation whatsoever. State officials were anxious to talk to us, but we rejected that. We were in a war and you don't negotiate with your enemy. (Zur)

So confident were they in their ability to sway decisions, residents in the disengagement D&R rejected any attempt to negotiate their relocation or the social aspects of their new status, believed whichever decision if it's not going their way they would be able still to manipulate it:

> Our local leaders ignored the reality and told us that the whole idea of the demolishing was like a bad dream that was about to be cancelled, and, therefore, we weren't really prepared to be evicted, and no one had plans for the day after, not only when it came to housing, but also in job allocation or other social services or other fields. (Shulavich)

> When the eviction started and the soldiers came to take us out, we were in the middle of an ordinary lunch; we didn't pack anything and were not prepared [for] any change in our life style. It was only [a] few days later, when the eviction [was] completed, that we returned to pack our belongings. (Halfa)

A consequence of the huge dissatisfaction among residents whose influence dropped dramatically when they realized they had failed to change the government's decision, was to drop out of the Israeli political mainstream, *to "disengage" from the state* (Ne'eman & Chodof, 2006). The project had further repercussions, such as social alienation that caused strong communities to break down (Dayan, 2007), or the negative impact on the younger generation. A report made by evacuees (Shragai, 2006), shows that 30% of school children avoided school; dozens admitted to thoughts of suicide; and 12 attempted suicide. Residents who lived in the Gaza settlement confirmed:

> We [were] transformed from involved and very active citizens into apathetic [ones.] I couldn't believe it but, after what we have been through, I actually tried to convince my brother to give up his voluntary army service. In our view now, the common and blind belief in the state as a value is over and there nothing to fight for; it all turned out to be a big nasty political game that we are not part of anymore. We have been betrayed by our country. I remembered my mum in the hotel moaning and crying all day long, which broke my heart, then I started to be apathetic. I was thinking to myself: if the government [doesn't] care about us, why should we care about them? (Shulavich)

Another similarity between the D&R projects was the sense of residents' dissatisfaction which in practice seen in protests. Residents who felt that their needs had been ignored became frustrated, and this was channelled into social unrest and demonstrations. In all mentioned D&R, residents suffered from strong government resistance towards their protests:

> We both suffered the same level of violence against our demonstrations, and evictions were undertaken despite residents' protest. (D. & S. Azulai, Z. Adika)

Although the protests were similar, resident response appears to be different. Whereas residents of Neighbourhood of Cardboard struggled to postpone the project and received no support or compensation, in the disengagement D&R, residents admitted that their experience of having been previously empowered helped them to cope with the new situation (Galili, 2007). Lior Khalfa, a local leader from the temporary evacuees' camp,

Nitzn, (illustration 5.20) said that a few months after the eviction the Minister of Housing, in his nomination ceremony (Sikoler, 2007), announced that his first priority would be to provide all that was required to re-house the evacuees:

> During the last year [after the disengagement], we had lots of visits from MPs, Ministers and even the PM himself, not to mention officials. This is because we knew how to promote ideas and lobby for our plans. (Halfa)

Another example of the difference in public policy towards the two evicted groups revealed in a media report, was parliamentary activity. While residents of the Neighbourhood of Cardboard were left to negotiate directly with the developer and when they failed to agree terms had to protest against the process in the hope of postponing its operation. In the disengagement D&R, a law was proposed that would double the compensation for evacuees who were housed in temporary camps until they could move to permanent housing.

An indication of the strong lobbying power of the residents lived in the settlements evicted from Gaza (illustration 5.21), came when a reporter asked the MP (Amnon Cohen from the National Religious Sephardic Party) who had proposed the law about the logic behind the proposal, compared to other D&R projects, the MP did not even remember the reason for the legislation or its rationale. Some argue that he probably received a proposal from the residents and simply ran with it:

> This is further proof that MPs rushed to submit proposals handed to them by the powerful settlers group. (Arlozorov, 2007)

As a consequence, during US President George Bush's visit to the Middle East in 2008, residents of the Cardboard demonstrated under the slogan, "Same ruling for illegal outposts and Kfar Shalem", demanding that the authorities treat them with the same consideration as settlers evicted from Gaza (Weiss, 2008). The slogan, which was meant to capture media attention, represented many residents' wishes to be treated in a more positive and tolerant way.

Non-residents generally agreed that residents of Gaza D&R had better access and support to create improved participation, while their political links also gained them better compensation for the evacuated. Most implementers felt that while there had been no undue favouritism in terms of residents' involvement, there was still rather more sympathy for the demands of those in the new settlements.

Most informers/supporters stated that the authorities handled both sets of evictions inadequately. However, settlers, due to superior political links, were offered better compensation:

> Both groups were treated unfairly and definitely improperly. Yet, the residents of settlements evicted from Gaza, were better treated as they were part of a larger and more organised group and, therefore, their ability to get more from the government was high. (R. Avnimelech, J.P. Alalo)

Implementers, on the other hand, rejected claims that settlers had been given better services. They claimed that evacuees in the disengagement D&R were correctly treated because they were legal residents, whereas if residents of the Neighbourhood of Cardboard believed they were poorly treated it was only because they did not have legal status:

> Settlers were not squatters, but legal residents, who were sent to these communities on behalf of their government and according to Israeli law. (Dr C. Pialkoff, Ravdal-Nadkov)

One decision-maker, however, confirmed that the settlers had better access to the decision-making process — and, thus, excessive rights:

> Residents evicted from Gaza gained more support than any individual ever evicted in a D&R. (R. Cohen) (illustration 5.22)

Another decision-maker (illustration 5.23) believes that the lesson from previous D&R failures were never learnt and lack of dialogue with local residents is also another reason for the failure in the Gaza D&R:

> Many mistakes were made during the disengagement from Gaza; officials didn't learn the lesson from previous D&R failures and, indeed, many evicted settlers are still in temporary housing. For future cases, I suggested an alternative programme for resident reintegration into the community. (Edelstein)

To sum up, when comparing all the D&R projects, we can assume that budgets and financing alone does not guarantee success; residents' involvement is equally important, according to participants'' views and project outcomes.. When funds are provided but residents' involvement is absent, the chances of failure are higher.

5.7 Conclusions

Residents of poor neighbourhoods affected by D&R projects rated their level of participation in the project as low. Non-residents assessed residents' participation as having reached moderate levels. Residents, although most believed that they could influence projects constructively, generally seemed to aspire to training and guidance. All agreed that these had not been provided.

Residents say that public policy towards their participation was negative, while non-residents again assessed policy as moderate. To combat the effects of negative policy, residents protested, and although these demonstrations may have improved their sense of community, they did not change policy.

With regard to the two main factors defining empowerment, D&R, whether controlled by the government or private-sector developers, is now inextricably linked with low levels of success. This would appear to confirm the main hypothesis of this research: that resident involvement in decision-making can contribute to the successful management of housing projects, since when participation is low and public policy is not supportive the consequence is opposite to success. Further analysis will attempt to assess what the consequences of higher resident participation are and what more supportive public policy could offer.

The next chapter will discuss the Neighbourhood Renewal project.

Chapter 6
The Neighbourhood Renewal Programme

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the Neighbourhood Renewal Programme (NRP), introduced by Israeli Prime Minister Menachim Begin in 1979 and still in existence today, although in a far more limited form. The Programme, a centrepiece of the first Likud government, initially used central government funding to regenerate increasingly dilapidated social-housing areas. It is important to note that NRP estates are different from the Demolish and Rebuild estates discussed in the previous chapter, as they were built more recently and their housing conditions were not as poor as in the neighbourhoods that required demolition. However, the NRP is central to this research in that it is the only social-housing programme in the country's history to have explicitly set resident involvement and empowerment as a goal. The roots of this decision lay in the support the Likud party received from the urban poor in the 1977 election following social tension and unrest, and the programme reflected a more inclusive approach than subsequently followed by later Likud governments. The new regime prioritised the programme as the main solution to the deprivation and frustration that was thought to have caused the political response and the government's flagship social programmes (Liron & Shapiro, 1984: 1) Prime Minister Begin (illustration 26). defined the aims of the programme thus:

> *To improve infrastructures, housing facilities and levels of services.*

> *To improve the opportunities for residents in education and employment in particular.*

> *To increase the involvement and participation of residents in their neighbourhoods, strengthening their confidence and open up opportunities to better integrate into community and society.* (International Committee for Evaluation of the Neighbourhood Renewal Project, 1983)

26. Menachim Begin 1913–92, Israeli Prime Minister between 1977 and 1983. Known for introducing the NRP. Source: http://funnyfames.com/menachem-begin.html

The significance of the NRP was more than the renovation of building exteriors and yards (see illustration 3.9), it was its innovative idea to allow local residents to participate in project management and in order to ensure this, officials established local steering committees composed of officials and local residents in equal numbers.

The NRP began as the flagship of the social housing policy and contributed to housing and social change in over 100 neighbourhoods (illustration 27). Over the last decade, however, government investment in the programme has declined. The following sections provide an assessment of the programme in terms of empowerment (residents' participation and public policy towards this participation), as presented in governmental surveys and academic resources from the early days of the programme (6.2), and new evidence on the empowerment of residents collected in NRP case studies (6.3). The last section (6.4) offers conclusions.

27. <u>Begin visiting a Neighbourhood Renewal Project in Ofakim</u>, The PM gives his personal support to the programme with a site visit. Source: residents' archive.

6.2 Early Surveys of the NRP

There are many who have researched the urban aspects of the NRP but only few have investigated residents and their needs. What follows here are two of the focal analyses made, one which asked residents about their views and the other which provided an external evaluation of management boards and the share of residents on them. A primary research source on resident involvement in the NRP and how the project impacted social policy is the Ministry of Housing's five-year survey, published in 2003. This is the most recent governmental analysis of the programme and forms the most comprehensive database. It includes 2,300 questionnaires and its results were compared with data from five earlier surveys starting in 1983 in order to assess longer-term trends. A second source is the research study conducted by Ruth Liron and Shimon Shapiro of the Sapir Centre at Tel Aviv University in 1984. This study assessed residents' involvement in NRP management boards. These two sources, along with more-recent research, will be weighed against my results from interviews conducted recently with residents and officials who were directly involved in the NRP.

In the early days of the NRP, when the programme designed and monitored by experts with social orientation, authorities genuinely cared about residents' views and therefore assessed them constantly. One of the most comprehensive reports conducted by the Housing Ministry includes data collected directly from residents. In brief, this survey concluded that the NRP offered external improvement to unit conditions and residents were invited to participate in management boards, but their impact on project management

was limited. Long-held beliefs that renovations could improve housing conditions and upgrade property values remains widespread (Mirovski, 22.4.05). Still, the NRP had another stated goal — to push residents to join in the managing boards, to allow them a real opportunity to influence decisions and to localise social services making them more accessible to local residents. Although some have implied that heavy financial and social constraints prevented residents from taking a meaningful role in board operations, survey results showed the opposite — that residents were very keen to impact decision making (MOH, 2003; Kolka, 2007). The survey also analysed to what extent resident involvement materialised, what roles residents had and what impact they have made on board operations. This survey offers insights on residents' views of the programme in its early days.

6.2.1. Resident satisfaction

The initial point of view of those that ran the survey was to collect information on board operation from those other than officials. In order to understand what the residents' role was, researchers observed board operation. Residents were less satisfied with the external contribution the NRP delivered and were rather happier with the internal condition of their houses (which was under their responsibility). This has implications for a wider more important rule, according to which responsibility brings commitment and also higher rates of satisfaction; where the housing company was responsible for the service without sharing its decision-making with residents, resident commitment was lower and so were satisfaction rates.

Table 8 below presents satisfaction rates among residents in 11 different NRP operated all across the country (a list of neighbourhoods and locations is in Appendix 3:3). The first two rows discussing external aspects, while the third issue represent internal conditions. Satisfaction rates for the first two parameters (which are a result of the NRP) were balanced compared with more than 85% who were satisfied from the internal conditions of their units (which is not under the NRP). Satisfaction rates from the NRP were therefore low..

Table 8: Level of satisfaction with external and internal impact of the NRP on housing conditions

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	Total
Building well kept	45.7	52.1	37.4	23.5	59.2	39.9	60.0	42.3	13.4	51.2	36.2	42.8
Yard and surroundings well kept	44.1	48.0	36.3	30.0	63.8	32.1	54.5	45.7	14.9	47.6	51.1	42.2
Unit well kept	86.9	93.7	89.5	87.7	90.5	95.5	92.3	87.6	67.6	85.1	95.0	88.1

Source: MOH, 2003

In comparative analysis of surveys conducted between 1983 and 2002 (see Appendix 2:5) higher dissatisfaction rates (or the aspect needs the highest attention) in almost each survey was with neighbourhoods' external façade, although urban experts, who evaluated the programme between 1999 and 2003, revealed that housing facilities had improved and that budgets were directed to social services, but there is no evidence that this investment left its mark on residents (Carmon, 2003).

Overall, residents indicated a deterioration in living standards, despite the programme (*Haaretz*, 24.11.99), indicated that they had less impact on board operation (Bsor, 27.1.02) (illustration 28).

28. Neighbourhood Renewal Project board meeting in the city of Lod. The meeting took place in the municipality with the Mayor, the Managing Director and the Finance Controller all present. Residents are also board members. Source: http://www.lod.muni.il/show_item.asp?levelId=44600%20&itemId=3632.

74% expected to continue living in their current neighbourhoods, mainly because financial constraints left them with no other choice (Awidat, 25.12.06 and Greenberg, 2.9.05) (illustration 6.1). its fair to say that residents, in general, opposed a decrease in the programme's scope, wanting it to last longer (*Haaretz*, 25.12.06), mainly because it was the only available housing programme and residents wanted to keep the minimum they already had.

In addition, and based on similar feedback, officials admitted that improving housing conditions alone could not produce the expected social impact and that the NRP needed also to invest in people and communities (Maor, 21.11.99). Indeed, one of the NRP's stated aims was to involve residents in the programme. Ministry of Housing surveys and an analysis of the Government Appeal Committee reveal that residents' share in decision-making was lower than that targeted by the programme's aims (Tsadik, 2006). Another study has argued that residents' contributions were less effective than those of officials. Liron & Shapiro (1984) analysed NRP management groups in order to determine resident participation and influence, and their findings show that residents' actual share in decision-making was marginal.

In theory, their analysis confirms that residents were given 50% of seats in many project management boards, which on paper promised a fair chance to influence decision-making. However, in practice, residents were not fully apprised of the situation or given the ability to learn, prepare and impact decisions, but were pushed to adopt proposals already agreed by officials. Residents themselves confirmed that most decisions were essentially made before they were discussed on the boards and that they were simply asked to approve the annual programme. Plans were submitted without any opportunity to alter them. Powerful experts and/or political outsiders took control of the programme, taking advantage of the residents' disunity or their failure to understand their potentially powerful role in decision-making. Residents were captive to the ambitions and aspirations of the political regime or the experts' agendas (Liron & Shapiro, 1984).

Boards rarely convened, and most work was conducted by outside experts; residents acted simply as a rubber stamp. As participation was minimal and formal, residents tended to be apathetic and indifferent about programme aims and their ability to influence them (Liron & Shapiro, 1984: 5, 14, 23). A study conducted by the National Comptroller's Office confirms that board operation was guided by political rather than social values and that officials took the principal roles whilst residents' views were almost categorically denied (SCO, 2003) (illustration 6.2).

Residents were frustrated about not being properly advised or consulted on management boards, even more so when, according to the programme's aim, they had expected to be more involved. Resident frustration led to a decline in their participation in the programme. The survey of 2003, while offering a comparison with results of previous surveys (1986 and 1992), reveals a decline in community participation and awareness; 59% of residents were not aware of community activities and 18% were not at all aware of the existence of a committee. These figures reveal the programme's declining impact on the community, and the alienation of residents whom the programme was intended to benefit.

Other studies that have analysed the programme indicate that a lack of resident involvement damaged the potential success of the programme and argue that only residents' responsibility could develop a strong commitment to expands on façade improvements and build strong communities that would eventually free neighbourhoods from dependency (Tzadik, 2006; Kolka, 2007). Indeed, 56% of tenants declared that if given a real share in decision making, they would be willing to contribute, even voluntarily, in community activities and board operation (MOH 2003; Appendix 13) and many residents were greatly disappointed by plans to discontinue the NRP (Bronovski, 29.01.07; Haaretz, 25.12.06).

6.2.2 Assessing the quality of residents' participation
Participation was one of the stated aims of the NRP and residents were invited to participate on boards, but the main issue researchers have investigated is the quality of that participation; how deep, developed, embedded and maintained was it and what was residents' real share in management. The main factors for assessment were representation, role in board operation and share in voting.

Representation
The nature of real representation in democracy means that when residents elect their representatives, they authentically represent the whole community. If these representatives fail to meet the community's expectations they are replaced. Analysis reveals that on some boards officials and politicians nominated their most loyal and trustworthy supporters to occupy the representative slots in order to control decision-making. This has also been noted in media reports (Dayan, 11.7.01). When representatives do not represent the whole

community, not only the impact on participation is negative (Pitkin, 1973), but the confidence and trust the community should have in the programme dissolves.

Researchers also analysed representatives' performance by independent observation of board meetings, before, during and after (Liron & Shapiro, 1984: 17-18), focusing mainly on roles in operation and voting.

Roles in operation

Although they were given 50% of board seats, residents did not generally match officials' attendance figures. The highest residents' attendance observed was 33% or less. This alone put residents in the minority; moreover, even amongst those who did attend, participation was not consistent, which meant that they lost an opportunity to enhance familiarity, knowledge and expertise and help residents gain more control over the process and strengthen their status. Representatives attributed poor attendance rates to existing daytime work obligations (Liron & Shapiro, 1984: 29-33).

Officials attended boards in high levels, mainly because they had to attend as part of their job descriptions, and also because they were paid to do so. Therefore they dominated meetings and consequently set the agendas. 48% of residents on boards declared that most decisions were taken without consultation or dialogue with them; some were even run contrary to their views (Liron & Shapiro, 1984: 25–27). This led to a situation where residents' role in operation was less influential. Residents were not properly prepared for meetings. They tended to be given only a limited outline beforehand (i.e. headings and general issues). Important matters, including budget bids, tenders and annual programmes, were routinely circulated and presented *during* meetings, not beforehand, which hindered representatives' ability to prepare in advance. Even a highly-qualified negotiator would have faced difficulties in examining and assessing complex material at such short notice, let alone non-expert members. Moreover, issues raised by residents were often dealt with briefly and in a limited way at the end of meetings (Liron & Shapiro, 1984: 38–39), which led to a situation where residents' status on boards is low and their influence marginal.

Voting

Most of the teams observed avoided formal voting, and decisions reflected the official standpoint, either due to their voting power or as a result of manipulation. Researchers identified occasions on which officials cited time constraints to pressure residents to reach

an immediate decision, preventing them from being fairly and properly consulted. Residents did not initiate programmes or suggest plans; their share in evaluation, inspection or re-examination of progress was also generally seen to be irrelevant. Their role often extended only as far as choosing from options offered by officials (Liron & Shapiro, 1984: 39, 43–46, Carmon, 2003).

To sum up, although the NRP declared residents participation as a main goal, research reveals that resident representation on boards was lacking. Even among those who participated representation was inconsistent; in meetings residents did not have the time to prepare and properly negotiate issues and also their voting was not influential. Researchers thus recommended a formula to increase real participation.

6.2.3 How to Improve Residents' Participation on Boards

Research has concluded that in practice resident participation in the NRP was more declarative than influential (Liron & Shapiro, 1984: 27–28). In order to turn participation into something more meaningful, a few factors, similar to those discussed in the literature, have been mentioned: training, localisation, representation and ownership.

Training

Lack of knowledge and experience among residents was mentioned as one of the reasons for weak and ineffective participation. Training and education schemes (illustration 29 below), could assist residents in narrowing gaps and build confidence in the belief that their contribution could be effective (Edelson & Kolonder, 1968). Such schemes should be planned, designed and delivered effectively in order to reduce inequalities among board members and increase participant influence (Rosner, 1978; Chan & Camper, 1968; Liron and Shapiro 1984). That being said, where training and education schemes became available (Li, 2.3.06) — and in many cases these schemes were funded privately (Zimerman, 14.3.96) — residents' participation was evaluated as more productive and effective (Vered, 1.5.07). The contribution of training (illustration 30 below), was noted by the programme designers and passed on to a dedicated department (Service for Community Work of the Ministry of Labour and Social affairs), with the following goals:

> Active participation of residents in community life helps raise social awareness, and promotes a positive atmosphere among participants. It encourages respect for the values and life style of different groups,

promotes social and economic services, and supports and assists participants in the planning and implementation process. (Pardes, 1993)

The first training session for local leaders was set up in 1980. By 1993, 238 sessions had been held, with 4,500 residents participating (but with only 520 actually completing the courses). There are no figures after 1993, but according to residents, officials and researchers (Liron & Shapiro, 1984, Carmon, 2003) the number of courses has been greatly reduced due to budget cuts.

29. Neighbourhood Renewal Programme training course. A course in housing maintenance delivered to residents of the neighbourhood of Shimshon in Ashkelon. Funded by the NRP, the course is designed to teach residents how to provide emergency support in their community and at the same time skills to find paid work. Source: http://ashqelon.net/?p=20388

30. <u>Neighbourhood Renewal Training for Youth.</u> This is a pop group, made up mostly of new immigrants from Ethiopia in the Neot Shaked Neighbourhood in Netanya, which is funded by the NRP. Source: http://www.nrg.co.il/online/54/ART1/870/530.htm. Photo: Zeman Netanya.

Localisation

There were two types of neighbourhoods included in the NRP; a specific neighbourhood within a city and an entire municipality (in the case of a small town). When schemes were directed to specific areas and not to the whole municipality, chances of success were shown to be greater (Liron & Shapiro, 1984: 9). Other research suggests that results of projects operated locally in one neighbourhood were far better than in a city as a whole (Kim, 11.12.02). The reason for this is that dedicated project boards in a neighbourhood were formed by social workers and residents, while in townships, the local municipality took over the boards and directed the budget and services according to more general needs or a political agenda. Pateman (1970), already argues that decisions made in small geographical or economic areas are more relevant to residents and, thus, they are more motivated to participate in a project.

Democracy

As already discussed, involvement of local politicians resulted in them appointing representatives on behalf of residents rather than allowing residents to vote for their own representatives in a democratic fashion. Elections enhanced performance monitoring and allow residents to vote against those who did not serve them accordingly (Liron & Shapiro, 1984, Tzadik, 2006).

<u>Ownership</u>

This promotes commitment and responsibility. Ownership refers to either the decision making process or ownership of dwellings; both strengthen the links between residents and their area and increase commitment and a sense of responsibility. The greater the role the wider the responsibility and thus the residents' commitment. The more committed residents are the greater the chances for success.

Taking into consideration previous research and recommendations, this research aims to reveal which of the recommended practices were implemented. The definitions of the terms of this research are slightly different; representation and ownership appears under participation and training and localisation appears under public policy. The following section discusses the data collected during this research.

6.3 New Evidence from 2005 Onwards

This section presents my investigation of empowerment in the NRP and includes a detailed description of all the main features that comprised the collection of data, from a description of the case studies in 6.3.1 and the issues investigated in interviews, to the participants in 6.3.2. Interviews that discussed participation are in 6.3.3, and its continuity in 6.3.4. This chapter also discusses public policy in the programme in 6.3.5, training and education schemes in 6.3.6, satisfaction in 6.3.7, and compares them with public policy in other housing projects in 6.3.8. Finally, 6.4 offers conclusions.

This research is set apart from previous studies in that it offers a greater range of interviews that express the variety of opinions and experiences. My focus was not only on representatives (labelled as 'leaders') — those among residents who played an active role in board operation throughout the NRP — but also on other types of residents who participated in the programme, such as 'common participants' (residents who were aware of the programme and were somewhat active but not intensively and consistently), and a 'random sample' (residents who lived in a neighbourhood in which the programme was operated and were selected randomly after it was confirmed that they were aware of the programme). My analysis also includes views from different types of non-residents who were involved in the programme. For assessment of the NRP, I have interviewed participants in the following case studies that represent the different forms of communities included in the programme: neighbourhoods in Jerusalem, the city with the highest number of projects and a diverse ethnic fabric that includes new immigrants, veteran residents and ultra-Orthodox communities; neighbourhoods in Tel Aviv, the largest metropolitan city in

Israel; neighbourhoods in Rehovot, which houses the largest community of new immigrants from Ethiopia; and Holon, which has the greatest number of new immigrants from the former Soviet Union. The case studies are described in detail below.

6.3.1. The Case Studies[36]

The Neighbourhood of Katamonim in Jerusalem

This consists of 192,639 housing units, of 763,300 in Jerusalem as a whole, located to the west of the centre of Jerusalem between the neighbourhoods of Pat and Malha. Built in the 1950s to host new immigration, most of the houses are publicly funded, built and managed by governmental housing companies (illustration 6.3). At times the neighbourhood was known for, and even symbolised, nationally, high levels of crime, anti-social behaviour and poverty. At the same time, it was also a site of developed community life; many resident leaders (both locally and nationally) began their activities in this neighbourhood which still is a centre for NGO operations. This was also a neighbourhood in which social pressure mounted and was released in protests.

The Neighbourhood of Eir Ganim / Pat in Jerusalem

This is a neighbourhood located to the west of central Jerusalem between the neighbourhood of the Katamonim and the Arab village of Beit Tzafafa. Jerusalem is mostly built on mountains, but Pat is known as one of the flattest neighbourhoods in the city (illustration 6.4). It was built in the 1970s to accommodate new immigrants that had left the temporary site of Maabarot or those who were evicted from the demolished neighbourhood of Mamila. The neighbourhood was considered poor, even though it was less crowded than the Katamonim. The neighbourhood was first included in the NRP in the 1990s. Over the years the location around the neighbourhood developed dramatically with the largest shopping mall in the capital, the main football stadium and technological laboratories and became more attractive to residents. Currently the population enjoys considerably improved social and economic conditions. The neighbourhood is also a centre for the operation of NGOs and other social movements and for a school that promotes social studies.

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[36] See Appendix 5 for a comparison between all the case study neighbourhoods.

Neighbourhood of Sanhedriya / Shmuel Hanavie in Jerusalem

This is a neighbourhood in North Jerusalem, populated mainly by ultra-Orthodox Jewish groups (illustration 6.5). 54.2% of residents are Jewish (non ultra-Orthodox), 22.6% are ultra-Orthodox Jews and 23.1% are Arabs (the vast majority being Muslim). Many of the ultra-Orthodox spend their time in Yeshiva, either studying or else registered as students in order to avoid work. The number of males employed in a full time job is therefore very low; females also avoid paid employment and for religious reasons concentrate on housekeeping. Families are large and it is not unusual to find households with more than 10 children. Low employment rates and large families almost inevitably result in poverty, yet the ultra-Orthodox are strong communities with a powerful influence on decision-makers (locally and nationally), who in return reward them with excessive benefits and support (illustrations 6.6 & 6.7). The NRP was introduced in the neighbourhood in the late 1980s and is still ongoing (now funded by the local municipality in which the ultra-Orthodox representatives are powerful).

The Neighbourhood of Shapira in Tel Aviv

This neighbourhood is located on the border with Kfar Shalem on one side and with the site of the central bus station on the other (illustration 6.8). It currently has 8,500 residents and for years has been known for its poverty and population density. The neighbourhood hosts a mixture of ethnic groups, and recently, many asylum seekers from Africa which has intensified tensions between residents. Ethnic pressure was not new in the neighbourhood and began before the state was established. Then it was a conflict between Jews and Arab Muslim, now the pressure is between Jews and asylum seekers from Africa who find cheap housing solutions in the neighbourhood and build their social and cultural life and community services around it.

In the late 1960s a central bus station was built on the borders of the neighbourhood. This became an around-the-clock source of pollution, noise, poverty and anti-social behaviour. The fact that the site was located near a crowded, poor neighbourhood only invited additional tensions. The bus station is known as the 'white elephant', due to its huge, partly unoccupied structure. It is a place that offers shelter to many homeless people, asylum seekers and the unemployed in severe poverty — essentially all those who exist on the margins of society and thus a centre of violence and anti-social behaviour on an almost daily basis (illustrations 6.9 & 6.10).

Kfar Gvirol / Kiryat Moshe in Rehovot

The two neighbourhoods are attached to each other and located in the west of Rehovot, a city in central Israel (south of Tel Aviv). In 2008 Kfar Gvirol (illustration 6.11), included more than 800 families, some of them large; Kiryat Moshe, was slightly bigger and home to over 1,000 families. The neighbourhood of Kfar Gvirol was occupied by new arrivals (from Bulgaria) in the early 1950s, who a few years later were replaced by new immigrants from Yemen. In the 1960s new immigrants from Morocco arrived, in the 1970s from the former USSR, and in the 1990s from Ethiopia. Historically, the neighbourhood was known for its mixture of new immigrant populations and as such was affected by ethnic conflict, violence and anti-social behaviour (illustration 6.12 & 6.13).

In Kiryat Moshe (illustrations 6.14 & 6.15) conditions were even worse, as it was almost entirely populated by immigrants from Ethiopia. For many years residents felt neglected and unwelcome. Leaders from the neighbourhood admitted that they had to initiate their own training schemes and courses, as residents were not invited to join in any of the activities in the surrounding neighbourhoods (illustration 6.16).

Both neighbourhoods were included in the NRP but the main breakthrough was when they were adopted by the Jewish Community of Toronto which invested mainly in the residents themselves, offering training and education schemes and professional guidance.

Jessie Cohen – Holon

Poor neighbourhood in Holon which is located in the south of Tel Aviv (illustration 6.17), with 170,900 residents, founded in 1950 to host new immigrants Mostof the units are publicly funded housing and managed by the housing company Amidar. For many years the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood was low and it was known for high poverty and unemployment (illustration 6.18). It's the fourth largest neighbourhood in Holon with the highest rate of immigration and high social dependency (illustrations 6.19 & 6.20).

Kfar Maker (Jdeda-Maker)

This is an Arab village near the city of Ako. The two villages Jdeida and Maker united in 1990. In 2010 there were 18,574 residents in the village with a 2.2% growth per year (Israeli Bureau of Statistics). The village is very poor, ranked 9th on the Israeli socio-economic scale (one before the poorest), income per person is 60% below the national

average and only 57% finish their mandatory school exams (A level). 91.3% of residents are Muslims and 8.7% are Christians. This is the only Arab village with a council housing estate that is manage by Amidar (see illustration 3.11).

Kiryat Arba

This is a New Settlement east of the Palestinian city of Hebron and the urban centre of all settlements in the area. The settlement was established in 1971. The community became a municipal authority in 1981. In 2010 there were 7248 residents with 1.4% population growth (Israeli Bureau of Statistics). The municipality is in the 8th social-economy category (the second from the poorest); income per person is 60% less than the national average and 63.2% of pupils complete their studies. Almost all residents are practising Jews. There is a council housing estate in the municipality managed by Amidar (illustration 6.21). This site is unpopular for both ideological and practical reasons (some do not want to relocate to a community which is outside the Israeli State's official borders, some do not wish to relocate far from the centre of the country and its employment opportunities). The lack of demand by people with social needs pushed local community offers the units to young ideological activists who wish to live in the community.

6.3.2. Interviews

The issues investigated in interviews have been divided into two main themes: residents' participation and public policy, towards both the programme and resident participation. The first section focuses on participation, its long-term impact and influence. The second discusses various aspects of public policy; views on the level of government support of the programme, including training and education schemes, the level of satisfaction with the programme compared with other, similar, housing programmes.

Interviewees[37]

There are two groups of participants — residents and non-residents, each including a sub-groups. The residents were segregated according to their level of involvement (leaders, common participants and random sample), representing the case studies: Jerusalem (S. Vazana, B. Arajuani, D. Benisti, R. Aberjel, S. Bat Chava); Tel Aviv (A. Dagan, Elimelech, D & R. Balsi, S. Meidani), Rehovot (G. Golan, A. Zauda); Holon (F. Drix, M.

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[37] See Appendix 4 for a full list of participants.

Yashar), Hetzeliya (E.Harush); Ashdod (A. Aflalo, M. Edri) and The National Tenants Organisation (I. Twito RIP). Random samples were conducted in the case studies and also in neighbourhoods where the programme operated and which had unique characteristics, such as the Jewish ultra-Orthodox neighbourhood in Jerusalem, neighbourhoods with mixed populations of Jews, Muslims and Christian minorities, Arab Villages, settlements and neighbourhoods with high immigration rates.

The non-residents group was segregated according to title and position (informers-supporters, implementers, decision makers). Among the informers we found activists supporting residents in: the Parliament (L. Weintrob, C. Chishin); NGOs (I. Danon, S. David, B. Epstein); HaKeshet Hamizrahit, the ethnic Sephardic organisation, (Dahan); a new immigrants home manager (Y. Zelender); Jerusalem municipality members and supporters of the residents group Kol Bashchunot (P. Alalo, M. Margalit, L. Warthon); the project in Yavne (A. Merling/ Rodrig); the Katamonim and Jerusalem projects (A. Amiel, B. Epstein); Herzeliya municipality (Y. Nuri); the Jewish Agency (L. Kindler); Legal Advocacy (T. Atias); and the project in Sanhedriya (an ultra-Orthodox neighbourhood in Jerusalem) (Y. Libskind, S. Kushnir). Among the implementers were: the NRP national programme manager (A. Ravdal Ndkov, H. Hovav); the programme's designer (P. D. Shimshoni); the general manager of the Housing Ministry (S. Ben Eliahu), deputy mangers of the Housing Ministry (H. Pialkov, I Shwartz); NRP regional managers (Z. Weinstein); the former CEO of Amidar, the national housing company (T. Miara); and the project manager of Lod (I. Ilani). The decision-makers were MPs dedicated to the housing process: Ran Cohen — Deputy Housing Minister responsible for NRP; MP Tamar Guzanski, who was highly involved in legislation surrounding the programme; and Yuli Edelstein, Deputy Minister responsible for absorption of new immigrants.

6.3.3 Resident Participation

Although the NRP's stated aim was resident participation, residents evaluated their participation in the NRP as low. Most of responses were spread around the median line on the participation scale — between 'information and 'consultation'. Another outcome of the results suggests that participation was derived from residential status. Some leaders indicated higher levels of participation than others as they were representatives on boards and, therefore, more involved. Most of the 'common participants' indicated a slightly lower level of engagement than leaders, and among the randomly sampled, participation was the lowest.

Analysis of non-residents' responses shows that their calculation of residents' participation was slightly higher than of residents and they denoted consultation. This may have derived from a common assumption that residents, since they were appointed as members of boards, were already guaranteed some contribution.

The table below reflects participants' views on their participation in the NRP. The results are presented in a similar scale as in the ladder of participation consisting of the following steps: Not Involved (1), Information (2), Consultation (3), Partnership (4), Control (5)

Table 9: Residents' Participation – view of participants in the NRP

Level of Participation	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Residents	**1**	**21**	**18**	**11**	**0**	**53**
• Leaders	0	7	5	6	0	18
• Moderate participants	0	2	12	3	0	17
• Random	1	12	1	2	0	18
Non-residents	**0**	**10**	**19**	**2**	**0**	**37**
• Informers	0	6	12	0	0	21
• Implementers	0	3	6	2	0	13
• Decision-makers	0	1	1	0	0	3

Source: Israeli NRP survey - Guy Doron, 2005–09[38]

Detailed testimonials from residents reflect, in general, a lower level of participation:

> Real resident participation has never been tested, officials have never offered or authorised that, they also did not like the fact that I insisted to present my view and I was active. (Aflalo)

> Preventing residents from participating in schemes taking place in their neighbourhood is injustice but also damaging the chances for projects to succeed. (Zauda) (illustration 6.22)

Manyresidents argued that they were capable of carrying out managerial tasks within a local project:

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[38] **N/A**: **Residents** – 2; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 0; Random – 2; **Non-residents** – 6; Informers – 3; Implementers – 2; Decision-makers – 1.

> Residents are capable of running their neighbourhoods just like they are capable of running their homes. It is just a bigger home to run. (Zauda; Aflalo

Residents argued that although willing to contribute, they were not given the opportunity to do so and needed to force one. This is an example of the limitation of empowerment as discussed in the literature review:

> Residents' willingness is not enough as we can learn from our experience; it also requires cooperation from the authorities, who are not always supportive of residents' participation. Still, if the community is strong and demands its rights be fulfilled, cooperation is achievable and projects can develop in a good direction, as we did here. (Golan)

Most residents considered their participation to be crucial for a project's success, as it required them to show responsibility, and with that responsibility came a desire to not let the project fail:

> Our experience taught us that participation engages responsibilities, and if offered responsibility, residents would be bound to demonstrate commitment. (Golan)

Residents were also promoters of local control. A. Aflalo, who began as a local leader in the southern town of Ashdod and became known nationwide, believed that projects should be run and managed locally:

> Each district should be allowed a self-managing body, where residents are the planners and supervisors and officials act as experts and advise residents, as long as issues are tackled locally. (Aflalo)

Some resident respondents admitted that there are certain aspects of management that require expertise in which residents need assistance and supervision. Training course could have helped to cover the gap:

> We still need some advice to help us in taking such conflicts to a genuine solution. I wish we were given such help to allow us the opportunity to run our estate. (Sayde)

To summarise, residents believed they were capable of assuming managerial tasks and confirmed their desire to participate. Although the NRP offered residents the opportunity to participate, in practice, residents confirmed that their influence was negligible.

Most Non-Residents who were highly involved with the NRP labelled participation at the level of consultation:

> Residents have the ability to run projects in their communities; they have got a very clear vision and understanding of their needs; they know best what is required. (Ravdal)

Nevertheless, non-residents argue that residents were not offered enough support to turn their desire for participation into a real contribution:

> In order to get residents to effectively participate, one of the two should be occur: either they are given fair opportunities to participate or they receive expertise assistance and supervision to participate effectively. Unfortunately, none have happened and participation was limited. (David)

Although participation in the NRP was limited, it was still the only programme where participation was allowed to any extent. This feature, according to the programme manger, generated the NRP's importance and support from residents:

> The only programme where poor residents have the option to participate is Neighbourhood Renewal—not enough participation has been delivered on behalf of the residents; neither has proper management been delivered on behalf of the government, yet the NRP is the only situation where residents are offered a place to be involved at all. (Ravdal)

In some neighbourhoods where residents had better access to decision-makers or programme operators, a higher level of participation has been noted and as a consequence, greater success:

> Residents are highly involved in our project and I believe the same success can be applied to other projects too. (Libskind and Kushnir)

Nevertheless, in many neighbourhoods residents failed to be involved:

> Governments do not believe that residents in poor neighbourhoods are capable in setting their priorities and allow them to be involved in running their life, why should residents believe in it? (Pade)

However, donors from abroad who live in a culture of sharing power, insisted on joint management in each project they funded:

> We are certain that residents have the ability to run projects on their own, surely better than any outsider; this is also crucial to their ability to free themselves from social dependence. Residents have a basic instinct for their own problems, which others do not have and probably won't ever, what I call a gut feeling, which is more important than any expertise. (Kindler) (illustration 6.23)

Although senior executives supported residents' involvement, particularly those in charge of the NRP, participation was still limited. Z. Weinstein, a senior manager in the programme (illustration 6.24), advocates that welfare and social services would bring residents quality of life which would result in spare time to invest in community involvement, and was key in the decision to bypass resident involvement:

> There is a need to secure basics for residents, such as employment, housing and decent social services in order to create, first of all, an opportunity for them to have [the] interest or leisure time to pull together and be involved. (Weinstein)

Another argument explaining the lack of productive participation in Israel points to a cultural dimension which does not particularly embrace participation:

> The main problem in Israel is that decision-making is based on ego and power rather than on cooperation. The political hegemony is based on a culture that gives power to local representatives who act in the name of a political party for the community, rather than to residents. (Rachman)

Mrs H. Hovav, who was in charge of NRP design and implementation during its first twenty years, also cited political power and a lack of democratic instincts among communities which prevented, at times, full representation of residents in board activities:

> The first residents to join boards quickly realised the potential power that they could achieve from their activity, so they prevented other residents from joining in. Indeed, in the end, many among local political representatives started their activity on these boards and this led them forward. (Hovav)

Participation was also considered important by non-residents; it was also one of the founding principles of the programme and seems to have genuinely been planned to be delivered. In the early days there were many indications that participation was offered to residents too, yet somewhere along the way political power took over and caused genuine participation to decrease. The next section discusses continuity of participation and its impact on projects' success.

6.3.4. Continuity and Long-Term Participation

As it appears in the literature review, an important factor in successful empowerment through participation is continuity — the extent to which residents maintain and deepen

their involvement. Long term participation builds residents confidence and increases their influence.

The following table explores participants' views on the duration of their participation in the NRP, whether they maintain, reduce or increase their participation over the course of the NRP. The scale of measurements includes two main trends, those who maintained their activity and those whose activity declined.

Table 10: Continuity and long-term participation during the NRP

Period of involvement	Still highly active	Declined from highly active to moderately active	Declined from highly active to not active	Declined from moderately active to not active	Never active	Total [39]
Residents	**17**	**3**	**7**	**2**	**12**	**41**
• Leaders	9	2	3	0	0	**14**
• Moderate participants	6	1	4	2	0	**13**
• Random	2	0	0	0	12	**14**
Non residents	**17**	**2**	**8**	**0**	**0**	**27**
• Informers/ supporters	8	2	4	0	0	**14**
• Implementers	7	0	4	0	0	**11**
• Decision-makers	2	0	0	0	0	**2**

Source: Israeli NRP survey - Guy Doron, 2005–09

The most common response among residents (41.5%) confirms that they have maintained their participation. An interesting point is that among those whose participation fell away, it mainly went from being highly involved to not active. This dramatic change was noted mainly in those neighbourhoods where the programme was cancelled. The other consequent outcome suggests that, as long as the NRP remained and was consistently

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[39] **N/A**: **Residents** – 12; Leaders – 4; Common participants – 4; Random – 4; **Non-residents** – 10; Informers – 7; Implementers – 2.

operated, it offered residents an on-going opportunity to participate and supported both their individual and community progress.

A majority (63%) of non-residents are still highly involved in the NRP, which means that, at least in terms of dedicated manpower, despite the budget cut, officials kept their jobs. Others who were highly involved either retired or were made redundant when their project was terminated.

To conclude, the NRP offered residents a rare opportunity to participate; residents were offered seats on managing boards but their participation was limited. In those cases where projects lasted for a few years and residents were offered a real opportunity to impact decisions, participation was also maintained. Nevertheless, this was not the case in most projects where residents were allowed only a limited impact on decisions, let alone long term involvement. Participation is normally given not taken and authorities are the providers and the facilitators of an environment in which participation can grow. The most common way to support participation is simply to allow it, yet there are cases where residents, especially in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, are willing to participate and the authorities also wish them to participate, but they are lacking in the skills or knowledge to be able practically to participate to their full extent. In cases where residents require assistance to overcome knowledge gaps to increase their performance, authorities or public policy can offer a solution, in training and education schemes, services and support. The next section explores the extent and nature of public policy and service provision towards participation in the NRP.

6.3.5 Public Policy towards Residents' Involvement in the NRP

Public policy in this research refers to authorities' attitudes towards resident participation, the availability and quality of services and the facilitation of services to support the programme. In addition to availability of courses, we also assessed satisfaction rates of participants in the programme; how they felt their needs were met and whether their experience was different from other groups or from what they expected.

The measurement by which public policy was assessed was simply in terms of negative and positive; participants could also categorise public policy into two more median stages (moderate support and high support).

Table 11 below summarises participants' views on public policy towards the NRP. . In general residents assessed public policy as supportive, non-residents, noted moderate support.

Table 11: Public policy towards participation in the NRP

Level of Satisfaction	Negative	Moderate Support	Supportive	Very Supportive	Total
Residents	**3**	**13**	**33**	**2**	**53**
• Leaders	2	5	11	0	18
• Common residents	0	2	13	2	17
• Random	1	6	9	0	18
Non-residents	**0**	**16**	**14**	**2**	**37**
• Informers/supporters	0	7	10	1	21
• Implementers	0	9	1	1	13
• Decision makers	0	0	3	0	3

Source: Guy Doron research, 2005–09[40]

Analysis of residents' responses reveals that more residents experienced a supportive attitude from government towards their participation in the NRP, than those who indicated a negative attitude. One of the NRP's main aims was resident participation. Residents were invited to take part in board discussions, and thus residents considered the programme's attitude encouraging. The NRP was the first social housing programme to invite residents to have a share on management boards and to provide a real opportunity to affect decision making. The NRP developed a positive reputation across poor neighbourhoods. There was a general air of excitement and many had great expectations. In many neighbourhoods there were additional services, mainly outdoor improvements sourced from government investment. The fact that the programme was spread across the country and appeared in government marketing campaigns also helped promote a positive image amongst the general public. Residents were consulted for the first time, invited to board meetings and considered government attitudes to be more supportive, especially compared to previous social housing programmes. Having said that, in interviews with those who had experienced the recent decline in programme operation, and drastic budget cuts, particularly in neighbourhoods where projects had recently ended, a greater number of negative responses were observed.

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[40] **N/A**: **Residents** – 2; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 0; Random – 2; **Non-residents** – 5; Informers – 3; Implementers – 2; Decision-makers – 0.

Most non-residents indicate supportive public policy. Informers/supporters and decision-makers were impressed by the participatory approach of the NRP and presented positive views, as did residents, although they were not happy about the recent significant reductions in the NRP budget. Implementers who were responsible for the operation of the programme had to handle residents' complaints and were understandably irritated by their inability to satisfy residents through NRP services and thus presented more negative views of the impact the NRP had on participation.

One feature of public policy as part of localisation was the importance of the community centres in encouraging activities and participation. Involvement in these centres often meant greater success in project participation:

> The community centre in this neighbourhood is very active as we, the residents, are responsible for its activities, which include legal advice, courses, sporting activities, evening gatherings, being a meeting point for the elderly during the day, holiday parties and so on. If we are good enough to run the community centre and plan its budget properly, we are probably able to run housing project as well. (Harush)

> We have been less involved in the community centre recently and as a consequence its performance is poor! (Golan)

One of the key services determining public policy towards participation, as remarked on by experts and in many respects longed for by residents, was training and education schemes to grant residents better knowledge and thus better access in the future (illustration 6.25). Residents genuinely believed they were capable of participating effectively and assuming managerial roles. At the same time many realised there were some areas where higher expertise was required, not necessarily a professional skill in a particular housing task, but more general capabilities; either managerial capabilities relevant to board members, such as reading and understanding budget plans, prioritising and negotiating skills. Therefore, residents were happy to receive training to improve their existing skills, which could potentially help them get into or back into employment or even to be employed by their community, provision of sufficient training and education courses was a crucial part of the programme when public policy tested positively. The next section focuses on this.

6.3.6. Training and Education Schemes

Training and education schemes, a topic both in the literature review and most of the interviews, were generally described as a fundamental tool to improve residents' participation and performance, yet according to interviews they were implemented to a very limited extent. One might assume that if participation is a stated aim of a programme, training and education schemes are essential, what is more, it was common to see training courses that were conducted by residents themselves or funded and supported by external experts and NGOs. Some residents argued that training should be part of government responsibility if it did indeed support participation, whereas others believed that NGOs and residents' self initiative provided a better structure for training and it was thus better to leave the government outside course provision.

Most residents valued training and education schemes highly, whether or not they were provided by the programme or by external experts. Residents' stories exemplify positive experiences with and good results from training schemes:

> It is very important to provide such educational opportunities to residents. Teaching someone to do things is better in the long term than to provide him with the final product (Biton)

Another local leader from the Neighbourhood of Kiryat Moshe in Rehovot focuses particularly on the long-term value of these courses. When courses continued this not only improved residents' skills and increased their responsibility, but also reduced social dependency and was thus also worthwhile financially to the government:

> In the long term, encouraging participation using training schemes are not just better for residents, but also valuable for governments in terms of cost, as the current dependency costs more. (Zauda)

An example of a successful training course which caused a local change and had an impact on resident commitment was noted in a statement of one leader from Ashdod:

> The experience we have had in our community is a very good example; a group of residents living in a poor area decided to take responsibility over their lives. I organised such courses myself, firstly to provide all representatives with the information they needed. Secondly, I have aimed to tackle claims that the neighbourhood's residents are less skilled and capable of managerial or social positions. After these courses were conducted, the change in residents' involvement was huge. Their influence was remarkable and, importantly, effective. (Aflalo)

When the NRP was run jointly by the government and the Jewish Agency, the donors who donated the amount that contributed through the JA, insisted on independent training schemes as preliminary condition of every project they supported. The most successful courses, as mentioned in interviews, appear to have been operated by external experts in Kiryat Moshe, a neighbourhood occupied mostly by new immigrants from Ethiopia. A. Zauda, (illustration 6.26) the local leader, stated:

> Training schemes weren't operated by the programme, but by academic experts as a contribution donated by our adopting community in Toronto. We offered courses in youth leadership, courses dealing with building and operating budgets and courses to improve our involvement. These courses brought us to a position where we were not only more involved and had a thriving involvement, but we even, at times, became more expert than officials. These courses put us in a much stronger position. (Zauda)

The initiative for professional training schemes came from donors based in Canada who believed that if only money was delivered, residents would stay dependent, so they insisted on delivering knowledge as well. They also insisted on professional training and allocated a decent portion of the budget for that purpose. A similar pattern was noted by the leader of the community in Kfar Gvirol where the donors were equally involved:

> The government has mainly provided the manpower for operating programmes which were sponsored by the Toronto community. The motto of these schemes was that the government would take responsibility over the funding of the schemes that the Canadians had started, something that never happened, obviously. Surprisingly enough, the donors fulfilled their obligations, and more, while the government failed in doing so. (Golan)

Courses that were offered by officials received less impressive feedback. A resident from the Arab village Maker indicated that the courses (illustration 6.27), were often postponed and incomplete:

> We had some courses. I had a computer skills course on which I have taken only five lessons throughout; we organised the course and even paid for it, but the course has not been long-lasting. (Sayde)

To conclude, residents considered training and education schemes to be important courses operated by experts and other NGOs were highly praised, while the programme itself offered less training than residents had hoped for.

> Most non-residents also considered training and education schemes to be important. Education and training schemes are crucial, they are for the residents' benefit, and for the benefit of their community. (Weinstein)

H. Hovav, who was the head of the department that operated the NRP for its first 20 years, admitted that training schemes was not a stated goal but an addition to the whole service provided:

> Courses, as far as the NRP is concerned, should not stand by themselves, but should be added to the whole welfare system. The programme funded courses for the empowerment of local representatives, but I can't say that this really changed residents' social circumstances as it wasn't part of a set agenda. (Hovav)

A. Ravdal, who succeeded H. Hovav, also argued that lack of long term investment and consistency in the programme prevents not only its delivery but also training schemes:

> In Israel, the government doesn't offer training schemes. The programme attempts to create interest groups where residents can develop social commitment which has been successful; however, in order to maintain long-term resident involvement, residents should be given the opportunity to test their skills and it should be consistent. In the current scope of the NRP, there is no budget for it. (Ravdal)

M. Rachman, who is a social activist but who has also researched the NRP, confirmed that his findings revealed that the number of courses provided under the auspices of the programme were limited:

> During the NRP, residents were offered some public leadership courses, but it was basic; running of such courses is not a frequent phenomenon in Israeli social policy, not to mention developing courses to push resident impact. (Rachman)

Prof. Shimshoni, one of the creators of the programme, who also wrote a book on designing the NRP (illustration 6.28), admitted that when they designed the NRP, training was considered to be one of the main elements, not only because it promoted democracy but also improved residents' skills and thus would attractive. It was assumed that residents would jump at the opportunity to participate:

> We needed to attract residents first, to create desire. We did it through courses that planned to encourage residents to participate in their community, build their confidence to have a say publicly, the skills which allow them an effective part in meetings where decisions are made. (Shimshoni)

Over the years, training and education schemes acquired the relevant credibility and both residents and authorities noted their benefits and contribution. As a consequence a dedicated department under the Ministry of Labour, was set up. E. Pade, who had led this department, reflected on its contribution:

> Training provided residents with skills to tackle local problems, tools and knowledge to do it right. The courses that we were operating were conducted by experts in the field of resident empowerment. Apart from leadership and empowerment, we conducted specific courses in various fields to enhance the chances of residents to find a job. Overall, it encourage sense of belonging and integrates individuals into the local community which, in turn, improves the neighbourhood's reputation and makes it more inviting for new residents; it gives hope. (Pade)

In some cases, the NRP allowed local initiatives to be outsourced, instead of delivering training directly. A local project manager from the Ultra-Orthodox neighbourhood Sanhedriya in Jerusalem (image 6B) revealed:

> We have offered such courses to each resident who has shown an interest on behalf of the programme. Note that as a neighbourhood with a special population fabric, we could not operate certain types of training courses. Therefore, we either buy these services from an outside company or fund applicants with a scholarship to allow them to take these courses privately. (Libskind & Kushnir)

Such local initiatives tend to a wider phenomenon, as articulated by Z. Weinstein, who was responsible for operating the NRP in all Central Israeli neighbourhoods. He admitted that in order to better attend to residents' needs, they had hired private bodies to operate particular courses:

> The ability to run a course depended on the number of participants. When we had less than the minimum required, conducting a class was worthless, so we decided to buy in external services. We also contacted universities up and down the country and secured specific seats for students coming from neighbourhoods undergoing the NRP. Students were invited to enrol and were allowed a year of preparation so that they could hopefully start their studies the following year with a full scholarship. (Weinstein)

This could be interpreted as an indication of the decline in government investment in the NRP or worse in residents in need, yet this is not necessarily so. Indeed, authorities have happily delegated the responsibility elsewhere, as it is more convenient that someone else take responsibility, especially as they have greater expertise in delivering such courses. However the scope of the investment in outsourcing responsibility was as high as when it

was delivered directly and in higher quality. S. David (illustration 6.29), a social activist, insisted that, based on their (the main NGO active in delivering courses across the country) experience, training schemes should be provided independently in order to be effective. The fact that the institutions report to government bodies rather than to residents influences their commitment to residents' satisfaction:

> Education and training schemes must be consistent, independent and long-term, therefore they cannot be delivered by any government body. Unfortunately, both the Housing Ministry and council housing companies failed to allow us — as an NGO — to get in and operate our schemes so we provided these independently. We provided residents with proper training allowing them fair competition with officials, the ability to present programmes and to stand in front of a public, the ability to make an impact in meetings, etc., all up to a level which in the end gains great achievements. None of these courses or services were ever either funded or supported by the programme. (David)

Dr. Bustin (illustration 6.30), an expert who runs highly rated courses in Kiryat Moshe and Kfar Gvirol, also insists on independent courses in order to build residents' confidence and cooperation:

> Residents don't necessarily require control over every aspect of management. Familiarity in an area of interest and gaining confidence in how to achieve it is often more than enough. Residents are not delegated power, as officials don't want residents to be too powerful to take over their roles, therefore, my view is that government should focus more on results, rather than on the way they are achieved. Currently social workers behave more like town sheriffs who set the rules; we on the other hand acted as residents' co-operators and assist them to set their own rules. There is a lack of general belief among officials that residents have the capacity to affect decision making at all. Our programme opened the door for a change of mind set and attitude in this respect. (Bustin)

L. Kindler, who represents the donors who funded these schemes, said that the initiative to offer training in general as a pre-condition of their funding came from abroad, yet after consulting with residents and based on their experience, they insisted on external schemes, as residents admitted they had no confidence in government bodies and services:

> We funded empowerment courses, which were operated and run by experts and professional institutions. It was the residents who insisted on an independent body as they lack confidence in governmental services. These were very successful schemes as gain full involvement of the local community. (Kindler)

A local social activist, who was involved in a project in Yavne, acknowledges that building confidence among residents about governmental courses was a complicated task:

> In order to gain the maximum effect, such courses required promotion, continuity and a lot of hard work as residents are really frustrated and let down by authorities. I personally initiated job training and education courses and worked with residents through this process, but it was not easy at all to convince them to join a governmental-led course. (Merling)

One of the activists concluded that all agreed that training is important. However, under the NRP it stumbled between a lack of confidence in training that was offered by the government (which was rare anyway) and the limited 'non-governmental' or other training options. The consequence was that the NRP, which initially aimed high, delivered very little in terms of training:

> In order that residents can run projects properly, one of the two should be the case; either they are given fair opportunities to gain knowledge which allows them the ability for passable cooperation, or they receive expert assistance and supervision to overturn the knowledge gap they carry. Unfortunately, current bureaucracy does not support external courses and yet does not operate any equivalent in level directly. (David)

To sum up, all participants confirmed the importance of training and education schemes; however, these schemes were rarely offered through the NRP and those that were offered by the authorities were mostly inadequate. There is a debate as to whether one can be empowered and who should operate these schemes, and a consensus seems to exist that successful results rest on schemes being conducted professionally and independently where experts are dedicated to the local community and licensed to guarantee resident satisfaction. We also made a note on some responses which highlighted the potential disempowering consequences of training schemes where these are delivered by unprofessional organisations or an un-trusted authority. In these cases, residents chose not to participate, and in some cases they were even opposed to these schemes and tried to prevent or fail them.

Another way to assess public policy is to ask residents how satisfied they were from other services provided by authorities. This is the essence of the next section.

6.3.7 Overall Satisfaction

Participants in the NRP assessed their overall satisfaction with the programme and the results are summarised in Tables 12 and 13. Table12 focuses on general satisfaction with

the programme, its social contribution, services and facilitation in improving residents'
housing conditions, while table 13 focuses on satisfaction from the perspective of resident
participation and its influence on the programme. The results emphasise the reputation the
NRP has had in terms of resident participation, whereas residents indicate dissatisfaction
with the overall contribution of the programme to their housing conditions probably
because it was dramatically reduced. Nevertheless, they still indicate satisfaction with their
role in the programme.

The following table presents residents' satisfaction with the NRP as a housing
programme.

Table 12: Levels of satisfaction with the NRP as a housing programme

Level of Satisfaction	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Residents	**16**	**25**	**41**
• Leaders	9	5	**14**
• Moderate participants	4	9	**13**
• Random	3	11	**14**
Non-residents	**16**	**8**	**27**
• Informers	7	6	**14**
• Implementers	7	2	**11**
• Decision-makers	2	0	**2**

Source: Guy Doron research, 2005–09[41]

The majority (61%) of residents said that they were dissatisfied with the NRP and its
impact on their community, their housing facilities and services. However, the higher the
residents' involvement, the more satisfied they were. This trend drew a link between
involving residents, their commitment and satisfaction. Residents who were involved in the
programme felt that they had an impact on their community and were thus more satisfied.
The fact that the programme had dramatically reduced in recent years has, however,
resulted in overall dissatisfaction:

> In terms of the physical regeneration, we are truly dissatisfied as
> expectations were much higher. My dissatisfaction is growing, particularly
> now when the Housing Ministry intends to end the NRP. (Meidani)

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[41] **N/A**: **Residents** – 12; Leaders – 4; Moderate participants – 4; Random – 4; **Non-residents** – 10; Informers
– 7; Implementers – 2; Decision-makers – 1.

Results among non-residents were different. The largest group (59.3%) confirmed that they were satisfied with the NRP, while a smaller group tended to be rather more dissatisfied than satisfied. Informers/supporters and decision makers though, were slightly more positive whereas implementers expressed dissatisfaction. Arguably, the reason for this was that they had seen the deterioration of the programme first hand, felt helpless to meet residents' needs and were frustrated with the decline in programme operation. The statement below is an example of a frustrated project manager:

> I'm not satisfied with the input of the government to the NRP; in my opinion they must keep their involvement in the poor neighbourhoods as this is where they are most needed. (Merling).

Table 13 presents another perspective on satisfaction, this time the aim of involving residents in the programme:

Table 13: Level of satisfaction with resident participation in the NRP

Level of Satisfaction	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	N/A	Total[42]
Residents	**25**	**16**	**0**	**41**
• Leaders	11	3	0	**14**
• Moderate participants	4	9	0	**13**
• Random	10	4	0	**14**
Non-residents	**13**	**2**	**12**	**27**
• Informers	9	1	4	**14**
• Implementers	2	1	8	**11**
• Decision-makers	2	0	0	**2**

Source: Guy Doron research, 2005–09

When observing only their participation in the programme, residents expressed more positive views, mainly because the NRP was the only social housing programme that was associated with residents' participation.Therefore, in their collective memory, although the programme's overall results were not a great success and had been dramatically reduced, residents still had positive memories regarding the NRP when it came to participation. This

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[42] **N/A**: **Residents** – 12; Leaders – 4; Moderate participants – 4; Random – 4; **Non-residents** – 10; Informers – 7; Implementers – 2; Decision-makers – 1.

echoed the same conflict expressed in residents' dissatisfaction with the D&R in general and some leaders' satisfaction with their empowerment during the programme.

The majority (61%) of residents were satisfied with their role in the programme. Nevertheless, not all residents were satisfied and while leaders were more satisfied than others, it seems reasonable to suggest that involvement in programme operation improved satisfaction. Similarly, the majority of non-residents (87%), regardless of their role, were satisfied with resident participation in the NRP. L. Kindler, who represents the donors who invested in several projects, acknowledges the change that was initiated by the NRP. It is important, however, to remember that in these neighbourhoods the NRP offers external training schemes that were funded by the donors:

> I'm very satisfied with our contribution through the NRP. After many years of involvement, I have a comprehensive overview. I remember what the conditions were when we started and I know where we have got to today. I know how much money and effort has been invested and what the results are. We have cooperation from state institutions, and we have helped residents to open many institutional doors and many residents have made great personal progress. (Kindler)

H. Hovav is proud of the pioneering approach of the NRP in terms of involving residents, but regrets that the programme has not developed to a scale where it is consistent, stable and empowering:

> This was the first social programme to generate a mechanism of resident participation, and since we started it, this has been assimilated into other programmes. Still, I must admit that the programme has not changed the poor conditions of deprived neighbourhoods, as the resources to operate the programme were either insufficient or were misdirected. (Hovav)

6.3.8 Housing Projects with Positive Public Policy

While the NRP improved satisfaction amongst the involved participants (and these were cases where residents were involved for real), it has still had little impact on improving housing conditions. Some residents argued that since they were powerless (at least in terms of political influence, which is a direct result of not being united as a group), they could not put enough pressure on public policy to prevent the decline in the programme, especially when compared to housing programmes in other neighbourhoods and public policy directed at other groups of residents. The section below discusses one example that was repeatedly noted in interviews.

Although the new settlements were not a case study or a focus of this research, residents of the analysed case studies often compared their experience with that of empowerment in the housing projects in the new settlements (NS). When initiated the NRP did not include projects in the new settlements as these settlements were relatively new, but in 1985 the government published an addendum to the NRP which bypassed the social criteria and defined support per location, therefore allowing special peripheral communities not in the Negev (south) or north (Galilee) of Israel, to receive support through the programme. The only periphery in Israel which is not in the remote south or north is where the new settlements are located. According to residents, this is an example of the tools used by the authorities to flex or tailor criteria in order to assist favoured communities. In practice it created a special channel for communities in the new settlements to benefit from the NRP at the expense of those in poor neighbourhoods. Therefore, participants referred to the residents of the new settlements as privileged through the greater provision of benefits and amenities (illustration 6.31).

The table below provides participants' assessments of resident participation in housing projects in the New Settlements, where the ladder of participation consists of the following steps: Information (1), Consultation (2), Partnership (3), Control (4).

Table 14: The New Settlements – Residents' Participation

	1	2	3	4	Total
Residents	**2**	**2**	**15**	**30**	**53**
• Leaders	0	0	3	15	18
• Moderate participants	0	2	7	8	17
• Random	2	0	5	7	18
Non-residents	**1**	**0**	**13**	**22**	**37**
• Informers	0	0	7	13	21
• Implementers	1	0	4	8	13
• Decision-makers	0	0	2	1	3

Source –Guy Doron 2005–09[43]

When participants in this research compared resident participation in housing projects conducted in the new settlements to those in poor neighbourhoods, the vast majority of all participants, both resident and non-resident, evaluated participation of residents in the new settlements as far higher, which particularly impacted their community cohesion**:**

> Overall, individuals as well as the community in the settlements are extremely powerful and much more involved in policy. While community members share the same values and have very much in common culturally and traditionally, they act like a disciplined, united group; their impact is very strong and, therefore, very influential. (Arajuani, Benisti, Vazana, illustration 6.32)

A local leader and mayor of one settlement community confirmed their high level of participation and leverage, and explained how this worked:

> We controlled all management aspects of our settlement, which is the best way, in my opinion, to run a community. Residents were active, community lives are flourishing and lively. Residents choose their representatives, and if those representatives fail to deliver, they are replaced; this is how you keep high management levels and commitments. Self-management is the key to a healthy community. (L. Halfa, see illustration 5.20)

Another mayor of a settlement community highlighted the access they had to decision-makers, which in his words was *unlimited* (Zur), and was a main advantage.

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[43] **N/A**: **Residents** – 4; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 0; Random – 4; **Non-residents** – 1; Informers – 1; Implementers – 0; Decision-makers – 0.

A senior government employee who was involved in programme operation as an indirect channel which the government used to serve communities in the new settlements (illustration 6.33), confirmed the level of residents' participation:

> We established a communal board where decisions are taken mutually, until residents felt comfortable enough to take control, and then they were handed the authority to run the community by themselves. (Laufman).

Another senior government employee, the general manager of the Housing Ministry in the late 1990s (illustration 6.34), described settlements residents' considerable influence on project operation:

> Residents would be involved up to the smallest detail that might be relevant or affect them. They invested and pushed more than any other residents in boards in planning and building in their area and, thus, were rewarded more. (Ben Eliahu)

A senior MP, even though not a supporter of the settlers, argued that because residents of new settlements were highly empowered, they were able to manipulate the authorities into providing them with housing services that were supposed to be implemented only as part of the NRP in poor neighbourhoods:

> No other NRP site was supported and backed like the housing project in the NS, directly or indirectly. Residents lobbying were assisted by improved local facilities and services for their communities. The NRP was much needed in poor neighbourhoods and thus investment in NS was at the expense of poor neighbourhoods and any other weak group of people. (Guzanski, illustration 6.35)

To conclude, residents of new settlements were allowed or took on greater responsibilities in board operation and managed to gain a greater amount of funding for housing projects compared to poor neighbourhoods. The reason for this is assumed to be resident unity which generated their political power, enabling them to be active in determining their benefits and rewards in forcing officials to support their requests (Cohen, 2007).

Many among those who were interviewed in this research insisted on highlighting the fact that there was supportive public policy towards housing programmes in the new settlements. This perspective is also supported by academics. A comprehensive report published by the Israeli research centre, 'Adva', investigating government provisions to different types of communities in Israel, reveals that the new settlements were given a greater degree of support than any other residential group and particularly if compared to

any other poor neighbourhood.[44] Other supportive data underlines the gaps in public policy in improved services and better housing conditions, which is reflected in the number of residents in new settlements which has consistently grown (more than any other community in the country, including the 15 wealthiest cities). In poor neighbourhoods, on the other hand, the number of residents has declined.[45]

Public policy is simply reflected in housing programmes as it is easy to measure the scope of investment made in to a programme by the amount of work and number of new/renewed buildings built over a period of time. Whereas in poor neighbourhoods, government involvement declined and budgets were cut off in the new settlements, Adva's report indicates the opposite:

> Between the years of 2000–2006, 15,488 units were in the process of being built all across the new settlements, representing, on average, an investment of 11,300,000,000 NIS (around £1,948,275,862). The government was responsible directly for 53% of buildings and for 43% of investments, whereas in all other housing programmes the government had direct responsibility for 20% of new buildings and only 10% of investments. (Savirski, Atias, Dahan)

What is more, public policy in terms of housing included other services than building. One resident leader living in a new settlement described the additional housing benefits the community received:

> We also benefited from wider housing support; the government invested in building a council housing estate in our settlement to support the population growth, whereas in the end, units were sold at minimum prices to residents from the community, which was forced due to lack of demand. (Halfa)

Ran Cohen, MP (illustration 6.36), who was the deputy Housing Minister responsible for the NRP, argued that the government's excessive investment in the new settlements came at the expense of services and programmes such as the NRP.[46] In 2004, government investments in housing in the new settlements were twice as high as in the NRP.[47]

Table 15 below presents the interviewees' responses with regard to public policy towards housing projects in the NS. (It is similar to table 11 where residents expressed their views on public policy towards the NRP, only here we have a comparison between

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[44] Savirski, Atias, Dahan, 2008, p. 5.
[45] Savirski, Atias, Dahan, 2008, p.5, Basok, 2006
[46] Cohen, 2002.
[47] Ha'aretz, 2006.

the NRP in old neighbourhoods and the NRP in the new settlements), which was measured on a scale of negative to very supportive.

Table 15: Public Policy towards housing renewal and support the new settlements

Public Policy	Negative	Moderate Support	Supportive	Very Supportive	Total
Residents	**2**	**7**	**17**	**23**	**53**
• leaders	0	2	4	12	18
• moderate participants	0	3	6	8	17
• random	2	2	7	3	18
Non-residents	**0**	**8**	**10**	**18**	**37**
• informers/ supporters	0	4	6	10	21
• implementers	0	4	2	7	13
• decision-makers	0	0	2	1	3

Source – PhD research, Guy Doron, 2005–09[48]

More residents observed a supportive public policy towards housing projects in the new settlements than negative. Israel Twito, one of resident leaders (illustration 6.37) highlighted the differences between the support given to housing programmes in the NS and in poor neighbourhoods:

> Residents of poor neighbourhoods are singled out compared to residents of the NS although both were sent by the government in the name of pioneering and inhabited deserted areas, only one group benefited from massive support. (Twito)

Residents of the new settlements admitted that they have had disproportionate government support in housing and believe it is a direct result of their empowerment, community unity, strong lobbying and political influence. One settlers' leader observed:

> Our advantage was in our unity. We were obsessed with building and developing our settlement, and we even set up our own development company. We have great accessibility and linkage to MPs and General Directors of government offices. As you noticed just now, I just received a phone call from one of the MPs asking how we are getting on. We had a

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[48] **N/A**: **Residents** – 4; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 0; Random – 4; **Non-residents** – 1; Informers – 1; Implementers – 0; Decision-makers – 0.

large number of visits by MPs and ministers to this temporary site, even a visit from the PM himself, let alone several officials' delegations. I'm visiting the Knesset almost on a weekly basis. (Halfa)

One of the most astonishing examples of the unique link and influence residents had with decision makers is revealed in the statement below, by a local leader who described his relationship with the PM (Ariel Sharon at the time) (illustration 6.38):

> PM Sharon was always a great friend of the settlements. When he was the Housing Minster, he worked like a bulldozer [a pusher in slang, GD] to support housing projects in the settlements. He encouraged us to build more and to expand as a community. Our relations were so close that I could have visited him if I needed anything for the community. I used to call on him when I was on my way from or to home, as he lives nearby. I had an entry permit to his farm (his private home) and would sit with him in his dining room, tell him of the problem and ask for his assistance. He used to sort it out immediately by picking up the phone and calling the relevant person. This was our working pattern. (Zur)

Similar to residents, non-residents also indicated that public policy demonstrated greater commitment to the new settlements. One activist, who worked in parliament engaged with governments entities (illustration 6.39), revealed:

> Settlements offered reduced housing prices based on, extensive subsidies and other benefits in order to attract as many residents as possible to relocate to NS. (Chishin).

An affirmation of this policy was given by the general manager of the Housing Ministry who also confirmed it was at the behest of the State's leadership, both in its support and its instigation that came from the highest political levels:

> Public policy was committed to support housing programmes at the new settlements. The Ministry was involved in planning, building, financing and budgeting subsidised mortgages for residents and also in all-out policy setting. As a General Director of the Housing Ministry, I was up to date on all planning programmes for the NS, approved annual working programmes and followed up on their progress. Ministry employees where all aware of and focused on the policy of giving preference to two sectors — the periphery of Negev and Galilee and the NS. These were our national priority. Investing in the NS inspired our work; when it was reported that there was a decrease in NS building, I was requested to explain how that happened not only to the Minister but also to the PM. Since every decision regarding the NS was declared and approved by the whole government, all ministers had to be not only aware, but also involved and pushing for it. (Ben Eliahu)

Supportive public policy was provided to the NS directly and indirectly. When the government was forced by the international community to cease provision of benefits to the NS directly, it directed non-government institutions to do so instead, such as the Jewish Agency (JA), which provided intensive support for regeneration projects on behalf of the government. According to Ofer Laufman, a senior manager who worked for the JA and was responsible for the housing department:

> The JA is highly involved in many aspects of housing programmes, especially in the NS. Our role is to provide the necessities for all planning and environmental issues, but mainly we are responsible for the creation of sustainable communities. We shepherd and guide the newborn communities step by step during the establishment process and strengthening the community. During the last decade, the new settlements became a source of disagreement and conflict both within Israeli politics and in the international agenda, which has implications for the JA donors as well; and, indeed, in 1992, the Boards of Deputies [the board that defines the JA's operational plans —G.D.] has decided to prevent our involvement in the settlement. (Laufman)

To conclude, this last section provides views and data in support of the claims raised by residents of the NRP that public policy towards housing projects in the new settlements was largely influenced by political and resident lobbies, as opposed to less poor locations.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the NRP and considered to what extent it empowered residents. Earlier analyses have already noted that the NRP has successfully targeted deserving areas, populated by disadvantaged residents who were most in need of economic and social assistance and who were suffering poor housing standards. The programme's main aim was to improve housing facilities and services to local communities and in many cases this has been achieved. In terms of empowerment, the NRP was the first social programme in Israel that offered residents a formula which allowed their involvement. Earlier analyses indicated a gap between residents' involvement in practice and the level of their real influence on the decision-making process during the NRP. Participation and influence were therefore more per se rather than de facto.

The new evidence collected in this research examined the effectiveness of the NRP in terms of empowerment, primarily according to the main factors of resident participation and public policy. In terms of residents' participation and their real influence on decision

making, this research can confirm that participation has been limited. Although boards did include resident representatives as members, residents had little real influence on programme operation and on the main decisions taken. Some residents, especially leaders, spoke of having real influence and assessed the NRP as successful, but they were few and, importantly, their participation only lasted for a short time. Overall, residents have shown a great desire and a capacity to have a significant role in management; however, they were not offered the opportunity to do so. Interviewees also noted the lack of unity among disadvantaged communities in poor neighbourhoods which, in contrast to other residents' groups, resulted in a lack of cohesion, power and influence on decision makers and national agendas that might have drawn more attention to social policy in Israel.

Having said this, although residents were unsatisfied with the overall outcome of the NRP (and mainly with its dramatic decrease) when it came to their participation, they were more pleased with this aspect of the NRP. The fact that the programme allowed residents some level of participation, improved the external image of some neighbourhoods and helped residents to believe that they could achieve a better quality of life and has left a slightly positive mark in their collective memory. Indeed, since the decision to reduce the scope of the programme there have been residents who have regretted the decision and hoped it would be over-ruled. Although it is difficult to find a neighbourhood under the programme which improved conditions to a point where residents no longer required support, the programme still praised for its contribution to participation.

With regards to training and education schemes, both residents and non-residents argued that these schemes are essential to the success of social programmes, especially as they give residents the tools to improve their skills and enhance the quality of their participation. Nevertheless, training and education schemes were rarely provided as part of the programme, although they were supposed to be delivered. Budget cuts to the programme resulted in very little official training. Having said that, there were some successful examples of training schemes conducted in the NRP, but none of these courses were offered by the government

To conclude, the NRP provides a mixed picture in terms of empowerment. The initial formula of the programme aimed to achieve residents' participation, but the outcome was more formal participation than a real share or influence. Public policy in the programme's early days was more supportive and, indeed, the programme left its mark on Israeli social policy in terms of residents' participation and will be remembered as a better

example of a programme that attempted to improve facilities and conditions in poor neighbourhoods. Although the NRP has a positive reputation because it involved residents to some degree, the fact that in the last decade funding for the programme was dramatically reduced has meant it has had a less positive impact.

Chapter 7
The 'Right to Buy'

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses resident participation in the passing of Israel's 'Right to Buy' legislation (RTB) of 1999. The legislation, initiated by residents' groups in collaboration with opposition MPs, allowed residents of publicly built 'council' housing (illustration 31) to purchase units at discounted rates, calculated according to length of tenure. The government at the time opposed the idea and even considered privatising the state-owned housing companies and terminating government involvement in the management of social housing units. Residents were very active in designing, promoting and negotiating the terms of RTB.

31. <u>Council Housing Estate</u> : The photo shows the longest public housing estate in Israel which is in Beer Sheva. It is called the 'quarter of a mile'. Photo: Michaeli, 2005. Source: http://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%A7%D7%95%D7%91%D7%A5:YASKI01.JPG

This programme is therefore a rare case of high resident involvement in public policy. Parliamentary representatives offered their full support; although at one point it was completely opposed by government representatives, a subsequent government was far more supportive in its approach. All in all, the RTB programme allows us to investigate the impact of progressed resident participation on housing policies in different scenarios and also to test the hypothesis that residents' involvement in decision-making can have a positive impact on policies whilst can also dramatically improving a programme's chances of success. It is important to note that although participation in the RTB seemed to occur mainly in the political arena, there were many among the involved participants who indicated that the political context challenged them to greater community cohesion which indirectly influenced the community also to participate in local management. Some of the RTB leaders who were involved in the NRP declared that the RTB even offered a better opportunity to test residents' influence as it simulates a situation where a minority of residents in a local management group take on the majority of professionals on a critical point of issue.

RTB provides an excellent yardstick of the consequences of resident involvement in social policy because residents were highly involved in campaigning for and achieving their demands. There has been no other social legislation in Israel where residents, cooperating with MPs, initiated and acted against the government successfully. Similarly, as this research reveals, the government's negative reaction to the legislation — and particularly to residents' involvement — was also without equal, compared to any other Israeli housing issue. Of all the instances of negative public policy that have been investigated, none was on the same scale or lasted for such an extended period. Although the RTB process began in 1997, it has, thus far, been the focus of little academic research. Only small-scale studies have been undertaken, and these have not fully examined the consequences of the level of residents' participation in the RTB process (illustration 32).

32. <u>Residents' influence</u>. Protesters outside Amidar offices. The banner reads, 'Amidar Dries the Council Housing'. This is the antithesis of the image of happy families which Amidar advertises. Source: http://www.tarabut.info/he/articles/article/about-trachtenberg-housing/

The chapter is organized as follows: the first section (7.2) outlines the story of RTB, its origins, background and design, the role played by residents' MPs and the parliament, and how public policy was formulated by government. It also describes the intense debate, as well as the social protests, the campaign in support and other activities organised by residents to set up a new agenda for RTB, concluding with its implementation and limitations. The next section (7.3) discusses the case studies, participants and neighbourhoods. Section 7.4 presents evidence collected during this research on resident participation and public policy during the RTB programme. Section 7.5 discusses the programme's unique features, such as the controversial relationship between the government, the Jewish Agency (JA) and the housing company Amigur, as well as the controversy around the implementation of RTB in other locations which are not council estates. Finally the last section (7.6) offers some conclusions.

7.2 Overview

Housing in Israel has developed differently from other countries. Private ownership, for instance, is a more common phenomenon than elsewhere, and the numbers of home owners are growing, with over 90% of the population in 2004 owning their own home (Peterborg, 2004) Therefore, "all but the very poor are home owners" (Cohen, 2008: 95). As a result, political pressure for the provision of publicly built housing is limited

(Appendix 6:2), and no such construction has been undertaken in Israel since the 1990s. State-owned housing solutions are inadequate, and those among the poor who are not allocated a unit — but have the right to one — may receive a housing stipend to help with rent payments in the private market. Those who do not meet the criteria for a housing solution, even if only by the slightest margin, must find private rental accommodation; thus, there is a certain level of homelessness

The status of public building in Israel has declined dramatically over the years. In the first two decades after Israel was established, around 150,000 council housing units were built, and this represented almost 23% of all housing (Werczberger and Reshef, 1991; Klienman, 1995). By comparison, "the total number of permanent[49] council housing dwellings held by the government at the end of 1998 was 107,927 only" (Public Appeal Committee, Israeli Knesset, 2004). The limited amount of publicly owned housing solutions, their poor maintenance and services which residents' compare with other projects outside poor neighbourhoods, inspired residents to seek a change. Participation in Israel in general is low, and that of residents of council housing estates were no different, if not lower, yet the RTB has proven to have higher involvement rates, more than any other social housing programme, since these units were most likely residents only assets.

7.2.1 Background

Residents living in publicly funded 'council housing estates' have highlighted the problem of housing insecurity. Their main concern, based on the Israeli/Jewish tradition that a house equals social security, was their inability to join the housing ladder and become home owners. The number of home owners in Israel (72%) is dramatically higher than in other countries (USA 64%, UK 68%, France 54% and Japan 60%),[50] and residents of public housing were no different, they too wanted to be home owners, they highlighted two main arguments — one relates to the past and the other to the future, while both are based on comparisons with housing rights given in rural communities.

The first relates to historical justice — taking into consideration the years people have lived in their homes paying subsidised rents, it could be argued that they deserve tenure rights over these properties. Such tenure rights, residents of council estates argue,

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[49] Not including temporary solutions — the immigration camps — provided by the government to tackle the massive immigration wave in the early 1990s.
[50] See http://www.digal.co.il.

were given to residents of rural communities, who also lived in publicly funded housing and after a long period of tenure gained ownership rights over their properties.

The second argument is aimed at the new generation and residents who wish to leave something for their next of kin in order to help them out of poverty and dependency. Residents claim their children should be given a fair opportunity in life without having to start from the bottom of the housing ladder, which is the structure offered to those who live in publicly housing units located in rural communities. These arguments generated a process in which, for the first time in Israeli social policy, a housing programme was initiated from the bottom up. Resident activity included the design, initiation, promotion, shaping which ultimately led to the passing of the legislation of RTB. The following sections describe chronologically the evolution of the RTB legislation process.

7.2.2. Origins

The concept of RTB was first introduced in 1996. A group called Bnei Ha'Shcunot' (Hebrew for 'Sons of the Neighbourhoods') learnt that the PM, Benjamin Netanyahu (illustration 7.1), was planning to authorise selling council-housing estates to private developers. The group identified this as dangerous to their housing security because if council estates were privatised, residents' ability to pay rent under subsidised state-sector rules would come to an end. As a result, they have decided to initiate a petition demanding a new law to secure their housing rights. Driven by fear for their future but encouraged by a solution offered to residents living in publicly-funded houses in rural communities, (Appendix 6:3) Bnei Ha'Shcunot''s members, together with Hakeshet members (illustration 7.2), looked to a similar government initiative which would offer residents of rural areas (illustration 7.3) the opportunity to not only buy their homes at discounted prices, but also to transfer tenure rights to their next of kin (Rachman, 2001).

Residents presented proposals to MPs from all parties, although mainly to the right-wing *Likud* and *Shas* parties, to which most residents were attached politically. However, members of Netanyahu's right-wing government firmly opposed the proposed legislation (Mualem, 2007), arguing that it was against their free market ideology which entailed privatising social services. The government's stance led to frustration. The people's elected representatives' were perceived to be neglecting those in need, while residents living in similar housing in rural communities were being granted excessive housing rights as a result of their parliamentary lobby (Sidor, 1997).

Residents of council estates thus shifted their focus and began to generate their own lobby. They received unexpected support and cooperation from Ran Cohen, MP, who represented the left-wing party, *Meretz*, was a former resident of a Kibbutz and was himself raised in a council housing unit (Cohen, 2008). Cohen, together with other MPs, cooperated with residents and submitted the RTB legislation proposal to the Knesset, in a written form that closely followed what the residents' groups had proposed. After they secured the cooperation of Ran Cohen MP, other groups of residents from different estates across the country joined forces to promote the proposal. Once lobbying gained more momentum, the groups collaborated under an umbrella organisation called the Council Housing Forum. This organisation included council-housing residents, homeless residents, disabled residents, local neighbourhood groups, academics, social activists, students with a social orientation, advocates, ethnic groups, human-rights movements and political activists and was subsidised by several NGO's. The organisation met on almost a weekly basis and was represented in the majority of Knesset meetings and hearings (illustration 33).

33. <u>Residents' meeting as part of the Right To Buy activities</u>.
Source: http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4287934,00.html

7.2.3 The Legislation Process in Parliament and the Government's Response.
Cohen and representatives of the group first met at his Knesset office on 16 April 1997, and the first legislative draft (which was based on residents' ideas and also the rules of sales of public units in rural areas) was submitted on 26 May (Cohen, 2008). By early July,

the government had clearly decided to oppose this measure; however, the supporting MPs were determined to put the proposal before the Knesset assembly and did so on 16 July (Cohen, 2008). The first draft passed its preliminary reading and moved to the Finance Committee in order to be prepared for a first reading the following March. This process proved to be far from easy. The government was ready to block the proposal because of the significance of a first reading, After this stage, the proposed bill would be kept on the official list and even if parliament was dissolved, could easily be enacted under a new administration.

Once the government realised that the RTB bill would gain a majority in the Knesset, including the support of coalition members, the coalition whip (then Meir Shitrit) who was known as a vocal opponent of the residents' initiative (illustration 7.4) decided to shift the emphasis and began to portray the vote as a vote of confidence. They postponed the vote and put pressure on the government's coalition partners to reconsider their stand, stressing that opposing the government line might put the whole coalition at risk. This political tactic is uncommon and has been used only twice in the history of parliamentary hearings in Israel, both times during the RTB debate. Commentators were surprised that the government would risk a no-confidence vote to force coalition 'rebels' to change their stance on a social issue to which Israel has tended not to give high priority (Cohen, 2008). As Ehud Barak, (illustration 7.5) leader of the minority in Parliament, stated during the debate on the legislation: *"There is no justified law other than this RTB"* (Cohen, 2008: 79). Even the President of Israel, for whom intervention in political debate is highly irregular, wrote to residents and expressed his support for and the social significance of the legislation (Letter to Residents of Council Housing in Cohen, 1998).

The support given to the traditionally low priority of social policy in Israel by the highest offices in the country was out of the ordinary. To convince coalition members to switch support, the government also offered to instigate a special act, which was much more limited in its terms, to sell some council-housing units. Residents' groups reacted angrily to this watered-down version and pressured MPs to stick to the initial terms, for which they were lobbying intensively. In the end, the sustained pressure of the lobby and the likelihood of defeat forced the government to withdraw its objection, at least temporarily, and allow the bill to pass at its first hearing on the 4 May 1998 (with 72 in favour; 3 against) (illustration 34). In a letter to residents after the first hearing, Cohen stated: "We wouldn't have got that far without the massive support and productive lobbying from you — the residents" (Cohen, 2008, p. 88) (illustration 7.6).

34. <u>The Knesset votes for the Right To Buy</u>: The image was taken by residents attending the event, and published on their website describing the legislation process. Source: http://diortzibury.wordpress.com/author/shaieistein/

The government, however, decided to sell council units according to its own guidelines in July 1998, ignoring the legislation process. This was a move to make the full RTB legislation appear unnecessary and to nullify residents' lobbying efforts. However, the terms of these new guidelines were limited compared to the proposed RTB legislation, and residents campaigned against the scheme and organised a boycott. Groups also redoubled their lobbying efforts for RTB, believing this would result in even better terms. Three months later, on 19 October 1998, the pressure paid off and the RTB law that was initiated and supported by residents was passed in the second and third hearings by 49 votes to 24.

Residents' lobbying was exceedingly effective in changing MPs' positions on the housing-sale issue and played a massive role in turning opponents of the legislation into supporters. Residents wrote to MPs and ministers offering advice drawn from their own experiences; made suggestions for proposals; protested in favour of the legislation; participated as guests in meetings, Knesset hearings and at conferences; and captured the media's attention. Residents' celebrations, though, were short-lived. Ten days after the vote, the government made its first attempt to delay implementation and, on 2 February 1999, the tabled RTB law was frozen without a single unit sold under its terms. The Netanyahu administration continued to offer the sale of council housing under its own initiative, but residents, once again, preferred the terms offered under the RTB legislation and refused to apply to buy their units under this limited scheme. In March, residents' groups appealed to the Supreme Court for aid. The court, however, refused to arbitrate and ruled that the issue should be determined by the government in parliament. Residents'

attention then became focused on the political system and the upcoming election campaign (illustration 7.7).

7.2.4. The election campaign of 1999 was exceptional for its focus on social and housing issues, and had the RTB dispute at its centre. In analyses made after the election, it was shown that around 40,000 traditional right-wing voters transferred their votes to the left-wing coalition because of its commitment to revive RTB. These narrow margins indicated that swing voters won the election of 1999 for the left-wing coalition for the first and last time only during the last two decades (Cohen, 2008: p. 217). Although appreciative of the support from council-housing residents, the newly elected government, led by PM Ehud Barak, struggled to rejuvenate the full RTB. As a promise had been given to residents, the new government compromised by offering a right-to-buy scheme that, although limited, was more attractive than the Netanyahu initiative.

This compromise, seen as a way to alleviate pressure, was announced on the 12 March 2000 (Rachman, 2001). There continued to be strong opposition from officials who sought to block the new governmental scheme and to prevent any sale of publicly built units, and only a potential coalition crisis, which forced the intervention of the PM himself, generated the second governmental act and made possible implementation. To underscore its political and public importance, on the first day of the programme's operation, the PM and the main legislator MP Cohen (then a minister) launched the sales in the offices of the housing company Prazot in Jerusalem (Cohen, 2008). The sight of the PM personally overseeing the implementation of a social programme was, and still is, an uncommon phenomenon in the history of social policy in Israel.

The new act was based on the initial RTB legislation and was a compromise that the legislator, supported by resident groups, managed to agree with the Finance and Housing Ministries. Terms in the approved act were eventually less flexible than those proposed by residents in the initial legislation (Rachman, 2001). Because of the complexity of the RTB legislation and, some claim, also because of the firm rejection by government offices, the initial draft presented by residents had to be modified several times.

There were a number of setbacks, and proposed changes were not in the residents' favour. Residents were determined to push through the full terms and, with the assistance of the newly elected minister (the legislator MP), managed to retain the essence of the initial proposal regarding eligibility and discounts. Council-housing units were to be sold to residents based on residential seniority, at 3% for every year of residency and a with

90% maximum discount gained at 30 years of seniority. On the other hand, in the final RTB law, residents and legislators had to withdraw the sections on continuity rights for next-of-kin, allowing those aged 18 and over, living with their parents and owning no other property, to be eligible to buy.

Another section in the initial legislation that was never implemented concerned re-investment in new council housing solutions. Worried by the likely decline of council-housing stock in the event of mass sales, the initial legislation stated that all income from sales would be directed to the creation of new housing solutions for those in need, with at least 3000 new units every year being built. In reality, no new construction of publicly owned units was implemented.

In April 2000, the sale of council housing formally began and within less than four years more than a fifth of all residents purchased their units (Cohen, 2008; Marciano, 2006). The majority (two thirds) lived in central Israel and were long-term residents with over 30 years' seniority (Sinai & Zrachya, 2006). The only official data about these sales, provided to a Knesset committee in 2004, stated:

> From the total of 107,927 permanent[51] council housing dwellings held by the government at the end of 1998 when the act become law, 19,336 units, almost a fifth of the whole stock of council housing, were sold to tenants in less than four years. 81,341 units were still operating as council housing under the control of government-owned housing companies. These companies hold a stock of 1,672 unoccupied units under repair. Concurrently, 2,137 veteran residents were listed in the Housing Ministry as eligible for housing solutions, and around 52,000 eligible new immigrants were listed in the Absorption Ministry. (Public Appeal Committee, Israeli Knesset, 2004).

Since 2004 the RTB terms have been modified again by the new right wing coalition that was returned to power. According to housing analysts, sales have dramatically reduced as the new terms are no longer attractive; The discount is relatively smaller, there are limitations on buyers (fewer residents are now eligible to apply), and fewer neighbourhoods (location restrictions) are included under the new terms (Mirovski & Bar-Eli, 2006). After the election of the 17th parliament in 2006, Ran Cohen MP again renewed his attempts to implement the initial RTB legislation. Cohen had tabled a new version that had been drafted with the cooperation of residents and offered sales in similar terms to the

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[51] Not including temporary solutions — the immigration camps — provided by the government to tackle the massive immigration wave in the early 1990s.

initial RTB (Amsterdamski, 2008). The results at this stage were inconsequential compared to the earlier dispute as there were still ongoing sales of units, but at the end of July 2007, the Finance Committee approved the new RTB terms, with maximum discounts set at 82.5% in central locations and 90% in peripheral areas.

7.2.5 Limitations, Problems and Boundaries

The fact that RTB raised objections from officialdom, even when a supportive government was in power, requires additional investigation. Civil servants had many reasons for objecting to RTB implementation. The most common were social and financial, but there were political and local urban structural reasons as well.

The social objection argued that selling off the current stock, without building new solutions to replace them, would destroy the ability of the state to support those who are in housing and social need. Many housing officials worried that by transferring existing valuable properties to private ownership without planning and building housing solutions for others in need (Appendix 6:4), the state would lose possible future accommodation for those in need (Delitzki, 1997; Cohen, 2008). They also feared that emptying the housing stock would put their jobs in danger, since if stock diminished, many jobs that serviced those units would be lost. This was the impetus for the inclusion of a section in the RTB legislation that obliged the government to re-invest the RTB income in building new solutions.

Initially the idea was to invest the entire RTB income, yet the legislator and residents were willing to accept only a fraction as long as there were new solutions in place (Appendix 6:5). This, fractional investment however, was never put into practice and thus dramatically affected the limitations on and definition of criteria to determine eligibility for subsidized rents. Fewer people are now eligible for housing support or subsidy and, consequently, more people in need find themselves without state-provided assistance and on waiting lists (Appendix 6:6). There is no means of providing for demand without new public construction and, therefore, no capacity to balance demand and supply. RTB gained 1,500,000,000 NIS (=£266,724,000), generated by the various sales of council housing units, but none of this has been re-invested in creating new solutions for the approximately 55,000 residents on housing waiting lists (Marciano, 2006). As confirmed in the budget proposal published in 2004:

part of the income from the sales was allocated to fund the sale process itself, part went in compensation to the Jewish Agency for its share of Amigur units sold and part was used to subsidize the interest on the mortgages awarded to buyers (Budget proposal, Ministry of Housing, 2004, chapter 16 [טז in Hebrew], October 2003).

The financial objection was concerned with the high costs involved; first to administrate the sales and second, related to the 'potential revenue or worth of asset' that the government was to give away to residents as part of the process. This was a recurring argument against RTB (Ayges, 1998; Delitzki, 1997). The third objection, although more difficult to articulate, surrounded the potential political repercussions of RTB. Initially, representatives of the right-wing parties opposed residents' calls to back RTB for ideological reasons, as they challenged liberal economic ideas. However, when the concept was adopted by left-wing representatives and strongly promoted in cooperation with residents who had traditionally identified with right-wing parties, the dispute caused a redefinition of the political landscape. Right-wing MPs worried about the consequences of allowing left-wing politicians to reward traditionally right-wing supporters by legislating a policy aimed at improving their conditions (Rachman, 2001). This led to an intensification of opposition to RTB among many in the right-wing parties.

Not only the government opposed RTB, but employees of housing companies opposed it as well, and there were those who delayed and at times even prevented sales of units under the new programme. They tightened the rules for assessing applications, increased restrictions on the eligibility of potential buyers and deliberately miscalculated discounts (Rachman, 2001). The most common way to decelerate sales after the approval of RTB became evident through the widespread and unfair evictions of residents. In trying to prevent purchasing rights, companies first focused on those whose tenancy legitimacy was in doubt (e.g., residents who delayed paying their rents or had debts; next-of-kin of residents who had passed away; residents who lived in a big flat, even though the actual number of tenants had decreased over the years — i.e. they were over-accommodated; elderly residents). Housing companies rushed to order evictions, thus preventing residents from claiming any rights of purchase. At times there were empty units in certain locations although the long waiting list (Appendix 6:7). In some instances, council-housing companies breached regulations in order to speed up evictions of residents with tenure and bring in new tenants with no purchasing rights. Israel has the lowest number of council housing units per 1000 people (Appendix 6:10). Eventually, with the situation critical, to

prevent violations of residents' rights the Housing Ministry established a committee and gave it the final say over any eviction (Grinberg, 2005) (Appendix 6:9).

Summary

Residents' involvement in RTB was exceptional and one of the main reasons for the success in the legislation process. The cooperation and support of MPs was also exceptional. However, opposition from government and interested authorities was also exceptionally strong. Not only did the government have to play unprecedented tricks to prevent the vote (such as the vote of confidence), it also used other means to delay, obstruct and postpone RTB sales. The following section presents the data collected regarding these empowerment features in the RTB.

7.3 The Case Studies

This section presents my findings which represent the first attempt to collect evidence from residents about the RTB process. Perspectives and views on RTB are almost entirely absent from earlier investigations. Data shown in this chapter include summaries of responses from residents and non-residents involved in the RTB programme (leaders, common participants and a random sample) and, among non-residents, the views of those who were engaged in it: academics, social workers, implementers, activists and decision-makers. The collected data provides a comprehensive review of all aspects relating to empowerment in social policy in general and to RTB in particular.

The table in Appendix 5:2 presents a comparison between neighbourhoods characteristic of the case studies described in this chapter (there is growing criticism of the number of regional housing companies; see Appendix 6:1). All case study neighbourhoods include publicly funded housing solutions and represent the variety of neighbourhoods with council housing estates. They cover the entire country; from the main cities (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv) to the south (Ashdod), the north (Ako, Maker) and even the Sharon (Hertzeliya, Kfar Saba), which in general are considered wealthier than other areas The case studies also represent the variety of residents living in publicly funded housing; new immigrants (from the former USSR in Petach Tikva and from Ethiopia in Rehovot), the Arab populated neighbourhoods (Maker) and the New Settlements (Kiryat Arba). This variety helps to present a comprehensive analysis of public housing in Israel.

7.3.1 The National and Local Housing Companies

<u>Amidar</u>

The largest Council Housing company in Israel, (illustration 7.8) is government owned, established in 1949. Amidar has had a pivotal role in implementing housing policy in Israel, especially regarding the mass waves of immigrants during the 1960s and 1990s. In 2006 they have managed 50,000 units (Feldman, 2011).

Amidar was established in 1949 and is government owned. It has a pivotal role in implementing housing policy in Israel, especially with regards to the mass immigrations of the 1960s and 1990s. During the 1950s the government opted to provide housing solutions for the hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants to Israel, arriving first from Europe and then from Africa and Asia. Amidar was set up as a company and given the responsibility to build and manage housing solutions for the newcomers. These were the first council housing units in Israel. The vast estates were made up of small units that met the minimum required standards, and were built quickly to host as many residents as possible. The majority of tenants were new immigrants coming from multiple backgrounds and cultures who struggled to cope and adapt to the new State, thus these neighbourhoods were considered poor and socially dependent. Amidar was therefore handed another role, to provide social services to its tenants. By 1962 Amidar was in charge of 200,000 units. Other housing companies were then established locally to support it.

The decreasing role the government took in creating new housing solutions led to a similar decrease in Amidar's share in the housing market and also to a narrowed role and influence. The new wave of immigrants arrived from the former USSR in the 1990s and the need for new housing solutions, forced the government to take a greater role in the housing market, leading to a revival for Amidar as the largest government housing company.

The Right to Buy laws changed the balance of power between Amidar and its residents. Up until then Amidar controlled all aspects of housing and residents had no say in the process. The RTB legislation gave a greater role to residents and was a new challenge to Amidar: first it required a higher level of service, and secondly, selling units without building new ones had posed a threat to many employees who suspected they were about to lose their jobs. The housing stock managed by the company was reduced and no new solutions were built. Less housing stock and growing demand for housing support forced Amidar to evacuate next of kin or smaller families (those whose children had left home) in order to make way for others, although those evacuees were still in housing need.

The General Manager of Amidar, admitted in an interview that a third of the evacuees deserved a housing solution and the lack of units prevented the company from assisting them (YNET, October 2010). This provoked residents to stand against Amidar, and its level of service and social values were continually criticised by residents and social activists. Another sign of the declining influence of Amidar can be seen when assessing its list of chairman; in the early years they were leading politicians (including even the Prime Minister); today they are assistants or advisors to the housing ministers.

Amigur

This is the second largest housing company in Israel and the largest management company providing housing for the elderly (illustration 7.9). The company was established in 1972 and is owned jointly by the state and the Jewish Agency. Currently Amigur manage 22,000 housing units, 13,500 of which are council housing units which are home to 60,000 residents. The average monthly rent is 280 NIS (around £56). In addition the company manages 6000 units, 1600 of which were built recently, for the elderly (the vast majority are new immigrants from the former USSR), with a waiting list of over 20,000. Amigur also managed the temporary housing estates for the evacuees from Gaza; 1000 units in 4 locations in the south of Israel, the main one being Nitzan (illustration 7.44). On its website Amigur claims that their goals are not only to maintain the housing units but also to be responsible for the social conditions and welfare of its residents. Amigur also transformed two of its centres in Sderot and in Tzefat into students' dormitories, offering students units for a lower rent in return for volunteer work in support of social activities in their communities (illustration 7.45). Amigur joined the RTB separately, after the government signed an agreement with the Jewish Agency to compensate them for losses in the market value of sold properties. Since 1999 Amigur has sold 10,000 units and the income channelled into the Jewish Agency.

Prazot

This is a housing company that was active in Jerusalem (illustration 7.10). It was established in 1961 jointly by the government and the Jerusalem municipality. After the selling of many units during RTB, Parzot become non-profitable and in 2008 the government suggested closing the company and transferring its properties to Amidar and Amigur (both have properties in Jerusalem as well). Objections from MPs delayed the proposal, yet continuing losses convinced officials in 2012 to terminate Prazot's operation

and transfer its properties and responsibilities to the Jerusalem Municipality. In 2008 the company managed around 1,500 units (Feldman, 2011).

Halamish

The company was established in 1961 and is owned by the government and the Tel Aviv municipality (illustration 7.11).

The company was responsible for the D&R project in Kfar Shalem and managed properties in 5 of Tel Aviv-Jaffa neighbourhoods, the majority in the south of the city. Halamish submitted planning requests to build a new site with 300 units in Tel Aviv.

In 2011 Halmish introduced 'Gallery' — a project offering residents of council housing units a chance to express their interest in art and to present their work with the support of the housing company. In 2008 managed around 1,500 units (Feldman, 2011).

Shikmona

The company was established in 1961, along with the other regional companies, and was responsible for the city of Haifa in the north (illustration 7.12). Until 1971 it focused mainly on demolishing houses (a total of 4,600 units) deemed unfit for occupation (Vadi Saliv was one of these areas). From 1972 it also provided housing solutions, operated Neighbourhood Renewal in the city, provided services for housing projects for the municipality and other sites including student dormitories. Currently the company manages a total of 2,779 units[52].

Heled

The company was established in 1961 with the other regional companies with responsibilities over the city of Petach Tikva in central Israel (illustration 7.13), owned jointly by the state and the Municipality. The company manage the publically funded units in the city, responsible for NRP and requests for housing support[53]. Currently managed around 1000 units (Feldman 2011)

Afridar

The company was established, along with the other regional companies, in 1961 with responsibilities over the city of Ashkelon in southern Israel (illustration 7.14). The

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[52] http://www.shikmona.co.il/
[53] http://www.heled.org/Default.asp?Page=About

company manages the publicly-funded units in the city and is responsible for NRP and requests for housing support. It currently manages a few hundred units.

7.3.2 The Case-Study Neighbourhoods: A Brief Introduction

The section below includes a brief description of case study neighbourhoods:

Katamonim / Pat – Jerusalem – neighbourhood details in chapter 6.

Eir Ganim Jerusalem – neighbourhood details in chapter 6.

Kiryat Moshe in Rehovot – neighbourhood details in chapter 6.

Ramat Sharet Jerusalem

The neighbourhood is located in western Jerusalem (illustration 7.15). In 2013 there were 9,567 residents, the majority religious. From 2003 a wave of non-religious new immigrants from France moved in following by a wave of ultra-Orthodox residents in 2008 which caused tension between the groups on the cultural environment of the neighbourhood (http://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/)

Derech Lod / Hatikva – Tel Aviv

This is the name of the main road (461) that links two main highways, a main highway and the cities of Tel Aviv with Lod (illustration 7.16). The area is crowded with council housing units managed by Halamish which was also the centre of residents' organisation for RTB in Tel Aviv.

Tel Kabir / Neve Ofer – Tel Aviv

Built in the 1960s, in 1977 it changed its name from Tel Kabit to Neve Ofer. It is located in southern Tel Aviv on the border with the city of Holon (illustration 7.17). Most residents are elderly or new immigrants who supported the social care system, including housing. A new community centre has been built with support from the Jewish community in Mexico, which provides training courses for residents.

Neve Sharet – Tel Aviv

This is located in the northern part of Tel Aviv and hosts around 8,000 residents, many of whom live in publicly-funded housing estates managed by Halamish. In the 1950s and '60s it took on many new immigrants, causing social tensions to grow between groups of residents. This was compounded in the 1970s by a group of ultra-Orthodox residents. During the 1980s the neighbourhood was included in the NRP and in the 1990s hosted new immigrants from the former USSR. It the poorest neighbourhood in the affluent part of Northern Tel Aviv (illustration 7.18).

Lod

This is a city with a mixed population of Jews and Arabs (Muslim and Christian), located in central Israel near Ben Gurion Airport (illustration 7.19). It was originally an Arab village and after the establishment of the Israeli State hosted residents from nearby Ma'abarot. The city has around 70,000 residents, 70% Jews, 22% Arab Muslim, 2% Arab Christian and 7% other (mainly Bedwins). The Arab population is rapidly growing. Lod has one of the highest anti-social behaviour rates in the country and is known as a centre for drug dealers. The city has three main neighbourhoods, one for Arabs one for Jews and a new neighbourhood with many new immigrants, mainly from the former USSR.

Shaviv / Yad Hatisha

This is a neighbourhood in Hertzeliya, one of the wealthiest cities in Israel (illustration 7.20). Shaviv is a publicly-funded estate in Eastern Hertzeliya, the only non-affluent neighbourhood in the city. Estates were built in the late 1950s and the beginning of 1960s to host many new immigrants arriving mainly from North Africa. The neighbourhoods continued to host new immigrants up until the 1990s and known for its poverty, unemployment and high levels of criminality, but also . home to some regeneration and social activist groups (such as Tikun group),[54] The Mayor of Hertzeliya was the first to set up an office operated and funded by the municipality to support residents during the RTB programme. The manager of this unit has participated in this research as well as residents from Shaviv.

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[54] www.tikun.org.il.

Rova Daled, Hei and Vav (Hebrew for D,E,F) in Ashdod

This is a city on the shore of the Mediterranean sea in the south of Israel (illustration 7.21). Ashdod is the fourth largest city in Israel and its fastest growing city. It has a mixture of 'old' immigrants who arrived from North Africa in the 1960s. There is also a growing ultra-Orthodox Jewish community and a large community of new immigrants arriving from the former USSR. This city hosts a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and diverse religious population with new neighbourhoods alongside old ones and with local residents' groups. Residents of the case studies were active during the RTB legislation and their leader participated in this research.

Petach Tikva

This is another growing city in the Sharon (central-north of Israel, illustration 7.22). It comes mid-range on the socio-economic scale, and includes a mixture of religious neighbourhoods, old immigrants (mostly from Yaman) and an increasing presence of new immigrants from the former USSR. The city has the greatest number of housing estates for the elderly community from the former USSR.

Yoseftal

This is a neighbourhood in Kfar Saba, a city in the Sharon (north-east of the centre, illustration 7.23). It is medium sized with a population of middle class young families. It is ranked high on the socio-economic ladder but still has one neighbourhood with a large proportion of publicly funded housing estates. The neighbourhood was established in 1962 as a house to new immigrants mainly from Africa and was known for its poverty and unemployment.

Kfar Maker (Jdeda-Maker)

This is an Arab village near the city of Ako (illustration 7.24) which was formed in 1990. In 2010 there were 18,574 residents in the village with 2.2% growth per year.[55] The village is ranked 9th on the Israeli socio-economic scale (one before the poorest); income per person is 60% below the national average and only 57% finish their mandatory school exams (A level). 91.3% of residents are Muslim and 8.7% are Christian. This is the only Arab village with a council housing estate in Israel and it is managed by Amidar.

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[55] Israeli Bureau of Statistics.

<u>Kiryat Arba</u>

This is a new settlement east of the Palestinian city of Hebron and is the urban centre of all settlements in the area (illustration 7.25). The settlement was established in 1971 by the military regime and became a municipal authority in 1981. In 2010 there were 7248 residents with 1.4% population growth.[56] The municipality is in the 8th socio-economic category (2 before the poorest); income per person is 60% less than the national average (which in 2013 was 9,159 NIS).[57] It is also comes low down in the education rates (only 63.2% of pupils complete their studies). The majority of residents are religious Jews. There is a council housing estate in the municipality managed by Amidar which is not popular both for ideological reasons (some do not want to relocate to a community which is outside the Israeli State's official borders and surrounded by a Palestinian majority), and geographical-economic reasons (some do not wish to relocate far from the centre of the country and its employment opportunities). The local community offers units to young ideological activists who live in the community.

7.4 Research and Data Analysis

The data presented herewith was collected from participants involved in the RTB, both residents and non-residents, and includes the main issues surrounding empowerment: resident participation, long-term participation, public policy, training and education schemes, satisfaction, social unrest and even programme-specific issues such as the Amigur dispute and the rules for residents living in other publicly-funded housing units outside poor neighbourhoods.

7.4.1. Residents' Participation

Table 16 presents a summary of interviewees' responses with regard to residents' participation in the RTB, measured by the *Ladder of Participation*. The ladder consists of the following steps: Manipulation (0), Information (1), Consultation (2), Partnership (3), Control (4).

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[56] Israeli Bureau of Statistics.
[57] http://www.cbs.gov.il.

Table 16: Residents' participation in the 'Right to Buy'

Level of Participation	0	1	2	3	4	9	Total[58]
Residents	**3**	**18**	**13**	**14**	**4**	**1**	**53**
• leaders	0	4	4	8	2	0	**18**
• moderate	2	3	7	3	2	0	**17**
participants	1	11	2	3	0	1	**18**
• random							
Non-residents	**0**	**8**	**14**	**9**	**1**	**5**	**37**
• informers	0	2	9	7	1	2	**21**
• implementers	0	6	3	1	0	3	**13**
• decision-makers	0	0	2	1	0	0	**3**

Source: Israeli RTB survey – Guy Doron, 2005–09

Overall, residents' responses show that they evaluated their participation as moderate. Although the most common response (30%) was of a low level of information, overall, the majority of leaders 43% grading their involvement at the 'partnership' level, leaders noted higher levels of participation since their involvement in the design of the RTB was indeed higher than others. Many among the random sample were unaware of the legislation process.

Non-residents, however, evaluated resident influence slightly higher and set it at consultation level. In fact, non-residents deemed the influence and effective lobbying of residents as pivotal to the RTB legislation. This higher rating of residents' contribution comes more from informers/supporters, as they cooperated with residents during the legislation and could closely evaluate and appraise their contribution. Others, such as implementers, who hardly cooperated with residents, did not deny residents' participation but doubted its influence. Overall, non-residents assessed residents' participation slightly higher than residents themselves, which refers explicitly to the independent platform residents mounted and occupied during the RTB, more than any other social programme.

Residents were so keen to act and persist with their attempts that even when their initial approach was denied, they kept pushing to influence the legislative process:

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[58] N/A: **Residents** – 1; Leaders – 0; Moderate Participants; – 0; Random – 1; **Non-residents** –5; Informers – 2; Implementers 3; Decision-Makers – 0.

In some cases, residents had to pull rank and initiated their own activities to influence management: although officials preferred we didn't take part, we insisted on being involved, regrouped, contacted exterior and independent experts and together with them acted. (Solomon)

Residents believed they are more capable of taking managerial tasks than the previous generation and the RTB is a proof for that:

The next generation of residents are now skilled and educated enough to handle management, surely better than Amidar's officials, who show up only once in two years. (Yashar).

Yet the bad stigma council estates gained (illustration 35) affected the chances for governments to allow participation and residents needed to work twice as hard to prove they can:

Residents are capable of carrying out self-managerial positions; however, when a neighbourhood is stigmatised as disadvantaged, no one will allocate managerial positions to residents, so the stigma wins over individuals' capabilities. (Awadat, Amer)

35. Public housing estate under bad management. Source: http://www.magazin.org.il/ inner.asp?page=212890

In conclusion, residents considered themselves capable of being involved in deciding their future and in shaping legislation related to their housing conditions. Indeed, they played a major role in the RTB enactment process when allowed and even when not allowed.

The vast majority of non-residents agreed that residents were capable of positively influencing the legislation process and highlighted the substantial contribution residents made when they were given a chance to do so by MPs. The overall opinion, however, was that resident participation should be monitored and guided.

Academics (illustration 7.26) and other experts (illustration 7.27) who observed residents during the legislation of the RTB, noted their knowledge and familiarity with local issues and agreed that they showed sufficient competence to exercise responsibility over project management: "The most important value shaping participative democracy is arguably that people know better what is good for them and are better off when they have choices" (Dahan, Weintrob).

The RTB experience demonstrated that when residents were allowed to participate their responsibility increased and thus their commitment to create a change: "We have noticed that when responsibility is delivered to residents through management tasks, their attitude inevitably transforms to be more committed and satisfied" (Nuri).

Participation builds trust and when residents were allowed to participate they showed a desire to improve their conditions:

> Many of them expressed their willingness to participate while talking to our staff. While the project was managed by the government, residents were totally apathetic, but this has changed since we allowed them to develop programmes or to take part in local initiatives. (Ilani)

One decision-maker (see illustration 6.35) argued that residents' experience gave them an edge when discussing the fine print of the legislation and the need to plan budgets: "Poor people are the most suitable for planning budgets in duress conditions. If she couldn't plan her expenses properly, a single mother would not survive" (Guzanski).

Senior officials (illustration 7.28) in the Housing Ministry indicated that if residents are actively united they can act as a pressure group to promote legislations that are important for them:

> When democratic requirements are met, elected representatives work hard to gain residents' support again and to earn themselves another term in charge and, therefore, create the best for their fellow residents. However, all the budgetary aspects, as well as management decisions, need to be under close supervision. (Schwartz, Miara)

To conclude, the majority of non-resident respondents agreed that residents proved their ability to make a valuable contribution during the RTB legislation process, that participation increases responsibility, commitment and trust and, where allowed, generates success. Nevertheless, governments did not encourage participation during the RTB.

7.4.2 Long-term Involvement

One of the most important factors of participation in successful empowerment is continuity — i.e., the extent to which residents maintain and develop their participation. In relation to social policies participants argue that real empowerment is where projects should ideally continue to take effect in neighbourhoods, while control is progressively handed to local residents who eventually take over from officials and run projects on their own. The following section presents results about the continuity of residents' activism as a corollary of the RTB.

The following table presents a summary of participants' assessment of the continuity and long term impact of residents' participation following the RTB.

Table 17: Continuity of activism and involvement in the RTB

Changes in participation levels over time	Still highly active	From highly active to moderately active	From highly active to not active	From moderately active to not active	Never active	Total [59]
Residents	**11**	**4**	**9**	**1**	**5**	**30**
• leaders	5	2	5	0	0	**12**
• moderate participants	3	2	4	1	0	**10**
• random	3	0	0	0	5	**8**
Non-residents	**14**	**5**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**24**
• informers/supporters	9	4	3	0	0	**16**
• implementers	3	0	2	0	0	**5**
• decision-makers	2	1	0	0	0	**3**

Source: Israeli RTB survey - Guy Doron, 2005–09

A third of residents (36.7%) stated that they are still highly involved in social and community activity; another third (30%) said that they were significantly involved during the legislation process, but that their activity waned when the legislation was passed. These results can be interpreted in relation to success rates or personal achievements. Those who were more enthusiastic and encouraged by their contribution, or achieved personal progress in spite of government resistance, continue their activism, while those who were more disappointed by the government's negative attitude withdrew their participation. This table also indicates that the RTB is no longer a 'live' issue but rather a programme that concessive governments managed to bury.

For some, success in spite of the negative environment created a desire to continue, while for others, the aggravation and nuisance of fighting powerful bodies for respect and consent proved too much. Among the latter group, those who managed to buy their home after they had won their personal battle, felt they had had enough and withdrew their participation. Those who failed in their private efforts became more indifferent than previously. Some residents, especially leaders, emphasised that the time spent and stress experienced as a result of their activities created chaos in their personal lives and that the pressure became unbearable. Therefore, when these voluntary activities started to impact on their work performance and jeopardised their ability to hold on to their jobs, they had to

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[59] N/A: **Residents** – 13; Leaders – 6; Moderate Participants – 7; Random – 10; **Non-residents** – 13; Informers – 5; Implementers – 8; Decision Makers – 0.

relinquish their community activism. Some stated that the pressure from other members of the community, who had made unsuccessful attempts to purchase their homes, was hard to take and after feeling they could no longer serve the community and get the expected results, they decided to withdraw from the public arena.

The majority (58.3%) of non-residents are still highly involved in social policy either as governmental employees or as social activists; the rest have either reduced or ended their involvement. Once the RTB legislation was passed, the need to promote the bill ended and, as a result, some of those who did not hold an official role ended their involvement.

Overall, results show that more of the involved participants reduced or ended their participation rather than continued to be involved. This is an indication that empowerment had not yet become completely rooted as some activists indicated (illustrations 7.29 & 7.30):

> Unfortunately, the experience of the RTB is not consistent and is yet to have continuity. Long-term planning and community perceptions are still in short supply, and government's formal attitude is less concerned about involving residents than it should be. (Epstein, Wharton, Danon)

Participation is only one aspect in the greater empowerment context. In order for real empowerment to flourish public policy matters, authorities should accept, support and promote that participation. The next sections discuss the impact of public policy on empowerment during the RTB.

7.4.3 Public Policy towards Resident Involvement in the RTB

In order to assess the extent and type of public policy or government support of resident participation during the RTB, residents were asked to categorise its scope. In order to provide a comprehensive picture, non-residents also evaluated this factor. The measurement tool used to assess and compare public policy was a simple negative-to-positive scale. Participants, however, further categorised government support into two more median stages (moderate support and high support).The following table presents a summary of participants' assessment of public policy towards residents' participation.

Table 18: Government attitude towards residents' involvement

	Negative	Moderate Support	Supportive	Very Supportive	Total
Residents	**43**	**7**	**1**	**0**	**53**
• leaders	16	2	0	0	18
• moderate participants	16	0	1	0	17
• random	11	5	0	0	18
Non-residents	**25**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**37**
• informers/supporters	17	2	0	0	21
• implementers	5	3	2	1	13
• decision-making	3	0	0	0	3

Source: Israeli RTB survey - Guy Doron, 2005–09[60]

Residents' responses show that, overall, the majority observed negative public policy towards their participation. The results were replicated across all residents. These results have further significance in that all participants, both residents and non-residents, acknowledged residents' influence over the creation and wording of the RTB legislation. All agree that their participation was critical in terms of making the bill law, their contribution was highly appreciated by MPs, motivated and supported by external experts and NGOs, and yet completely denied by governmental bodies. The fact that residents managed to influence legislation in spite of the government's negative attitude reinforces the view that they can make a significant contribution and reinforce demands that they take a greater share in decision making in the future.

One focal factor associated with public policy is provision of tools to improve resident participation, the most known tool is training and education schemes. The next section elaborates more on that.

7.4.4 Training and Education Schemes

Training and education schemes came up in most of the interviews and were generally described as a fundamental tool to improve residents' participation and performance. Many believe it is the duty of the authorities to provide these courses in order to encourage residents to participate, and for their participation to be effective. One of the key factors in assessing government support of resident empowerment is the provision of adequate training schemes (illustration 36).

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[60] N/A: **Residents** – 2; Leaders – 0; Moderate Participants – 0; Random – 2; **Non-residents** – 4; Informers/Supporters – 2; Implementers – 2; Decision-makers – 0.

36. <u>NGO offers training to residents</u>. This is a course on managing a budget, delivered to residents by the NGO Yadid in the city of Zfat.
Source: http://www.zefatcenter.co.il/content.php?id=26

The vast majority of residents agreed that training and education schemes are extremely important. They enrich their knowledge and nurture their skills and build up their confidence, empowering them to contribute to their communities:

Training can serve as a springboard motion for residents to shift to better employment and community roles. Not only would these improve conditions, but they would also give residents hope in their ability to make a change. (Awadat, Zidan)

If you want to push many among the disadvantaged population to gain managerial skills, and get involved, these schemes are essential as they help residents to overcome the knowledge they lack. (Bat Chava)

There was no doubt as to residents' skills since, even without training, residents played a vital role in changing the public's mind regarding the RTB legislation. It was nevertheless assumed that residents sometimes needed guidance as to the right direction to take. Leaders (illustrations 7.31 & 7.32) were first to acknowledge that they needed more guidance in order to achieve better managerial results:

Even skilful residents need not only support, but also professional supervision in order to direct their potential in the right path and gain success in management. (Nadler, Vasana, Kashani)

Residents hoped and expected training schemes to be available as part of social services provided by state institutions like the housing companies, but this was not the case:

The housing company has no awareness of the importance of such courses. Officials are narrow-minded and focused only on doing the minimum required from their role and that's about it. (Awadat, Chalfus, Zidan, Vazana)

We believe such training should be provided by the community centres, but in poor neighbourhoods, social and community services are also very poor and thus training were only a dream. (Drix, Yashar) (illustration 7.33)

Since residents believed that training and education schemes are fundamental for progress towards influential roles in management, and since formal authorities did not deliver these schemes, residents decided, at times with the cooperation of external bodies, to conduct their own courses in their communities:

With proper training we could gain more influence over projects, yet this has never been offered by any governmental body, therefore we have designed courses ourselves with support from NGOs. (Ezov, Zazon, Kashani)

These courses were generally felt to have been successful: "Empowerment courses to build up local leadership were operated by external experts. They gave us a tremendous lift and helped us to empower ourselves" (Solomon, Hajaj).

To sum up, residents considered training and education schemes to be important. In most cases, the government did not provide these schemes; the few courses available were organised by external experts or NGOs. In these cases, residents' responses were good, and the impact of the schemes was positive.

The majority of non-residents also assessed training and education schemes as an important empowerment tool:

During the legislation of the 'Right to Buy,' residents were involved in operational bodies, thanks mainly to courses that helped residents, and especially the next generation to participate effectively and to influence the building up of their community. (Weintrob, Dahan)

Decision-makers also seemed to agree on the importance of these courses: "Training schemes are an excellent empowering tool. Not only are residents given something back, but it's also their ticket for equal citizenship" (Cohen).

Social activists (illustration 7.34), who were involved in providing such courses to residents, still believe that it is the government's duty to provide them:

> We believe that it is a state's obligation to provide residents with professional assistance and knowledge to gain such capabilities and to allow more opportunities to take part in decision making. (Epstein, Wharton, Atias).

In fact, wherever training and education schemes were provided, respondents who were involved with such courses commented on the significance of their contribution:

> The whole idea our organisation follows is to facilitate disadvantaged populations with empowerment practice. I'm fully confident in residents' abilities to control processes. We are working hard in that field and the results of our schemes provide us with the assuredness that with the right approach this is more than possible. (Epstein, Nuri)

Non-residents also confirmed that the majority of courses were not provided by the government. NGOs were very active in supporting residents with such schemes and there were also some local municipalities that joined forces with external experts to deliver such courses:

> It was up to the housing companies to provide budgets and resources for that, but they didn't; the Housing Ministry failed to a great extent by missing that. (Danon, Wharton, Atias).

When the government was absent from the training support arena, other organisations had to step in:

> We have organised residents' activities to cover the gap the authorities have left in that area and it has had a huge impact on the community. In residents' views, we are considered a positive body and, thus, have their cooperation. (Ilani)

Senior implementers from the Housing Ministry (see illustration 5.9) and Amidar insisted that a variety of courses were available, but agreed that provision was insufficient:

> There were some courses operated by Amidar in the past, but these are not courses aimed at educating residents to run their projects or empower them; it's definitely not up to that level. The idea of residents' managements in Israel is yet to be realised. The common belief is that residents shouldn't be trusted for such tasks. (Pialkoff, Swhartz, Miara)

Amongst decision-makers, there was an agreement that courses were unavailable or insufficient:

> No training schemes were conducted. The departure point of governmental attitude is that poverty is caused by the individual and not by the system and, therefore, the individual should find their way out. (Guzanski)

> Courses were operated, but not in order to develop managerial qualifications among residents for them to run their own projects, but in order to encourage them to be more involved in community activity. (Edelstein, illustration 7.35)

To conclude, the majority of non-residents who participated in RTB agreed that to increase residents' empowerment, training and education schemes were essential, yet they were rarely delivered by government bodies. Whenever they were conducted by external experts or NGOs, the results were positive. Even given the assumption that good courses are difficult to run and that it is not credible that all training is indeed life-changing, most residents were enthusiastic about participating in what was offered, and absenteeism was very low.

In order to assess what residents really felt about public policy towards participation, we asked them to measure their overall levels of satisfaction with the RTB programme and also their satisfaction with their share in it. The results are in the next section.

7.4.5 Satisfaction

Another key factor in assessing public policy is residents' satisfaction. Participants assessed their overall satisfaction with housing policy and the RTB in general (table 19) and with their role in it (table 20). In brief, residents were satisfied with their role in the programme but at the same time frustrated with its outcome. Non-residents' views were slightly different; they were more satisfied with the social implications of the programme than with residents' influence on it.

The table below offers a summary of views presented by participants in regard to their satisfaction with the RTB and its impact on social housing policy in Israel. The results are presented on a satisfied / not satisfied scale.

Table 19: Levels of satisfaction with the RTB programme and its impact on social housing policy

Satisfaction Levels	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total[61]
Residents	**15**	**15**	**30**
• leaders	9	3	**12**
• moderate participants	4	6	**10**
• random	2	6	**8**
Non-residents	**14**	**10**	**24**
• informers	8	8	**16**
• implementers	4	1	**5**
• decision-makers	2	1	**3**

Source: Israeli RTB survey - Guy Doron, 2005–09

While non-residents considered RTB outcomes satisfactory, residents were less satisfied with the social ramifications of RTB. One reason for this could relate to the fact that the law was only partially implemented, leaving many unable to purchase their units, causing widespread dissatisfaction. It could also be related to the long dispute that brought residents and authorities in conflict with each other over a long period of time, which left a negative legacy. However, the majority of leaders presented more satisfied views, probably because they were more involved in the process and had had some level of influence over it.

Non-residents were generally satisfied with RTB outcomes. Most of the dissatisfied responses came from members of the informers/supporters group, while implementers and decision-makers presented greater satisfaction with the social impact of the programme. Members of the informers/supporters group cooperated with residents and, thus, shared their dissatisfaction and disappointment with the unsupportive public policy and the long dispute. In contrast, implementers, who were responsible for the daily operation of the programme, focused more on the satisfaction of those that managed to purchase their homes, believed that under the circumstances, the RTB has fulfilled its mission.

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[61] N/A: **Residents** – 13; Leaders – 6; Moderate Participants – 7; Random – 10; **Non-residents** – 13; Informers – 5, Implementers – 8, Decision Makers – 0.

The table below offers a summary of views regarding the level of satisfaction with resident participation in the RTB.

Table 20: Satisfaction from residents participation in the RTB

Satisfaction Levels	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total[62]
Residents	**20**	**10**	**30**
• leaders	10	2	**12**
• moderate participants	4	6	**10**
• random	6	2	**8**
Non-residents	**16**	**8**	**24**
• informers	12	4	**16**
• implementers	1	4	**5**
• decision makers	3	0	**3**

Source: Israeli RTB survey - Guy Doron, 2005–09

When assessing residents' satisfaction with their participation in the RTB, results acknowledge higher satisfaction rates than satisfaction with the programme itself. Note that leaders' results were of high satisfaction, mainly because of their active role in drafting and promoting the bill, while the less-involved residents were less satisfied.

The majority of non-resident respondents corroborated the residents' views and felt that levels of resident participation had been 'satisfactory'. Again, informers/supporters, who were involved in residents' activities and closely observed their performance, were more satisfied than decision-makers. Implementers were generally less pleased with the role residents' had.

The overriding response from residents was that they were satisfied with their participation in the RTB and the process they had initiated, but dissatisfied with the negative government attitude towards their involvement:

> I'm satisfied with our role in the RTB. We have proved what we are capable of achieving when united, and passing a law while the government is opposed to it is a great achievement, unfortunately though this participation did not last long. (Nadler, Yashar, Zidan, Solomon Hajaj, Zazon, Vazana, Kashani, Awadat)

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[62] N/A **Residents** – 13; Leaders – 6; Moderate Participants – 7; Random – 10; **Non-residents** – 13; Informers – 5; Implementers 8; Decision Makers – 0.

Among the non-residents, informers/supporters held similar views to residents. They were impressed by the residents' influence, though not by public policy towards their participation:

> Thanks to residents activities more than 17,000 tenants have managed to buy their homes. Most evictions were prevented, services and maintenance improved, which is very satisfactory. Still, the RTB as a constitutional law was never implemented in full, the government's attitude towards resident needs was insufficient, and officials were not very supportive. (Dahan, Nuri, Atias)

> The RTB is one of the most successful examples we have for residents' participation. Residents managed to gain responsibility over decisions affecting them and directed policy to the way that benefited them most. (Epstein, Wharton, Danon, Chishin (see illustration 6.39)

Decision-makers were also impressed with the residents' contribution:

> 25,000 families turned into owners and independent from housing support, which is, on its own, a great achievement. Those residents have earned economic stability and, importantly, are more proud citizens now. The RTB process lifted their confidence and will be remembered as a phenomenal democratic change written in their names, which proves again that togetherness and desire can win a fight for any group. (Cohen, Guzanski)

Implementers appreciated residents' focal role in initiating the RTB, but believed that this participation had not been sustained and had had little influence:

> The RTB gave a boost to housing issues and needs. It happened mainly because of residents' output, their display during the Knesset discussion and the PR they made for their issue, which was a top lobbying performance. Still, their influence was limited and has not last long. Residents were easy to give up. (Pialkoff, Ilani)

To conclude, residents were more satisfied with the role they had during the RTB, mainly because of cooperation with MPs and their influence on the legislation, and were less pleased with the unsupportive public policy towards their participation. Non-residents, however, were more pleased with the RTB's social impact than with the residents' input.

7.4.6 Protest and Social Unrest

One of the main features synonymous with satisfaction or actual dissatisfaction is protest and demonstrations. Demonstrations and protests were organised by residents to promote the RTB, to generate enough support among MPs and to overcome the government's objections to the legislation. At the same time, demonstrations were also to show dissatisfaction with the programme. In terms of empowerment, these demonstrations are important because residents managed to collaborate in order to better their social conditions and social status, raise awareness, which assured them of their capacity to drive social and civic change, and symbolised empowerment as a real possibility. They also helped residents to achieve positive public relations and media coverage which, in turn, impacted on policy making (illustration 37).

37. <u>Residents protest</u> outside the offices of the public housing company, Halamish, in Tel Aviv, against the lack of housing solutions for poor residents. Their leader, Reuven Aberjel, is speaking. Source: http://www.blacklabor.org/?p=28426

The majority of those who participated in the demonstrations confirmed that they had an active role in organising protests and that they were joined by their supporters: academics, social workers, social and political activists, and NGOs. Nevertheless, opinions on the impact of these protests vary. Residents believe the protests put pressure on officials in regard to the programme (illustration 38). Among non-residents, views were diverse. While informers and decision-makers agreed that demonstrations had a predominant role in turning the RTB into a reality, implementers dismissed their impact.

38. <u>Residents protesting in front of Amidar offices</u> across the country demanding RTB implementation. Source: http://diortzibury.wordpress.com

Many residents observed that their active participation in protests led to major achievements, the most decisive of which was bringing down the objection to the RTB. To many, the demonstrations were the main factor that created the shift in public policy towards the RTB legislation:

> The influence of demonstrations was enormous, as we forced political change and supported those who had committed to enact the RTB to come into power. Consequently, a government Act was introduced and this was, in many ways, a result of our protests. (Drix, Awadat)

> After politicians were exposed to our protests and confirmed the support we had from the public, their opinions towards the legislation changed and they voted in favour of the law. (Kashani)

Another important positive factor was that demonstrations promoted community consolidation, unity and cohesion as community act together to publicly voice their dissatisfaction. Additionally, the RTB protests were the first time after long spell (since the D&R protests during the 1960s) that groups of residents got together to campaign against lack of housing solution for those in needs:

> It gave us the opportunity to speak up publicly; it was also crucial in bringing the subject to the public. Protests, operated on a weekly basis, mainly in Jerusalem in front of government offices, raised a sense of community and commitment among residents. (Ezov, Hajaj)

Some residents who were highly active during protests admitted that the way officials responded to demonstrations was disappointing. They hardly considered

the protest as an issue worth attention, although residents were determined to prove their arguments. They continued to protest and maintain their resistance even when they feared they were wasting their time and that no one would ever listen to them:

> The process was long and frustrating and there were times I thought, why we are doing this if no one listening anyway? (Ezov) … we were not a strong group and thus less effective compared to other groups... still our protest help to overturn the dismissal into a law. (Zazon, Vazana; Yashar, Bat Chava)

> Our main target was to achieve media exposure for the issue and demonstrations did exactly that. Not only did we raise the awareness of more residents to their rights, but we also raised more support among decision makers for the RTB. (Nadler, Solomon)

Many, especially among the informers/supporters, agreed with the majority of residents and stressed the positive impact of the demonstrations both on community cohesion and on changing public policy:

> Residents' pressure resulted in the implementation of the government Act. This was one of their greatest achievements as they understood what was in their power to achieve when organised together; they moved up the ladder from group to class. (Epstein, Wharton, Nuri, Danon Dahan, Weintrob, Atias)

Decision-makers also agreed that the protests contributed to the social change RTB brought about:

> Residents' lobbying and activities had a huge effect on public opinion. They managed to create an atmosphere of social failure within their neighbourhoods, which highlighted the need for the legislation. (Cohen, Edelstein) Protests are an establishing stage that determines protesters identity and directs their personal distress to a political voice. (Guzanski)

By contrast, however, many of the implementers stated that residents' protests had a negative impact and did not change their behaviour. The same feeling was shared by some residents who felt that the protests had a minor influence on implementers:

> Demonstrations had zero influence, nothing whatsoever. I don't consider them as something that affects policy making (Shwartz, Pialkoff) ... normally, protesting outside of the Knesset does not guarantee an immediate solution or any solution at all. (Ilani)

To conclude, most participants confirmed that protests had a significant impact on shaping and furthering residents' demands and building a strong community response to public policy. Many participants also believed that these demonstrations had a major impact on changing MPs' state of mind regarding the legislation. Some other residents and the majority of the implementers, though, played down the role of the protests. Their observations were that these demonstrations did not make lasting changes to the legislative process as only some parts of RTB were enacted.

There were other examples of dissatisfaction and those were primarily when residents of poor neighbourhoods compared public policy towards the RTB with the public policy presented to residents of publicly funded houses elsewhere. The next section elaborates on this further.

7.5 Public Policy towards Exceptional 'Right to Buy' Cases

When it comes to investigating public policy during the RTB, interviewees raised two additional specific issues that illustrated more clearly their dissatisfaction with the public policy as stated by officials. There are those who might suggest that these issues dealt with collective good or political implementation, however participants insisted that these issues were an example of the different public policy presented to different groups of residents derived directly by their level of empowerment. The first was the debate involving residents of Amigur and the government's attempt to prevent its inclusion in RTB.(illustrations 7.36 & 7.37) The second relates to the housing rights given to residents who live in publicly funded housing built in rural communities, such as Kibbutzim and Moshavim (illustration 7.38). The following section discusses these two issues.

7.5.1 The Government of Israel, the Jewish Agency and Amigur

A principal controversy that figured in residents' memories of the RTB was the debate surrounding the inclusion of units owned by Amigur in the RTB sales. As a joint owner of Amigur (together with the state), the Jewish Agency (illustrations 7.39 & 7.40) opposed Amigur's inclusion in the RTB sales unless it was compensated for each unit sold. In the absence of such an agreement, the RTB sales started by including units from all companies except Amigur. Residents of Amigur properties naturally protested against their exclusion, and only the coming elections rushed the government to sign an agreement allowing their inclusion in the RTB. The agreement, according to many, was an example of unsupportive and un-progressed public policy. Some even called it irresponsible. The agreement met all

of the Jewish Agency's demands, including full compensation for each unit sold. The most disturbing aspect, according to residents, was the exploitation of RTB income to fund this agreement instead of creating new housing solutions for those in need as initially targeted. (Appendix 6:8 and Appendix 6:9).

The majority of residents cite the agreement between the government and Amigur as further proof of unsupportive public policy, which was totally against their preferences or interests and provided the Jewish Agency with unfair benefits:

> The fact that the government signed such an agreement speaks volumes about their sensitivity and care of residents' needs. To waste the income from council housing sales which was meant to support the poor in order to fund the most affluent organisation probably in the Jewish world, is, in my opinion one of the state's greatest shames. (Nadler, Chalfus, Yashar).

The most distressing issue for residents, therefore, was the fact that the RTB income, which was supposed to be reinvested in building new housing solutions, ended up paying compensation to an organisation outside Israel that initially donated money to assist Israel to build housing solutions for the most in need. One of the recurrent arguments against council housing sales in general is that it can wipe out the majority of stock and leave very few options for residents in need. Residents therefore insisted that RTB should include a section guaranteeing that the income from sales would be directed exclusively to renewing the council housing stock. Giving away the income so cheaply and to one of the richest organisations in the Jewish world caused a great deal of frustration. Residents felt that it showed, once again, officials' irrelevant decision-making based on preferential treatment of the wealthy and of those who had more access to decision-makers:

> The contract with the Jewish Agency stated that they would receive full compensation from the sales, so all the income from sales has been delivered back to the JA abroad, rather to residents' needs in Israel's poor neighbourhoods, and the JA used this for their own purposes irrelevant to housing policy for the disadvantaged. (Kashani, Zazon, Hajaj, Vazana)

Similar views were expressed by non-residents, with the majority declaring the agreement unfair and unreasonable:

> Financially, this was imprudent, as eventually the whole income has had to be transferred to the Jewish community worldwide, while this money was intended to be reinvested in housing solutions, refurbishment or the well-being of residents in need. (Dahan, Epstein)

A few informers/supporters suspected that the whole Amigur saga was another indication of officials' dismissive attitude towards the RTB programme and residents of poor neighbourhoods:

> As the government opposed the RTB, they sought all sorts of systems and combinations in order to prevent its implementation. This was one of the ways to avoid the implementation of the Act. (Wharton, Chishin, Atias)

Residents were very disappointed, especially when comparing the treatment they had received during discussions and the way in which officials treated the JA team from the USA:

> The Jewish Agency's representatives came to the Knesset meetings escorted by their high-class lawyers, who came specifically from the United States, and most of them did not speak Hebrew at all. Looking at the scenario in the committee, where the most rich and powerful group, supported by high-class lawyers and above all government officials, came to debate the poorest group — it was very depressing. (Danon)

The harshest criticism was made by the decision-makers, perhaps because they were the most active in the Knesset committees and the most vocal against the JA representatives:

> This agreement is immoral and illegal. Amigur was always selling units and never asked for any compensation for that. This was the first time in the Zionist history where the poor residents of Israel funded the wealthy communities abroad, when it should be the other way round. This agreement is loathsome. (Cohen)

> This agreement is a disgrace. I cannot understand the reasons and causes for such an agreement to be concluded. If I had held a ministerial position, I would never have accepted such an agreement. (Guzanski)

However, there were those among the decision-makers who had a close relationship with the Jewish Agency and attempted to offer an explanation, even though they still believed the agreement was wrong:

> There is some reasonable logic in the claim that the agreement is unfair, and I can agree with part of it. Still, the government cannot occupy units which are not theirs. Also we must not forget the huge contribution that the Jewish congregations around the world have made to the housing market in Israel — Amigur in particular. (Edelstein)

Implementers' views are expected to be less correlated with residents, yet some insisted that the agreement was simply untenable, and completely against residents' interests and the social interests of the regime:

> There is no doubt that this specific agreement with the Jewish Agency is outrageous, but the main problem was the initial intention to secure RTB revenues to the benefit of the poor by allocating them new housing solutions. I was highly doubtful from day one, and I wasn't wrong. (Shwartz, Miara)

Even among those implementers who believed that compensation to the JA was just and proper, the fact that it jeopardised RTB income was regarded as a clear mistake. The following statement is by H. Pialkoff, who is perhaps the most senior person in the Housing Ministry responsible for the council housing stock:

> I do think that the agreement with the Jewish Agency is a drain, as it wastes the RTB income. Yet, the money paid to the JA is fair compensation for their previous investment that was lost in the council-housing market. Those units are the JA's property and were given to the Housing Ministry 'on loan'; we never considered those units as state property. When the RTB was enacted, it was right that we buy these flats; otherwise, they wouldn't go on sale. The only unfair issue was that we were obliged to pay the JA from the RTB revenue. The treasury office should not have funded the agreement with the JA from this trust, but from other sources. (Pialkoff)

To conclude, there was almost a consensus among both residents and non-residents that the agreement with the JA over Amigur was signed under pressure and not for the best social outcomes. For many residents, this episode demonstrated a lack of government concern for poor residents and its bias in public policy towards wealthy and powerful organisations.

7.5.2 Housing Rights in Rural Communities

When discussing the RTB, residents of council housing estates mainly considered the treatment of residents of publicly funded houses in rural communities, such as the Kibbutzim, the trigger for the RTB. Although housing solutions in both council housing estates in poor neighbourhoods and publicly-funded housing communities in the Kibbutzim were built, funded and distributed by central government, more or less at the same time, services and residents opportunities were at a different level by far. Public policy to areas or residents with powerful political influence — like residents of rural communities — always seemed better; participants of this research referred to residents of rural communities such as the Kibbutzim and Moshavim (villages) as powerful groups with considerable influence which were offered better services and government care of their housing needs.

Housing rights in the Kibbutzim, for example, were consistently compared to those in poor neighbourhoods. Distribution of tenures to Kibbutzim residents living in publicly funded housing were compared with similar demands by residents of council-housing in poor neighbourhoods. Those who initiated the RTB verified that the idea came after similar beneficial ruling was offered to residents of rural communities. Residents of the Kibbutzim used their strong political lobby to obtain extended housing rights in their communities and, furthermore, to put forward The Tenure Rights Legislation for Rural Communities, a bill that allowed them to change land-use regulations from agricultural to housing and commerce at no cost.

This disposition enabled them to extend and improve their housing conditions and to pass on their housing rights to their next of kin, whereas the next of kin of residents of the council estates were forced to leave properties immediately after their parents died. Residents of council housing felt that, like the residents of the Kibbutzim, they deserved to be able to buy their properties and bequeath them to the next generation. During the 1990s, social activists petitioned the Supreme Court and demanded allowances in terms of housing rights similar to those given to residents of the Kibbutzim, and since then the different groups have been in competition. Social activists representing the organisation that created the petition (illustration 7.41 & 7.42) argue that Kibbutzim benefited with better terms than those in poor neighbourhoods, even though in both communities were publicly-funded housing (Karif, 2007).

To prove claims of favouritism, they cited that the same ILA (Israeli Land Authority), which was hostile to housing-right allocations in publicly funded housing

estates, simultaneously authorised extensive building rights in the publicly funded housing of the Kibbutzim. (Cohen, 2007; Los, 2007). These events inspired council estate residents to initiate a similar rule – the RTB. The section below presents participants' perspectives and comparisons regarding public policy towards each of the projects. As an overview, the table below represents a very clear indication of the way participants compare between the two and notes better treatment of Kibbutzim residents. The vast majority of participants in this research, both resident and non-resident, stated that housing rights offered in the Kibbutzim were superior to those offered in poor neighbourhoods..

Views are categorised under three main headings:

1 – Similar government attitude

2 – Superior government attitude towards the Kibbutzim that the RTB balance

3 – Better public policy towards Kibbutzim

Table 21: Participants' views comparing distribution of housing rights in Kibbutzim and in council housing estates in poor neighbourhoods

Assessments of services	1	2	3	Total
Residents	**4**	**8**	**32**	**53**
• leaders	1	3	13	18
• moderate participants	0	3	13	17
• random	3	2	6	18
Non-residents	**8**	**5**	**20**	**37**
• informers	5	3	10	21
• implementers	3	2	7	13
• decision-makers	0	0	3	3

Source – PhD research – Guy Doron, 2005–09[63]

The majority of residents claimed that publicly funded housing and residents of the Kibbutzim were treated better than those in poor neighbourhoods:

> They [Kibbutzim] are a small group of residents with a greater share in land distribution and housing rights, while we (residents of council housing estates in poor neighbourhoods) are a larger group of people with limited access to housing and land. (R. Aberjel D. Elimelech , A. Dagan, D. & S. Azulai S. Meidani)

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[63] N/A: **Residents** – 9; Leaders – 1; Moderate Participants – 1; Random – 7; **Non-residents** – 4; Informers/Supporters – 3; Implementers – 1; Decision-makers – 0.

> Take Kibbutz 'Gaash' as an example. It was established at around the same time as our estate, its residents given free land and their houses getting higher in value, while we are law-abiding residents and get evicted. (D. & R. Balsi)

Many interviewees, both residents and non-residents, explained that this disparity was caused by the Kibbutzim's developed community activities and intense political lobbying, which was perceived as a sign of greater empowerment:

> The reason for this was their strong lobby which, consequently, ensured that not only were they allocated the land, but they also gained approval to keep their housing rights.(G. Golan, Miara)

M. Hamudi, a random interviewee from the Arab village of Kfar Maker, which was surrounded by many Kibbutzim noted that "residents of Kibbutzim are always benefited more as they have more power and influence over governments then we do" (M. Hamudi).

A few resident leaders even mentioned the fact that this unbalanced treatment inspired the social activism that led to the creation of the RTB:

> When formulating our 'Right to Buy' proposal, we adopted the Kibbutzim's principles of inheritance rights in housing, which later became one of the principal values of our 'Right to Buy'. (Zazon, Z. Adika)

One leader, who claimed to be the first to initiate the debate, spoke from personal experience and testified that the comparison with housing rights distributed in the Kibbutzim was the founding stone of the RTB:

> It started when the housing company tried to force my eviction. I was required to check whether my tenancy was legal and what my rights were. I was absolutely confident that I had rights to purchase my flat after my parents passed away. One day, I came across an article dealing with continuation of housing rights for residents of the Kibbutzim. The theme 'continuation rights for the next generation' caught my attention. I wondered how come someone else living in publicly funded house was offered a better solution for the same problem I had. This is where the idea of the 'Right to Buy' act came from. (Vazana)

Residents in poor neighbourhoods wished to be treated the same and realised that only by turning into a political power would they be able to influence decisions:

> The reason for the government to allow residents of the Kibbutzim with housing rights that we were denied was their unity that turned into political influence. They were small in size but very powerful in influence over decision makers. That pushed us to acknowledge that this is the focal point which we are missing — power as a group. If we act wisely and get together, we will be able to force the government to change the law, as we are bigger in size than the Kibbutzim. (Twito [illustration 7.43], Vazana)

This was probably the turning point that pushed residents of publicly funded housing living in poor neighbourhoods to fight for similar housing rights that were informally distributed in rural communities.

Informers/supporters backed residents in poor neighbourhoods and argued that there was no justification for the different treatment and that it pushed them to support residents of poor neighbourhoods when they began the RTB campaign:

> People were very frustrated when they witnessed the partiality which was evident against them for no good reason. There were literally two different sets of housing rules — one formula for dispossessed residents of their homes, while the other allowed residents supplementary privileges and further provision in housing terms, although both groups lived in publicly funded houses having the same duties and rights. (Dahan; Alalo; Epstein, Margalit)

Decision-makers also confirmed that the spirit of the RTB claims surround that debate:

> This claim, as it was declared by residents, definitely worked, as one of the senior publicists asked me once why did you give free housing rights to residents of the Kibbutzim? Having done so, I wondered should we now given the council units for free? (Edelstein)

Officials as well, confirmed the biased treatment of the two groups:

> Residents of poor neighbourhoods were less favoured than residents of the Kibbutzim, who were considered pioneers and were favourite sons of the old dominant political and ethnic regime; therefore, they were preferred over many political groups and benefited from direct access to decision-makers. (Miara; Pade)

O. Laufman, who chaired the habitation division of the JA, one of the most powerful institutions supporting housing investments in rural communities, tried to explain the partiality:

> Yes, there was an affirmative action for rural and peripheral communities and that was the right thing to do. The whole idea of running rural peripheral communities is about continuity — i.e., keeping excessive rights for the next of kin and second generation in order to tempt them to stay — otherwise, why should they? In order to reward those residents living in peripheral communities, the government was willing to secure these extra rights for their children. (Laufman)

Another senior official justified the better provision of housing rights to residents of the Kibbutzim:

> I agree that residents of council housing estates in poor neighbourhoods were less favoured than those of the Kibbutzim, but at the same time we have land constraints and without offering rural communities additional benefits, people were not encouraged to relocate. (Shwartz, Dr C. Pialkoff , S. Ben Eliahu)

Although the majority of non-residents agreed that government favouritism towards the Kibbutzim allowed — and still allows — extensive housing rights, some insisted that residents of the council housing within RTB have managed to turn this attitude on its head, as their lobbying and social activity have legalised the continuity rights section, while the Kibbutzim are still waiting for a similar dispensation:

> Tenure rights should be fairly and equally distributed between residents of publicly funded housing, rural-area residents got these rights informally, while others did not. The idea of the RTB came to correct this injustice and, at the end of the day, the RTB legislation passed faster, while the rural land bill still stuck in committee channels. (Wharton Nuri, Weintrob; Asheri)

In conclusion, the majority of respondents agreed that public policy towards housing rights of residents living in publicly funded housing was much more supportive in the Kibbutzim than in poor neighbourhoods. The majority also indicated that such favouritism was a consequence of better political links and community activism among the Kibbutzim. Still, the exceptional lobbying and community activism of disadvantaged residents during the RTB benefited them, in the end, with almost similar, and in some cases, better results.

7.6 Conclusion

An important point that arose from this research is that, without the committed participation of residents, social programme were doomed to fail. The Right to Buy appears to give evidence that supports the main hypothesis of this research that resident involvement in decision-making can contribute to successful management of housing programmes. Although there are those who argue that nothing in the RTB was managed because residents were not directly involved in housing management, residents claim that their involvement and its impact triggered the RTB which has been the most unprecedented social and housing achievement – when legislated - in Israeli history. There are views that support each argument. However there is no doubt that residents have managed the registration process which in some circumstances could be considered as even harder than managing the housing estate.

With regard to public policy, the second main factors defining empowerment, interviews revealed that in the RTB, *the influence residents asserted was <u>in spite of</u> rather than <u>because of</u> public policy*. That is to say, any discussion of the RTB, whether in terms of parliamentary law or governmental solutions, is now inextricably linked with residents' fight for their rights, and their cooperation with members of parliament in posting opposition to a government that showed little, if any, support for their participation in improving social and welfare conditions.

While government never made a real attempt to involve residents in the legislation's decision-making, MPs did offer residents full cooperation. Residents of poor neighbourhoods took the opportunity and managed to have a significant impact by convincing groups and parties to reverse their objections to the legislation. Without this massive involvement from residents, the RTB is unlikely to have ever come into force, or arguably, to have been initiated at all. Most interviewees saw the eventual success of the residents' lobbying as a major victory. It is important to define success in this case, because even though the full legislation residents initially opted for was not passed, the essence of the residents' argument was passed and despite firm objection from government. This is why the RTB is considered a success. The ability of residents to campaign against the authorities for social change and to be the main drive behind that change is why most participants refer to it as a success.

Although the final government Act was more constrained than residents' initial proposals and the duration of its operation limited, the RTB created a new faith in social

activism amongst the citizens of Israel and pushed more NGOs to act, and positively promoted the potential for residents to impact upon the machinery of government.

It was also evident that public policy (in this regard as presented by the government) towards the programme and residents' involvement was minor, which proved to be un-empowering. Residents' desire to influence the RTB legislation process was rebuffed by officials who opposed it and acted fiercely in denying residents the opportunity to participate in a positive, constructive way. Residents overcame this challenge by acting cohesively and by cooperating with the legislating MPs, who offered them a vital role in wording the law.

Public policy persistently failed to support the RTB, and the fact that residents' participation could not function fully without official structures and support for very long, caused the RTB's social significance to fade over the years. RTB, despite representing a huge achievement for the residents in terms of empowerment, was a short lived and rare experiment.

Part Three

Chapter 8

Analysis of Outcomes of Different Empowerment Programmes

8.1 Introduction

The case studies analysed in this research represent the various social housing programmes in Israel. Each demonstrates a different approach to empowerment. This chapter summarises the information collected in each case study, compares them and discusses their impact on empowerment within the context of Israel. This allows us to answer the following research questions**:** does empowerment of the disadvantaged population matter to the delivery of social and housing policies?; is it achievable?; and through what mechanisms is it achieved?

The main features defining empowerment, for the purpose of this research, were resident participation and public policy towards this participation and towards the investigated programmes. Residents' participation is one of the main catalysts necessary for empowerment and indicates the degree to which residents are involved in social housing programmes. A main hypothesis of this research assumes that *if residents are involved in decision-making, a policy is likely to succeed.* Public policy refers to the nature and level of government support which, through localisation of services, encourages resident involvement and assists residents in improving their skills. A second hypothesis of this research assumes that *if local housing management services are provided locally, in combination with resident involvement, services will improve*.

Another interesting factor that we have identified during the research relates to Israel as a multi conflict society and the role and priority of social policy in policy making where conflicts erupt at the same time.

The first section (8.2) of this chapter highlights both key mechanisms of empowerment (resident participation and public policy) as they appear in each of the housing programmes; section 8.3 compares and contrasts views on empowerment in housing programmes in Israel. Section 8.4 discusses the key results from data collected in the case studies which help to challenge and respond to this thesis's hypothesis and question. Finally, section 8.5 offers conclusions based on the discussion in section 8.4.

8.2 Empowerment as Measured in Israeli Social Housing Programmes

Demolish & Rebuild (D&R), whether controlled by the government or by the private-sector, has shown minimal success in terms of empowerment. *Residents had almost no share in or influence on decision-making and public policy did not welcome their participation*. The following statement from the former general manager of the Housing Ministry summarises the official view of residents' participation in the D&R: "Those who are not passionate about taking part are a waste of time and money, and it's better to just inform them rather than ask them to take a leading role" (S. Ben Eliahu).

Given current housing and land constraints, as well as population density in city centres, such a programme could have offered an effective way to manage housing renewal and improve social conditions. However, with its low empowerment delivery, the D&R programme made a minor impact on housing policy in Israel. In recent years, and for the above-mentioned reasons, there has been a revival of the programme and new attempts, this time with more attention paid to residents, to operate renewal projects.

The Neighbourhood Renewal Programme (NRP) represents some resident participation under moderately supportive public policy. There is a consensus that the NRP appears to have successfully targeted deserving areas that show a high risk of social collapse and offered improvements to housing and facilities. Moreover, the initial formula of the programme included mechanisms that guaranteed resident participation. In practice, residents were invited to participate in management boards, but had limited influence on the decision-making process. Public policy was inconsistent. Investment during the programme's early years was sufficient to create improvements and positive change. Nevertheless, the programme's weakness was that it failed to focus on sustainable communities or make a long-term impact on the lives of local people. Leaders were not encouraged to increase their activities and support in the long term while budgets cuts prevented further investment to create new neighbourhoods. Instead of growing in influence, the NRP has lost its appeal and this has undermined its initial positive achievements. Although the NRP has undoubtedly left its mark on Israeli social policy and will be remembered as a real attempt to improve facilities and housing conditions in poor neighbourhoods, it has ultimately done little to transform them or create any lasting legacy.

Right to Buy (RTB) represents a high level of resident participation under wide-ranging public policy, with unsupportive and uncooperative government attitudes on the one hand, and a cooperative parliamentary attitude towards residents and their initiative on

the other. The influence achieved by residents during RTB was due to their efforts to change government attitudes, rather than being a government-led initiative to help effect social change. The processes whereby ideas are promoted and then turned into policy, that encourage decision-making and drive policy change, are crucial in all democracies. Since the RTB programme was founded on this process, it provides perhaps the best example by which to measure the potential of residents' role in the success of such a programme. Although the final government Act was much more limited than residents' original proposals with the government eventually managing to freeze the law, the RTB created a new faith in social activism amongst disadvantaged groups and supporters of the welfare state. Its positive aspects encouraged task forces to take on other social issues, to push more NGOs to act, and positively promoted residents' leverage over decision-makers.

If we review all the programmes together with the aim of analysing Israeli social policy, we learn that all forms of empowerment (including disempowerment) were tested at some stage, and the results show which had the most positive impact on social policy and what might be the recommended approach.

8.3 Theoretical framework of empowerment in the context of Israeli housing

The theoretical debates that emerged from the literature review suggest that empowerment is a process that depends upon the involvement of communities in producing solutions based on resident participation, public policy and projects tailored to deliver effective change. Empowerment is a tool that allows those in need to respond to structural problems and make social changes. It helps the disadvantaged become a cohesive, well-organised group and enables those that might otherwise remain powerless to gain some control over their lives and conditions. It also provides residents with the appropriate tools to improve their community and — encompassing the whole notion of social activity — to find a way out of dependency. This research, therefore, analysed empowerment in terms of resident participation and public policy towards communities in specific areas.

In terms of the main empowerment features of resident participation and public policy, the programmes analysed for this research provide an overview of the whole range of available scenarios, as summarised in the table, drawing and graph below.

Figure 13 summarises resident participation in each programme. D&R represents a low level of participation (information); the NRP offers a higher level of resident participation (consultation); and the RTB corresponds to partnership.

Figure 13: Residents' participation in Israeli housing programmes: a comparison

PROJECT:	Demolish & Rebuild	Neighbourhood Renewal	Right to Buy
PARTICIPATION LEVEL:			
Information	+	+	+
Consultation	-	+	+
Partnership	-	-	+/-
Control	-	-	-

Figure 14 represents the flow of resident participation across the programmes. The three are boxes organised in a scheme that presents the escalation in terms of participation from a low level in the D&R to a moderate level during the NRP until it reaches a high level in the RTB (increasing from left to right):

Figure 14: Residents' participation in Israeli housing programmes: flow chart

Demolish and Rebuild

Low involvement

Neighbourhood Renewal

Moderate involvement

Right to Buy

High involvement
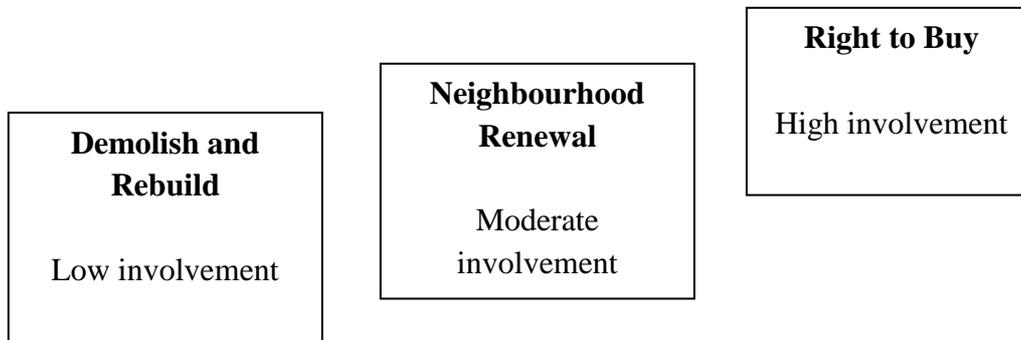
Figure 15 presents the levels of resident participation across the investigated programmes:

Figure 15: Residents' participation in Israeli housing programmes: flow graph
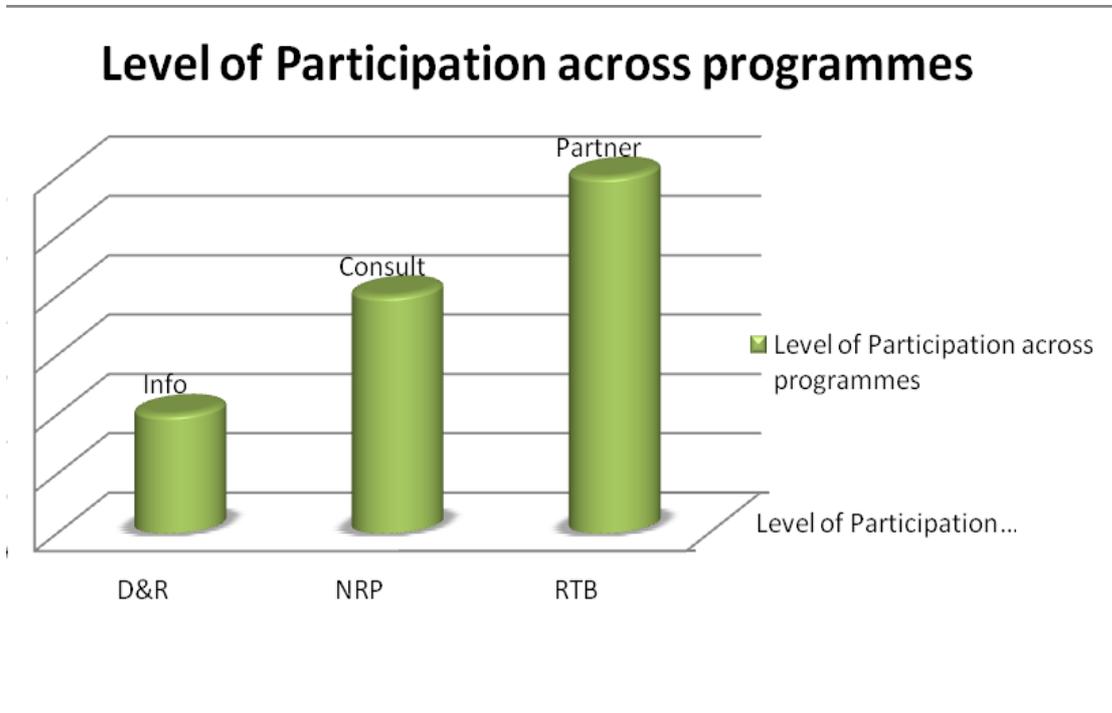
In terms of the other element that defines empowerment — public policy — this requires acknowledgement of problems and dedicated services which allow participation to happen.

Acknowledgement of problems

Social problems, if ignored, have a tendency to grow rather than disappear. It is crucial that governments acknowledge this and recognise that solutions must be devised in order to create social change. The data collected in this research confirms that problems were not ignored and, in order to tackle housing misery, programmes were initiated. Both the NRP and the D&R were top-bottom initiatives. The RTB (bottom-top) was slightly different in that it reacted to external pressure from residents. In principle, it is fair to say that Israeli governments have acknowledged the severity of social and housing needs and attempted to offer solutions.

<u>Localisation</u>

Local services provide bridges between central administration and communities, allowing disadvantaged residents greater access to the centre of power and at the same time simplifying and accelerating operations by making them accountable to tenants. This also links to wider issues, such as employment, job accessibility, environment and facilitation of services. Good services not only improve conditions, but they also increase residents' confidence in their abilities, close gaps and remove obstacles, develop trust and renew enthusiasm for change. Engagement thus becomes worthwhile and self-reinforcing. Based on residents' testimonials, however, services and their standards are insufficient. In the majority of neighbourhoods where programmes had operated, services were not yet fully accessible and those that were offered were inadequately provided.

Figure 16 summarises residents' assessments of public policy in each of the programmes. Public policy during D&R was less supportive, while in the NRP support was higher, although this support can be withdrawn after a decade. The RTB offers a combination of the two extremes: whereas government did not support resident initiative, parliament allowed residents greater influence on formulating and achieving the legislation.

Figure 16: Public policy in Israeli housing programmes: a comparison

PROJECT:	Demolish & Rebuild	Neighbourhood Renewal	Right to Buy
PUBLIC POLICY:			
Limited support	+	-	-/+
Moderate support	-	+	-
Supportive	-	-	+/-

Figure 17 represents the changes in public policy across the programmes from minimal support in the D&R, to moderate support in the NRP (high support at the start which declined in later years), and mixed support (no support from government but high support from parliament) during the RTB (increasing from left to right):

Figure 17: Public policy in Israeli housing programmes: flow graph

		Right to Buy Cooperation with members of Parliament

	Neighbourhood Renewal Attempt to involve residents	**Right to Buy** Rejection of residents' initiative by Government

Demolish and Rebuild Ignored residents' views		
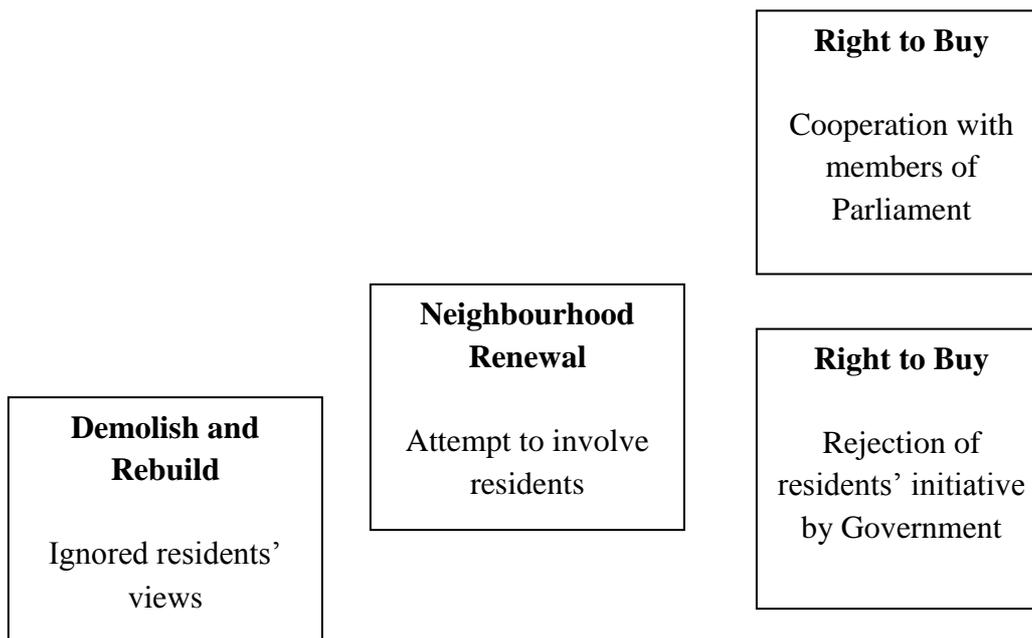
Figure 18 presents the changes in public policy across the programmes:

Figure 18: Public policy in Israeli housing programmes: flow graph
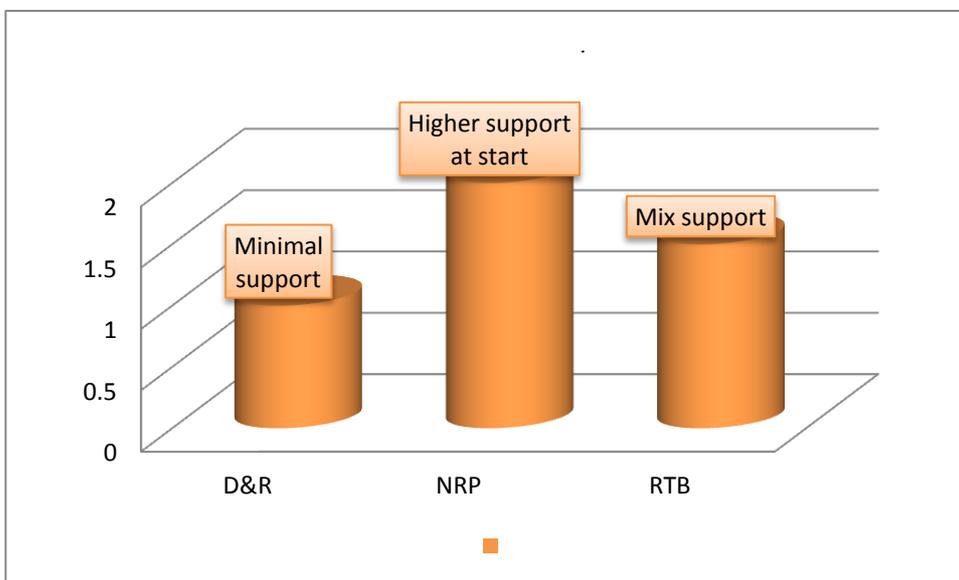
Figures 15 and 18, if combined in one drawing, appear as follows in figure 19. D&R presents the information level of participation and lower support from government; the RTB presents partnership participation levels (which were higher) and moderate support;

and the NRP has the highest support from government, although with a consultation (moderate) level of participation by residents:

Figure 19: Empowerment in Israeli housing policy
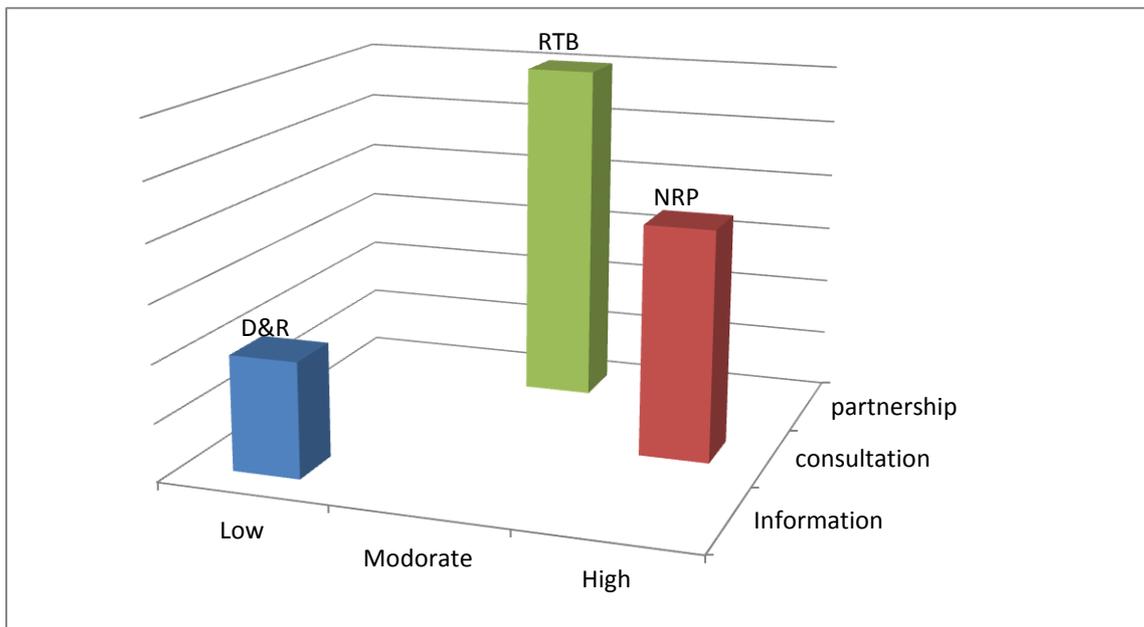
To sum up, social housing policy in Israel offered three main programmes, each representing varying degrees of empowerment. Comparing the programmes allows us to analyse empowerment in differing forms and to conclude what might be the best way to achieve a higher rate of success in social policy. This is the essence of the following sections.

8.4 Key Results

Empowerment has been discussed in detail in this research in the context of its main defining features, but there are a few sub-categories that emerged from residents' responses that enable us to understand how empowerment has been tested in Israeli housing policy. These are discussed below. The first section refers to resident participation and the second to public policy. The third section offers residents' views on the impact empowerment can make on a policy.

8.4.1 Resident participation

Residents' management capabilities

There is a debate in the literature in relation to participation in disadvantaged populations surrounding the issue of whether communities are capable of taking on managerial roles and whether they can cope with the challenges implicit in empowerment. Some argue that the challenges residents of poor neighbourhoods face apart from housing — such as employment, education and tackling anti-social behaviour, environmental and hygiene issues, social services, finances, poverty — make it difficult or almost impossible for them to cope with an additional challenge. If residents struggle with simple challenges, what guarantee is there that they would be able to handle project management duties?

The table below presents participant responses to this issue. The majority of both residents and non-residents believed that residents were capable of taking on managerial tasks, subject to guidance and supervision.

Table 22: Participants' views on residents managerial capabilities

Response	Yes	Yes, but only with guidance and under supervision	No	Total
Participant Type				
Residents	**17**	**24**	**7**	**53**
• Leaders	7	9	2	18
• Moderate participants	5	11	1	17
• Random	5	4	4	18
Non-residents	**7**	**19**	**11**	**37**
• Informers/supporters	6	10	5	21
• Implementers	0	7	6	13
• Decision-makers	1	2	0	3

Source – PhD, Guy Doron, 2005–11[64]

The vast majority of residents argued that they were capable of taking on managerial duties and were skilled in management. Of these, the majority also argued that they needed some

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[64] **N/A:** Residents – 5; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 0; Random – 5; Non-residents – 0; Informers/supporters – 0; Implementers – 0; Decision-makers – 0.

degree of guidance and support to prepare themselves for managerial responsibilities. Similar results emerged when analysing non-residents' views.

Regardless of their capabilities, some question residents' desire or willingness to get involved in the face of so many other challenges. The views of those in favour of empowerment suggest that residents' familiarity with their local neighbourhood and its problems, as well as their ability to accurately assess what is needed, promotes their desire not only to create a change but also to be committed in delivering it. Results of this research show that residents insisted that they were genuinely willing to take part, that they cared about their communities, that they were willing to make the effort and wanted to influence processes.

Capability and willingness effects participation and empowerment sustainability. A positive indication of the successful implementation of empowerment values is when involvement lasted in the long term, and when residents continued and even increased their involvement. The next session reviews continuity across Israeli social housing programmes.

Continuity of participation

Reviewing the data collected in the investigated programmes reveals that more than half of those who lead their community or have a share in community activity continued their influence long term. The other half, however, confirmed that they have reduced their activities to a certain extent. Some became less involved; others stopped participating completely, while the majority of residents randomly selected were never highly involved.

The table below presents resident self-assessments regarding continuity and long term activity across the investigated programmes. It also presents non-resident perceptions of the same criteria.

Table 23: Participants' views on long term participation in Israeli housing programmes

Response	Still highly active	Highly active reduced to moderately active	Highly active reduced to not active	Moderately active reduced to not active	Never active	Total
Participant Type						
Residents	**20**	**8**	**9**	**2**	**14**	**53**
• Leaders	10	3	5	0	0	18
• Moderate participants	7	4	4	2	0	17
• Random	3	1	0	0	14	18
Non-residents	**23**	**5**	**9**	**0**	**0**	**37**
• Informers/supporters	12	4	5	0	0	21
• Implementers	9	0	4	0	0	13
• Decision-makers	2	1	0	0	0	3

Source – PhD, Guy Doron, 2005–11

Of half the residents who reduced their involvement, the majority specified that it was due to a lack of support and guidance in their participation. Public policy, it was revealed, had the greatest influence on empowerment besides participation. Services, opportunities, resources, availability of education and training schemes, guidance, supervision, accessibility and support all affected residents' ability to continue or maximise their contribution.

8.4.2 Public Policy

Training and education schemes are considered by many as the type of support that can encourage residents who are willing to improve their managerial skills to participate and benefit their communities. Nevertheless, in many of the interviews conducted in this research, residents have highlighted the problematic role training can take if not delivered properly, by the right people or by a trusted organisation. This in particular, had a great influence on multi conflict scenarios where residents do not identify central governments as supportive and choose not to cooperate with their educational and training schemes.

Most non-residents, and all implementers, agreed and stated that training and education schemes were essential if residents were to gain more knowledge. Nevertheless, both groups admitted that such schemes have rarely been offered across the investigated programmes. Training and education helps residents to fulfil their potential and improve their performance. Courses enable residents to gain the skills and knowledge they lack, and offer them the techniques to perform more professionally on management boards. The only programme that offered training officially was the NRP, however the majority of training schemes for residents in poor neighbourhoods were conducted on courses promoted or funded by donation from abroad, by NGOs or as part of a local initiative. The contribution from direct government training was deemed to be insufficient, whereas the contribution of third parties in self-initiated courses was considerable.

Participation depends mainly on the individuals concerned. Support of this participation, such as services, training and opportunities to influence, depends on public policy. In order to assess the level of satisfaction with public policy, participants were asked to assess their satisfaction with social housing in general, and the access to and influence they were allowed in the programmes.

The majority of residents were dissatisfied with the social housing programmes in general and slightly more satisfied with the role they were allowed in them. Non-residents, on the other hand, were partly satisfied with the programmes and with the residents' role in them. The tables below demonstrate these results.

Table 24 present satisfaction rates with public policy in regard to the housing programmes in general, while table 25 present satisfaction from residents' involvement in social housing programmes in Israel:

Table 24: Satisfaction with public policy in general

	Satisfied	Partly Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Residents	**9**	**11**	**33**	**53**
• Leaders	3	8	7	18
• Moderate participants	4	0	13	17
• Random	2	3	13	18
Non-residents	**10**	**11**	**12**	**37**
• Informers	7	3	10	21
• Implementers	2	7	2	13
• Decision-makers	1	1	0	3

Source – PhD, Guy Doron, 2005–11[65]

Overall, satisfaction with social housing policy showed poor results. The majority of residents and also non-residents were dissatisfied. Among residents, only leaders showed moderate satisfaction rates, while among non-residents the implementers were less dissatisfied than others. These slightly better responses relate to the fact that both groups were more engaged with the programmes, leaders were more involved and implementers executed them, yet overall satisfaction with the social policy was far from positive.

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[65] **N/A:** Residents – 0; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 0; Random – 0; Non-residents – 4; Informers – 1; Implementers – 2; Decision-makers – 1.

Table 25: Satisfaction rates with residents' involvement in the social housing programmes

	Satisfied	Partly Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Total
Residents	**23**	**6**	**24**	**53**
• Leaders	11	1	6	18
• Moderate participants	4	2	11	17
• Random	8	3	7	18
Non-residents	**11**	**5**	**2**	**37**
• Informers	8	4	1	21
• Implementers	2	0	1	13
• Decision-makers	1	1	0	3

Source – PhD, Guy Doron, 2005–09[66]

Satisfaction rates with public policy towards resident participation were diverse, yet more positive than towards social policy in general. Residents were split, whereas leaders were obviously more satisfied with their role than others, yet the fact that others were dissatisfied indicated that more wanted to take part but somehow failed to do so or were in some way prevented. Not all non-residents were willing to respond, yet among those who did, satisfaction was higher.

Another indication of dissatisfaction with the housing programmes were the protests against the way in which the programmes were operated and the demonstrations that called for better programmes. Normally when groups of people decide that they can no longer change a situation through formal channels, or in cases where frustration is high people gather to act, often resulting in public protest. Residents dissatisfied with Israeli housing policy often found themselves protesting in this way.

Protests and demonstrations manifested in response to all social housing programmes and came as no surprise since residents had already voiced their dissatisfaction with social and housing policies. Residents had a key role in planning, organising and executing these demonstrations and most leaders admitted that many members of their community readily joined these protests. As for non-residents, informers and decision-makers recognised the effectiveness of demonstrations in delivering an

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[66] **N/A:** Residents – 0; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 0; Random – 0; Non-residents – 19; Informers – 8; Implementers – 10; Decision-makers – 1.

increased impact on processes, while most implementers claimed that these demonstrations had no impact on their behaviour or decisions. All agreed that the protests took place and that the phenomenon could not be ignored, yet the operational impact of these protests was minimal.

Few would argue against the proposition that the meagre impact of protests on decision-making was due to the priorities that set the national political agenda. Israel is a special case in that it is troubled by many domestic, social, political and religious conflicts which cause high levels of stress, concerns about internal and external threats and an intensely divided political sphere. Social policy is not considered as serious as bilateral conflicts, unstable boarders, ethnic and religious tensions, and thus does not come high on the political agenda. Equally, pressure groups in Israel do not tend to focus on social issues which also contribute to the lack of attention paid to social policy.

Another interesting aspect that emerged during this research was the role of social policy in Israel, where multi-conflicts dominate the political agenda. During the interviews we came across a pattern which we could not have been predicted or planned for before — the relatively lower priority social policy has in multi-conflict political spheres. Israel is a modern/democratic state with a structured social policy agenda; we therefore expected similar social policy behaviour as in other Western/Northern countries. However, we have learnt that the severity of other conflicts on the specific political agenda in Israel push social policy down decision makers' lists of priorities. We have therefore attempted to answer another question: does social policy come lower down in the priorities of authorities in multi-conflict environments?

Another useful tool this research has to offer is unique access to the views of hundreds of participants, representing almost every type of social group in Israel, in its investigation of the importance of social policy for them as residents compared with and irrespective of other conflicts. From the literature on empowerment and participation we expected the same empowerment cycle to take place in a multi-conflict society; that is, individual participation developing into collective participation which under certain circumstances would possibly turn into empowerment. We therefore added another section to the interviews in order to investigate whether common knowledge on empowerment that appears in Western/Northern literature could also come into play in multi-conflict scenarios as well, in other words, in Southern/Eastern cultures. For that we have analysed the perspectives not only of the authorities but of residents as well.

Tables 26 and 27 present participants' views on the influence of social policy on setting public policy. Table 26 assesses the position authorities have taken towards social policy in a multi-conflict environment, whereas table 27 assesses residents' behaviour in response to social policy issues and shows how social policy has shaped their political voting in a multi-conflict environment. This investigation will help us to develop wider perspectives on the role of social policy in multi-conflict scenarios but also to analyse the behaviour of residents attempting to shape a political agenda that is normally in the hands of decision-makers and driven solely by their priorities.

The majority of residents testified that public policy is not strongly influenced by the social agenda; non-residents also admitted that social issues do not dominate public policy in Israel.

Table 26: The dominance of social policy in Israel

Is social policy dominant on the Israeli Agenda?	**No**	**Very Little**	**Yes**	**Total**
Residents	**33**	**14**	**0**	**53**
• Leaders	12	6	0	18
• Moderate participants	11	6	0	17
• Random	10	2	0	18
Non-residents	**14**	**20**	**3**	**37**
• Informers	9	12	0	21
• Implementers	4	7	2	13
• Decision-makers	1	1	1	3

Source – PhD, Guy Doron, 2005–11[67]

Not one resident indicated that social issues were central to public policy. Although there were a few amongst the non-residents (excluding informers) who did consider social issues to be central to public policy, the majority agreed with the residents that social policy contributes little in shaping public policy. One of the reasons for such a low priority is the lack of pressure groups promoting social change and motivating the masses to act.

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[67] **N/A:** Residents – 0; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 0; Random – 0; Non-residents – 3; Informers – 0; Implementers – 2; Decision-makers – 1.

This research went on to investigate the influence of social issues in residents' votes. It asked whether social policy was crucial in determining which party/agenda to vote for, and how powerful pressure applied by residents was in creating social change.

The table below presents a summary of views on whether social issues are central for residents and how they influence their votes. The results were surprising, as residents believed that social policy, although it plays a greater role in determining their vote than in the past, is still not central when they assess their political vote, while non-residents noted that social policy issues were far from central in influencing residents' votes. The uniqueness of these figures and the reason why they are surprising is because most of the participants in this research have a direct link to social conflict, more than any others, and thus the social policy conflict should rank higher than other conflicts, and yet they prioritise it lower when they decide their vote.

Table 27: How focal social policy is for you when you decide your political/electoral vote

Does social policy determine the electoral vote?	No	Very little	Yes	Total
Residents	**10**	**16**	**20**	**53**
• leaders	5	8	5	18
• moderate participants	2	5	10	17
• random	3	3	5	18
Non – residents	**18**	**14**	**5**	**37**
• informers	11	8	2	21
• implementers	5	5	3	13
• decision makers	2	1	0	3

Source – PhD, Guy Doron, 2005–11[68]

Residents believed that social policy plays a greater role in determining their vote than in the past, but it is definitely not a central feature that determines their political vote, while non-residents noted that social policy issues were far from being central in influencing residents' votes.

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[68] **N/A:** Residents – 7; Leaders – 0; Moderate participants – 0; Random – 7; Non-residents – 0; Informers – 0; Implementers – 0; Decision-makers – 0.

Although residents highlighted a growing awareness of social issues in recent campaigns, they were still too few to turn social policy into a subject that defined voters' behaviour, since for them social policy is a point of daily concern: "Politicians are well aware of the importance of social issues, but these play a very insufficient role in their decision-making process, as these are the least important issues on the national agenda" (Nadler, Kashani, Drix, Gutman).

The limited presence of social policy on the public agenda, poor social services, a lack of concern and care towards residents' demands and the failure to deliver solutions and keep promises have left many disillusioned and led to civic apathy. Due to this, many residents simply do not believe that they can make a difference with their vote, at least not under the current system which is governed by a centralised political vote where there is no local representation in the national house of parliament. The result is a serious lack of willingness to participate; residents have lost faith in the current centralised political system and many even choose to avoid democratic participation altogether:

> There are voters who make up their minds according to welfare issues and social policy agendas, yet they are all manipulated to an extent in the end. Residents are so fed up with promises, they have stopped believing in parties and politics; they read promises as temporary slogans. (Yashar, Zidan; Bat Cava, Ezov, Zazon)

Non-residents who are involved in social policy state that social policy is less important to voters than other conflicts in a multi-conflict environment, and is a lower priority amongst policy makers:

> Social policy has no power group among voters. And, indeed, it is hard to find the link between the issues that irritate the common member of the public and the issues that the representatives deal with. When going to the polls, voters assess other issues such as foreign affairs, terror and personal security or multicultural issues as more important and define their vote according to parties' stands on these issues more than on welfare issues. (Shwartz; Miara)

Pressure groups are a proven way to successfully influence public policy. They can lobby authorities to act in their favour and are powerful both financially and within their communities. Residents of publicly-built estates, for example, managed to exert pressure for a limited period of time during RTB, and as long as they could maintain that pressure, other groups with a strong sense of community cohesion also managed to impact housing policy in the same way. Some participants who were highly involved in social policy stated

that if residents of poor neighbourhoods acted together to generate wider influence the degree of success in their housing programmes would be far higher.

8.4.3 Can Community Cohesion Make a Difference?

The fact that residents of council housing estates managed, through high levels of participation, to operate an effective campaign and convince the public and decision-makers to legislate RTB in a relatively short period of time and without excessive political force, proved that influence can be brought to bear if residents act together, even if they lack a clear political orientation or social/financial status.

Learning from other pressure groups, residents of council housing estates admitted that the motivation to push for their rights to be legislated in RTB came as they attempted to duplicate housing rights that were offered to residents of rural communities: "When formulating our 'Right to Buy' proposal we adopted the Kibbutzim's principles of inheritance rights in housing which latterly came to be one of the principal values of our 'Right to Buy'" (Zazon, Adika).

Highly involved participants who attempted to analyse the reasons for their limited success in impacting public policy positively when it came to housing programmes in poor neighbourhoods admitted residents lacked a unity that could have had an influence on decision-makers:

> The government allowed residents of the Kibbutzim continuation of tenure rights, something which we were denied, as they were strong enough politically to push for that. They were small in size but very powerful in their influence over decision makers. That pushed me to acknowledge that this is the focal point which we are missing political power and influence as a group. If we act wisely and get together we would be able to force the government to legislate the law as we are bigger in size than the Kibbutzim. (Vazana)

Another example of a powerful pressure group that managed to positively influence housing decisions was noted in the new settlements. The former manager of the housing ministry confirms the pattern:

> Settlers used their political power to overturn decisions and to make sure their representatives would be involved up to the smallest detail that might be relevant to residents or affect them. The reason for their success was their unity, the fact they are responsive to any potential change in regulation and alerted as a group and almost always act to utilise their influence in order to get additional benefits. (Ben Eliahu)

Another resident leader described how decisions were influenced and redirected when it came to publicly-funded housing estates: "We also benefited from wider housing support; the government invested in building a council housing estate in our settlement to support the population growth, whereas in the end units were sold at minimum prices" (Halfa).

In retrospect, the fact that a group of people could generate community cohesion and act together has proven not only to be key in project success but, when bad turns to worse, it can also be a source for community rehabilitation:

> The most important thing in social housing policy is to keep the community alive as it could save individuals. The power the community gains when united is greater than it what might be achieved by individuals. The togetherness means that in time of crisis, similar to what we have been through after the disengagement, the community could support individuals and ease things up. (Shulavich)

8.5 Conclusion

The important role of resident participation has been noted in the main hypothesis of this research. If residents are involved in decision-making, policies are more likely to succeed. This has been proven by the investigated case studies, where participation levels, cooperation in project management and the involvement of committed residents were measured, whilst the likelihood of success resulting from pressure group activity in the NRP and RTB programmes has also been noted.

In the investigated case studies, residents claimed influence rather than received it, which led to the second key feature that determines empowerment — public policy. As noted in this research's related hypothesis, if local housing management services are provided locally together with resident involvement, services will improve. Large council-housing estates in Israel are often areas of poverty, instability, unemployment and low educational achievement. As such, they have a predictably high risk of social collapse. When authorities offer residents better tools to improve their harsh conditions, make obligations to educate residents and facilitate them to take on responsibility and increase their community involvement, encourage social independence and civic partnership, residents were better equipped, more confident and willing to alter their conditions and move away from dependency.

Where both empowerment features combine together — governments offer residents support and cooperation, while residents are willing to influence the process and

acquire more knowledge to improve their skills — the local community becomes more committed to a project which has a huge impact on its potential success.

One of the main results of this research demonstrates that allowing residents to participate and have a share in decision-making under a supportive public policy will have a good chance of truly empowering them and bringing about effective social change. This indicates the need to follow a similar strategy of empowerment — the combination of a high level of participation and supportive public policy — if authorities actually want to improve the outcomes of social housing programmes.

Residents' ability to wield their political power and lobby efficiently to achieve their communities' goals is not only evident in cases of excessive government provision, better services and generous funding, but was first and foremost visible in the communities' shared values and commitment to mutual responsibility. This has pushed residents to achieve more, and has also helped them to support each other in times of need. This crystallises another important argument of this research, that financial investment without social care is insufficient. If social services, participation and long term guidance are minimal, as was in noted in D&R, failure is almost inevitable.

Another interesting factor we have identified in this research is the lower role of social policy on the political agenda in Israel (which also represents a multi-conflict society). Importantly, we have learnt that the lower role of social policy appears even in residents' priorities when they decide their political vote. The centralised political system in Israel plays a major part in this, but that helps us to draw some more general assumptions on the role of social policy in multi-conflict scenarios.

Finally, this research identified a third factor crucial for empowerment to be established: the 'sense of power'. This will be discussed in the next chapter, yet in brief here it can be defined as the mental support that encourages residents to believe that they can achieve, and is a constructive force that helps combat feelings of failure.

The next chapter summarises the conclusions and recommendations in light of the research questions and the analysis of empowerment in Israeli society.

Chapter 9
Conclusion

9.1. Introduction

This research has investigated whether the empowerment of Israel's disadvantaged populations is achievable through housing policies, and whether successive Israeli administrations have helped or hindered this process. The research questions were:

- Does empowerment of the disadvantaged population matter to the delivery of social and housing policies? (The research focuses on communities in publicly sponsored areas.)
- Is empowerment of the disadvantaged population achievable?
- Through what mechanism it is achievable?
- What are the costs and benefits of that empowerment?
- To what extent has it been achieved?

While conducting the research an additional question arose:

- What was the distinctive impact of a multi-conflict context, such as that of Israel, on social policy and empowerment?

Based on the literature on empowerment in social housing policy, collected mainly in Western/Northern countries, we have predicted similar results in Israel, in line with the following hypotheses:

- *If residents are involved in decision-making, policies will be more likely to succeed.*
- *If local housing management services are provided locally, resident involvement becomes more possible and services will be more likely to improve.*

These hypotheses summarise the main contribution the literature makes in helping us to analyse empowerment of disadvantaged communities through housing policies, at least in those areas where such policies have been researched. Resident participation is the first

essential step for empowerment to grow, which, if backed by successfully implemented public policy, grants residents the opportunity to impact upon and contribute to local housing projects.

The definition of social policy and public policy used in this research requires further clarification. Where social policy is purely the policy of a particular regime towards social matters (in this research social housing programmes), public policy is the attitude a particular regime has taken to approaching empowerment in general and resident participation in particular. There is an implied sense that a government-inspired policy has immediate and direct effects 'on the ground', while often the way policies are delivered, managed or mismanaged by local agents can completely transform the desired effects. This has been noted in each programme investigated in this research, and in the NRP in particular, where the government officially declared its intention to support the programme but local implementation fell short of the desired intent (see cases in Kiryat Moshe, Tel Kabir in Tel Aviv and Eir Ganim and Katamonim in Jerusalem).

This thesis explores public housing programmes, implemented by the Israeli government to help socially disadvantaged communities: the Demolish and Rebuild programme, instituted in 1960 to replace temporary and ad hoc housing hastily constructed to cope with emergency waves of immigrants; the Neighbourhood Renewal Programme developed in the 1980s to upgrade existing areas with existing residents, and the Right to Buy programme of the 1990s which gave public housing tenants the opportunity to become owners of their own property. Each programme represented a different form of public intervention, with very different levels of community participation and empowerment.

Based on 91 interviews (chosen from over 100) with residents, other local activists and key delivery actors in 12 representative case study areas, it was possible to assess the level of localisation of decision-making and delivery and the level of resident involvement and empowerment that took place within each programme.

Using responses of both residents and non-residents, it was then possible to measure the impact on empowerment of different approaches, using Arnstein's widely recognised and used 'Ladder of Empowerment'. This approach and the evidence collected and analysed in this study allows us to reach certain clear conclusions on levels and methods of empowerment and also to suggest areas of uncertainty.

9.2 Hypotheses

Out of the three programmes, Right to Buy offered the clearest opportunity to test the research hypotheses. This is because residents were allowed by Parliament to participate directly in the (parliamentary) decision-making process and the resulting outcomes had a positive impact on residents' and decision-makers' commitment, responsibility and support for the process. RTB represents a rare example of cooperation between residents and the authorities. The outcome clearly indicates that resident involvement led to greater responsibility and commitment and thus to a higher level of empowerment, satisfaction and actual delivery of the programme's goals.

The Neighbourhood Renewal Programme provides evidence to support the second hypothesis regarding localisation of services. When local housing management services are provided locally, resident involvement becomes more possible and services improved. This is well illustrated by the case study of the neighbourhood of Kfar Shalem. Whereas in one part of the neighbourhood services were provided locally in cooperation with residents and results showed higher satisfaction and success, in the other part of the neighbourhood services were not delivered locally and a private developer failed to agree terms with residents. As a result, residents were opposed to the project and no progress was made in implementing the project.

The Demolish and Rebuild programme was conceived as a top-down, large-scale, government-led initiative to replace existing poor communities and move residents to new housing. Its process of blanket clearance with a high level of coercion precluded significant empowerment, even though residents had strong views and sometimes expressed them.

9.3 The Research Questions and Findings

Two key questions of this research were:

- Does empowerment of the disadvantaged population matter to the delivery of social and housing policies? The research focused on communities in publicly sponsored areas.
- Is empowerment of the disadvantaged population achievable?

This research, in order to be able to answer these questions clearly found significant evidence from interviewees and policy documents.

Analysing the results collected from all three programmes also offers answers to a further three questions:

- Through what mechanism it is achievable?
- What are the costs and benefits of that empowerment?
- To what extent has it been achieved?

Each case-study reached a different level of empowerment. The sections below summarise their main features in terms of the mechanism, cost and benefits of empowerment.

This research reveals that empowerment was never delivered in full in poor neighbourhoods; empowerment was, however, delivered in full in housing projects outside poor neighbourhoods.

The results collected from the study of the Demolish & Rebuild programme help us to understand that empowerment matters in the delivery of social housing policy (and thus answers the relevant research question). The answer to this question was arrived at by a process of elimination — in other words, when empowerment was not delivered, projects failed. The Demolish and Rebuild programme did not empower because it was alienated from residents' needs, ignored them and even tried to act against them. The new Urban Renewal Scheme is a new form of D&R. It also encourages empowerment features but it is not yet possible to establish if it has been a success. We can nevertheless assume that empowerment matters for the delivery of social policy, based on the findings from the earlier programme.

The Neighbourhood Renewal Programme provides a much better opportunity, at least in theory, for empowerment to flourish, and offers another means of testing the research question as to whether empowerment is achievable through housing policy. During the NRP, residents were invited to participate in board management, while public policy, at least officially, was supportive. In reality, however, during the majority of projects under the NRP, residents' influence on management boards was limited, with governmental support declining dramatically over the last decade.

The NRP also highlights an additional important feature of public policy — continuity of service delivery. One of the main reasons preventing the NRP from growing

stronger or else to be less successful in some cases was the fact that the programme could not maintain its operation or its contribution to community life over a long period. It was hard to test continuity in general as most projects were ad-hoc and limited in time. The number of projects had been reduced, there was very little on-going investment in neighbourhoods where the programme was already in operation, and few supportive services were made available, such as training, to enable residents to improve their skills. The NRP, in theory, marks a clean break in social policy in that it was the first time social policy had been addressed by government, along with residents' participation and their opportunity to influence decision-making. It also offered good quality renovation to existing buildings in practice, and it provided good publicity for politicians who wanted to show that they were delivering on social policy. Nevertheless, most neighbourhoods included in the programme remained poor; moreover, most residents are still locked into the same form of social and financial dependency. Thus, whilst the NRP seemed to make a significant advance, it has proved itself to be by no means the perfect model. Residents were keen to participate and were keen to explore and improve their capabilities through training courses. When training courses were conducted by a third party, they were generally a success in terms of involvement. Finally, participation encourages responsibility which results in commitment that can easily be transformed into the successful operation of social policy. The NRP confirms the localisation hypothesis: when services are delivered locally, there are greater chances for success. The NRP confirms that empowerment matters in social policy. The following will discuss the other aspect of the research question: how empowerment has been implemented.

Right to Buy is a unique case in terms of empowerment. From the perspective of participation, it was initiated, designed and promoted by residents in opposition to government objections. Residents registered considerable success as a result of their united efforts and effective lobbying which resulted in legislation, even if only temporarily, to implement the RTB. A distinguishing feature of this case-study is that it provides an opportunity to test both supportive and negative public policy towards participation, as both features occurred simultaneously. This enabled us to address the research questions and offered a broad perspective on the impact of high participation under different public policies on empowerment.

The RTB case confirms that empowerment was achieved when both factors — high resident participation and supportive public (parliamentary in this case) attitudes — came into effect. When one of the two features was limited or absent, for instance when public

policy was not fully established, or when residents had little autonomy because they were tenants or when limited participation was offered, the result was limited empowerment.

For example, under the RTB, residents found it impossible to influence attitudes when government consistently opposed their initiatives.

In those cases where empowerment was allowed to a limited extent, and residents had the opportunity to take even a small share in decision-making, such as in the Neighbourhood Renewal Programme, it was sufficient to create a change, build confidence and encourage motivation. However, when empowerment was delivered only minimally or was stopped it had, in the majority of cases, an immediate negative impact, breaking the spirit of residents and undermining their 'sense of power', the central element in the empowerment process that is responsible for its development. The main lesson from the RTB case-study confirms that residents, despite their energy and enthusiasm, are unable to maintain extended pressure on the authorities. They can register occasional victories, but in the long term the authorities are invariably stronger. If the authorities do not accept, allow and support resident involvement, then significant empowerment did not evolve. Empowerment is important in social policy development, but it is achievable only under certain conditions and with compensation investment by authorities to recompense the disadvantaged.

As mentioned in the introduction, while conducting this research an additional question arose and was addressed:

- What was the impact of a multi conflict area on social policy and empowerment?

Most of the known literature on empowerment, as discussed in chapter Two, has been collected in Western/Northern countries where social policy or housing policy took a focal role in the local or even national agenda. In Israel, where multi-conflicts dominate the political agenda constantly, we have opted to test the role of social policy in multi-conflict scenarios and to investigate whether the extant literature on empowerment from the Western/Northern hemisphere can also be applied in the South and East.

From our analysis of social and housing policy in Israel we have learnt that social policy has a lower priority under multi-conflict pressure for both authorities and residents, even for those residents with a personal stake in a project.

Another unique characteristic that has an impact on the delivery of empowerment in social and housing policy in Israel is its centralised regime. Most political decisions in Israel are dictated and controlled by central government, with very little influence and control handed to local governments, let alone to local communities. We have identified this as another barrier to social and housing policy gaining a higher priority in multi-conflict environments. In a centralised regime, most of the decision-makers are alienated from the voice of local communities, who mainly suffer from social distress and whose voice is inevitably weaker. We therefore assume that social and housing policy will remain a lower priority in multi-conflict scenarios and or where local government/representation is weak.

These new ideas on empowerment in multi-conflict scenarios or in regions under central government control that have emerged during this research, together with what we already know about empowerment, have led us to suggest a new narrative which we believe could contribute to knowledge on empowerment in social policy, and is certainly worthwhile to test in other locations with similar challenges. The notion of a 'sense of power', introduced for the first time here, could be relevant not only to multi-conflict areas or to centralised government, but could also be associated with empowerment in other forms. It offers a new perspective, thus taking the conclusions and recommendations of this research further than previous studies.

9.4 The Sense of Power

Participation and public policy are essential conditions for empowerment to occur, but empowerment is a process and not a one-off scenario, therefore the consequence of empowerment is the 'sense of power'. It is a stage in which the subjects, in our case, the disadvantaged residents, begin to believe in their abilities. This stage requires the combination of two elements: personal belief and social response or feedback, where the subject, the resident, is willing to participate, and through participation receives positive feedback from society. First there needs to be willingness and capability on the part of the subject to participate, and secondly, public/external backing.

In terms of public policy, authorities should respond positively to residents' desire to be active with encouragement or approval. This can be demonstrated in many ways outside social policy, such as the approval a parent gives their child to carry on with its activities, the acknowledgement and support a manager gives their employee to do a better job, or the support of a crowd in a theatre or at a sporting event where the players are

encouraged to perform at their best. Support, which is the result of official or public backing, creates the proper environment for a 'sense of power' to develop and for the individual to develop self-belief, confidence and trust in their capabilities. This can sometimes be a difficult task for an individual who has never felt capable or been enabled before. A sense of power takes individual empowerment and facilitates it with confidence and self-belief that encourages that individual to take greater leadership responsibilities in boosting their local community. This is how individual empowerment links with public empowerment, so that together people can create the first steps towards change in social policy.

Empowerment can still materialise outside of that mix; resident participation can grow and a group of active residents can generate unity which can eventually gain some success without the support of the authorities. Similarly, public policy can initiate resident involvement but not the other way round. Still, these empowering features, if they appear separately, have only a temporary effect. Like a child that can act against the will of its parents, an employee can act against the guidance of a manager, a player can still perform well, even when the crowd boos him.

However, in most cases, if empowerment materialises outside of that mix its action is limited. The authorities, in the majority of cases, hold the power to limit individual progress. In terms of housing this means that if they wish to evict a resident, they will find a way to do so, in much the same way that, if we go back to the cycle of events mentioned earlier, a parent is able to punish their child, a manager is able to limit the progress of an employee and a sports player or actor can be substituted if they underperform. Community empowerment has more collective power than an individual, but outside of the 'known empowerment mix' it is also limited. What does it take for empowerment to be more sustainable, to be able to grow even when it falls low down in the national agenda, or particularly when the setting is constantly affected by multi-conflicts? This thesis suggests a third way, which is a combination of the two main aspects of the empowerment process, which involves a necessary *sharing* of power between residents and public authorities, in order to create the sense of power and to create the proper environment for positive change to occur. In the next section we present the unique features we have identified as key for empowerment to grow even in a disempowering multi-conflict or centralised and dominant regime.

Participants in this research also mentioned other housing projects in Israel outside the scope of the investigated poor housing programmes, in which the 'sense of power'

played a major role in residents' empowerment. In these cases, the combination of high resident participation and supportive public policy created empowerment that most likely resulted in success. As for the research questions, the cases investigated in this research and other cases that were analysed by participants all confirm that empowerment matters in the delivery of housing programmes, and that empowerment is, in principle, achievable. It is also evident that in multi-conflict scenarios or under dominant centralised regimes, empowerment develops more slowly and at times is even beyond reach. We expect there to be very few cases where a 'sense of power' develops in a non-empowering scenario or under a restrictive regime. However we can predict that a negative consequence of a 'sense of power' can further damage the empowerment of communities and individuals.

9.5 The Negative Consequences and Loss of a Sense of Power

The mechanism of empowerment has been discussed in detail in the case studies, yet the challenges of empowerment highlighted by this thesis must also offer a lesson learnt. One possible setback to empowerment is unexpected change to the 'sense of power', a process synonymous with multi-conflict scenarios where other conflicts could delay or postpone services or tools for social policy; if the sense of power is the catalyst that breaks the deadlock of poverty-dependency, unexpected change recreates this depressing cycle. During the research, participants tended to focus on elements that maintained empowerment (those elements that create the sense of power), amongst which are continuity of participation, on-going training courses, localisation, accessibility, availability and affordability of services and support in identifying and promoting community leadership. These all create the right environment for the 'sense of power' to prosper. When the proper environment exists, it is essential to maintain it until residents and their leaders can take over, and to ensure that none of the previous achievements are lost. Any change in these provisions, whether by reducing them or stopping them, damages the sense of power, sometimes irreparably.

Limited, incomplete or short-term participation which occur frequently in multi-conflict scenarios where the social policy is not a priority, will cause a breakdown in the sense of power. In most cases analysed in this research resident participation was either limited in time or in its scope, mainly due to the fact that government was inconsistent with service delivery and participation permission. Training and support to encourage participation or build leadership was delivered, in most cases, by outsiders or residents themselves. Even in those cases where local leadership had grown, lack of support from

authorities prevented leaders from maintaining their influence or proving to their communities that they could represent their demands and deliver positive change. For leaders, the consequence of this was a loss of trust and support from their communities; as a result some leaders decided to withdraw their involvement while others refused to endure the humiliation and left their communities.

In terms of social change, any positive impact leadership had on unified local communities was replaced by disbelief and apathy when those features of empowerment that created the sense of power were undermined. The damage caused by broken leadership was even worse than the initial poor conditions of the neighbourhoods, since without local leadership there is almost no chance to lift a community. Such dramatic damage in the sense of power could be, at times, beyond repair; there were leaders among residents interviewed for this research who admitted that they would never return to action after losing their balance of power with the authorities.

Those residents who led their communities in the activities surrounding the housing programme when the sense of power unexpectedly ended became alienated from civil norms, lost faith in their ability to create a better society and disappeared from the public arena. Residents admitted that they had become sceptical about whether they could have a share in the current democratic system; some even revealed that they became apolitical which affected their civic behaviour, since they chose not to participate in general elections. Signs of such a phenomenon were evident amongst leaders, common participants, and across all residential scales. In these circumstances, projects were doomed to fail and the consequent frustrations could easily turn into violent riots against the political regime and even against the political system. When residents are given fewer opportunities to express their views, their frustration grows and the need to express their frustrations grows with it. We witnessed extreme manifestations of a sense of powerlessness as a spiritual break in the process of empowerment through housing policies investigated in this research. It corresponds to the examples used above to illustrate the consequences of 'empowering rebellions' in life more generally — a child that has lost the support of parents and therefore loses hope (often the backstory in juvenile delinquencies); someone who is struggling to find work after losing their job of many years due to the loss of management support; or a sports star or famous actor who has lost the support of their fans.

9.6 Israel: Lessons Learnt

Priorities for social and housing policy are set up by governments. The process by which government sets priorities does not rely only on the pure need of communities; there are political repercussions, and in Israel the ability of a group to lobby for their needs has enormous influence. Although there are signs that social policies have gained more attention amongst politicians and social policy has risen higher on the political agenda as a result of pressure from the public and from the media, it is still not a top priority. Many socially-oriented groups are not united in the sense that their lobby can create a pressure group as strong as the other groups in the Israeli political structure (e.g. NS, ultra-Orthodox, affluent families, the agricultural community that includes Kibbutzim and Moshavim).

A brake on social policy development that has emerged in recent years is centred around the economic debate concerning the financial costs of social policy, both in the short and long term. Those who argue against a supportive public policy believe that the economy should be directed by free market rules, which will adjust themselves without the need of state intervention. Government support of social policy costs money, and such investment at the expense of the general public is not necessary, according to free market activists. On the other hand, social activists believe that supporting those in need is in the authorities' best interest, as more knowledge allows better performance and greater responsibility. Supporting poor neighbourhoods promotes their recovery and reduces the need for social support which, in the long term, cuts government expenditure. Investment in poor neighbourhoods also increases residents' productivity and consequently the welfare of a state. The results collected in this research suggest that disempowering policies which remove the poor from civic debates may end up costing more in social services in the long run.

The fact that Israel is a unique case where multi-conflicts come together and social policy tends to be low on the authorities' and residents' agendas results not only in disempowering policies but also in a deterioration of the already low status social policy has gained. Such a reduction has damaged even further the ability for empowerment to develop. That the Israeli government decreased its commitment to social responsibility, reduced its involvement in social policies, offered less opportunities for local residents to be involved in projects and failed to upgrade local services has created a breeding ground for dissatisfaction, frustration and apathy. Such circumstances encourage riots and law-

breaking. Properties and tenure rights can be transferred or traded under private-market rules, but social care cannot. It is an asset that governments should safeguard.

Some analysts have identified 2011 as 'the year of the Arab spring'. 2011 will be remembered as the year of the mass protests that brought down the dictatorships in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Libya and Syria. In 2011 *Time* magazine even named the protester as 'person of the year'. Israel is not a dictatorship, but as a nation of the Middle East is certainly aware of what is going on around it, and like the other surrounding countries, Israel both accommodates and tends to maintain a multi-conflict culture.

2011 will be remembered in Israeli history as the year which saw the greatest ever social protests and unrest. More than half a million people marched and gathered in Tel Aviv at the end of summer 2011 to protest against inequality and the cost of living, mainly in housing. This was the issue that triggered protests when young professionals struggling to pay their monthly rents, even though there were in full-time employment, moved into tents in the crowded, well-off Rothschild Avenue Park, transforming it into a tent village. Many similar tent villages spread across the country hosting hundreds of thousands of protestors. Similar "Occupy" protests took place in New York's Wall Street, in the City of London close to the Bank of England and in many other European capitals. All were protesting about the lack of attention authorities were giving to residents' voices and social needs.

Such unrest has acted as a red alert for Israel's government. It tried to mitigate serious protest by appointing a committee to recommend change in policy. The committee submitted its suggested reforms within a few months, but implementation was limited, falling within budgetary constraints. The government may believe that with this committee it has appeased the protestors, but discontent is still bubbling under the surface. Social unrest was the main catalyst for the Prime Minister to announce a general election in 2013. Those elections, although they created a transformation in the public vote, did not change the main hegemony. This was primarily because the agenda is still not ruled by social issues. For example, when the coalition formed the current government, for the first time in history the Finance Ministry gained more attention than the Ministry of Defence. The Housing Ministry may still have remained slightly behind in terms of priority, yet housing issues were high on the agenda. There was also a public perception that partisanship existed in the Housing Ministry. The former minister, who represented the ultra-Orthodox community, had been more supportive to it than to the community at large. The new minister, on the other hand, represents the NS, and is also perceived to be favouring them

in terms of policy and support. This partisanship exemplifies the way in which the Housing Ministry does not enjoy the same political status as, say, the Ministry of Education or the Ministry of Internal Relations, since it allows for such sectarian-led representation.

A recent phenomenon in Israeli politics has been representatives claiming to champion the general population, aiming to create a balance between sectarian groups. Others have argued that without turning Israel's broken centralised system into a regional system, which would allow for more equal representation for all residents, empowerment in general and empowerment of the disadvantaged in particular would fail to develop. Some others point out that the proposal to raise the minimum percentage of votes would create a two-party system that would block small parties and limit the influence of well-organised housing interest groups.

One year on and conflicts involving security and borders, as well as ethnic and religious issues, have erupted and completely wiped social concerns off the political agenda, once again turning the discussion away from social policy. This is the best illustration we can present of the intensity and dominance of wider conflicts on social policy. A country or region in a state of war, with both external security issues and border conflicts with its neighbours, as well as internal ethnic or religious conflicts cannot develop and maintain empowerment of its residents in general and of the disadvantaged in particular. The authorities simply cannot cope with the demand, and in order to survive, have to sacrifice social policy deployment. We therefore assume that empowerment in its social policy relevance is unlikely to be developed in times of political instability.

9.7 The Way Forward

Social collapse aside, the current situation presents a greater danger to the Israeli state than any bilateral conflict with its neighbours. Social decline, and especially the fact that fewer residents are empowered to act as leaders, has caused greater individualism and apathy and a parallel decline in democratic values. Without community support and common values as a basis of leadership it is unrealistic for Israel to attempt to act as one society, and it runs the danger of being drawn into the kind of political and social turmoil that neighbouring countries are currently suffering. The way forward for Israel, and for whichever government that leads it, is to create a sense of empowerment amongst as many groups of residents as possible. This could generate an environment of creativity, care, mutual support and profitability, yet most importantly partnership, responsibility and mutual

commitment. This could be a turning point not only for disadvantaged groups, if forced to act alone, but for the whole of Israeli society.

Perhaps the first priority is the necessity for Israel to solve its bilateral and security conflicts with its neighbours, which have an impact on its internal ethnic and religious conflicts, before it can progress with its social policy and its empowerment of the disadvantaged. A nation suffering multiple conflicts and pressures, and thus existing in a state of high tension for a long period of time, risks ignoring social policy until it becomes so badly broken that it is ultimately beyond repair.

Glossary and Definitions

Publicly-funded housing market – rental housing which is provided and/or managed by government or non government organisation. This housing is mainly targeted at large families, people with low incomes or unemployed, homeless and people living in inappropriate housing conditions. The main form of publicly funded housing is council housing. The common definition of council housing is property owned by the government and managed by state owned housing companies. In Israel, the whole public housing market being controlled and guided by the government

Private housing market – landlords or managing agents who own and/or manage privately rented property or sales of property.

The council housing policy in Israel – a housing policy that aims to provide housing to those who cannot buy or rent in the private market. Council housing policy in Israel began in the 1950s with the large-scale building of units owned by the state and managed by state-owned housing companies, mainly to support the massive immigration wave of Jews to the newly established State. During the 1970s and 1980s there was a decline in government investment in the building of council housing. An exceptional increase in building came in the early 1990s to support the second massive immigration wave of Jews arriving from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia. Since then privatisation methods have dominated housing policy in Israel which led to a considerable drop in public investment in new housing and the majority of investment goes to support those who meet the strict criteria for subsidised support for rent in the private market. Most of the units managed by the council housing companies are in a poor condition. In Hebrew, 'council housing' and 'public housing' have the same meaning, 'Diyur Tziburi' refers to the same type of units that are built, owned and managed by the State via the council housing companies.

Subsidised housing solutions –A sum of money is given by the government on a monthly basis to support residents who are not eligible for council housing unit, to rent in the private market, and is normally lower than the market price. This is one of the main indicators of the shift from public oriented solutions to private based ones.

Eligible resident – Those who deserve to get a council housing unit (or subsidised rent) are residents who meet the criteria for housing support as laid down by the Ministry of Housing.

Before the State was established – Jews have lived in Palestine (the name of the territory where now Israel is located) since 1492, but the main movement of Jews to Palestine began in around 1881. The Zionist movement encouraged Jews from Europe to immigrate to Palistine, which until 1948 was under the British mandate, but the major immigration wave began after World War Two when many Jews believed that the newly-born Jewish State is the safest place for them. In order to solve the constant tension between Jews and Arab-Muslim living on the same land, the General Assembly of the UN adopted a compromise plan for partition between the groups (resolution 181, 29 November 1947). The Jews accepted the plan and the Arab Muslims rejected it, which led to war. On May 14 1948, the day before the expiration of the British Mandate, the Jews announced the establishment of the Jewish State. After a year of fighting, a cease-fire was announced and the borders of the State were announced. Israel was accepted to the UN as a member on 11 of May 1949.

Immigration waves – After the establishment of the new State and the experience of the holocaust in Europe, many Jews from across the world decided to emigrate to the newly-born state (in Hebrew, 'make an Aliya'). There were two main immigration periods; the major immigration of over half a million Jews (687,624), into Israel which occurred between 1948 and 1950, with many fleeing renewed persecution in Eastern Europe and increasingly hostile Arab countries (the majority arrived from Europe, especially from Poland and Romania) and Asia (mainly from Iraq). A second large-scale immigration wave occurred between 1990 and 1999 (956,319), mainly from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia.

Ma'abara – Temporary housing sites created instantly by the government during the 1950s, in order to offer new immigrants decent shelter, minimal housing conditions, mainly tents. Some have compared these temporary sites to refugee camps. These camps were located in periphery areas and the idea behind is population spread across the country.

Economic dispersal –The Israeli government has deliberately promoted occupation of periphery, in order to raise the number of people living in them, as part of this process was building council housing in order to encourage residents to move to the periphery.

Political dispersal – The Israeli government deliberately promoted occupation of areas where the state wanted to gain political or bilateral control or in order to increase the number of Jewish residents over non-Jewish residents (mainly in periphery).

The ethnic dispute over housing – The two main groups of immigrants to Israel, comprised the first wave of European, secular, educated Jews and the subsequent immigrants from Asia and Africa who were more traditional, older in age and had language difficulties. There were many claims that since the ruling hegemony was of European ethnicity, it was more likely for new immigrants from Europe to be granted permanent housing in more central locations. The majority of new immigrants from Asia and Africa were therefore directed to Ma'abarot or to the newly built shikunim in the periphery.

Shikunim – These are large, densely populated housing estates initially built by the government and offer social housing to replace the Ma'abara.

39. Shikonim (council housing estates) Haifa.

The periphery – This comprises cities, villages and communities far from the centre of the country and mainly in the south (negev) or north (Gallile) to where the government decided to spread the population..
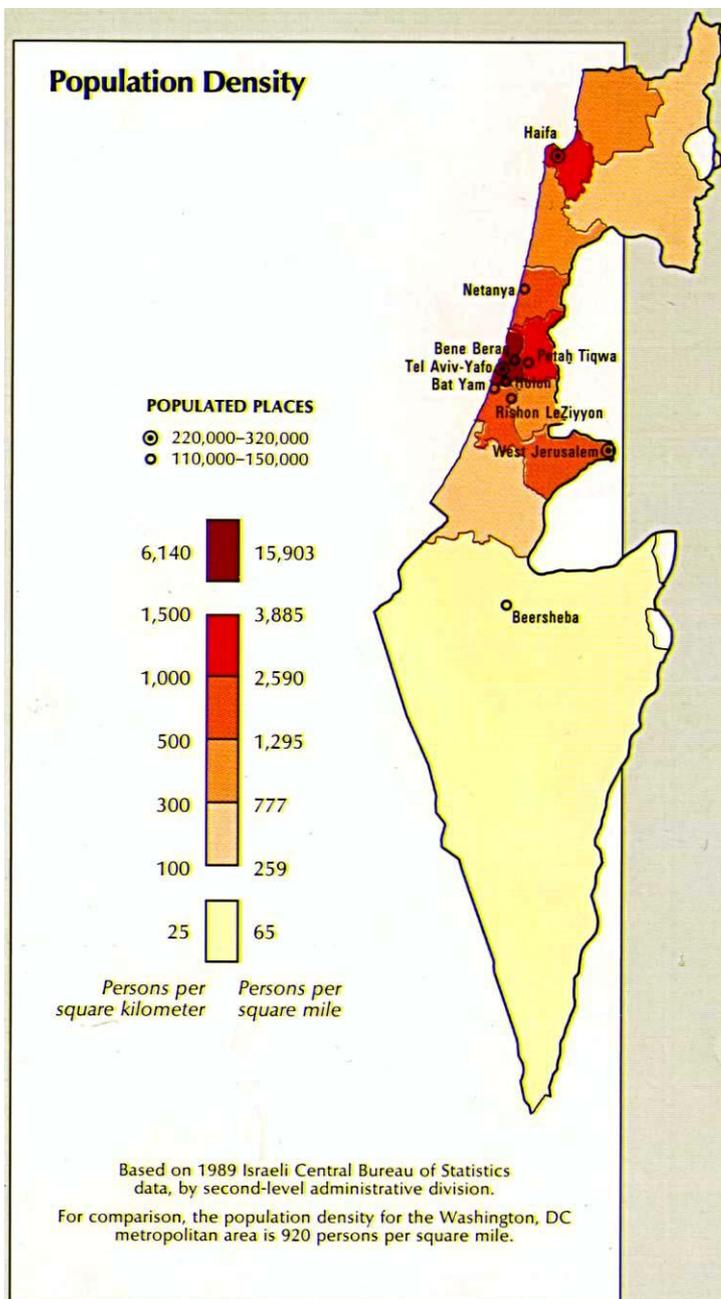
40. Israel – population density.
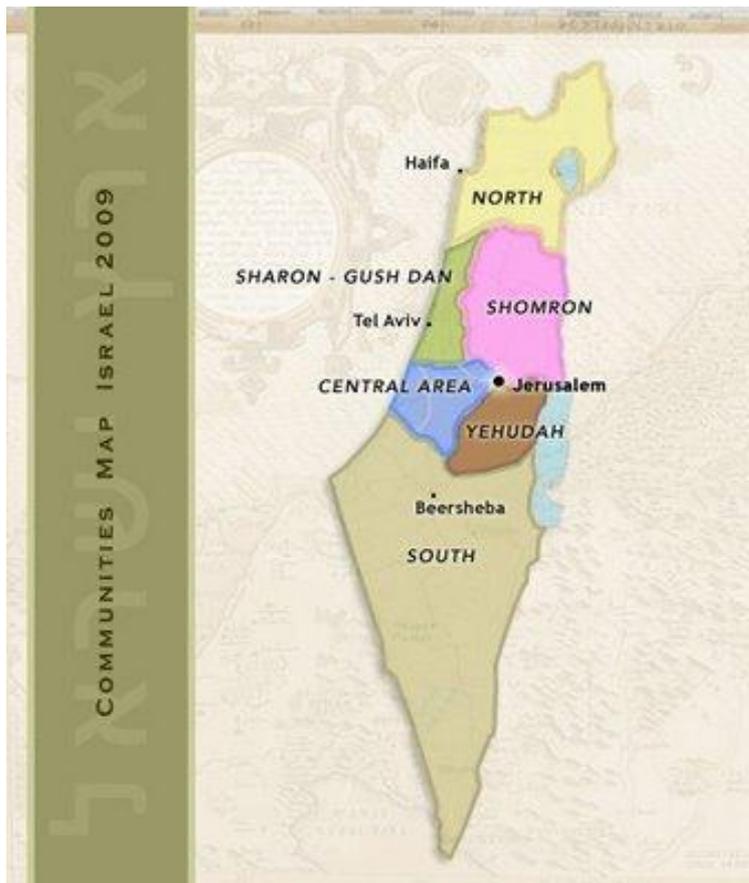
41. Map of Israel's periphery (the north is in yellow and the south in light green), the NS are in pink and brown. Source: http://www.syds-blog.blogspot.co.uk/2009_05_01_archive.html

Jerusalem – This is the capital of Israel and its second largest city, located in the east of the country with a mixed population of Jews, ultra-Orthodox Jews, Arab-Muslim and Christian. In 2011 it had 935,688 residents, 12% of the state population.

Tel Aviv – The financial hub, the economic capital and the largest city in Israel, located in the centre of the State next to the sea. In 2011 there were 1,325,558 residents, 17% of the Israeli population[1]. The vast majority are Jewish with a small non-Jewish community, mainly in Jaffa.

Haifa – The third largest city in Israel and the biggest in the north. It has a mix of Jews, Christian and Arab Muslim. In 2011 there were around 900,000 residents, 11% of the State's population**.**

Galilee – An area in the north with a high proportion of non-Jews who mainly live in small villages.
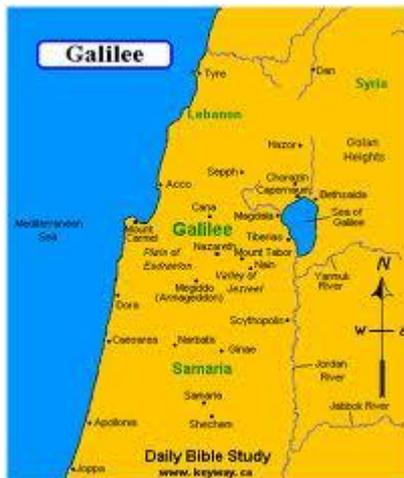
42. Map of Galilee area.

Negev – The largest part of Israel in size and the smallest in population, located in the south of Israel, mainly populated by low income groups.

The New Settlements (NS) – These are Jewish civilian communities built on the land of the West Bank and Gaza strip (before evictions). The New Settlements were governed by the Israel Army, but according to the international law, are not part of the State of Israel. In 2009 they had 516,569 Jewish settlers. [1] The area is densely populated by Palestinians (Arab Muslim) who are not residents of Israel but of the Palestinian authority. In 2009 they totalled 3,935,249.[1] The government's investment in housing projects in the NS is considered excessive, despite the fact that the majority of the communities are not considered poor and the area is under legal dispute.

The Eviction from Gaza Strip (AKA The Disengagement – The Israeli government decided to withdraw Israeli citizens and the army from the Gaza Strip. This entailed another form of D&R, but one that was guided by a political rather than social agenda. The decision taken by the then right wing government led by Ariel Sharon (traditionally known as one of the main supporter of the settlers) caused massive riots and protests among settlers but was backed by the general public

Kibbutzim – A collective community unique to Israel, traditionally based on agriculture, although today farming has been partly supplanted by other economic activities like industry and technology. In its early days the Kibbutzim were governed by the utopian idea of social community and Zionism, where members shared both rights and duties. In recent years some have been privatised. In 2010, there were 270 Kibbutzim in Israel, and the most recent statistics, from 2007, show that 119,700 people were living in them, less than 2% of the State's population.

Non-Jewish residents – There are few religious groups other than Jews in Israel, the second largest being the Arab Muslim, who are considered generally to be poor. It is important to note that this community is not Palestinian. The Palestinians live in the West Bank and are not residents of the Israeli State. Their rights and duties are governed directly by the Palestinian Authority, whereas the Israeli Arab citizens are governed by the state of Israel as equal residents of Israel.

Israeli population by religion at the end of 2008[69]

Religion	Population	% of total
Jewish	5,569,200	75.5
Muslim	1,240,000	16.8
Christian	153,100	2.1
Druze	121,900	1.7
Unclassified by choice	289,800	3.9

The map below presents the spread of Arab population in Israel

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[69] Statistical abstract of Israel, 2009

43. The Arab population in Israel.

Arab villages – Most Arab Muslims live in their own communities in separate villages, although there are some mixed neighbourhoods in cities where Jews and Arabs live together (e.g. Haifa, Jaffa, Lod, Ramle, Accra, Jerusalem).

The evolution of the Arab-Muslim community since the establishment of the Israeli State[70]

Year	Jews	Muslims	Muslims %
1950	1,203.0	116.1	8.8
1972	2,752.7	360.6	11.6
1995	4,522.3	811.2	15.2
2000	4.955.4	970.0	16.7

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[70] Statistical Abstract of Israel 2010

Ultra-Orthodox Jews – A very religious groups, who live in closed communities and maintain their culture and traditions very strictly. They tend to have large families. They are very powerful politically and are thus granted additional benefits, including in housing.

44. Ultra-Orthodox Jews.

The Jewish Agency for Israel - JA – An organisation that works with Jewish people in Israel and beyond to "ensure a future of connected, committed global Jewish people with a strong Israel at its centre".[71] The Jewish Agency was involved in the immigration and absorption of Jews from around the world into the State of Israel. The JA own a 50% share of the council housing company Amigur.

The Likud regime – A right wing party with a liberal and free market agenda, which gained power for the first time in 1977. When it was first elected it was claimed that it was supported by many residents from poor neighbourhoods and new immigrants from Asia and Africa. Recently it has become more supportive of residents in the settlements and of religious groups. In 1977 it was led by Menahem Begin who introduced the NRP, and is currently led by Benjamin Netanyahu, under whose regime the Likud led its opposition to RTB.

The Labour regime – Social agenda party, it was in power from the establishment of the State until 1977, again from 1992 until 1996 and finally from 1999 until 2001. During its

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[71] http://www.jafi.org.il/JewishAgency/English/Home/

first period in government, D&R was introduced, and during its last period in power, RTB was initiated.

D&R – The Demolish and Rebuild Programme was initiated in 1960 and operated mainly in central cities. The programme demolished old, poor neighbourhoods and built new improved housing units with greater tenure. This programme is discussed in detail in chapter 5.

NRP – The Neighbourhood Renewal Programme offers regeneration for poor neighbourhoods with housing improvements and exterior extension of units. This programme is discussed in detail in chapter 6.

RTB – Right to Buy, a law that enabled the selling of council housing units to its residents with discounts based on tenure and seniority. It was first approved in 1997 with a strong lobbying from residents and despite objections from the Likud Government, but was only put into practice when the Left Coalition came into power in 1999. It is discussed in more detail in chapter 7.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1 – Public versus Private Building in Israel

1.1 Public vs. Private Building in Israel 1955–2003

<div dir="rtl">

בניית דירות

לוח 6.- בניית דירות (א), לפי יוזם

	גמר בנייה			התחלת בנייה			
	בנייה פרטית	בנייה ציבורית	סך הכל	בנייה פרטית	בנייה ציבורית	סך הכל	
סדרה קודמת (ב)							
	..	..	31,670	..	..	30,570	1955
	..	..	32,140	..	..	22,440	1956
	..	..	32,050	..	..	43,800	1957
	..	..	34,160	..	..	30,660	1958
	..	..	32,500	..	..	33,760	1959
	..	..	28,740	..	..	24,810	1960
סדרה חדשה (ג)							
	..	..	30,990	..	..	26,920	1960
	..	..	26,360	..	..	41,580	1961
	14,430	23,850	38,280	17,620	28,090	45,710	1962
	15,560	24,130	39,690	19,530	18,890	38,420	1963
	18,800	19,180	37,980	21,080	27,300	48,380	1964
	18,520	19,900	38,420	18,900	18,980	37,880	1965
	18,520	19,060	37,580	13,910	8,590	22,500	1966
	15,330	12,570	27,900	9,750	9,230	18,980	1967 (ד)
	13,160	9,450	22,610	15,830	8,430	24,260	1968
	16,480	9,150	25,630	23,420	13,530	36,950	1969
	20,210	11,170	31,380	25,210	21,490	46,700	1970 (ה)
	22,820	15,910	38,730	33,920	17,910	51,830	1971
	26,890	20,450	47,340	35,770	30,500	66,270	1972
	29,340	21,530	50,870	29,540	26,280	55,820	1973
	26,380	23,930	50,310	23,900	33,330	57,230	1974
	27,780	23,930	51,710	25,300	33,330	58,630	1974 (ו)
	29,070	26,540	55,610	23,890	27,730	51,620	1975
	28,170	27,470	55,640	23,060	12,330	35,390	1976
	23,260	19,570	42,830	20,880	5,850	26,730	1977
	20,580	14,870	35,450	23,650	7,120	30,770	1978
	20,830	9,670	30,500	23,180	15,050	38,230	1979
	21,310	9,450	30,760	20,130	12,560	32,690	1980
	18,490	14,950	33,440	24,250	13,150	37,400	1981
	20,040	13,290	33,330	20,080	8,440	28,520	1982
	20,720	9,740	30,460	18,860	7,350	26,210	1983
	19,850	7,560	27,410	16,760	6,500	23,260	1984
	17,840	6,950	24,790	15,710	5,170	20,880	1985
	17,490	4,220	21,710	15,700	3,110	18,810	1986
	16,400	3,550	19,950	18,680	3,030	21,710	1987
	16,410	3,230	19,640	18,920	3,030	21,950	1988
	18,840	3,480	22,320	16,360	3,490	19,850	1989
	16,710	3,250	19,960	22,830	19,550	42,380	1990
	19,130	23,140	42,270	21,780	61,730	83,510	1991
	21,590	48,530	70,120	23,330	22,700	46,030	1992
	21,560	21,580	43,140	29,150	6,650	35,800	1993
	24,430	9,470	33,900	32,490	11,130	43,620	1994
	31,398	6,875	38,273	45,299	27,464	72,763	1995
	36,767	16,034	52,801	39,722	19,682	59,404	R1996
	45,916	22,448	68,364	37,586	16,371	53,957	R1997
	36,200	17,646	53,846	34,288	10,139	44,427	R1998
	29,647	16,702	46,349	28,617	9,740	38,357	R1999
	32,882	10,556	43,438	31,063	14,716	45,779	R2000
	30,319	8,938	39,257	24,465	7,331	31,796	R2001
	28,245	10,399	38,644	24,711	7,714	32,425	R2002
	24,925	8,572	33,497	22,314	7,358	29,672	*2003

(א), (ב), (ג), (ד), (ה), ו-(ו) - ראה הערות מתאימות ללוח 4.

</div>

This table shows all units built in Israel between 1955 and 2003. The table has two main parts and reads from right to left. The far right column presents the years, then there is a comparison between the two other columns, the one on the right for start of building and the one on the left for completed building. Each section also has sub-categories which contain (from right to left) the total number of units, both publicly and privately built. The figures shows the changes in public build compared to private, mainly according to the immigration waves of 1990. Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2005.

1.2. Public vs. private building between 1963 and 2003
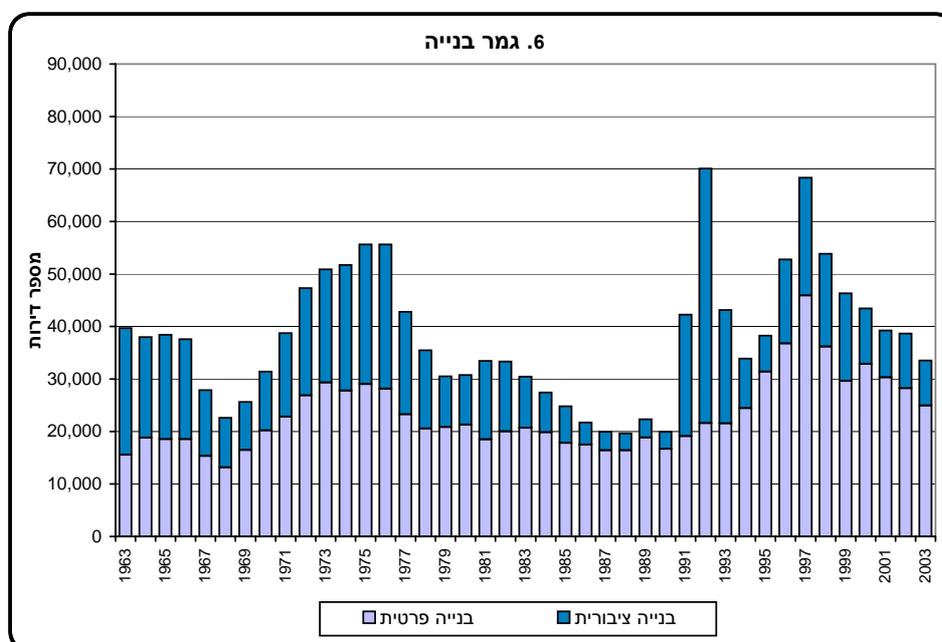
This graph shows the percentage of public build (in blue) and private build (in grey) and the reduction of public build in the late 1970s and its sudden increase in 1990. Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2005

1.3. The Dominance of Public Building in the 1990s

5. התחלת בנייה
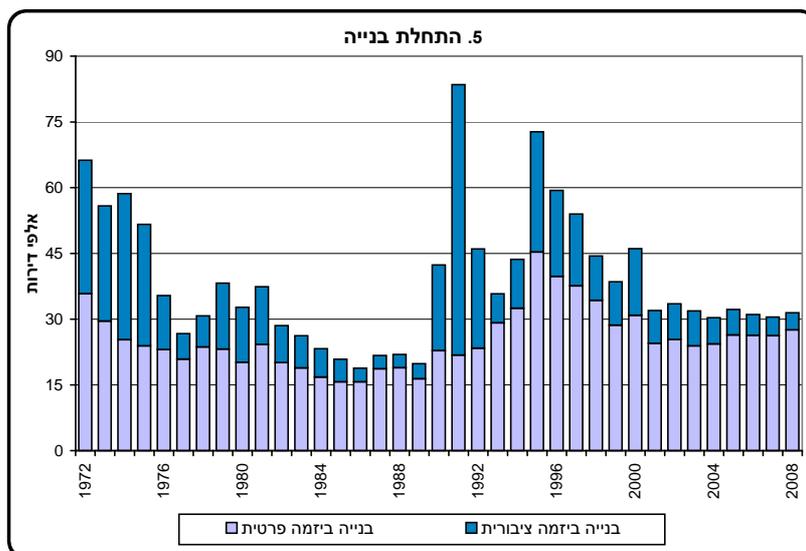
This graph presents the share of public (in blue) and private (in grey) building in Israel for the period of 1973–2008. It mainly shows the decrease in public building from the late 1960s to the rise in public building during the 1990s in response to immigration from the former USSR.

1.4. Public and private build in Israel 1970–2010

22.3 התחלת בנייה של דירות, לפי יוזם בנייה
22.3 Dwellings Begun, by Construction Initiator
1970–2010
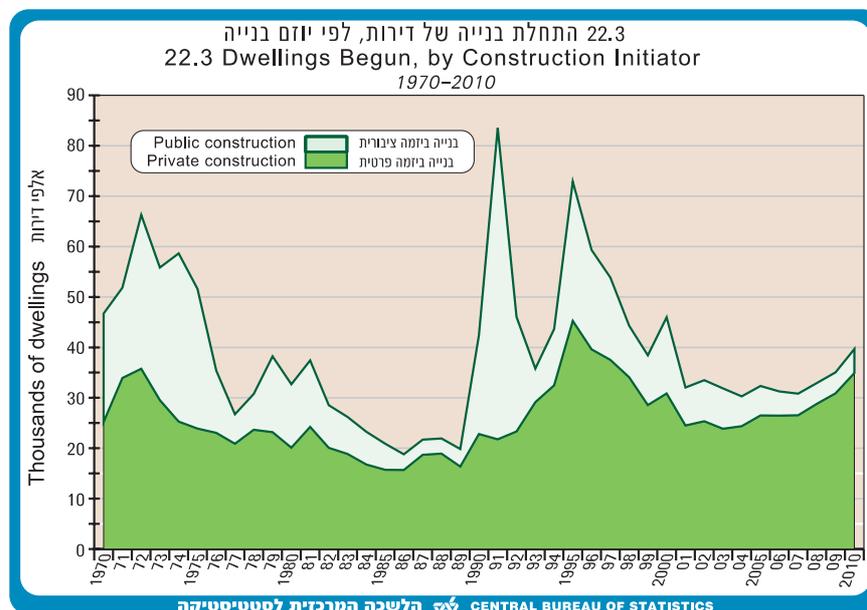
Source: Table 22.11 מקור: לוח

This figure shows the decrease in public building (light green) from the late 1970s to the 1980s. It also shows the high rise in public building in response to the massive immigration waves of the 1990s. Source: Central Bureau of Statistics.

1.5. Share of public/private building: map

This table shows the share of public build (in purple) and private build (in green) on a map. The areas in the NS and some locations in the south and far north of Israel have a greater share of public build than any other. Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2010.
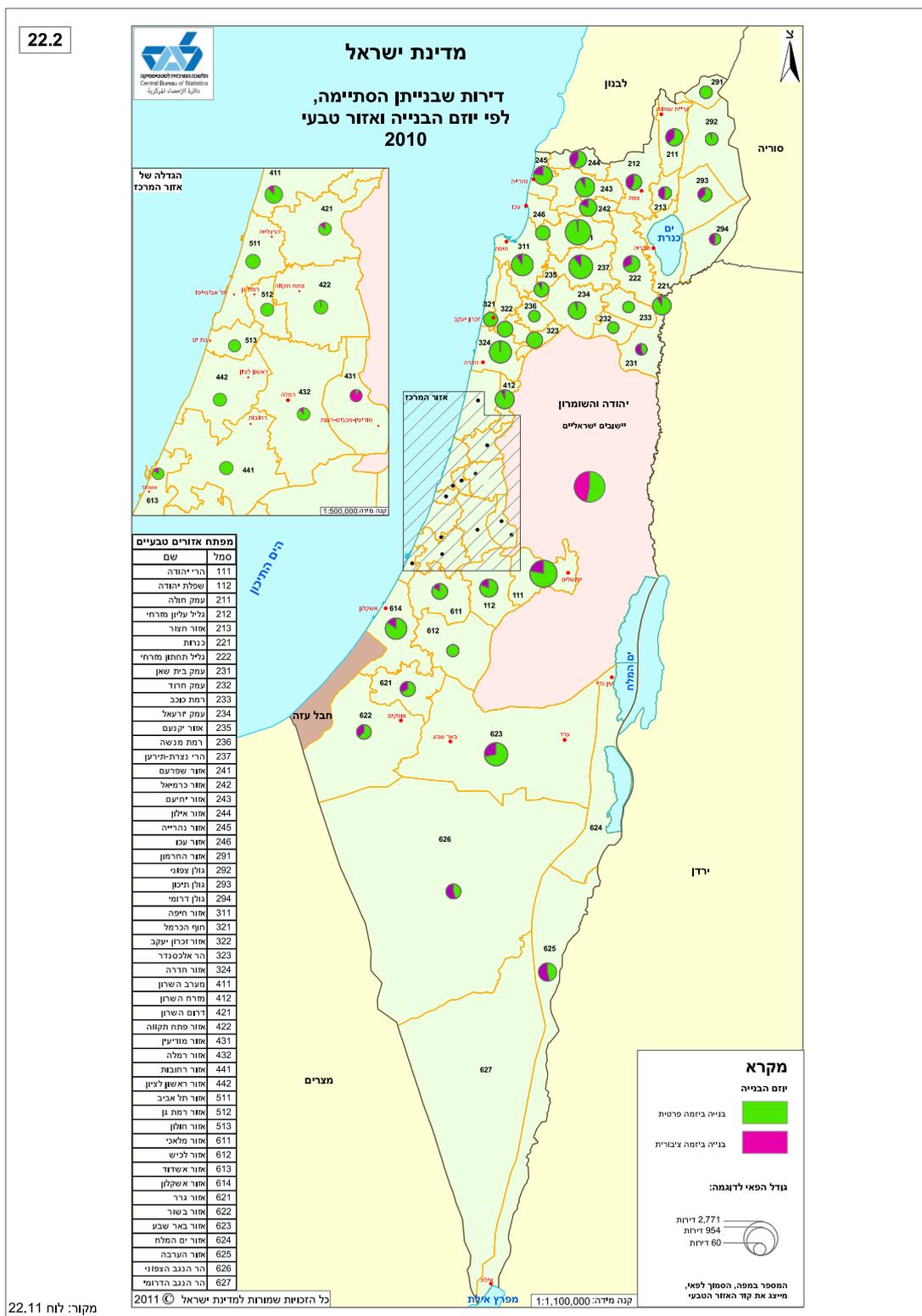
APPENDIX 2 – Neighbourhood Renewal Programme Surveys

2.1. Comparison between density rates in the Neighbourhood Renewal and national rates

Number of people in room / source	0–1	1 –2	2 –3	3 and more
NRP	51.7%	**35%**	**11.2%**	**2.1%**
National Density rate	**74.2%**	21.2%	4.2%	0.5%

Source: The Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011

This table shows the high density in NRP neighbourhoods compared to the national average (before the NRP was initiated).

2.2. Number of people living in small units (1–2 beds) before the NRP operated

Location/ people per unit (%)	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	Total
1-2	**35.7**	**35.5**	21.3	**28.3**	18.0	24.6	12.5	21.1	**37.7**	**33.4**	14.9	**26.1**
3	17.8	21.2	14.7	19.1	13.4	14.6	13.7	14.5	22.5	17.9	23.4	16.9
4	25.2	17.2	21.7	22.0	20.9	13.7	18.8	**22.8**	17.2	20.7	16.3	20.3
5	9.9	10.6	16.4	18.9	17.9	18.6	20.7	19.4	7.2	9.7	**24.8**	14.9
6 +	11.4	15.5	**26.0**	11.7	**29.8**	**28.5**	**34.3**	22.2	15.4	18.3	20.6	21.8

Source: The Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011

2.3 Number of people in small units after the NRP was operated

Persons per room %	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	Total
0 – 1	**58.4**	**64.2**	38.6	**52.4**	**53.6**	**49.4**	**46.3**	**53.1**	**62.6**	**59.2**	**54.4**	**51.7**
1- 2	30.1	30.5	**42.9**	33.2	36.9	37.3	38.0	32.3	26.4	28.3	39.9	35
2 +	11.5	5.3	18.5	14.4	9.5	13.3	15.7	14.6	11.0	12.5	5.7	13.3

Source: The Central Bureau of Statistics, 2011

This comparison shows how the NRP helped to ease density.

2. 4. Willingness to participate in community activities (data in %)

Neighbourhood in the programme	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	Total
% willing to participate	68.0	67.0	44.0	33.0	55.0	50.0	67.0	75.0	58.0	49.0	49.0	56.0

Source: MOH, 2003

This table presents percentages of residents who responded positively when asked about their willingness to participate in the Neighbourhood Renewal Programme. In 8 out of 11 neighbourhoods more than 50% of residents were willing to participate in the programme.

Index: Neighbourhoods and locations in Appendix 2.2 & 2.3

A – Acre, northern Israel

B – Migdal Ha'emek, northern Israel

C – Lod, central Israel – mixed population Jewish and Arabs

D – Jerusalem, the capital – eastern Israel

E – Yeruham, southern Israel

F – Tiberius, northern Israel

G – Beit Shemesh, eastern Israel

H – Beit Shean, northern Israel

I – Beer Sheva, southern Israel

J – Ashkelon, southern Israel

K – Or Akiva, northern Israel

2.5. The most important issues residents of NRP hoped to achieve through the programme

Index: The issues

1. Refurbishment and extension of dwellings
2. Neighbourhood's external façade
3. Support for disconnected juveniles (youngsters who do not work or study)
4. Education levels
5. Crime management
6. Support for the extremely poor
7. Reducing unemployment rates
8. Entertainment services
9. Improving the neighbourhood's image
10. Empowering the community.

Table: The list of issues as they appear in importance (on a scale of 1 being the most important) over the years of operation of the NRP

	1983	1986	1989	1992	1996	2002
1	59 (1)	45 (2)	35 (3-4)	29 (5)	37 (3)	24.9 (2)
2	55 (2)	55 (1)	54 (1)	59 (1)	66 (1)	54.3 (1)
3	38 (3)	35 (3)	29 (7)	30 (4)	20 (8)	14.4 (7)
4	35 (4)	34 (4)	33 (5)	28 (6)	27 (5)	16.1 (6)
5	32 (5)	24 (7)	41 (2)	45 (2)	33 (4)	24 (3)
6	27 (6)	32 (5)	35 (3-4)	26 (7)	41 (2)	19.1 (4)
7	18 (7)	28 (6)	30 (6)	38 (3)	24 (6)	18.6 (5)
8	16 (8)	22 (8)	18 (8)	25 (8)	22 (7)	11.4 (9)
9	9 (9)	9 (9)	9 (9)	10 (9)	10 (10)	12.1 (8)
10	7 (10)	8 (10)	5 (10)	6 (10)	12 (9)	4.2 (10)

Source: MOH, 2003

APPENDIX 3

Exhibits A–M: Card-sorting exercise

1. The Social Housing Programmes

פינוי בינוי
Demolish and Rebuild Project
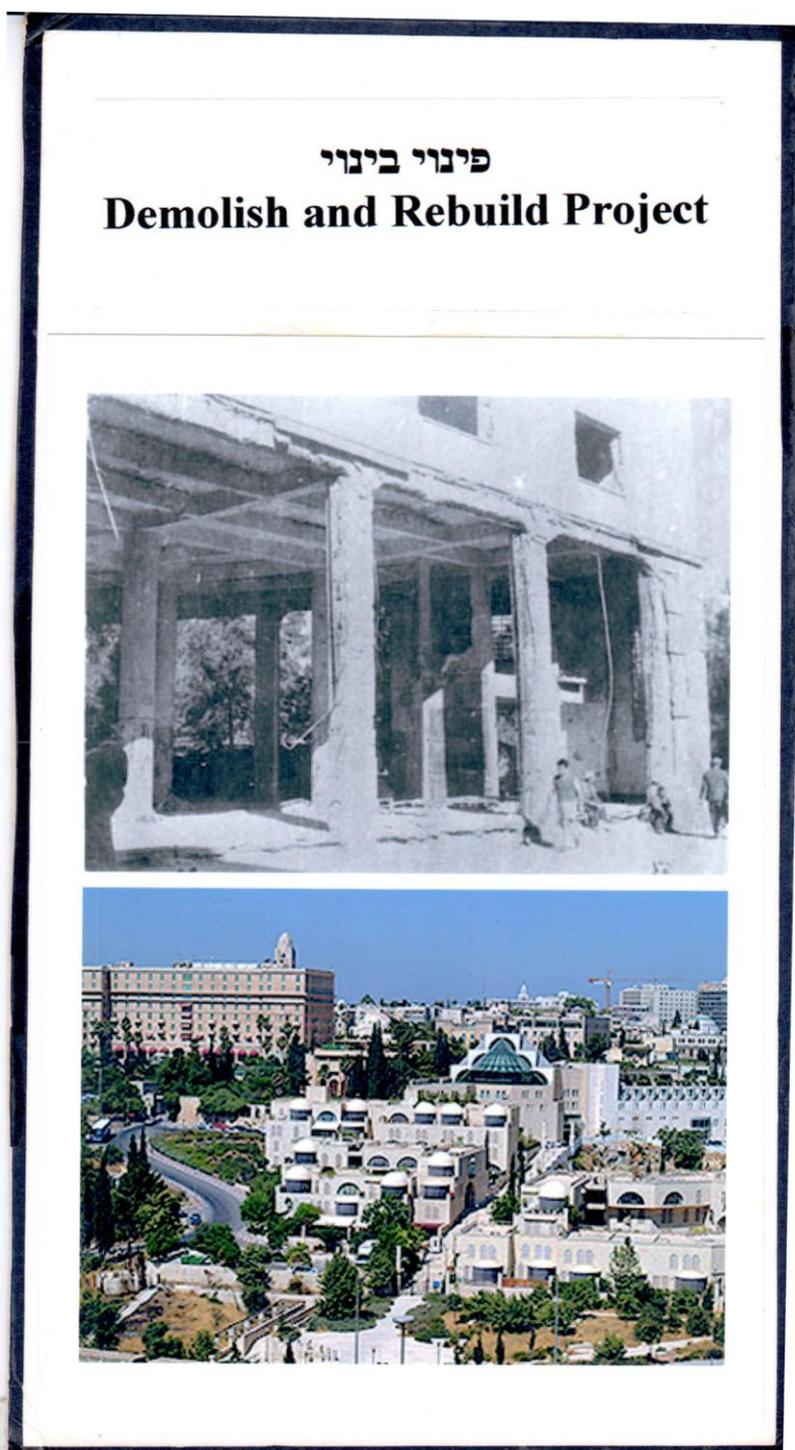
A

פרויקט שיקום שכונות
Neighbourhood Renewal Project

B

חקיקת חוק הדיור הציבורי
The 'Right to Buy'

C

2. Level of Participation
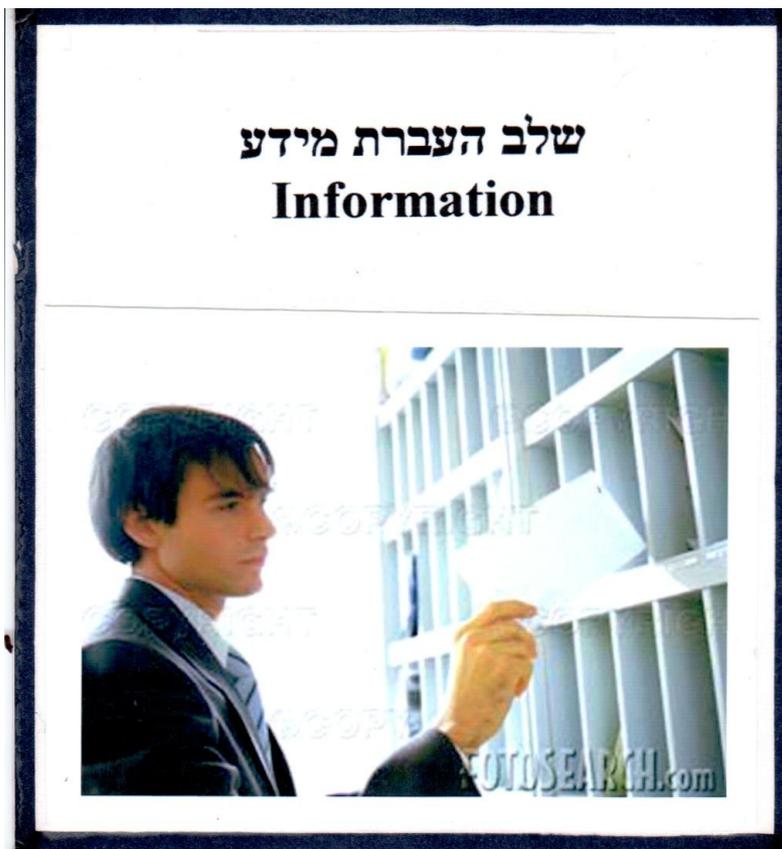
D

E

שלב קבלת החלטות משותפת
Partnership

Board Room/
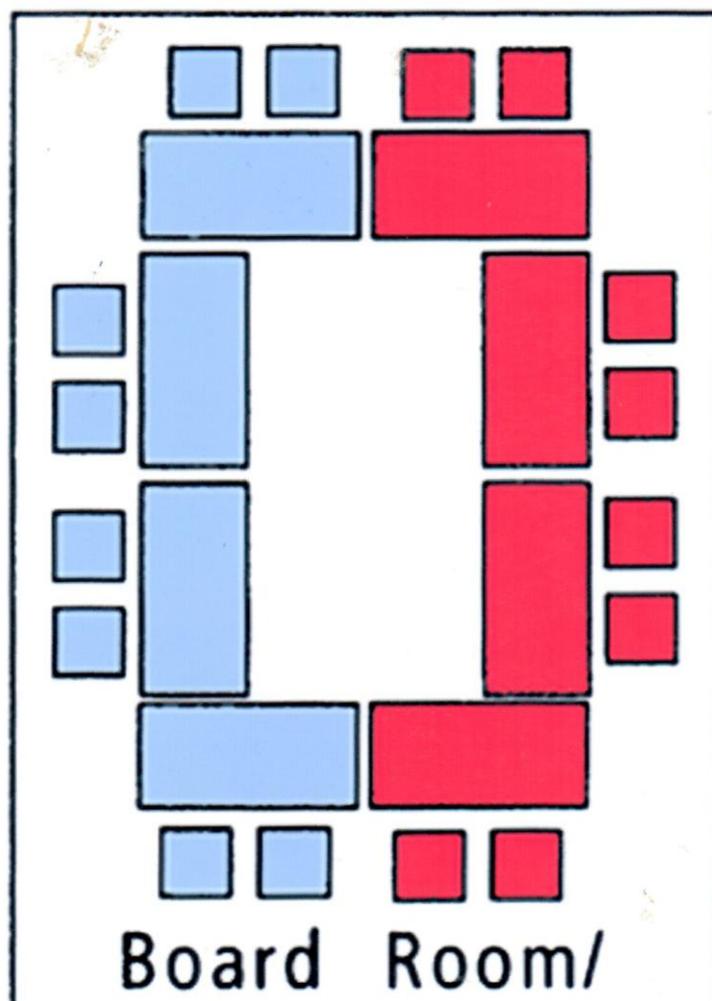
F

שלב הניהול העצמי

Control
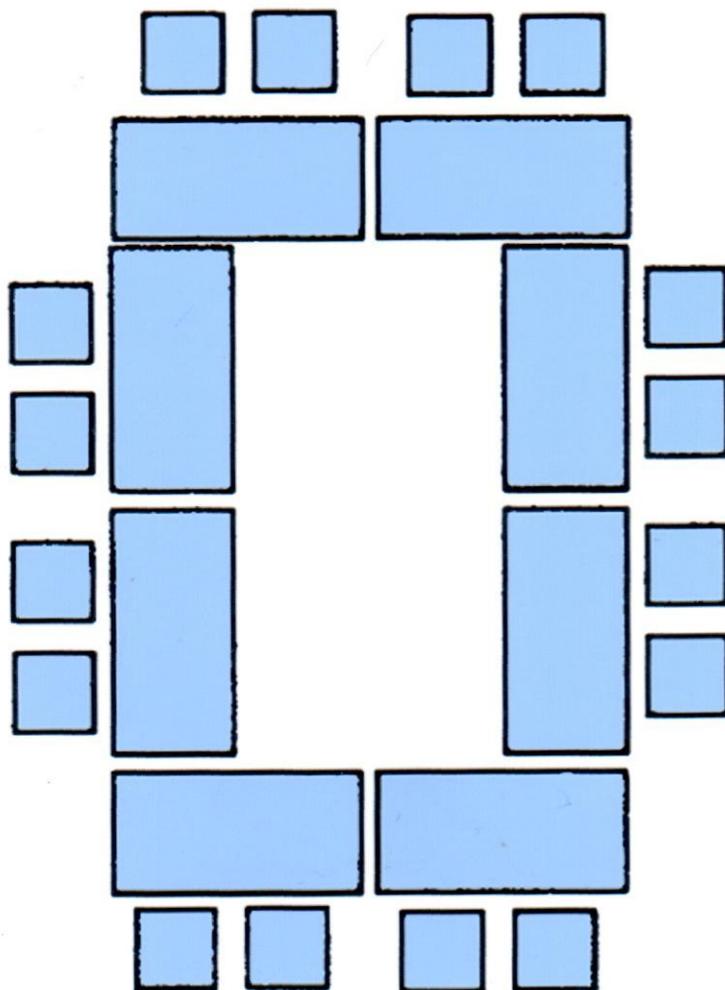
G

3. Type of Housing Communities

שיכון
Low-Income Central Town Neighbourhood

H

עיירת פיתוח
Hinterland Town
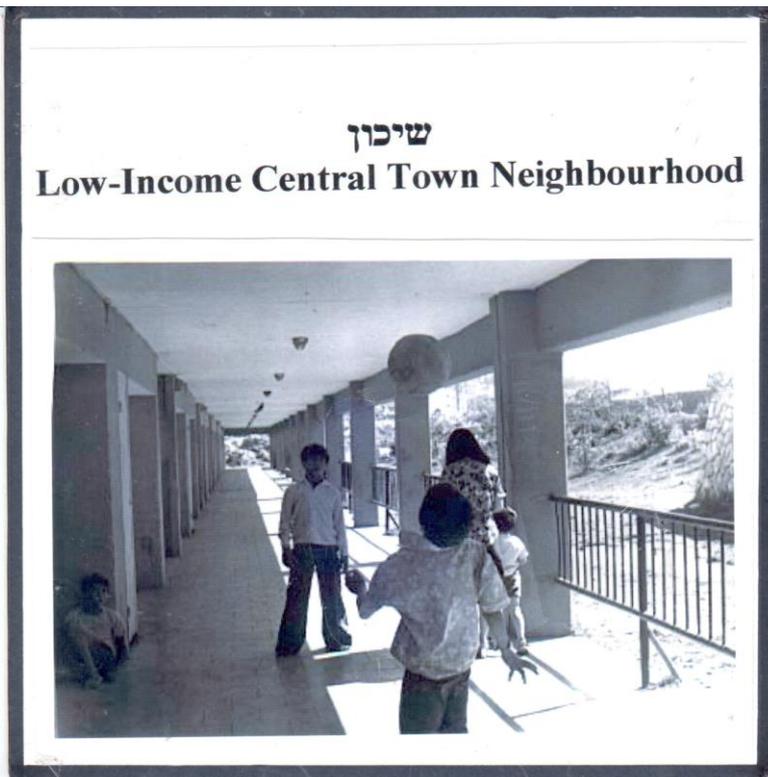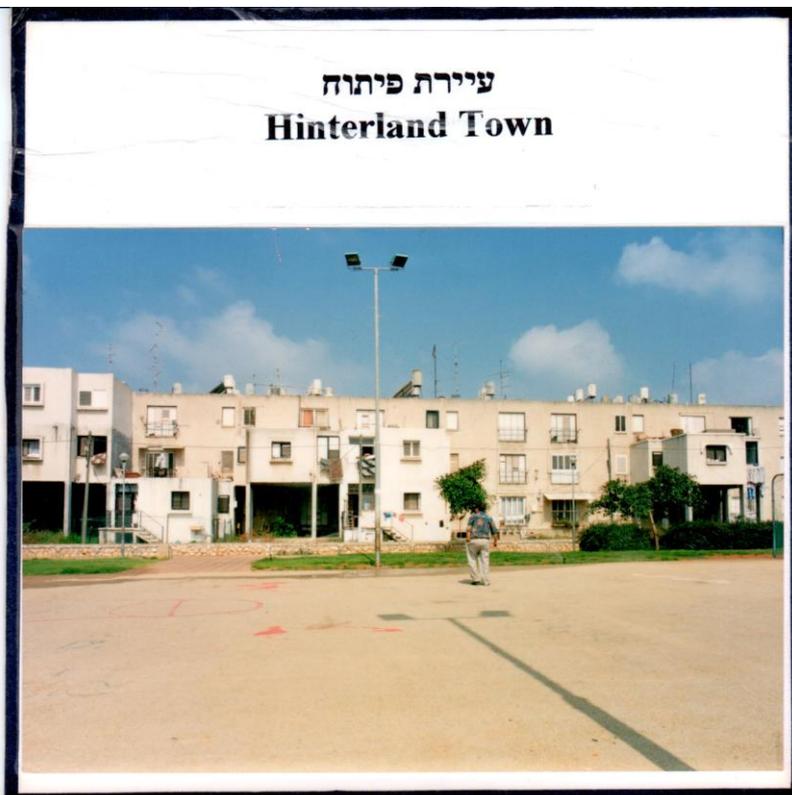
I

כפר ערבי
Arab Village

J

התנחלויות
New Settlements

K

קיבוץ
Kibbutz

שכונת יוקרה
Affluent Central Town Neighbourhood

M

APPENDIX 4 – Table of Interviewees for this research

NAME	SEX	AGE	ETHNICITY	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	TENURE	ADDRESS	DATE
Leaders								
E. Zazon	Male	66	Sephardic (Morocco)	Retired (Postman)	Married +	Former council housing bought RTB	Jerusalem	11.4.06
A. Hajaj	Male	63	Sephardic	Driver, disabled	Married +	Former council housing bought RTB	Tel Aviv	09.05.06 @ 17:00
G. Golan	Male	53	Sephardic – Yamane	IT manager, Amidar – Housing Company	Married +4	Private tenure	Kfar Gvirol, Rehovot	16.01.07 @ 20:30
Z. Adika	Female	60	Sephardic – Kurdistan	Training Social Worker	Widowed +5 +13	Council housing	Jerusalem	20.12.06 @ 19:00
L. Halfa	Male	37	Sephardic – Algeria and Tunis	Head of evacuees' committee	Married +6	Temporary caravan	The temporary site of Nitzan	29.07.07 @ 09:00
I. Twito	Male	41 (died since)	Mixed (mother Ashkenazi, Father Sephardic).	unemployed – disabled, living on benefits	divorced, single parent father for three girls.	Temporary caravan	Givat Shmuel	29.06.06 @ 14:30
B. Arajuani	Female	44	Sephardic	head of the Residents' Rights Organisation and Single Parents Committee	Divorced +1	Council housing	Jerusalem	8.05.06 @ 13:45
F. Drix	Male	60	Sephardic – Tunis	Unemployed	Divorced +4	Homeless – waiting for council housing	Holon.	09.05.06 @ 10:00

NAME	SEX	AGE	ETHNICITY	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	TENURE	ADDRESS	DATE
A. Zur	Male	57	Ashkenazi	Former mayor of the regional Council of Gaza Seashore, evicted, now unemployed and at times financial advisor	Married +6+7	Temporary caravan	Yad Binyamin	05.04.07 ; 19:30
D. Benisti	Male	44	Sephardic – Morocco	Lawyer, social activist	Single	Former council housing bought RTB	Jerusalem	08.05.06 @ 17:00
E. Harush	Male	58	Sephardic (Morocco)	State Employee – Ministry of Defence	Married +4	Former council housing bought before RTB	Hrtzeliya	03.04.07 @ 14:30
R. Aberjel	Male	68	Sephardic (Morocco)	Social Worker	Divorced +, Living with Partner.	Council housing	Jerusalem	14.4.06 @ 11:00 09.05.06 @ 15:00
A. Aflalo	Male	53	Sephardic – Morocco	Social Worker/ Property Assessor	Divorced	Former council housing bought RTB	Ashdod	10.10.06 @ 10:00
A. Sabag	Female	46	Sephardic Sabra – born in Israel, Parents – Morocco.	Operator, Local Community Co–operative Supermarket – food and home ingredients in basic costs	Divorced +2	Council housing	Jerusalem	08.11.06

NAME	SEX	AGE	ETHNICITY	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	TENURE	ADDRESS	DATE
S. Vazana	Male	42	Sephardic (Morocco)	Film Director and Lecturer	Married +2	Former council housing bought RTB	Jerusalem	8.5.06
A. Zauda	Male	32	Shephrdic – Ethiopia (New Immigrant)	Member of the City Council (elected), Chairperson of the local residents' organisation, New Immigrants co–operator – the Trade Union Federation	Married + 1	Private ownership	Kiryat Moshe – Rehovot	12.10.06
D. Kashani	Male	64	Sephardic – Iran	Pensioner, voluntarily running residents' information bureau	Married +2	Former council housing bought RTB	Tel Aviv	12.4.06 @ 09:30
Common P.								
R. Chalfus	Female	62	Ashkenazi	Retired	Divorced +2	Council housing	Tel Aviv	27.6.06
S. Sayda	Male	38	Arab – Muslim	Unemployed living on benefits	Married +4	Council housing	Kfar Maker	7.11.06 @ 17:30
L.& E. Nadler	Male & Female	56 & 58	Sephardic – Argentina.	Electrician; Secretary in the local municipality.	Married	Council housing	Kfar Saba.	09.10.06 @ 18:30
D.& R. Balsi	Male & Female	58 & 54	Sephardic – Yamane	Local Municipality Employee; Post Office Employee	Married +3	Council housing	Tel Aviv – Jaffa	27.05.07 @ 20:30
M. Yashar	Male	45	Sabra (parents Sephardic – Iran)	Janitor in an elementary school	Single	Council housing	Holon	09.11.06 @ 16:30
								01.07.06

NAME	SEX	AGE	ETHNICITY	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	TENURE	ADDRESS	DATE
S. Bat Chava	Female	54	Ashkenazi – Anglo–Saxon – USA.	Secretary, volunteer – Local Community Co–operative Supermarket – food and home ingredients in basic costs.	Single, living with a partner +2	Council housing	Jerusalem	08.11.06 @ 13:30
S. Meidani	Female	45	Mixed – Eastern European and Iran	Assistant nursery teacher	Married + 4	Private ownership	Tel Aviv	10.10.06 @ 20:00
Z &. T Awadat	Male & Female	50 & 52	Sephardic – Morocco and Aden – Yamane	Carpenter; Secretary	Married +4+ 2	Former council housing bought RTB	Nes Tziona	18.12.06
M. Ezov	Male	42	Ashkenazi	Unemployed, living on benefits and disabled support. Volunteer in residents committee	Married +2	Council housing	Jerusalem / Kiryat Arba	28.06.06 @ 17:30
D. Elimelech	Male	46	Sephardic – Morocco	trained Sheaf, disabled, unemployed	Single	Council housing	Tel Aviv – Jaffa	8.10.06
A. Biton	Male	57	Sephardic – Morocco	Local City Council Employee	Married +3	Former council housing bought before RTB	Tel Aviv	2.7.06
M. Edri	Female	49	Sephardic	Unemployed	Divorced + 2 Living with Partner.	Council housing	Ashdod	14.4.06 @ 13:00
A. Dagan	Male	54	Sephardic – Iraq	Car mechanic in a local Garage	Married +3	Private ownership	Tel Aviv	2.7.06

NAME	SEX	AGE	ETHNICITY	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	TENURE	ADDRESS	DATE
Random	**Random**	**Random**	**Random**					
A. & H. Zidan	Male & Female	61 & 48	Arab – Muslim	Carpenter and Housewife	Married +2	Council housing	Kfar Maker	7.11.06
M&.N Solomon	Male & Female	38 & 67	Sephardic – Ethiopia	– Local city employee, pensioner	Married +1, Widowed + 2	Council housing	Rehovot	15.01.07 @ 17:00
R. Mimi	Female	71	Sephardic	Pensioner	Widow ++	Council housing	Lod	26.06.06 @ 13:30
E. Shachar	Male	56	Sephardic – Tunis.	Taxi Driver	Married	Former council housing bought before RTB	Rishon LeZion	09.05.06 @ 15:30
M. Hamudi	Male	30	Arab – Muslim	Driver	Engaged	Council housing	Kfar Maker	7.11.06 @ 1900
E. Trayzman	Female	67	Sephardic – Morocco	Pensioner	Married + 10	Council Housing	Lod	26.06.06 @ 13:30
								7.11.06
S. Shulavich	Female	22	Sephardic – Morocco	Student	Married +1	Private ownership	Petach Tikva.	31.05.07 @ 11:00
Y. Harush	Male	48	Ashkenazi	Taxi Driver	Married	Former council housing bought before RTB	Tel Aviv North	09.05.06 @ 14:30
D. & S. Azulai	Male and Female	56 & 50	Sephardic – Syria & Turkey	Construction Worker; Seamstress	Married +2	Former council housing bought before RTB	Tel Aviv – Jaffa	08.10.06

NAME	SEX	AGE	ETHNICITY	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	TENURE	ADDRESS	DATE
Z. Barda	Female	78	Sephardic	Pensioner	Divorced, Mother and Grandmother	Council Housing	Lod	26.06.06 @ 12:30
A. Amer	Male	41	Arab – Muslim	Unemployed	Married +4	Council housing	Kfar Maker	7.11.06 @ 20:30
C. Gutman	Male	26	Ashkenazi – Poland and Germany	District Manager in the religious youth movement – 'Benei Akiva'.	Married +1	Council housing	Kiryat Arba	11.10.06 ; 10:00
H. Cohen	Female	69	Sephardic – Morocco	Pensioner	Widowed + 7	Council Housing	Lod	26.06.06 @ 14:00
A. Yatosha	Male	45	Sephardic – Ethiopia	Unemployed	Divorced/ Widowed +2	Council Housing	Kiryat Moshe – Rehovot	17.12.06
Informers								
L. Weintrob	Male	32	Ashkenazi – Anglo–American.	Governmental Employee – Foreign Affairs' Counsel	Married +2	Private rent	Tel Aviv	25.6.06
S. Asheri	Female	39	Ashkenazi – Italy	Lobbying and Group Consultant Social in social NGO – 'Shatil'	Living with a partner +2	Private ownership	Jerusalem	20.12.06 @ 16:30
Dr. Y. Dahan	Male	52	Sephardic – Morocco	Academic, N.G.O. active member	Married	Private ownership	Oxford University.	15.07.06 @ 14:00
A. Zelender	Male	50	Ashkenazi (former USSR)	Manager of an Estate Housing for Elderly New Immigrants.	Married +2	Private ownership	Petach Tikva.	31.05.07 @ 14:15
J.P. Alalo	Male	61	Sephardic – Peru.	Councillor in the city hall of Jerusalem.	Married + 3	Private ownership	Jerusalem.	08.11.06 @ 19:00
A. Merling	Male	56	Sabra (parents – Ashkenazi – Romania)	Psychologist, Retired Pilot.	Married +2	Private ownership	Yavne.	06.11.06 @ 13:30 09.10.06 @ 10:00

NAME	SEX	AGE	ETHNICITY	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	TENURE	ADDRESS	DATE
A. Amiel	Male	78	Sephardic – Morocco	Retired, former head of the welfare department in the municipality of the city of Jerusalem	Married	Private ownership	Jerusalem	01.09.06
B. Epstein	Female	56	Ashkenazi – Anglo–American U.S.A.	Manger – the Social Rights Advocacy Centre in Jerusalem.	Married	Private ownership	Jerusalem	28.06.06 @ 15:30
L. Warton	Female	43	Ashkenazi – USA	PhD student in the Political Science department, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, former coordinator of the residents group – 'Kol Ba'Schunot'.	Divorced +2	Private ownership	Jerusalem	10.10.06 @ 16:30
Y. Nuri	Male	56	Mixed – Latvia and Kazakhstan	Senior Assistant for welfare issues to the Mayor of Hertzeliya	Married +2	Private ownership	Hertzeliya	09.10.06 @ 13:15
L. Kindler	Female	51	Ashkenazi – USA	Coordinator of the Toronto congregation in NRP project in Israel and fund raiser.	Married +1	Private ownership	Ra'anana	06.11.06 @ 17:30
S. David	Male	42	Mix – Greece and Russia	Lobbying and Group Consultant Social in social NGO – 'Shatil'	Married +2	Private ownership	Jerusalem	17.01.07 @ 15:00
C. Batz	Female	30	Ashkenazi – France	Business Development Officer in lobbying firm.	Married +1 (pregnant)	Private ownership	Hertzeliya	09.11.06 @ 21:30
M. Margalit	Male	54	Sephardic – Argentina.	Human Rights NGO – Former councillor in the city hall of Jerusalem	Separated + 3	Private ownership	Jerusalem	10.10.06 @ 14:00
								08.11.06 @ 16:00

NAME	SEX	AGE	ETHNICITY	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	TENURE	ADDRESS	DATE
T. Atias	Male	36	Sephardic – Morocco	Advocate	Married +2	Private ownership	Rishon Le–Zion	10.10.06 @ 12:30
Dr. E. Bustin	Female	61	Sabra – parents' origin: Ashkenazi Russia.	Independent consultant for building societies in multi–cultural environments.	Married +3	Private ownership	Gedera.	09.11.06 @ 10:30
: Mr. Y. Linskind & Mrs. S. Kushnir	Male & Female	56 & 41	Ashkenazi (Mr Linskind Poland and Mrs. Kushnir Russia.	Both are local coordinators of the social section in the Neighbourhood Renewal Project – Mr. Libskind represents the municipality; Mrs. Kushnir represents the Ministry of Housing.	Mr. Linskind married +5, Mrs. Kushnir married + 2	Private ownership	Jerusalem	17.01.07 @ 14:00
I. Danon	Female	37	Sephardic – Turkey and Yemen	Social Worker currently with the welfare department in the Jerusalem Municipality, former coordinator of the housing forum in 'Shatil'.	Married +2	Private ownership	Jerusalem	18.12.06
Implementors								
A. Ravdal – Nadkov	Female	56	Ashkenazi – born in Israel (Sabra)	Head of the social section in the Neighbourhood Renewal Project – Ministry of Housing	Married	Private ownership	Jerusalem.	20.12.06
Prof. D. Shimshoni	Male	87	Ashkenazi – USA.	The NRP manager in the PMO office when the project announced, Prof. in Political Science and socials Policy.	Married	Private ownership	Herzeliya	18.01.07 @ 14:00

NAME	SEX	AGE	ETHNICITY	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	TENURE	ADDRESS	DATE
S. Ben Eliyahu	Male	52	Sephardic – Iraq.	Former Director General, Ministry of Housing, Director General ILA, Director General Settlement Division WZO.	Married +4	Private ownership	Jerusalem	17.01.07 @ 10:00
O. Laufman	Male	41	Ashkenazi – East Europe	General Director, the settlement division of the World Zionist Organisation.	Married	Private ownership	Jerusalem	16.01.07 @ 11:00
T. Miyara	Female	58	Sephardic – Morocco.	Former General Manager – Amidar	Married + 3	Private ownership	Ramat Gan	09.10.06 @ 15:30
M. Merchaviya	Male	48	Ashkenazi (former USSR immigrated to Israel in 1987).	Head of the District of Jerusalem – Ministry of Housing	Married +10	Private ownership	The settlement of Eli	19.12.06 @ 10:00
I. Shwartz	Male	60	Ashkenazi – Poland.	Senior Deputy Director General and Head of the habituation department – Ministry of Housing	Married	Private ownership	Jerusalem	20.12.06 @ 10:00
Dr. Z. Weinstein	Male	58	Ashkenazi – Sabra.	Senior Governmental Employee – manager of the NRP project for the central district, in the Ministry of Housing.		Private ownership	Tel Aviv	18.01.07 @ 09:30
S. Eldor	Female	62	Ashkenazi – Poland	Head of the Urban Renewal Department– Ministry of Housing	Widowed	Private ownership	Tel Aviv	20.12.06 @ 12:30
Dr. C. Fialkoff	Male	53	Ashkenazi – U.S.A	Senior Deputy Director General, Ministry of Housing.	Married +3	Private ownership	Jerusalem	9.10.06 @ 15:30

NAME	SEX	AGE	ETHNICITY	OCCUPATION	MARITAL STATUS	TENURE	ADDRESS	DATE
G. Ilani	Male	43	Sephardic Sabra –born in Israel, parents born in Iraq and Italy	Project manager of two council housing estates, employed by a private company	Married +1	Private ownership	Lod	16.1.07 @ 17:00
E. Pade	Male	65	Sephardic – Morocco.	Senior Governmental Employee – deputy manager of the department for community work services in the Ministry of Welfare.	Married + 2	Private ownership	Jerusalem.	27.05.07 @ 15:30
C.Hovav	Female	71	Sabra (Ashkenazi) – Israel (originally Germany)	Head of the NRP department in the Ministry of Housing, retired.	Married	Private ownership	Jerusalem	8.10.06
Decision–makers								
R. Cohen	Male	67	Sephardic (Iraq).	Member of the parliament, the initiator of the RTB and former Minister of Industry and Trade	Married +4+2	Private ownership	Jerusalem.	05.04.07 @ 14:00
T. Guzanski	Female	67	Sabra – Ashkenazi.	Former Member of Parliament.	Married +2 +2	Private ownership	Bat Yam.	04.04.07 @ 18:00
Y.Edelstein	Male	48	Ashkenazi (former USSR) immigrant to Israel in 1987.	Former minister of Absorption and a member of parliament – rejoin the parliament again a month after the interview conducted	Married +2	Private ownership	Alon Shvut, Gush Etzion.	18.12.06 @ 16:00

APPENDIX 5

5.1. A comparative description of Neighbourhood Renewal Programme case studies analysed in this research

Case Study/ Criteria	Katamonim	Eir Ganim	Sanhedriya	Shapira	Kfar Gvirol	Jessi Cohen
Population	5,900	3,500	8,682	9,000	2,500	10,026
Number of households	2300	1,100	784	4100	900	3,703
Home owners	52%	64%	64%	27%	51*	32*
Average household	2.7	3.1	4.6	2.3	2.9	3
Size of the neighbourhood	0.45km^2	0.2km^2	0.73km^2	0.82 km^2	0.98 km^2	0.8 km^2*
Number of units	2,283	1,257	2349	4,712	1054	4700*
Total size of units in m^2	119,481	67,010	118,000*	270,962	103,633	270,000*
Average size of a unit in m^2	52.3	53.3	52*	57.5	51*	58*
Density (people in km^2)	12,207	16,480	21,000*	11,041	11,041	14,000*
Density per unit	0.9	1.1*	5.6*	2.9	1.4*	2.9
Religious groups (new immigrants)	Jews 100%	Jews 90% Arab Muslim 10%	Jews 100% (majority ultra-Orthodox)	Jews 80.8% Others 19.2%	Jews 100%	Jews 89% (35% are new immigrants), Muslims 0.5%
Employment	63%	59.3%	45%	69.9%	71%	56%
Socially dependent	2.69%	3.49%	4.4%*	2.09	1.6*	2.5%*
Current Value of a unit	441,700 NIS[72]	441,700 NIS	972,700 NIS	613,793 NIS	664,672 NIS	490,055 NIS
Value after D&R (calculated per 300% housing rights)	1,063,000 NIS	1,063,000 NIS	2,012,000 NIS	1,412,000 NIS	1,112,000 NIS	1,011,000 NIS

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[72] 1 NIS = £0.6

5.2. A Comparison of Right to Buy case studies analysed in this research

Neighbourhoods	National Housing Company	Local Housing Company	Location	Ethnicity	RTB Leaders*	Protests
Katamonim + Pat	**Amidar**	Prazot	Jerusalem	Jews, New Immigrants (1960s)	Yes	Yes
Eir Ganim	**Amidar**	Prazot	Jerusalem	Jews, New Immigrants (1950s)	Yes	Yes
Kiryat Moshe	**Amidar**		Rehovot Central Israel	Jews, New Immigrants (1990s)	Yes	Yes
Lod - Merkaz	**Amidar**		Lod Central Israel	Jews, Arabs	No	No
Ramat Sharet	**Amigur**	Prazot	Jerusalem	Jews Religious + New Immigrants (1950s)	Yes	Yes
Derech Lod + Hatikva	**Amidar**	Halamish	Tel Aviv Central Israel	Jews, New Immigrants (1960s)	Yes	Yes
Tel Kabir / Kfir	**Amidar**	Halamish	Tel- Aviv Central Israel	Jews, Arabs, New Immigrants (1970s)	Yes	Yes
Neve Sharet	**Amidar**	Halamish	Tel Aviv – Centrel Israel	Jews, New Immigrants (1950s)	No	Yes
Rova Daled (4), Hei (5) and Vav (6)	**Amigur**		Ashdod – Southern Israel	Jews, New Immigrants (1990s)	Yes	Yes
Shaviv, Yad Hatisha	**Amidar**		Herzeliya – Sharon	Jews, New Immigrants (1970s)	Yes	No
Amishav and Immigrants Centre	**Amigur**	Heled	Petach-Tikva Crentral Israel	Jews, New Immigrants (1990s)	No	No
Kfar Maker	**Amidar**		Northern Israel	Arabs	No	No

Kiryat Arba	**Amidar**	New Settlements	Jews Religious	Yes	No
Jessi Cohen	**Amidar**	Holon – Central Israel	Jews, New Immigrants (1960s +1990s)	Yes	Yes
Yoseftal	**Amidar**	Kfar Saba – Sharon	Jews, New Immigrants (1960s)	Yes	Yes

APPENDIX 6 – Charts and graphs on the Right To Buy

## 6.1. Number of units and employees in the housing companies

A total of 503 employees and 9 directors are employed by Amidat to manage 41,000 units, while in the regional companies (from right to left, Halamish 2nd in blue, Shikmona first in red and then Prazot and Heled) the number of units to manage were smaller than in Amidar, company employee numbers were higher. The Finance Ministry used this comparison as an example of public money wasted. Source: http://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/1,7340,L-3607480,00.html

חברות הדיור הציבורי הקטנות אינן יעילות היקף הפעילות בחברות הדיור הציבורי, נכון לסוף 2012

	חלד	פרזות	שקמונה	חלמיש	עמידר	
ממוצע יחס הדירות לעובד בשלוש החברות הקטנות קטן פי 5 לעומת היחס בעמידר	151	818	380	1,900	41,000	מספר הדירות שבטיפול החברה
	10	56	21	42	503	מספר עובדים בחברה
	15	15	18	45	82	יחס דירות לעובד
על אף גודלן, לרוב החברות הקטנות יש יותר דירקטורים מבעמידר	6	13	12	12	9	מספר דירקטורים

6.2. Comparison of the share of public housing out of general housing in the EU

Diagram showing the proportion of publicly funded housing out of total housing in Israel compared to other European countries. Left to right: The Netherlands, UK, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, France, Finland, Ireland, Israel (orange), Italy, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, Luxembourg. Source: http://hamishmar.org.il/

הדיור הציבורי כאחוז מכלל הדירות - מבט השוואתי

36% 24% 23% 22% 18% 17% 14% 11% 6% 6% 6% 4% 2% 2% 0%

מדינה
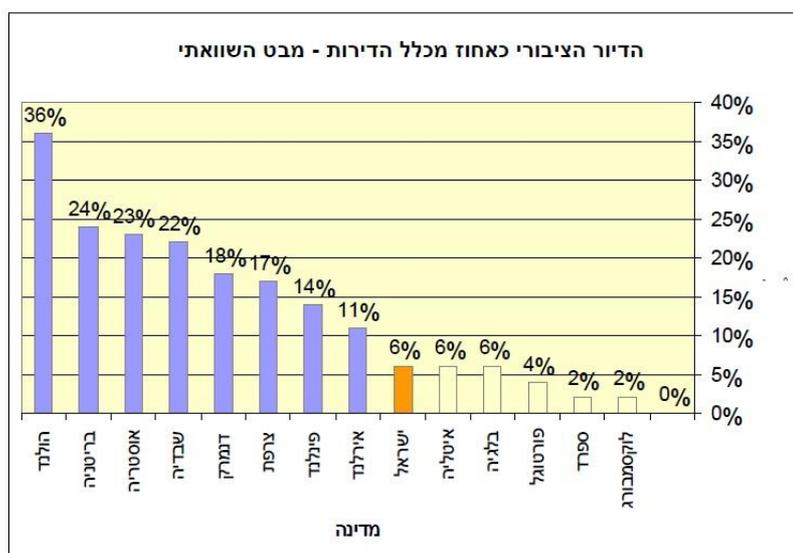
6.3. Public support to different groups

Residents presented figures to argue supportive public policy and a more efficient political lobby helped other groups of residents to get better housing conditions. The following table presents the tax residents needed to pay for renovating their land to meet the legal living requirements (row from right to left), in Moshev, Kibbutz, City, New Buyers, in four stages, (column from top down; new buyers, next of kin, 3rd house onwards, commercial business. Source: http://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=697220

|	שיעור תשלומי ההיוון			
חוכר חדש מהמינהל	חוכר עירוני	חוכר בקיבוץ	חוכר במושב	
91%	3.75%	3.75%	3.75%	בית ראשון
91%	81% (כולל 50% היטל השבחה)	–	11%	בן ממשיך/ פיצול מגרש עירוני
91%	81%	–	31%	בית שלישי
91%	81%	31%	31%	תעסוקה 500 מ"ר

6.4. The reduction of units managed by Amidar, 1960–2011 (title in Hebrew reads 'Amidar Reduced')

This diagram shows the decrease public funded solution from 1960. The figures represent numbers in thousands. Source: http://www.themarker.com/realestate/1.658528

עמידר מצטמצמת

מספר הדירות בבעלות עמידר – באלפים

200 — 1960
70 — 2008
46 — 2011
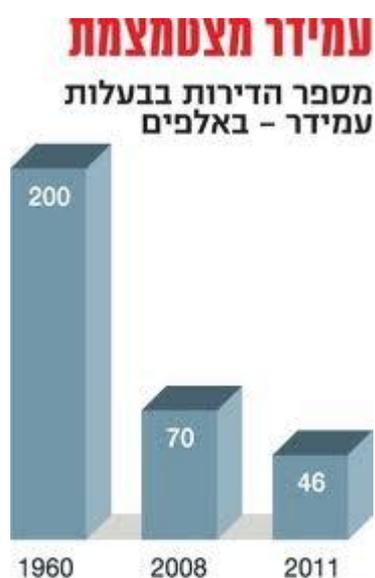
6.5. The decrease in public housing (number of units) per 1000 people since the Right to Buy began (between 1999 and 2007).

The legislators' initial idea was that the income from sales of units would be used to build new ones. In practice the income used to compensate the JA and no new buildings were added since.. Source: http://www.tarabut.info/he/articles/article/diyur-stat/
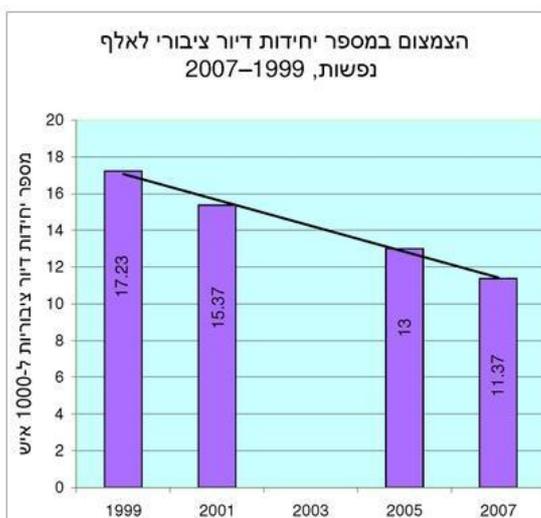
6.6. The number of residents on waiting lists and the number of vacant housing solutions. Data (column from top down): presents in Tel Aviv Jaffa, Netenya, Holon, Ramle, Benei-brak, Bat-Yam. The middle column presents the number of approved cases waiting for housing units. The far left column presents the number of empty units. This table shows the lack of housing solutions. This figure is taken from the State Comptroller Report 2008. Source: http://www.blacklabor.org/?p=20994

מס׳ הדירות הפנויות	מס׳ זכאים לדירות בשכירות	שם היישוב
7	208	תל אביב-יפו
4	122	נתניה
4	102	חולון
2	80	רמלה
3	71	בני ברק
11	59	בת ים
31	642	סה״כ

מבקר המדינה -2008- ערים נבחרות
לא כולל אלפי ממתינים שהם עולים חדשים

6.7. Numbers and location of empty units managed by Amidar. The grey boxes show numbers of vacant units, and in red the number of empty units which companies are very slow to allocate although the waiting list is long. Source: http://www.themarker.com/realestate/1.1688261

**6.8. 'Right To Buy' income and expenditure**

This table summarises revenue from the RTB and how it was spent (rows on the right column from top down) – 1. income from direct sales of council housing units; 2. payment to the JA; 3. general expenses; 4. Housing Ministry income from sale of council housing units; 5. Housing Ministry housing expenses; 6. purchase of a) standard and b) disabled units; 7. Housing Ministry balance; 8. balance of monies paid to council housing companies; 9. Finance Ministry balance. The majority went to compensate the JA and very little (almost none) was passed to the public housing companies with none directed to build new solutions as initially aimed by the RTB. Source: http://maavakbs.wordpress.com/category

6.9. Quantity of Vacant Houses Held by Amidar and Amigur

The table shows the decrease in the number of empty public housing units over a decade. This shows that demand is higher than supply and explain why residents insisted to reinvest RTB income in creating new housing solutions. Source: http://goliath3.wordpress.com/2011/10/31/. Housing Ministry Monthly Report, figure C, 6 July 2004.

מלאי הדירות הפנויות ב"עמידר" וב"עמיגור"

מקור: משרד הבינוי והשיכון, מידע חודשי, לוח ג' 6, יולי 2004.
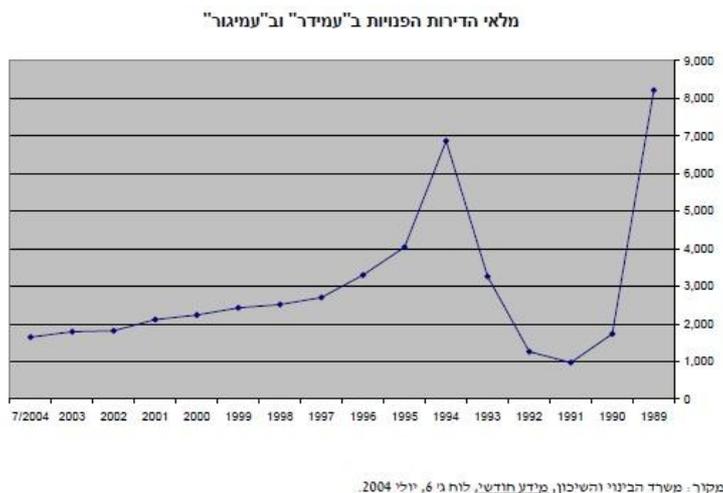
6.10. A comparison of the number of public housing units per 1000 residents in EU – (from top down on the right column) Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, England, Average in Europe, Israel. Israel is far behind. Source: http://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000791504

השוואה שולמית: מספר הדירות הציבוריות לכל 1,000 תושבים	
100	אוסטריה
32	בלגיה
95	דנמרק
5	אסטוניה
85	פינלנד
86.5	צרפת
22.8	גרמניה
29	איטליה
138	הולנד
34.9	פולין
8.9	רומניה
8.5	סלובקיה
10.9	ספרד
84	שבדיה
80	אנגליה
51.3	ממוצע
0.039	ישראל*

APPENDIX 7 – Illustrations

Chapter 3

3.1. <u>Tel Aviv, before the establishment of the State 1930</u>. Bauhaus/International style buildings constructed in the 1930s in Tel Aviv, Source: http://the-tallyho.blogspot.co.uk/2010/11/white.html.

3.2. <u>Poor housing</u>. The neighbourhood of Mamila in Jerusalem in the state's early days, an example of poor housing conditions. Source: Residents' group archive.

3.3. <u>The new 'Shikun'</u>. Dimona, early publicly-funded housing for new immigrants to replace the Ma'abara.

Source:
http://murmolka.com/post/4254/A-rasskajite-mne-pojaluysta-pro-zarubejnyie-dlya-jiteley-postsovetskogo

3.4. <u>Publicly-funded housing managed by Amigur in Ofakim in southern Israel</u>. Periphery housing.

Source: http://www.xnet.co.il/articles/0,14538,L-3089378,00.html. Photo by Michael Jakobson.

3.5. <u>Demolish & Rebuild Project add value in central cities</u>. This is D&R in the neighbourhood of Kfar Shalem in Tel Aviv, a central location which has huge value, still under commercial dispute between residents and the managing company Halamish. Source:
http://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000722306. Photo by Tamar Matzfi.

3.6. <u>Council housing estate in the periphery</u>.
New public housing building in the southern
city of Dimona in 1955. Source:
http://www.2all.co.il/web/Sites/106FM/PAG
E7.asp

3.7. Elderly housing in Ashdod managed by
Amigur.
Source: http://www.amigour.co.il/

3.8. Students' dormitories in Techniyon University of Haifa. These housing solutions are
subsidized and offered for students. Source:
http://www1.technion.ac.il/_local/includes/blocks/news-items/110720-meonot/news-item.htm

3.9. <u>Neighbourhood Renewal Programme in the city of Migdal Ha'Emek</u>. The pictures were taken (left) before work and (right) after the renovation completed. Images are from the NRP department of the Ministry of Housing.

3.10. <u>Neighbourhood Renewal</u>. External works as part of NRP in Or Akiva Source:
http://www.oraqiva.muni.il/News/Pages/development.aspx

3.11. <u>A view of housing in Kfar Maker</u>. The image shows the unplanned infrastructure and
building regulation widely associated with Arab villages in Israel. Source:
http://www.peopleil.org/ImageInfo.aspx?pageID=piGalleries&imageid=24262&galleryid=4044&r
n=2&n=0&cId=11

3.12. <u>Publicly-funded housing for minorities in Israel.</u> This unit in a Muslim neighbourhood highlights the housing problems of the Arab population of the Israeli cities. Many live in poverty but there are very few solutions dedicated to this group. Source: http://www.tarabut.info/he/articles/article/about-trachtenberg-housing/.

3.13. New Immigrants arrive in Israel. Young Jewish new immigrants celebrate with the Israeli flag as they arrive at Ben Gurion airport in Tel Aviv, Israel. Photograph by Menahem Kahana/AFP/Getty Images Source: http://www.tumblr.com/tagged/ben-gurion-airport

3.14. <u>New immigrants from Ethiopia</u> arrive by cargo plane. Photo by Miss Rosen. Source: http://missrosen.wordpress.com/tag/israel/.

3.15. <u>Urban Renewal Scheme</u> as advertised by Halamish for a project in Jaffa. Source: http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/ 107/229.html

3.16. <u>Demolish and Rebuild</u>. Old and new houses in a D&R project.
Source:
http://www.kono.org.il/?CategoryID =251&ArticleID=690

3.17. Moshe Sliman, resident who denied housing support, burned himself to death in the social unrest of 2012. Source:
http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/ 471/534.html

3.18. Akiva Mefei disabled and in housing needs burned himself to death in the main road of the city of Yahud (few weeks after Moshe Sliman) during the social unrest of 2012.
Source:
http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/ 388/510.html

3.19. <u>Building of publicly-funded housing in the city of Hebron</u> which is outside the formal borders of the Israel State (i.e. a New Settlement). This publicly-funded housing is not in demand and is therefore provided without social criteria.

Source: the website of the community, http://www.hebron.co.il/text/history.html

3.20. <u>Kibbutz Overview</u> – Kibbutz Mashabei Sade in the 1960s.
Source: http://blog.saftastory.co.il/?p=297.

3.21. <u>Amidar logo.</u> Amidar is the largest Public housing company in Israel. Source: http://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%A7%D7%95%D7%91%D7%A5:Amidar_logo.svg

3.22. <u>Amigur logo.</u> Amigur is the second largest public housing company in Israel, owned jointly by the state and the JA. . Source: http://www.amigour.co.il/

3.23. <u>A local housing company</u>. The offices of Halamish, the public housing company that deals with stock in Tel Aviv. Source:

http://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000734515

3.24. <u>Announcing Afridar's first units</u>. High officials visit Afrider new site in Askelon,when public building was controlled by the state. Source: Residents archive l.

Source: Residents' group archive.

3.24. <u>Crowded housing conditions</u>. This family (2 adults + 6 and the 7th on the way) lives in a single unit house in Jerusalem. The father is working and the mother is disabled and they are on the waiting list with very little chance of getting a unit in Jerusalem.

Source: http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/education/1.1569376

3.25. <u>A building managed by Heled, a housing company active in the city of Petach Tikva</u>.

The company own by the state and Petach Tikva Municipality. Source: http://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3570136,00.html. Photo by Amit Shaal.

3.26. <u>Prazot: public housing company in Jerusalem</u>. Now own by the municipality Source: http://www.jerusalemnet.co.il/article/44139

3.27. <u>Shikmona Housing in the old city of Haifa</u>. Source: http://j14.org.il/articles/43641

3.28. <u>Illegal housing in the new settlements</u>. The neighbourhood of the Ulpana in Bet El. Was a source of legal arguments about the land on which the houses built. Suprime Court ordered to demolish the houses built illegally Source: http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/360/127.html

3.29. <u>Post eviction</u>. Images of the deserted houses in Gush Katif after residents were evicted and protests ended. Source: http://www.pbase.com/bardugo/gush_katif.

3.30. <u>Protests against the eviction from Gaza.</u> Source: http://www.galim.org.il/peoples/katif/hitnatkut2.html.

3.31. Residents' protests against the D&R in kfar shalem. Source: http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4160726,00.html

3.32. Police confront residents during the protests in the D&R in poor neighbourhoods (Kfar shlem). Source: http://www.tarabut.info/he/who-are-we/activities/.

3.33. Police confront residents protest against the eviction from Gaza. Source: http://news.nana10.co.il/Article/?ArticleID=734392 . Photo by Reuters.

Chapter 5

5.1. <u>The neighbourhood of Mamila, Jerusalem</u> 6-7/5/1949 <u>(before the D&R)</u>, Source:
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PikiWiki_Israel_6329_Jerusalem_1949.jpg

5.2. <u>The neighbourhood of Mamila in Jerusalem after the D&R</u>, currently considered as the most
expensive neighbourhood in Jerusalem. Source: http://he.wikipedia.org/wiki

5.3. <u>Yishayahu Hakshuri</u>, the developer who took on the D&R project in the Neighbourhood of Cardboard. Source: http://www.calcalist.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3389377,00.html.
Photo taken by Yariv Katz, published 24.01.10.

5.4.The temporary caravan neighbourhoods at Nitzan. The temporary site at Nitzan was created to host evacuees from the D&R in the Gaza Strip. Photo: Haim Hornstien. Source: http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3905692,00.html.

5.5. Shula Keshet, leader of residents group in Tel Aviv Source: http://www.achoti.org.il/?p=1519.

5.6. Brach Arajuani, a leader of residents group in Jerusalem, in a meeting with the Deputy Minister of Housing in 1993. Source: residents' archive.

5.7. <u>Rami Avnimelech</u>. A social activist who worked as an advisor to Ran Cohen MP, the legislator of the RTB. Rami was active in various residents' groups in Tel Aviv and lived in a neighbourhood where the majority of units were publicly funded. Source: residents' archive.

5.8. <u>Meir Margalit</u>. Former member of the Jerusalem City Council, he is a social activist who joined residents' groups in Jerusalem.. In this photo Meir speaks to a residents' group. Source: residents' group archive.

5.9. <u>Dr Hayim Pialkov</u>, Deputy Manager of the Housing Ministry. He was involved in all programmes and housing policies in Israel. Source – Ministry of Housing

5.10. <u>Shlomo Ben Eliahu</u>. Former Executive Manager of the Housing Ministry under the Minister Efi Fain. Ben Eliahu was also the Managing Director of the ILA. Source: http://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3402939,00.html.

5.11. <u>Joseph (Pepe) Alalo,</u> social activist and member of the Jerusalem Municipality, was a member of many residents' groups. In the photo Pepe speaks at a protest. Photo taken by residents. Source: residents' group archive.

5.12. <u>Eng. Sofia Eldor</u> is senior manager in the Housing Ministry and responsible for the New Urban Renewal Scheme.
Source:
http://www.nrg.co.il/online/16/ART2/313/645.html.

5.13. <u>Reuven Aberjel</u> was a resident leader from Jerusalem, who was active nationwide..
Source:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reuven_Abergel

5.14. <u>Shlomit Asheri</u>, social activist, works for Shatil, one of the main NGOs which is active in social projects. Source: residents' group archive.

5.15. Banner expressing residents' frustration at lack of housing.
Photo: Yaron Cohen – Tzemach.
Source : http://www.themarker.com/career/1.1594085 (published 18/12/11).

5.16. Residents protest against the Disengagement D&R.
Source:
http://www.galim.org.il/peoples/katif/hitnatkut2.html
(Government Press Office)

5.17. Protest against evacuees from publicly-funded housing. Brochure published on the residents' group website inviting residents to a demonstrations.
Source: http://j14.org.il/articles/17209.

5.18. Protest against D&R Programme, taken by residents.
Source: residents' archive.

5.19. <u>Shulamit Shulavich</u> was a resident of a settlement in Gaza who was evicted in the D&R. Private archive.

5.20. <u>Lior Khalfa</u>, residents' leader, was a resident of a settlement evicted in the disengagement and re-housed in the temporary site of Nitzan and elected as a residents' representative. Photo taken from his campaign to be elected as the residents' representative.

5.21. <u>Lior Khalfa leads a meeting of a residents' committee in Nitzan</u>. Source: residents' archive.

5.22. Ran Cohen, MP, former Deputy of Housing and one of the leading parliamentary voices in housing issues. Source: Guy Doron. Image taken for the Meretz party's housing campaign in 1999.

5.23. Yuli Edelstein MP. Chairman of Parliament, former Deputy Minister of Housing and Minister of Absorption. Born in the former USSR, he lives in the NS and is one of the leading voices in housing issues. Source: residents' archive.

Chapter 6

6.1. <u>Poor conditions on a site where Neighbourhood Renewal operated </u>in Ramat Eshkol in Ashkelon. The project was stopped before completion because of a budget cuts. Source: http://www.nrg.co.il/online/54/ART2/365/319.html. Photo by Zman Ha'Darom.
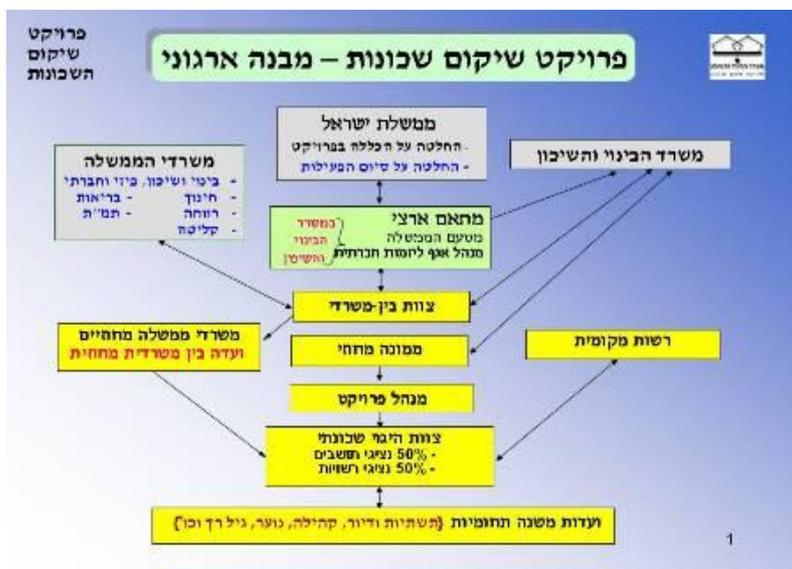
6.2. '<u>Neighbourhood Renewal Programme, Organisation chart</u>' as it appears on the Housing Ministry website. Source: http://www.moch.gov.il/shikum_vehitchadshut/shikum_shechunot/Pages/shikum_shechunot.aspx

6.3. Council Housing Estate in <u>The neighbourhood of Katamonim in Jerusalem, taken</u> in 2005
Source: http://d-spot.co.il/forum/index.php?showtopic=46424

6.4. Council Housing Estate in <u>The neighbourhood of Pat in Jerusalem</u> taken in 2005. Source : http://d-spot.co.il/forum/index.php ?showtopic=46424

6.5. <u>The Ultra-Orthodox Neighbourhood of Sanhedriya in Jerusalem</u>. As the ultra-Orthodox normally have large families and housing units are small, many residents have extended their houses, some even illegally as the community has a very strong lobby in Parliament and Government which allows such activities to occur. Source: http://freezion.wordpress.com

6.6. <u>Ultra-Orthodox Jews</u>. They live generally in closed communities and make up almost half the population of Jerusalem. They have a very strong political lobby which helps with greater housing benefits and allowences. Source: http://10in.in/11.

6.7. <u>The ultra-Orthodox Jews are a strong, organised community</u> with huge influence on the Israeli political system. Their representatives repeatedly ask for control over the Housing Ministry. This is an example of community commitment when it comes to protesting.
Source: http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politi/1.174673. Photo: Shiran Granot

6.8. <u>Homeless in the neighbourhood of Shapira in Tel Aviv</u>, which is a centre for illegal imigrants and asylum seekers in Israel. It is also a place of poverty and anti-social behaviour. Source: http://972mag.com/three-eritreans-stabbed-in-south-tel-aviv-internet-cafe/52142/

6.9. <u>Housing in the neighbourhood of Shapira.</u> Source: http://www.south-tlv.co.il/article2126.

6.10. <u>Illegal immigrants in Shapira neighbourhood in Tel Aviv</u>, where ethnic tensions between veteran and newcomers is high. Source: http://www.hakolhayehudi.co.il/?p=31033

6.11. <u>Community centre for new immigrants in Kfar Gvirol</u>, providing training, education, community activities and services for residents. Source: http://www.2all.co.il/Web/Sites/kfargvirol/PAGE5.asp
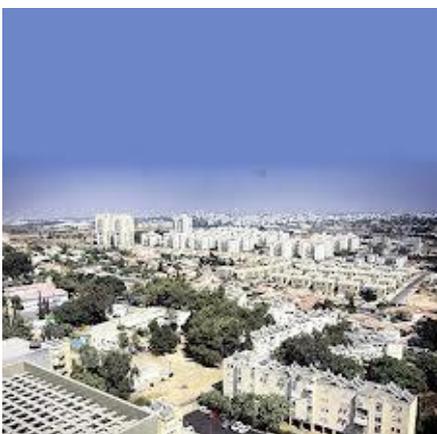
6.12. <u>The neighbourhood of Kfar Gvirol in Rehovot – an overview</u>. A mixture of high- and low-rise buildings, new and old.
Source: http://www.mynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4122618,00.html. Photo by Avi Mualem.

6.13. <u>The Neighbourhood of Kfar Gvirol</u>: A dead-end street that prevents any access from the poor neighbourhood to the new more affluent neighbourhood nearby. Source: http://michaelarch.wordpress.com/2010/11/24.

6.14. <u>Housing in the neighbourhood of Kiryat Moshe in Rehovot</u>, highly populated with new immigrants from Ethiopia. It is considered to be one of the most socially dependent and poor housing facilities, yet has a strong local community. Source: http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/law/1.16809 35. Photo by Isreal BarOn.

6.15. <u>Youth unemployment and high rates of anti-social behaviour in the neighbourhood of Kiryeat Moshe in Rehovot</u>. This is thought to be due to a lack of activities and support for young people, who are forced out onto the streets by inadequate housing and poverty.

Source: http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3408280,00.html. Photo: Michael Kremer

6.16. <u>High rates of unemployment in the neighbourhood of Kiryeat Moshe in Rehovot</u>. Source: http://www.nrg.co.il/online/54/ART2/242/55 1.html. Photo: Reuven Kastro

6.17. <u>Small housing and unplanned extensions in the neighbourhood of Jessi Cohen in Holon</u>. Source: http://boazcohen.wordpress.com

6.18. <u>Homeless residents in temporary tents sited in the neighbourhood of Jessi Cohen in Holon</u>.
Source:
http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/90/1857767.
Photo: Dror Einav

6.19. <u>Poor housing conditions in the neighbourhood of Jessi Cohen in Holon</u>.
Source:
http://www.mynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3736939,00.html. Photo: Kobi Koanks

6.20. <u>Residents' meeting at a tent site in the neighbourhood of Jessi Cohen in Holon</u>.
Source:
http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/90/1857767.
Photo: Dror Einav

6.21. <u>Houses in the new settlement of Kiryat Arba</u>. Recent building in Kiryat Arba, a new settlement in the West Bank. Source: PHOTO: ALESSANDRA GOLA, http://mondoweiss.net/2009/12/there-are-settlers-in-hebron-because-israel-wants-them-there.html.

6.22. <u>Abai Zauda Leader of a residents' community in Kiryat Moshe together with the mayor of Rehovot</u>, opens a new police station in the neighbourhood to help tackle anti-social behaviour.
Source:
http://www.hnn.co.il/old_gallery2256.html.

6.23. <u>Laura Kindler</u> represents the Jewish Federation of Toronto in Israel and is active as the main link between donors and communities they support (Kfar Gvirol and in Kiryat Moshe, for example).

Source: http://www.israelisincanada.com/Default.asp?page=details&newsID=800

6.24. <u>Dr Zvi Weinstein</u> is a senior manager of the NRP in the Housing Ministry responsible for the main metropolitan of Tel Aviv. He is also an academic who wrote about the programme.

Source: http://wufisrael.wordpress.com/about/

6.25. <u>Leadership for Youth</u> funded by the Federation of Canadian Jews and provided as part of the NRP in Akko.
Source:
http://www.akkonet.co.il/forums/viewtopic.php?f=11&t=22514

6.26. Abai Zauda is a resident leader from the neighbourhood of Kiryat Moshe in Rehovot, representing the community of new immigrants from Ethiopia. He was active in all housing projects in his neighbourhood Source: http://www.nrg.co.il/online/54/ART2/242/551.html

6.27. Neighbourhood Renewal Training Course for Arab population. This is an English course, funded by the NRP for residents in Julis, as the programme was implemented in non-Jewish neighbourhoods as well. Source: http://www.myjulis.co.il/node/1119
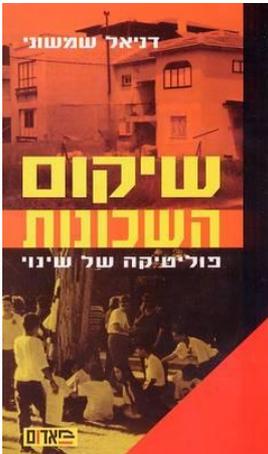
6.28. Prof Shimshoni's *NRP: Politics of Change*. The cover of a book by the programme's designers. Source:Guy Doron

6.29. Shmulik David, resident activist, who worked in the NGO Shatil and supported residents' groups. Source: https://www.facebook.com/photo

6.30. <u>Dr Edna Bustin</u> is an expert in empowerment who was employed by the Federation of Canadian Jews and together with residents designed and operated training schemes for Kfar Gvirol and Kiryat Moshe. Residents were full of praise for her contribution. Source: https://www.facebook.com/edna.bustin

6.31. <u>Public investment in building in the New Settlements</u>. According to participants in this research the NS receives considerably higher government support for housing projects. Source: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/10/03/israeli-settlements-growing-peace-talks-pass_n_748387.html.

6.32. <u>Residents' artwork in the neighbourhood of Katamonim,</u>, led by S. Vazana and D. Benisti, two of the initiators of the RTB, created this work of art on a deserted stone site near their neighbourhood to show that they care and are willing to create change. Although the site was created in the 1980s it still remains today. Source: Residents' archive.

6.33. <u>Ofer Laufman</u> was the manager of the Settlements division in the JA. One of his main aims was to support housing programmes in the NS when the government was prevented from investing in the NS..

Source: http://www.goarad.co.il/?pid=15&t=mFinal&L1=41&L2=144&item=524.

6.34. <u>Shlomo Ben- Eliahu - Former General Manager of the Housing Ministry</u>. Source: http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/smartphone-article/1.2015069.

6.35. <u>Tamar Guzanski, MP</u>, one of the most active legislators in housing issues and the legislator of the rights of council housing residents law. Source: http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/9/832809

6.36. Ran Cohen MP, former deputy Minister of Housing, was responsible for the NRP whilst in office. Source: http://public-policy.huji.ac.il

6.37. <u>Israel Twito RIP (second from left)</u>, leader of a residents' group protesting in front of the Government Square in Jerusalem. Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/activestill s/237961416/lightbox/

6.38. <u>PM Ariel Sharon</u> is considered to be one of the most politically supportive of the NS.

Source:

http://main.knesset.gov.il/About/Lexicon/Pages/sharon.aspx

6.39. <u>Caroline Chisin,</u> social activist and assistant to Ran Cohen MP. Source:

https://www.facebook.com/photo

Chapter 7

7.1. <u>Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu</u>, whose initiative to privatise the public housing market triggered the residents of council housing to initiate the Right To Buy.
Source: https://twitter.com/netanyahu

7.2. <u>Residents' group Ha'Keshet Hademokratit (logo)</u>: The Democratic Rainbow, an organisation led by academics and others of Sepharadic origin who fight for housing rights law for residents of public housing similar to those given to residents of the Kibbutzim. Their arguments were socially based but with an ethnic orientation. They supported the RTB and joined residents activities, a few of the initiators of the residents' version of the RTB being members of the Keshet as well. Source: http://matityaho.com

7.3. <u>Housing in rural areas</u>. The housing rights for rural communities apply also in Kfar Shmaryahu (in picture), one of the wealthiest locations in the country.
Source: http://www.themarker.com/realestate/1.186 2554. Photo: Dudu Bachar.

7.4. <u>Meir Shitrit, MP</u>, Finance Minister and the coalition whip at the time of the RTB legislation. Known as the vocal opponent of the RTB and the main force behind the agreement with Amigur, he suffered the greatest criticism from residents because he had originally come from a poor family and so residents expected him to be supportive of their claims. Source: http://www.nrg.co.il/online/54/ART2/304/403.html?hp=54&cat=873.

7.5. <u>Ehud Barak</u>, Prime Minister under whose leadership the RTB was approved and implemented. He promised before the election that he would push for approval of the RTB and it is claimed that this is what brought him the small margin that won him the election. Source: http://www.globalpost.com/photo-galleries/5728290/israel-elections-parties-and-leaders-photos#9. Photo: Paul Richards/AFP/Getty Images.

7.6. <u>Ran Cohen MP, the legislator of Right To Buy</u> presents his book about the legislation, *The Fight for the Home*. Source: http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3616094,00.html. Photo by Dana Kopel.

7.7. <u>Political implications of the Right To Buy legislation.</u> The left-wing party, Meretz, of which Ran Cohen MP was a member, was very active politically before the election to attract support from council housing residents who were not traditional supporters. Source: http://meretz.org.il

7.8. <u>Amidar Housing</u>. Source: http://www.realestatetoday.co.il

7.9. <u>A housing estate for elderly new immigrants in Jerusalem managed by Amigur</u>. A unique architecture which bad management turned it into what residents call a slum. Source: http://www.shitufit.co.il/projects.aspx?catId=09&itemId=158

7.10. <u>Publicly-funded Housing in the Neighbourhood of Pat in Jerusalem</u>. Source: http://d-spot.co.il/forum/index.php?showtopic=46424

7.11. <u>Poor housing conditions in a mixed neighbourhood; Jaffa, Tel Aviv</u>. Prices are pushed down despite the central location. Source: http://www.nrg.co.il/online/16/ART2/097/609.html. Photo: Naor Rahav.

7.12. An advert by the housing company of <u>Shikmona</u>. Source: http://www.shikmona.co.il/index.php?m_id=3&if_link=0

7.13. <u>Housing by Heled in the city of Petah Tikva</u>. Residents opposed the company's plan to offer detached houses on this land, because they believed such a project would be expensive and insufficient for their housing needs. Source: http://www.themarker.com/realestate/1.1616525

7.14. The <u>entry gate to the Afridar Neighbourhood in Ashkelon, 1960s</u>. Source: residents archive.

7.15. Housing in the Neighbourhood of Ramat Sharet in Jerusalem houses a mix of ultra-Orthodox communities and non-religious groups who struggle to agree on the cultural mode of the neighbourhood. Source: http://www.nrg.co.il/online/54/ART2/433/662.html

7.16. Hatikva Neighbourhood in Tel Aviv. Source: GD – site visit.

7.17. New Community Centre in the Neighbourhood of Neve Ofer in Tel Aviv. Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Neve_Ofer_community_center_in_Tel_Aviv.JPG

7.18. Housing in the neighbourhood of Neve Sharet, one of the poorest neighbourhoods in Northern Tel Aviv. Source: http://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%A7%D7%95%D7%91%D7%A5:Telavivu009.jpg

7.19. Poor housing in the city of Lod. Source: http://www.flickr.com/photos/akiva/2297159214/

7.20. <u>Public housing in the neighbourhood of Shaviv in Herteliya</u>, a poor public housing neighbourhood in one of the most expensive cities in Israel. Initiatives to provide D&R are attractive because prices for the land are very high. Source: http://www.themarker.com/realestate/1.1593223

7.21. <u>A publicly-funded estate in the city of Ashdod.</u> On this site, a D&R project plan to build high rises to replace the current four-storey building was strongly opposed by residents. Source: http://www.nrg.co.il/online/54/ART2/181/149.html. Photo: :Lavan Agviashvili

7.22. <u>Residents protesting on a publicly-funded estate in Petch Tikva</u> against the eviction of a resident.
Source: http://diortzibury.wordpress.com/2012/04/23/pinuy_rivka/

7.23. <u>A publicly-funded housing estate in the neighbourhood of Yoseftal in Kfar Saba</u>. Source: http://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000836732

7.24. <u>Housing in the Arab village of Kfar Maker</u> showing poor, unplanned facilities. Source: http://www.peopleil.org/ImageInfo.aspx?pageID=piGalleries&imageid=24262&galleryid=4044&rn=2&n=0&cId=11

7.25. Recently built housing in the new settlement of Kiryat Arba, with the public housing neighbourhood at the bottom. Source: http://www.hebron.org.il/hebrew/gallery.php?id=208

7.26. Dr Yosi Dahan, an academic and one of the founders of the Keshet group, who was active during the RTB. Yosi was interviewed for this research. Source: http://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3402811,00.html

7.27. Lior Weintrob, social activist and parliamentary advisor to Ran Cohen MP.
Source: http://twtrland.com/profile/liorweintraub

7.28. Tamar Miara, a long-serving manager of the public housing company Amidar. She was known for being attentive and supporting residents.
Source: https://www.facebook.com/tamarmiara?fref=ts

7.29. Barbara Epstein is a social activist, founder and manger of 'Singur Kehilati' (Neighbourhood Advocacy) assisting residents with housing-related issues. The NGO was very active in supporting residents during the RTB.
Source: http://pixelit.bac.org.il/ContentPage.aspx?id=355

7.30. Laura Wharton is a social activist, academic and member of Jerusalem City Hall. She was the secretary of the Kol BaSchunot residents' group before being elected to represent residents in the municipality of Jerusalem.

Source: http://meretz.org.il. Photo taken from her campaign page.

7.31. Resident leader Shlomo Vazana one of the initiators of the Right To Buy. A resident of a council housing unit which fought against his eviction following the death of his parents, and led the activities to legislate the RTB and allow continuation rights similar to residents of Kibbutzim. He was a member of Kol Baschunot and Hakeshet.

Source: http://www.film-e-good.org.il/siteFiles/1/36/9750.asp

7.32. David Kashani, resident leader from Tel Aviv at a protest.Source: David Kashani private album.

7.33. Fredi Drix, leader of a residents' group in the neighbourhood of Jessi Cohen in Holon. Photo taken from a docomentry about him (Jessi Kongo). Source: http://www.rashut2.org.il/prod_program.asp?catId=165

7.34. <u>Tal Atias</u>. A lawyer with expertise in housing, who assisted residents by debating their rights and representing them in court (mainly voluntarily) against public housing companies. He was a member of the team that worked with Ran Cohen, legislating the RTB. Source: https://www.facebook.com/tal.atias.73?fref=ts

7.35. <u>Yuli Edelstein, MP.</u> Edelstein currently chairs the Knesset and was Deputy Minister for Housing and Minister for Absorption. He is highly involved in housing issues and represents the right-wing agenda, lives in the NS. Source: http://www.edelstein.org.il/hebrew/press/news/page/15/

7.36. <u>Poor housing conditions in an Amigur unit</u>. Source: http://www.ashdodnet.com/article/41522

7.37. <u>The CEO (former) of Amigur visits residents in the city of Nahariya</u> together with the Mayor , promoting the company's recent investment Source: http://www.nahariya.muni.il/Lists/List5/DispForm.aspx?ID=51

7.38. <u>Housing rights for residents in rural communities</u>. Kibbutz lands were the source of arguments on housing rights. Residents of public housing asked for similar rights on their land. This image is taken from an article published in the Keshet forum arguing these issues.

Source: http://www.haokets.org/tag/89/

7.39. <u>The Jewish Agency </u>advertising the long-lasting link between Jews in the Diaspora and Israel. Source: http://sochnut.org.il/JewishAgency/English /About/History

7.40. <u>Chairman of the JA, Natan Sheransky, lights a candle with new immigrants in Amigur housing for new immigrants near Jerusalem</u>. Source: http://www.jafi.org.il/JewishAgency/Englis h/About/Press+Room/Press+Releases/2009/ dec15.htm
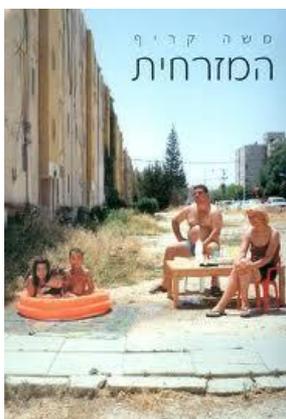
7.41. <u>The cover of Moshe Karif's book, *Hamzrahit*</u> (Jews of Sephardic Origin), which describes the group and its activities.

Source:

http://simania.co.il/authorDetails.php?itemId=44491

7.42. Moshe Karif the author of the 'Mizrahit'. Source: http://simania.co.il/authorDetails.php?itemId= 44491

7.43. Israel Twito RIP, one of the national leaders of residents in poor neighbourhoods. Source: Residents' archive.

7.44. Government investment in housing to replace a temporary site (top) in a new settlements with new houses. Source: http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/374 /990.html. Photo: Flash 90

7.45. Student dormitories at Tel Aviv University offer students subsidised rent. Source: http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3557006,00.html

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Chapter Two – Theory: What Does Empowerment Mean?

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Interviews

The list of participants, dates and locations of each interview:

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Bustin, E. 9.11.06, 62, Pines St. Gedera.

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