



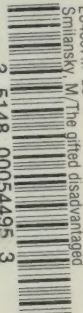
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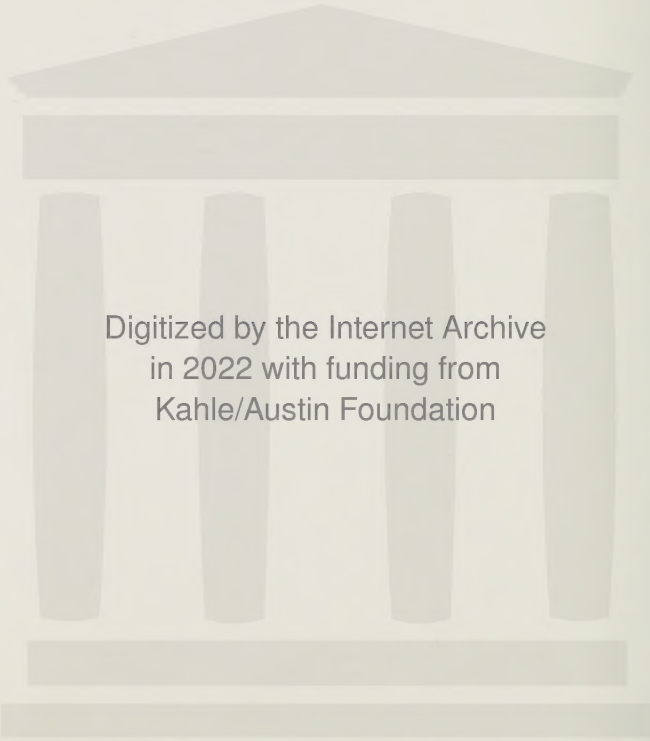
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THE GIFTED DISADVANTAGED





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# THE GIFTED DISADVANTAGED

THE GIFTED DISADVANTAGED  
The Year Longitudinal Study  
of Compensatory Education  
in Israel

WOLFF SHARON

Edith Weizmann Institute

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THE GIFTED DISADVANTAGED  
A Ten Year Longitudinal Study  
of Compensatory Education  
in Israel

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# Table of Contents

Preface .....	IX
 <b>PART ONE GENERAL ORIENTATION TO COMPENSATORY EDUCATION IN ISRAEL</b>	
1 Some Aspects of the Socio-political Background of Israel .....	3
2 Who are the Culturally Disadvantaged? .....	26
<i>A Theoretical discussion of the concept and some gen-     eral propositions</i> .....	26
<i>The disadvantaged in Israeli Society</i> .....	43
3 Stages and Patterns in Israeli Policy Toward the Disadvantaged .....	50
4 Major Approaches Toward Fostering the Disad- vantaged during the «Compensatory Education Stage» .....	67
 <b>PART TWO THE BOARDING SCHOOL FOSTERING PROGRAM FOR THE GIFTED DISADVANTAGED: A TEN YEAR LONGITUDINAL EVALUATION</b>	
5 The Rationale of the Program .....	97
6 The Process of Implementation .....	119
<i>Identification and selection of candidates</i> .....	119
<i>The educational program</i> .....	123
<i>Some problems of implementation</i> .....	135

7	The Evaluation Design of the Program .....	153
8	Students' Educational and Socio-economic Background .....	166
9	Students' Success in Secondary Education .....	181
10	The Social Acceptance of the Boarding Students within their Classes .....	203
11	Continuation of Studies in Higher Education .....	218
12	Toward the Future .....	224
	<i>The significance of the program</i> .....	224
	<i>Suggested improvements</i> .....	227
	Appendix .....	237
	Index .....	241

## PREFACE

We wish to dedicate this book to the memory of the late Minister of Education and Culture, Zalman Aran. From the time he took his appointment (in 1957) he revealed interest, deep understanding and readiness to strive for the advancement of socially disadvantaged students in the educational system. During his service, and with his active support, our project grew from a limited experiment, with a restricted number of students, to a network of boarding schools.

Special thanks are due to Mr. Eliezer Shmueli, Director General of the Ministry of Education, and to Mr. Shmuel Marbach, Supervisor of the Program for Gifted Students, who in their faith, responsibility and daily efforts contributed to the strengthening and promotion of the project.

The evaluation study of the project was conducted initially at the Szold Institute in Jerusalem and later on at Tel-Aviv University. We are grateful to Dr. Chanan Rapaport, Director of the Szold Institute, and to Professor Michael Chen, at that time chairman of the Department of Educational Sciences at the Tel-Aviv University, for their support of our endeavors.

At various stages of the evaluation study we enjoyed the advice and comments of many colleagues. We wish to thank especially Professor Ross L. Mooney of the Ohio State University, Professor Benjamin S. Bloom of the University of Chicago, Professor W. D. Wall of the University of London, Professor Henry Hausdorff of the University of Pittsburgh, and Dr. Joseph Levin of Tel-Aviv University.

Many people participated in the implementation of the follow-up study and the preparation of the research reports; among them we would like to thank Mrs. Esther Segal and Mrs. Nira Kopf-Reshef who took responsibility for field work and data coding, Mrs. Sherry Papir who helped with the English language editing of the manuscript, and to Mrs. Michal Katz who compiled the index of the book.

The project for the intellectual advancement of the more gifted among the disadvantaged was initiated by Moshe Smilansky in 1959-60. After the initial try-out responsibility

for the country-wide implementation of the program was transferred to the Ministry of Education, under the authority of Eliezer Shmueli and Shmuel Marbach.

The Boarding School project was financed by the Ministry of Education and Culture, through the Association for the Advancement of Secondary Education. The follow-up study for the original group was financed by a grant from the U. S. Office of Education. Additional funds for the evaluation of specific institutions and preparation of the present report were granted by the Bernard Van Leer Foundation, The Hague, the Netherlands.

We are especially grateful to Dr. Willem H. Welling, Executive Director of the Van Leer Foundation, for his friendly support and understanding.

While so many persons shared in the process, the responsibility for any shortcomings and faults found by the reader lies, of course, with the authors. We both share the joint responsibility for the contents of this volume. However, there has been a division of labour among us which is expressed by the authorship and personal responsibility of Moshe Smilansky for Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 12, and the authorship and personal responsibility of David Nevo for Chapters 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11.

M. SMILANSKY

D. NEVO

*Tel-Aviv*

PART ONE

General Orientation  
to Compensatory  
Education in Israel



## Chapter One

# Some Aspects of the Socio-political Background of Israel

Even though Israel is a small country with a population of over three million, its most conspicuous feature is heterogeneity. Generalizations regarding the sociological background of the Israelis are therefore difficult and dangerous since they may lead to unfair emphasis or to oversimplification. Nevertheless, the problems addressed in a study of disadvantaged youth must be approached with some understanding of historical origins. The following brief review will provide a frame of reference for the reader who is not already familiar with the social aspects of the modernization process in Israel.

### PROBLEMS OF SETTLEMENT

Israeli society is a society of immigrants. The gradual crystallization and consolidation of Israeli society has been—and still is—accomplished through continuous clash and integration of successive waves of immigration. A historical description of the Zionist movement in the Land of Israel is unnecessary here. Instead, the essential background can be gained through the mere mention of the outstanding trends in the history of Zionist immigration.

#### Zionist settlement in the Holy Land

Although Jews have been living in the country at all periods of history, modern settlement is generally considered to date from the latter part of the nineteenth century. At that time

the age-old longing felt by many Jews to return to the Land of Israel was reinforced and made definite by the influence of national movements in Europe. Groups of Hovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion) were formed; Hebrew, the language of the Bible, was revitalized as a modern language and immigration to Israel was seen as a cherished goal. The Zionist movement was the broad political expression of this impulse to return, and the organization and growth of the movement stimulated further immigration.

*The major waves of immigration* Six waves of immigration can be traced. Between 1882 and 1903 some 20,000 to 30,000 Jews came from Eastern Europe. They established the first agricultural villages and laid the foundations for the Yishuv Hechadash (the new Jewish community). The second wave of immigration, in the years 1904 to 1914, brought some 30,000 to 40,000 immigrants. The nucleus of this wave was a group of intellectuals who had witnessed the abortive 1905 revolution in Russia and had suffered bitter disillusionment when this uprising led, as had others, to «pogroms». Many of these intellectuals were intensely preoccupied with social problems and they laid the foundation for the Jewish Labor Movement and the kibbutzim (collective settlements). The founding of the first modern Jewish city, Tel-Aviv, also dates back to this period.

The third and fourth waves, between 1919 and 1931, were also mainly from Eastern Europe, and brought about 115,000 additional Jews to the Holy Land. These two waves were prompted largely by the increased sufferings of Jews during and after the First World War and by the hopes aroused by the Balfour Declaration in 1917, which promised the establishment by the British Government of a Jewish National Home. The period witnessed the arrival of large numbers of halutzim (pioneers) who had high social and national ideals and were prepared to live a life of hardship and sacrifice in order to realize those ideals. Also among the immigrants were tradesmen and manufacturers who started commercial and industrial enterprises and contributed to the development of urban life.

The fifth wave of immigration, beginning with the depres-

sion that struck Europe in 1929, was intensified by the Nazis rise to power in Germany in 1933 and the consequent persecution of Jews. This wave continued until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, although the immigration was marked by disastrous interruptions due to the tragic events associated with the Second World War years, 1939–45, including the Holocaust. The whole wave is estimated to have brought some 370,000 Jews to Palestine, and of these about 100,000 were German Jews. In contrast with the earlier waves of immigration the fifth one brought substantial capital into the land, and trade and industry were thereby greatly developed.

The sixth wave followed the establishment of the State—and received a strong impetus from the fact of statehood. During the period 1948–58, some 935,000 immigrants arrived in Israel. This vast influx brought more people to Israel than had all the waves of immigration before it.

*The contemporary problem of absorption* Consider the geographic limits of the State of Israel. Consider the time limits: the newly formed state, the recently developed commercial and industrial enterprises, the continuing absorption of earlier immigrants. And consider the fact that the sixth wave of immigration brought its own specially difficult problems as a result of its demographic and ethnic composition, its social and economic character, its distribution over the country. When these factors are recognized it is clear that the absorption of the sixth wave created problems and changes in Israel without parallel. And it is to the absorption of this immense flood of newcomers that the country devoted a large share of its efforts and resources during the 1950s and 60s—the stage of modernization under consideration.

### The Jewish community at the establishment of the State

The emergence of the State of Israel was a stage in the realization of a program conceived and carried out by a social-ideological movement: Zionism. The movement was influenced by progressive social ideas and organizations active in Europe during the nineteenth and early twentieth cen-

turies. Thus, for instance, many social services in Israel constituted an attempt to give practical expression to social theories developed in the countries from which Jews had emigrated. Such a trend is hardly surprising in view of the historic Jewish heritage of spiritual and ethical thought and in consideration of the specific situation of the Jews in the various countries of the world.

An excellent illustration of this latter point is the development of the kibbutz. Numerous factors played a part in the genesis and growth of this social form: ideas on equality and social justice, on the emancipation of women, on cooperation in creative work; the socio-economic situation in the country, first under the Ottoman Empire and later under the British Mandate; deep-seated psychological impulses such as rebellion against the tradition-encrusted educational values of the parents and the urge to fashion a new kind of family relationship at a time when the whole traditional Jewish social structure was being undermined. Thus, although it is not easy to determine the relative influence of the economic, social, and psychological factors which shaped the kibbutz, it is important to realize that they all played a significant role.

*Emphasis on association* Similarly, the particular background of these early settlers resulted in an emphasis on association. In fact, the emphasis was so strong that the principle of association has become characteristic of Israeli society in the pre-state (or pre-independence) and of its achievements in various spheres. Even prior to their arrival in the country, youth, students, workers, and intellectuals formed groups and associations in order to discuss their aims and ideals and to prepare themselves for immigration and settlement in Israel. After the groups arrived these organizations afforded moral and material support to individual members and helped them adjust to their new life. The associations established (and still maintain) various economic and socio-educational services for member families. And they became influential in the development of the State, for from the different forms of associations stemmed the various political parties, the forms of agricultural settlement, workers organizations, and youth movements.

*Early immigrants guided by an idea* Although many of the immigrants, especially those arriving individually, were motivated by considerations of personal betterment, they were an exception to the prevailing pattern of early Israeli immigration. The first waves of immigration were identified with the basic social ideal of transforming the Jewish nation by building an independent society, «normal» in occupational structure and «modern» in its social and political character.

The «pioneers» of these early migrations had to confront the reality of a country subject to foreign rule and made up of culturally diverse people. They had to experiment with various forms of social organization and many ways of life. Thus the Labor Federation (Histadrut Haovdim) became much more than a trade union and, in striving to satisfy the overall needs of the worker, established comprehensive mutual aid institutions such as a housing company, day nurseries, a sick fund, a social welfare service, and general and vocational education programs. New kinds of agricultural settlement evolved such as the kibbutz collective and the moshav, a small-holders' cooperative village. Central marketing agencies were established. Each of these social frameworks developed gradually; meanwhile the pioneers adapted their ideas about equality, mutual aid, and the priority of the public good to a growing and changing society.

The whole process of transformation and adaptation took place against an incredibly complex background. The pioneers worked with a «field configuration» composed of individual and group political and social aspirations, the personal needs of immigrants from different cultures and social strata who sought suitable frameworks for their personal adjustment, and the physical reality of a poor country undergoing periodic economic crises and shaken by internal and external disturbances.

In the process of trying to cope with complex realities in the land of Israel the pioneers dealt with a series of autonomous public institutions which were supported by self-imposed taxation of the local community and by the contributions of Jews living all over the world. These autonomous institutions carried out quasi-governmental functions in various spheres. For example, the Jewish Agency for the Land of Israel, the execu-

tive body of the World Zionist Organization, had departments with such titles as Settlement, Trade and Industry, Foreign Affairs, Treasury, and Security. The Jewish community in Israel had its own central authority, the Vaad Leumi (national commission) which developed and supported socio-educational services—even while the local authorities, the cooperative villages and the kibbutz settlements developed services and institutions of their own. Lastly, there were several voluntary organizations which devoted themselves to socio-educational and health work on a large scale.

In spite of the physical and social problems, and the overlapping lines of governmental responsibility, the pioneers succeeded in forming a fairly autonomous and highly organized Jewish community. This development occupied a time span of several decades—a time of growth and maturation. This opportunity for maturation contributed greatly to the absorption capacity of the new State of Israel.

### Absorption of mass immigration

Immigrants began to pour into the country immediately after the Proclamation of Independence on May 15, 1948. Immigrants continued to arrive, even in the midst of the War of Independence. The population grew by over 50 % within the short period of a year and a half. Had the pioneers not adequately prepared during the decades of the first five waves of immigration, the new Israeli government of 1948–49 would not have been able to perform its regular functions in addition to coping with the immense task of winning the War of Independence against the five invading Arab armies (Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon) who supported the Palestinian Arabs; and absorbing a mass immigration.

The first to come after May 15, 1948 were the «illegal» immigrants who had attempted to enter the country before the War of Independence but had been sent to detention camps in Cyprus by the British Mandatory authorities. Then came more Jews from the Displaced Persons' Camps in Europe, remnants of the Nazi holocaust that brought death to 6,000,000 European Jews. They were followed by large groups—even whole communities—of Jews, mainly escapees

from Arab countries in the Middle-East (Yemen, Egypt, Iraq, Syria) and North-Africa (Morocco, Tunis, Lybia). The grand total reached almost 600,000 immigrants by the middle of 1951, and the Jewish population of Israel doubled in three years.

*Emergency measures* During the difficult first year of Independence and War of Independence May 1948 to May 1949—the absorbing agencies could do no more than provide the primary necessities of food and shelter. The immigrants were housed in any available structures: the buildings in vacant army camps and in villages abandoned as a result of war operations, thousands of hastily constructed shacks, and the homes of relatives. By May 1949, however, the housing possibilities were exhausted. Publicly-sponsored housing projects on a large scale were just being launched, but building could not keep pace with the tempo of immigration. In addition, upon cessation of hostilities the army began to release soldiers by the thousands, swelling the ranks of home seekers even more.

Emergency temporary housing in the form of tent camps was hastily set up. Health and sanitation services had to be established for the immigrants living in these thousands of tents. Baby homes, nursery schools, and elementary and secondary schools were opened and maintained by the joint efforts of government, Jewish Agency, and several women's organizations. This immigrant camp population reached a total of about 100,000 by August 1949—all maintained entirely at public expense. The hardships of these camp dwellers were extreme, of course, and the financial burden placed on the State and on the Jewish Agency was intolerable. The new State of Israel faced the urgent necessity of solving two basic national problems: housing and employment.

*Governmental action* Governmental agencies acted rapidly. A large scale public-works program of roads, irrigation systems, and land reclamation was initiated. The Settlement Department began to establish many new agricultural villages all over the country in which immigrants settled as soon as houses were ready. The existing camps were transformed into

ma'abaroith (transitional work villages) in which each family was assigned a one-room dwelling. Public services were given freely. All adult immigrants were expected to register with the employment bureau and maintain themselves. In order to facilitate employment, new ma'abaroith were established near industrial or agricultural centers. For children, feeding programs were continued in the creches, kindergartens, and schools.

Conditions improved somewhat during late 1949 and 1950, but new immigrants continued to stream in. They came mostly from Iraq, Rumania, and North Africa, totaling about 390,000. Most of them were housed in ma'abaroith.

By the end of 1951, however, immigration declined considerably. The difficult conditions under which the new immigrants labored acted as a deterrent to many potential newcomers, and people at home and abroad recognized the fact that public funds were low. In a way, the desperately needed interval from 1951 to 1953 was beneficial because it brought a slowing of the flow of immigrants. Finally the new Israeli government could proceed with its job of absorbing those who had already come and of planning for others who could be expected to come—hopefully at a slower rate.

The next three years brought many helpful changes. By the end of 1951 the State of Israel was carrying out improvements and enlarging existing services. Permanent dwellings began to replace tents; new roads gave access to some of the outlying settlements; certain drainage and reclamation schemes were completed; many additional services such as clinics, schools, kindergartens, and cooperative consumer shops were opened. By 1952 strategically located public housing began to cope with the housing emergency. Groups of immigrants were directed to various parts of the country, especially to the so-called development areas. In that year about 100,000 immigrants were transferred from ramshackle, provisional dwellings to permanent or semi-permanent structures. In 1953 the rate of building accelerated, and many more of the ma'abaroith dwellers moved into new homes. Other ma'abaroith dwellers were transferred to new agricultural villages, but this relocation was slower and more difficult than anticipated. Even though employment opportunities in the

ma'abaroah were meager and often consisted largely of public works employment, many of the inhabitants refused to leave when that meant leaving the vicinity of the cities. Not until 1954 could entire ma'abaroah be liquidated when their inhabitants moved to housing projects erected by the Department of Housing.

### More planning needed

In the meantime, many shortcomings in the new immigrant agricultural villages came to light. No one was surprised. In the giant undertaking of establishing, equipping, and settling over 400 villages in a few years—an undertaking which required investments of millions of pounds—certain limitations of performance had been essential. But it became clear that several social and economic factors required more careful planning. For example, matters such as the social and ethnic composition of the village, or the time lag in agricultural production between planting and harvest had to be weighed more seriously.

In the first case, settlement of culturally different groups in the same village gave rise to misunderstandings and tensions. In the second case, lack of experience in agriculture proved to be a serious handicap. Few of the new settlers had had agricultural training in their former home communities, and they were also unfamiliar with the mutual-aid principles and socio-economic organization which evolved by progressive agricultural settlements in Israel. Besides, they found it difficult to withstand the pressure of relative isolation, of recurrent depredations of infiltrators from the neighboring Arab countries, and of economic insecurity and sheer poverty. The individual holdings gave but a poor yield during the initial stages of cultivation or in years of drought. This quite normal condition discouraged the inexperienced farmers. Consequently, a number of settlers abandoned their farms, returning to the ma'abaroah or going to the slum areas of the cities.

Better planning was needed. For the impending waves of immigration from North Africa, the Israeli authorities devised a careful program of absorption in rural and development areas. As a matter of fact, for these groups, the process of

absorption began in the country of origin. There the immigrants were interviewed, divided into groups, and assigned dates for immigration. Upon arrival in Israel they were immediately brought to their new homes in the settlement areas and were given employment. Care was taken from the outset to insure a better standard of housing and employment in the settlement areas than in ma'abaroth.

During this new stage settlement was based on a regional plan which provided for clusters of villages grouped around a center containing educational and other facilities. The site was prepared prior to settlement. Roads and irrigation networks were constructed; houses, schools, clinics, and cooperative shops were built. An «absorption team», composed of skilled people such as nurses and teachers, was selected for each site, ready to welcome the immigrants when they came.

### Accomplishment noted

Some 75,000 North-African immigrants were settled during this new stage of settlement, by means of the improved program of absorption—before the independent Moroccan government put a ban on further emigration. Later, in 1956, immigrants began to arrive from Poland, Hungary, Egypt, and subsequently from Rumania. This immigration contained a fairly large percentage of professionals and skilled workers and was absorbed with relative ease in the industrial sector, which the Government was anxious to develop, and in the public services. Here again care was taken to plan and establish housing facilities and employment in advance of settlement.

Such are, more or less, the brief facts about immigrant absorption during the initial stage of national independence. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that many observers of the Israeli scene in the early 1950s should have forecast a period of inter-community tensions, group clashes, anti-social behavior, large-scale unemployment and economic crises. Such disasters were predicted as the inevitable consequence of accepting a great variety of immigrants without due consideration of the absorptive capacity of the land of Israel: admit-

tedly a land poor in water and natural resources, hemmed in by hostile states, and relatively undeveloped.

The Israelis can now safely venture to say that things have turned out much better than expected. It is true that the immigrants have suffered very great hardships, and their difficulties are by no means at an end. It is also true that some of the difficulties could have been avoided. Certainly policy makers as well as workers in the field, notwithstanding all their genuine devotion, erred from lack of understanding—from hesitation in accepting and implementing better methods of absorption. Still, the observer can only be surprised at the relative scarcity of negative phenomena. He can also be impressed by the positive results of human pioneering effort in areas which frequently provided no previous experience to guide the struggle.

One way of measuring the success of the adjustment process is to note that emigration from Israel in the early 1950s represented only 7 to 10 % of the total immigrant group; a figure considerably smaller than the percentages of emigration from countries that absorbed mass immigration. And in this connection it should be recalled that immigration to Israel was, for the most part, unselected; sometimes it was even negatively selected as in cases when only members of the poorer and more backward sections of Jewish communities in Europe or North-Africa came to Israel.

At no time were the immigrants left to depend on their own devices for adjustment. On the contrary, a profusion of absorption frameworks and schemes were evolved by the government of the new State, the Zionist Organization, and many other public voluntary agencies. This financial and moral assistance carried the immigrants over their initial difficulties and enabled most of them to become constructively absorbed into the country.

### Intangible factors

Several intangible factors contributed to this relatively successful outcome. First, a desire to be integrated into the life of Israel was strong in most of the immigrants. There was also the spiritual bond with the «old-new» land, a bond stemming from religious faith or from an identification with Zionism.

Doubtless, too, most of the immigrants were aware that Israel was not just one among many possible alternatives, but the one country believed capable of solving the Jewish problem for them.

All of these factors, however, would not have had their effect without certain dynamics within the Jewish society, a certain drive to realize specific physical, social, and spiritual aims. This drive resulting in specific expectations may, incidentally, be the cause for the periodic disillusionment which appears in the Israeli community when the inevitable realities of life mar the ideal picture. Unrealistic expectations are frustrated. But gradually a certain «normalization» in the level of expectations has been developing in the country.

The fact remains that Israel's extraordinary growth and achievement have arisen out of a sense of urgency and mission, a driving power, which can perhaps be defined in terms of «tension.» Although the term often has negative connotations in political and sociological literature, it seems that in a pioneering society tension may, and often does, have positive effects. Tension is involved in the reclamation and settlement of swamp or desert regions, in immigrant absorption, in the striving towards social equity, in the upward mobility of the individual. Such tension seems to have a unifying and exalting power. When directed towards the realization of ideological and physical objectives, positive tension constitutes an incentive for both the individual and the group; it provides a social framework within which individuals can work together in the tasks of community development. In facing common dangers from without and in striving for common goals within, separatist tendencies—on religious, ethnic, and social grounds—also lose some of their force. Although friction does exist and clashes occur, the vision of social ideals and the lack of alternatives have the power of subordinating undesirable tensions. Indeed, each time conditions in the State of Israel seem to «normalize» there is evidence of increasing «negative» tensions, based on ethnic grouping, social status, or on a «Who cares?» attitude for fellowmen or community needs.

*The language* Another factor enabling consolidation and cohesion is the Hebrew language. This language of the Bible

was transformed into a living tool of communication, both spoken and written, by the services of the kindergartens, the schools, and the mass media. In the «war of languages» at the beginning of Zionist settlement, Hebrew won its preeminent position because it symbolized the revival of the nation. But its spread and establishment as the language of the State is due to the fact that the diverse groups of immigrants who arrived in Israel speaking a variety of languages, required Hebrew as their common base for communication.

*Cultural integration through education* The process of cultural integration of children and youth is carried out mainly in the kindergartens and schools. For older immigrant youth, the army, into which all young people of both sexes, aged from 18 to 21 are inducted, conducts educational programs. Israel's long history as a people makes it difficult to explain the contemporary scene only in terms of the physical nature of the country, its small number of inhabitants, or even the few years of its independence. The existence of the State of Israel is the culmination of a two-thousand-year period of hopes, dreams, and prayers directed towards the land of Israel. That spiritual bond was never lost, and in almost every historical period it inspired individuals or groups to go on a journey to the Holy Land. But the beginning of Zionist settlement gave a new impetus to immigration; and as immigration increased, the Zionist movement impelled Jews all over the world to support the young community both economically and spiritually.

## PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT

When discussing the achievements of the State of Israel, the weighty problems of adjustment have to be considered. Of those problems the following two were among the more important:

- 1) The adjustment of existing political movements, social organizations, and public institutions to the new stage of modernization.

2) The social and economic integration of a large-scale immigration, especially that of people from Middle-Eastern and North-African countries, into a comparatively modern technological society.

### Adjustment of existing organizations

The establishment of the State was a sharp turning point for the whole Zionist movement and for the groups and parties within it. The status of Israel as an independent, self-governing nation represented on the one hand the realization of a cherished aim and on the other a crisis of adjustment. Israeli society in the pre-state era may be defined as a society organized on a voluntary basis—a society in which frameworks were developed for activity in various spheres that were loosely coordinated by the Zionist Organization and the Vaad Leumi (Community Council). Statehood required either nationalization or adaptation of the public voluntary frameworks to the state authority.

Both forms of adjustment—nationalization and adaptation were used. Some of the functions of the Zionist organization, of the Vaad Leumi, and of the British Mandatory Government were transferred directly to the Israeli government. Other functions were left within the province of various voluntary and public organizations either because the State was not yet strong enough to incorporate them or because leaders felt it was desirable to leave a comparatively wide sphere of activities to bodies such as the Zionist Organization, which could channel the efforts of Jews abroad into assistance for the new State.

Political parties, kibbutz movements, workers' organizations, youth movements—all of the institutions of Israel—were suddenly required to adapt themselves to the alteration in the field of social forces called Israeli society. The resulting adjustments affected all spheres of life. For example, the younger generation matured enough to recognize significance in the values of the parent generation. An economy grew according to principles different than those which had guided the planners of the pre-state era. Many immigrants were unable to accept social patterns evolved by old-time residents.

Pressure was put on the traditional forces to justify their existence on grounds other than past achievement.

### Integration of immigrants of Middle-Eastern and North-African background

The problem of absorbing the successive waves of immigration into Israeli society has been discussed in some detail. Problems were numerous as Israel struggled to absorb the large groups of immigrants from Europe, but particularly difficult problems attended the immigration of large groups of people from Middle-Eastern and North-African countries. The special nature of these difficulties came to the attention of the Jewish community several years before the independent State of Israel was established in 1948.

Cultural divergence appeared to stem chiefly from four differences in the backgrounds of European immigrants and those from Middle-Eastern and North-African lands:

1) Jewish immigrants from Arabic-speaking countries, influenced by Moslem agrarian social and cultural patterns, had difficulty in adjusting to the social and economic patterns in Israel which had been developed by immigrants from European urbanized, industrialized and secularized systems.

2) Jewish communities in the Arab countries had not undergone the successive social and cultural upheavals of the European Jews and the upheavals had facilitated a change in attitudes towards traditional habits and beliefs among the European Jews.

3) European Jews had been able to organize themselves in their countries of origin, establish hundreds of «training centers,» and educate future Israeli pioneers. No such large-scale organization for socio-economic reorientation was possible in the Middle-Eastern and North-African countries.

4) From Europe the middle as well as the lower social strata came to Israel, but from certain Middle-Eastern and North-African communities (in which a clear-cut social stratification existed) the lower social strata came to Israel while the upper strata either remained behind or emigrated to other countries.

In Israel an inevitable analogy developed: ethnic origin came to be associated with socio-economic status. Large numbers of the Middle-Eastern and North-African immigrants settled together in urban neighborhoods, and their settlements soon became slums. The vocational and educational level was low; employment was low-paid and unstable; the birth rate was high (twice that of European immigrants); and mortality rates dropped to a quarter of what they had been during the previous generation. A vicious circle developed which led to further overcrowding, malnutrition and the removal of children from school as soon as they could work. Thus the second generation was deprived of advantages which might have enabled it to rise significantly above the parents' standard of living. The relationship between ethnic origin and socio-economic status was obvious to all observers.

*Implications of the vicious circle* A disadvantaged younger generation, divided along ethnic and socio-economic lines from more advantaged peers, presented Israel with mounting problems. The members of this disadvantaged second generation of the immigrants from Middle-Eastern and North-African countries managed to absorb some of the social and vocational aspirations of the surrounding society. Their inability to realize these aspirations, however, resulted in resentment, frustration and feelings of repressed aggression.

Among some of the young people the lack of opportunity led to apathy and a loss of hope. They expressed these reactions in several ways. Of the two most conspicuous, the first involved complaints about discrimination and injustice; and the second centered political organization along ethnic lines—either in separate parties or within the framework of an established party which promised advancement based on ethnic origin rather than on personal achievement. The more apathetic individuals, although voicing complaints, tended to settle into a social passivity accompanied by a striving for amusement and pleasure. A third reaction was disparagement: young persons would disparage their own ethnic groups: they would accept the values of the «superior» group and make personal efforts to adapt themselves accordingly.

The younger children of the Middle-Eastern and North-

African immigrants grew into social consciousness in a certain kind of social vacuum. Having rejected the values of the parent generation, these children wished to participate in the new Israeli culture; but lacking appropriate support from their parents—and also from the dominant group in Israeli society—they found the social vacuum surrounding them a most restraining handicap. They often failed to grow emotionally, educationally, or culturally.

The failure of these children was expressed first in their school studies. From the first grade many fell behind their schoolmates, and the gap grew wider with the passage of years. Finally the feeling, shared by their parents, that «school is not the place for me» led to early dropout. A second kind of failure was social deviation in the form of waywardness and delinquency. In the pre-Independence period of Israel children of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin constituted 25 to 30 % of the youth group, but their proportion among delinquents was 80 to 85 %.

*Handicaps limiting pre-independence efforts to break the vicious circle* Workers in the social welfare services of the Jewish community in the pre-Independence period were well aware of the vicious circle that was developing among the immigrant families of Middle-Eastern and North-African origins, but only the most immediate social and survival needs could be met. No long-range plans were made to bring about a fundamental change in the unfortunate situation. This lack of action relevant to situational expectations can be better understood in view of the fact that social services in that period were maintained by the efforts of the Jewish community itself with practically no support from the British Mandatory Government. And only a government could pass compulsory education laws, evacuate slum areas, undertake large-scale vocational education programs, and provide adequate relief to needy families.

The 15 years prior to the establishment of the State of Israel were years of uninterrupted conflict and strife, depressions and wars, and contradictory policies from the British Mandatory Government. Since the Middle-Eastern and North-African immigrants constituted, at that time, only a

small percentage of the total Jewish population (20–22 %), the problem was considered a marginal one. Efforts were concentrated elsewhere.

*State efforts to break the vicious circle* After 1948 the picture changed radically due to two factors – the formation of the independent State of Israel and mass immigration of Jews from the Arabic speaking countries. The problem of absorbing these immigrants, with their cultural differences, into Israeli society became the problem of central importance.

The new State government recognized the gravity of the situation: ethnic groups from Middle-Eastern and North-African countries constitute about 50 % of the total Israeli population; the children of these immigrants form about 60 % of the youth population of the country. Various measures were taken. One year after the establishment of the State the Compulsory Education Law was passed. Soon the Israeli health, welfare, and education services were enlarged—and were to be enlarged many more times in the ensuing years.

The processes of change in «disadvantaged» ethnic communities lead to a new variety of social problems. There emerged a «Lumpenproletariat.» There were also attempts at organization along ethnic lines to create political pressure groups—for which a ready example could be found in active Israeli organizations of farmers, workers, and professionals, and in the kibbutz movements and the various religious factions.

The State devoted attention to bridging the cultural and economic gap as quickly and safely as possible. Thus, in the field of education, the following steps were part of the action taken during the first decade after 1948:

- 1) Expansion of preschool facilities in immigrant settlements;
- 2) Promotion from grade to grade in elementary schools practically irrespective of scholastic achievement;
- 3) Supplementary tutorial lessons for weaker pupils;
- 4) Pre-vocational training in the upper elementary grades;
- 6) Free elementary education and a graduated fee system

for secondary education, fees to be based on the financial capacity of the parents; today, Israeli compulsory education is covering the age groups from 5 to 16 and secondary education is free until 18.

7) Establishing secondary schools in development areas—new villages and small towns;

8) Absorption of youth from low socio-economic strata in Youth Immigration groups (Youth Aliyah)—in kibbutz settlements and youth villages;

9) Opening of multi-purpose youth centers for immigrant youth in need of education and vocational training;

10) Expansion of vocational schools;

11) Opening of free vocational training centers for youth and adults.

The State acted simultaneously in other fields. Housing was provided at nominal cost for tens of thousands of families. Food programs were established in almost all Israeli schools—certainly in those where pupils could benefit substantially from improved nutrition. Free hospitalization and mother-child services were extended, for all practical purposes, to the entire population. Many other examples of such social action could be mentioned. Much thought and effort has gone into reducing the gap between groups of different ethnic backgrounds, but the gap still exists and is likely to be a central problem of Israel's future.

With the beginning of mass immigration from culturally different and technologically backward countries, the question arose as to whether the State was entitled—or even obliged—to put pressure on these immigrants to make a sharp and rapid change in their way of life. Instructors, nurses, educators, and other social service personnel who worked in absorption teams were inclined to use social pressure to impose such a change. Believing implicitly in the superiority of the Western concepts of desirable family relationships, the «proper» rights of women and children, different child-rearing practices, healthful hygienic habits and the virtues of work, these team members were in favor of as rapid a transformation as possible to the Western «middle-class» mode of life. Psychologists and some sociologists, on the other hand,

feared that strong pressure for quick change would undermine personality, weaken family and group ties, and eventually lead to wholesale disintegration and social crises.

After some time it became evident that both views were justified, in part. Social service workers gradually realized that cultural patterns have a great tenacity and that, although outside pressure may bring technical and external change, it cannot influence positively deeper aspects of personal and family value orientation and practice. On the other hand, those who were afraid of a quick change recognized that a process of Westernization, urbanization, and secularism had already begun among some of the immigrants in their countries of origin through the impact of the configuration of forces called modernization. These immigrants were ready for assistance toward further Westernization. Others of the immigrant Jews had, by their own efforts, identified themselves with the cultural and social patterns of the more established Israelis.

Another factor—insufficiently appreciated by professional teams and government planners—was the basic need, felt to some extent by all immigrants, to adjust quickly to those values of Israeli society which would enable them to obtain food, shelter, and clothing in the land of their choice. In the last analysis, the real pressure upon immigrants from Arabic-speaking lands to Westernize their value systems came from the fact that Israel had to develop technologically. The ultimate question was not «Are 'Western' values superior to 'Eastern' values?» but «How can Israel survive economically through technological modernization?» And generally a society which develops technologically is bound to adopt many of the dominant patterns of «Western» society. Therefore, if youngsters are to avoid frustration and achieve social status, they should be helped to reach an accepted level of attainment in the surrounding society as soon as possible. Only then can they enjoy autonomy and security in the choice of value orientation. Only then can they be free.

The growing gap between the desirable and the possible  
Even though the State of Israel and the Jewish community have accomplished much by their efforts to help persons be-

come free and secure in Israeli society, serious gaps continue to plague the nation. A genuine adaptation to this society, based on intellectual, social, and emotional growth, cannot be forced. It must be facilitated gradually, and care must be taken not to disturb one's equilibrium in the process. Here, however, the problem grows more acute with the passage of time. To accept the external values of society and develop related desires is easier than to reach a level of ability which makes the satisfaction of those desires possible.

During approximately 30 years of statehood, the influence of the Israeli environment and the pressure of helpful agencies enabled many individuals in the disadvantaged communities to appreciate such things as the value of secondary and higher education and to admire certain ways of life which they associated with certain professions and certain kinds of housing, dress, etc. But most of these individuals could not, within that same period of time, develop the social and intellectual capacity to penetrate into those scholastic frameworks which open the way to social and vocational mobility. Thus the gap between desirable and possible has widened, resulting in growing discontent.

In such a situation, the political parties, which are an additional factor inherent in social democracy, become operative. Since Israel bestows citizenship and the right to vote to every immigrant three months after arrival, regardless of knowledge of Hebrew or level of education, large masses of discontented immigrants have become a potent political force in the nation. Political parties strive to gain votes by emphasizing adjustment difficulties and promising immediate improvements. This is a logical and, to some degree, fair aspect of political democracy. Unfortunately, however, this procedure does not develop social mobility by providing for personal growth and achievement; instead it merely sharpens feelings of resentment at surmised injustices and arouses hopes of gaining social status by pressure group activity. The State is confronted with a more immediate emergency in connection with the integration of immigrants from the Middle-Eastern and North-African countries because of this political activity.

In order to cope with these developments the State must plan and carry out a whole program—a carefully planned and

unified program—aimed at raising the social standards of those who are disadvantaged by their cultural backgrounds. Such a program would involve the adaptation of services to the needs and capacities of the disadvantaged groups. It means, for example, encouraging positive modes of association, fostering leadership from various groups and classes in different fields, and introducing more members of the disadvantaged group into public service in order to diminish the antipathy to a so-called monopolistic bureaucracy.

## CONCLUSION

In a society as complex as Israel, sociological formulae do not always work. Policy makers are strongly influenced by Jewish tradition and many are also alert to innovations and reforms abroad. The attempt to balance these two often contradictory influences, has resulted in an evolving social structure which cannot always be explained in rational terms. The truth is that sometimes an incomprehensible contradiction is merely the choice of a lesser evil taken in order to avoid political, religious, or social cleavage. Altogether it has been recognized that the spiritual and social needs of the society require a deeper interplay between change and continuity; the focus must be on the tempo and mode of each stage of modernization.

Israel—let it be said openly—has taken upon itself a truly Herculean task. Its people are striving to establish security and peace in the face of Arab hostility, in the aftermath of war, in a region perpetually agitated by change in the Arab countries, and in a situation which is subject to the conflicting pressures, interests, and influence of the world powers. The State aims at healthy economic development, but a dominant portion of its budget has to be spent on security. Large-scale undertakings often must be based on considerations other than those of economic efficiency. The State aims at social stability while taking in a continuous stream of heterogeneous newcomers needing help in their profound adjustment process.

Despite all this complexity, Israel is relatively receptive to new ideas. New approaches and experiments are constantly

being introduced by Israelis, by new immigrants and by experts who come for a period of time to contribute to the development of the country. Yet, there is an attempt to build on the foundation of values from the past. These elements interact to form a variegated, dynamic and changing scene. The basic significance of this scene is the interrelation among the influences of history, of a present reality which can be defined though not fully understood, and of a future which is a matter of faith that «may move mountains.»

## Chapter Two

# Who are the Culturally Disadvantaged?

### THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF THE CONCEPT AND SOME GENERAL PROPOSITIONS †

The question, «Who are the culturally disadvantaged?» should be of interest to all citizens, but is especially pertinent to social and behavioral scientists, teachers, social workers, politicians, and others whose work directly affects such groups. For the ways in which these persons perceive and answer the question, «Who are the culturally disadvantaged?» will directly influence the way in which they approach the planning and development of social and educational policies and services.

We propose that answers to this basic question can best be found through an analysis of the process of change called «modernization.» Modernization, as used here, refers to the revolutionary, comprehensive and dynamic transformation process, that occurs as countries progress through various stages and patterns of growth.

This transformation process is influenced by forces such as the scientific and industrial revolution, interaction with local socio-cultural traditions. Terms such as *revolutionary*, *comprehensive*, and *dynamic* are used to describe the transformation process because, while initial pressure for change may be evident in one or two social institutions, *in time, all human activity within a society is affected and all social institutions must be adapted and transformed*, at least partially, according to emerging expectations and needs. The terms, *transformation-process*, and *stage* have been introduced by social scientists because they now

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† Numbered footnotes are collected at the end of the chapter.

recognize that there is no clear «take-off» point (a term used by the economist Rostow) in the transformation of a «traditional» social institution to a «modern» one. Modernization in all societies is a continuous process of development, though stages can be identified. Present evidence indicates some similarity of movement through these developmental stages.

The term *pattern* is utilized to describe new perceptions, accumulated primarily during the last decade, of the *differential tempo and mode of development*. Because the Western European countries were the first to experience modernization, their transformation pattern was assumed to be a universal, unilinear model of development. Politicians and others in positions of economic responsibility proceeded to base their modernization schemes on this, their only available model. Social scientists followed by constructing indexes that predicted the take-off points from one stage to the next.

But experiences since World War II taught economists and political scientists that each country has a configuration of forces (ethnic, religious, economic) which influences the transformation process of its social institutions. These influences form the unique pattern of modernization in each society.

In light of the preceding explanation, it can be seen that the first samples of modernization observed in Britain, France or the United States were patterned under local configurations and became models for other countries such as Russia, Argentina, Indonesia, Egypt, and Israel. Local socio-cultural forces, however, created differential modernization patterns in these developing countries.

It should be added that because of the influence of the local configuration of forces, not only is the tempo and mode of movement from stage to stage different, but there are also periods of relative stability or even regression in a society. One might generalize about the developmental process by describing it as a spiral movement. While wars, revolutions, economic depressions, and other forms of social crisis generally contribute either to speeding up or producing a backlash of stagnation or regression in the modernization process, there are forces producing social pressures toward equilibrium in each new stage.

This short description of the modernization process will serve as a frame of reference for a clearer understanding of the question «Who are the disadvantaged?»

The term «culturally disadvantaged» is used here to describe social groups (ethnic, religious, social class, regional) that are found in a position of low status, power, and influence, relative to the dominant groups during a given stage in the modernization process.

Even though there may be some agreement on this definition of «culturally disadvantaged,» wide discrepancies of opinion exist among lay and professional persons over who is to be considered culturally disadvantaged and the specific factors or circumstances that contribute to their being so.

Many feel that designating a group as culturally disadvantaged is an expression of prejudice by the representatives of the dominant cultural group. They prefer to use the term «culturally different.» Some, who claim that the influence of differential social class opportunities causes persons to become culturally disadvantages would rather refer to them as «socially disadvantaged.» Others who believe that economic factors are of primary importance, view the culturally disadvantaged simply as «the poor.»

These generalizations, like so many others encountered in the literature, are only partial explanations for the causes and behavioral manifestations of what is described as «culturally disadvantaged.» We prefer, instead, to utilize a single overriding factor as a generalized basis for explaining both causes as well as behavioral manifestations. That factor is the *configuration* of socio-cultural forces dominated by *cultural pattern* and expressed in a certain environmental setting.

Each group, whether it be of ethnic, social class, economic or geographic origin, possesses its own unique cultural patterns and social interests which clash with those of the dominant group and the institutions that serve as its agents. As a result, the group is unable to obtain certain socio-cultural opportunities and becomes culturally disadvantaged.

Any group that remains in a certain socio-cultural position for a long period of time acquires certain attitudes, value orientations and behavior patterns which are transmitted to the next generation through the socialization process of family

interaction, child rearing and schooling. When a group is labeled «culturally disadvantaged,» no value judgment is implied regarding the group's culture. For example, by saying that children of immigrants to Israel from Kurdistan, Yemen or Lybia are culturally disadvantaged, we are not condemning the value orientation or behavior patterns in the traditional, agrarian, Moslem societies. On the contrary, we are aware of many positive features of life in those environments. But once these immigrant children are forced to compete in schools of an urban, industrialized, secular, democratic and predominantly middle class European-oriented society, they became culturally disadvantaged.

Parallel examples exist in other countries and cultures. In the United States, children of Black, Puerto-Rican, Mexican-American and Appalachian parentage develop cultural values and behaviors different from those of the predominant culture. They are not prepared to compete at the same expectation level as the dominant group. In the same way, many children of farmers—whether in Russia, Germany, the United States or any other country—became culturally disadvantaged when modernization processes became more compatible with the value orientation and behavior patterns of middle class urban dwellers. The rural, traditional agrarian way of life simply has not prepared them to compete. A similar fate has befallen many children from families of dockworkers, miners or rail operators in cities such as Hamburg or Amsterdam. Having been reared and socialized according to expectations in the closed system of the family, neighborhood, and community school, they are unprepared to function in the open systems of class mobility and interactions that accompany the process of modernization.

It is not the quality of a given culture that determines whether a group becomes culturally disadvantaged; rather, it is the relative ability of the group to function according to the cultural norms of the dominant group in a certain environmental setting.

In the process of education, a «tabula-rasa» situation does not exist. The child's mind is not a blank slate to be filled with knowledge and information by teachers. Each child comes to school with a set of value-orientations, aptitudes and motiva-

tions which have been deeply ingrained through the long process of acculturation. Since the school, operating as an instrument of the dominant group, is charged with the transmission of cultural norms, there is no easy escape for a child who is culturally different. In the great majority of cases conflicts inevitably arise, placing the child in a handicapped or culturally disadvantaged position—both in terms of perceptions, feelings and patterns of reactions *and* according to valuations and expectations of others.

Societies in the process of modernization exhibit different tempos and modes, the stages and patterns of modernization. As societies move through these stages, the various groups composing the society must adjust to the changes. These adjustments are usually labeled as «adaptation,» «accomodation,» «maturation» or «absorption,» the labels changing according to current professional jargon, prevalent socio-political idealizing or latest fashion.

By tracing the historical development of different ethnic, religious, social class and regional groups, designated as culturally disadvantaged at some point, it can be demonstrated that the majority moved through similar stages in achieving new roles and social status, and exhibiting the influence of their special cultural traditions in the process.

This developmental process of societies and groups seems to be similar to the growth process of individuals. Evidence regarding the growth process of individuals indicates that each person goes through similar stages of maturation, but the tempo and mode differ according to each unique individual constitution and the influence of cultural patterns in the experiential environment.

Various theories of human psycho-social maturation have been put forth as a result of the early work of developmental psychologists. Because they were working with subjects who represented the local culture, however, in most cases they were either unaware of or failed to take into account the differential patterning in tempo and mode of growth of cognition, social relations, and emotional reaction through cultural conditioning. It was only through later observations by cultural anthropologists and the comparative study by clinical, educational, and social psychologists, that the dimensions and

dynamics of human differential growth processes became more clarified. Similarly, as recently as the last decade, sociologists and economists perceived the developmental processes of societies (modernization) in terms of unilinear stages and were searching for a common point of «take-off,» not realizing the diversity of development possible due to cultural and social conditioning. In addition, the pioneers in the field of the culturally disadvantaged seemed to be influenced by the limitations imposed by the local and immediate situation. As a result, they failed to allow a proper place in the theoretical models for the historical and comparative dimensions of time and space.

In order to gain a thorough understanding of the problem associated with the culturally disadvantaged, it is proposed that:

- 1) They be studied in a historical and comparative perspective as problems of social groups in identity formation and role-taking within a specific socio-political system as it moves through a certain stage of modernization.

- 2) When societies are viewed in periods of rapid social change, we must be aware that we are dealing with the conceptualization of a dynamic process. The problems observed today should not be seen as a static picture, taken at a certain point in time and space. The psychological and educational manifestations labeled as the characteristics of the culturally disadvantaged cannot and should not be interpreted or used to predict potentiality of the group or its members. This is true whether referring to I.Q., personality, school achievement, financial status or any other characteristics.

- 3) It should be realized that we are dealing with a *very complex configuration of forces*, in which the dimensions of space, time, and the characteristics of the dominant system, subgroup, and social institutions interact differentially in different societies.

Care must be taken not to attempt to explain the behavior of a group or one of its members by just one of these characteristics. Furthermore, it should not be assumed that manipulation of one of the characteristics will significantly change in-

dividual or group behavior in any predictable way. As will be further elaborated in the propositions for fostering changing potentials, only by a planned and systematic approach in which powerful intervention means are used, can significant and sustained change in growth prospects be achieved.

The sociological label «culturally disadvantaged» is generally applied to a group on the basis of one central variable which characterizes the group and its members, such as race, ethnicity, religion or social class. While such a variable may be a basic factor related to their situation, it is the interaction of a number of socio-cultural and socio-economic factors which creates the configurational effect of being culturally disadvantaged.

The designation of groups as culturally disadvantaged generally occurs in one of three contexts in which the relatively weak status of the group allows its members fewer opportunities for active and successful participation in the modernization process.

In the *first* context are ethnic groups (such as Blacks, Puerto-Ricans, and Mexican-Americans in the United States or «Orientals» and Arabs in Israel), *social class* groups (such as farmers and workers in East-European countries) and *immigrant* groups (such as those from Africa, India and Jamaica in England). Neither for identity priority nor compensatory treatment are members of these groups given consideration with allowance for their differential position on other variables of the socio-economic index (education, income, place and type of residence, family size, family structure, family pattern of interaction).

In the *second* context, *whole communities* and *geographic regions* are designated as culturally disadvantaged because their status and patterns of interaction relative to the norms set by the dominant group are different and considered as lower. This is done in order to define a cultural clash or to provide preferential treatment in the designated region, allowing certain benefits to reach individuals who would not be considered as culturally disadvantaged in another context.

In the *third* context, *children* (either in groups or as individuals) are designated as culturally disadvantaged on the basis of socio-cultural motivation and achievement indexes.

The socio-cultural background of the children, together with I.Q. and/or achievement score are used for identification and priority assessment for special compensatory treatment.

These designations of the culturally disadvantaged can and should be found in every modernizing society. However, differences in cultural climates, political systems and stages of development create differing awareness of the problems, classification used for identification and diagnosis, and approaches to treatment and change.

During the 1960s, the American society and its schools used the label «culturally deprived» because at this stage, public awareness and consciousness were building due to the realization that society had exhibited prejudiced behavior toward certain groups—in particular the Black community. This consciousness was further amplified as a result of the Supreme Court ruling on school integration which stated in effect that organized society (and most of its sub-systems) had contributed to the total cultural deprivation of certain ethnic groups and of other groups on a social class or regional basis.

In England they speak of the «socially disadvantaged» and the need for «preferred area treatment» (see the Plowden Report).<sup>2</sup> There, most efforts are directed toward compensatory services for children and families of colored immigrants from Commonwealth countries who have concentrated in certain neighborhoods of the large cities and find themselves in socially and culturally disadvantaged positions.

In Russia, no one speaks about the culturally deprived or socially disadvantaged, because the Communist party and the administrative authorities repeat the oft-declared ideological «Formal Equality» statement that all men are valued as equals. Nevertheless, sixty years since the «revolution of the workers and farmers,» there are still vast differences in educational opportunities of the various ethnic, social class, and regional groups. Many are becoming aware of these differences and references are even being made in Soviet publications to the need for «preferred treatment for sons of the workers and farmers,» through greater acceptance into upper level academic schools and universities.

In Israel, the official and professional term used is «Teunei-Tipuach» (can be translated as «those in need of

fostering»). This more neutral term is preferred because society and its institutions do not feel that there has been a conscious attempt to deprive any group. Rather, the situation has been created as a result of immigration from agrarian, Middle-Eastern cultures to an urban and technologically developed, «middle class,» European-type of society.

It is this differential use of the concept «culturally disadvantaged» that accounts in part for the vague descriptions, labeling changes, and diverse approaches found in the literature related to these groups.

With the changes accompanying the process of modernization, a basic phenomenon appears that is both surprising and bewildering at first glance. There is clear evidence that rising standards in the national economy of most societies have resulted in improved socio-economic conditions of the culturally disadvantaged groups. In general, regardless of the index used for evaluating changes in socio-economic conditions, improvements are found. The present economic, social and educational standards of those considered disadvantaged in different countries are much higher than they were ten or twenty years ago, and yet, the *problems of the culturally disadvantaged seem to be more widespread and more severe in different social systems than ever before*. This situation is especially true in the schools. The explanation of this phenomenon appears to lie in the presence of the following three factors.

First, as a result of the process of modernization rapid changes occur in urbanization, industrialization, and secularization, creating more opportunities for social mobility but also raising the standards for such mobility. Thus, the disadvantaged had now more opportunities for advancement provided that they could meet the new standards.

A differential process is affecting the ethnic or regional groups. Some of them are able to adapt to the expected change, they experience mobility and move out of their group. And those who remain become part of a negatively selected ecological setting, and the gap between them and the advantaged became even wider. In other words, the characteristics of the left-over disadvantaged become even more of a handicap in their effort to secure the benefits and oppor-

tunities made available in the modernization process, and they fall further behind.

Second, the dominant groups utilize their initial advantage to stress similarity between modernization and their cultural value orientations and behaviors in order to make their own qualities the criteria for being accepted and successful.

Third, the culturally disadvantaged accept the «rules of the game» as prescribed by the agents of the establishment. Thus, they are put in a situation which makes them even more culturally disadvantaged—at least in the first stages of their adjustment.

As an illustration of the operation of these processes when neither ethnic nor religious prejudice is involved, consider the case of a boy from Hamburg or Amsterdam whose father is a dockworker, seaman or factory worker.

Prior to World War II, the society in which he lived was a class-stratified, relatively closed system. In education there was a functional dual-track ladder with one track designed for the lower socio-economic class and a separate one for the middle and upper classes. In school, working class boys competed only with members of their own group who had similar experiences and expectations derived from their family and community patterns of culture. Boys in such families were not expected to go on to an academic gymnasium (secondary school), to pass a matriculation examination, or to enter the university. Upon completion of elementary school, their options were largely restricted to serving as an apprentice to craftsman, miner, dockworker, fisherman, or to enter a short-term vocational course.

After the war, modernization had an impact upon the direction of democratization, resulting in criticism of traditions and eventual social change and reform. State after state began opening the doors of their academic institutions to children of workers and farmers and opening new schools where social climates and expectations of abilities, knowledge, and maturity were more in line with middle class patterns and norms.

Although these new expectations pressed on the young people and internalized have the potential for developing motivations and abilities toward social mobility and integration in future generations, the immediate effect is to place them in

an alien and competitive role for which they are not prepared. The result in the eyes of both the children and the dominant culture is that they become culturally disadvantaged.

Another important factor contributing to the problems of young people from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds is the prolonged dependency of adolescence. This delayed-action «bombshell» focuses on the institution called the comprehensive high school.

In previous stages of modernization, the maturing individual could choose among various alternative ways of achieving adulthood according to background, personal characteristics, and available opportunities. An intellectually gifted and socially aspiring young person might attempt to break through the class lines and strive toward achieving a position of higher status and different meaning. If unsuccessful, retreat to the class-dominated, closed system was still possible. A young person of only average capabilities was faced with limited choices. These choices usually centered about vocational or trade apprenticeships with the father or with someone else in the community. In the former case, the young person exercised cognitive and motivational capabilities while the latter utilized primarily physical prowess. During the pre-state period in Israel, (prior to 1948), the majority of adolescents found their place in society either through active participation in social movements like the Kibbutz, Underground Defense Force, Working Youth Organization, Labor Federation, or through personal expression in the labor market. Only about 1,200 out of the Jewish community of 650,000 were students in higher education. The culturally disadvantaged were not aware of just how limited their opportunities were, because they had not been exposed to educational experiences which would have labeled them as failures and undermined their personal self-image and their group social-reference portrait.

The schools in European countries at that stage were similar to those in Israel—in that they specialized either in academic studies or vocational training. In both, teachers were considered to be competent in their own subject matter rather than in psychology, sociology or teaching methods which would enable them to respond to the needs of their students and help

them succeed in school. In spite of that, schools were considered as performing their social role adequately because they accepted only a fourth or a fifth of the age group who met the school criteria; and even of those, about 50 % were eliminated as failures or dropouts.

Societies in the present stage of development, characterized by «formal equality,» democratic doctrine, and socio-economic developmental pattern, that discourages youth from working, have developed a policy of prolongation of compulsory education, imprisoning all youth in one multipurpose comprehensive high school.

Thus, despite the fact that society differentiates more and more in the process of modernization, and despite our professed concern for fostering individual and group differences, schools continue to be structured in such a way as to homogenize and mold young people into following a single path toward maturity.

We propose to perceive schooling as a process of psychosocial maturation which is based on expectations developed in similar stages for various groups in different societies. At each stage, it is influenced by the unique cultural patterns and socio-economic positions of each group which contributes to the different tempo and mode of development. This development is directed, in all cases, toward the achievement of self-identity and acceptable social status.

Conditions which seem to characterize those considered to be culturally disadvantaged are:

1) Culturally disadvantaged persons move through the following developmental stages in their quest for self-identity and acceptable social status.

a) From individuals, who have certain similar outlined features or experiences, to a group characterized by basic common dominant characteristics (such as race, ethnicity, religion, social class, regionality).

b) From individuals or small groups dispersed in separate and isolated territorial units to territorial concentrations, that give potentiality to the formation of group interests or power.

c) From individuals or groups that share a common field

situation (common experiences and common interests) to a group that share mutual feelings for present association and future opportunity.

d) From groups (as defined by others) to the emergence of group solidarity and formal organization.

e) From a group identified by others on the basis of certain characteristics perceived as negative because they are different from those of the dominant culture, to self-identity, in which the same characteristics are used for positive orientation.

f) From a stage of passivity and dependence, to one of action, initiative, activity, and overreaction. This is illustrated by the progress from the demand for «rights of speech» to «right of organization» to right to «share in power», and in some countries to the proposition of «taking over of power.»

g) From a relatively homogeneous group (in composition and status of members) to a group in process of differentiation (according to education, socio-economic conditions, cultural expectations). The differentiation develops both because of the different potentiality of the members for social change and mobility, and because of the interest and potentiality of other groups for differential «absorption.» They are considered to be in a transient and marginal position.

2) Groups considered to be culturally disadvantaged because they can no longer perform in old roles and are unable as yet to perform in new ones are in a state of insecurity. They become sensitive to negative reactions and criticism by others, develop inconsistencies in their behavior and are frustrated in their attempts to find suitable roles to play.

As the disadvantaged progress through stages of development, the non-disadvantaged generally do not perceive the image changes and either act as if nothing has happened or react in an emotionally defensive way when reforms are demanded. As a result, they too, are insecure in their role toward the disadvantaged and demonstrate similar reactions of inconsistent behavior, etc.

3) Each disadvantaged group has distinct features (such as race, religion, color, or geographical area) that may contribute to what is called the group constitutional type.

4) The norms of the dominant groups in a society serve as criteria for what is called «normal» cultural patterns of behavior. This places the culturally disadvantaged, with their different experiences, tempo and mode of growth and development, into a seriously handicapped position.

Since they do not behave according to these expected norms, they are looked upon as different, maladjusted, negativistic, nonacceptable, or irritating, and are treated accordingly. Frustration and bitterness cause many disadvantaged persons to resort to behavior which is even more contrary to expectations. The consequence is a confirmation of the original beliefs of the dominant group. *This cyclic relationship of expectation, perception, action, and reaction may be called the «culturally disadvantaged crisis syndrome.»*

Unable to gain the necessary understanding and support from society, the culturally disadvantaged are forced to turn to peers who are also in revolt against established mores and norms.

5) Each culturally disadvantaged group, like each individual, must go through a process of identity formation in order to achieve acceptable social status and maturity. Society offers varied social and occupational roles, but because of rapid change and cultural handicaps, a disadvantaged person cannot identify with or fulfill the new roles. Frustration sets in and alternatives are sought. When the rest of society is unwilling to give assistance and support, the disadvantaged encounter various change-agents who offer other roles to try.

Some of the agents are peers sharing the «situational crisis,» while others only wish to achieve their own political or psychological ends. Each culturally disadvantaged group needs to experience the crisis process in order to reach a mature self-identity, but in addition, it needs support and understanding to make the experience a positive one.

6) However, those in a position to provide proper support and assistance to the culturally disadvantaged are rarely capable of doing so. Leaders and teachers in the dominant group are generally unprepared because of inexperience and lack of understanding. Their insecurity and frustrations stands as a barrier to the establishment of communications which might be meaningful for both groups.

Such and insecure relationship results in inconsistencies in the way the dominant group behaves toward the disadvantaged. At one point, they may hold up traditional, conservative expectations, brought forth from the world of the past. At another point, they may appear with new and imaginative propositions, generated primarily by intellectuals and others of elite positions who are ready to pay not from their own account of academic standards or isolationist status, but from the accounts of other disadvantaged groups, more prone toward integration.

Both of these approaches make it even more difficult for the culturally disadvantaged, who as role players need some stable anchor in their search for positive self-image and maturity.

7) The majority of culturally disadvantaged groups gradually achieve mature identity through the interaction of two processes. One is the steady progress through the various stages of development, despite the many frustrations, sufferings and disappointments encountered along the way. The second is the adjustment of the dominant group in a society to the idea of accepting the disadvantaged group, either because of social change or because of the emergence of a new disadvantaged group making the presence of the first one less objectionable.

There are, of course, groups or portions of groups, who fail to achieve acceptance. Their position becomes one of continual maladjustment requiring special rehabilitation programs to deal with them.

### Propositions for social and educational orientation and policy

1) When referring to the culturally disadvantaged, we are speaking first of all about a group at a certain stage.

Second, it is in a state of transition. Third, it is in a marginal position.

Because of this, the group's behavioral manifestations should not be regarded as criteria for predicting its future capabilities; instead, we must try to realize the group's potentialities for adaptation and development.

Programs of assistance must be aimed at fostering potentialities for cognitive development and social integration, so that the disadvantaged may share as partners in the process of social change and human growth.

2) When referring to the culturally disadvantaged, we are speaking about a group which is at a «developmental crisis,» in a period of rapid social change. Difficulties are compounded when the society in which they live is also undergoing rapid social change; thus they must adjust not only to their own problems but to those of the society as well. The result is a fermented crisis situation.

Those who deal with the culturally disadvantaged must try to accept them as they are, attempt to understand their behavior and insecurities and proceed to open lines of communication. Only then will any meaningful helping relationship be achieved.

3) The crisis in the disadvantaged is a necessary and positive developmental phenomenon in fostering the process of identity crystallization and growth. Consequently, no attempt should be made to escape from the crisis period, despite the problematic side-effects. This is not an easy suggestion to make knowing that maladjustment conflicts are generally feared.

Consequently, those working with the culturally disadvantaged should not try to isolate them nor attempt to smooth over problem areas or conflicts. By doing so, the disadvantaged are denied the opportunity to role-play real life situations. It is not protective programs that are needed, but cognitively-oriented and affectively-based programs designed to allow the disadvantaged the opportunity to face the problematic situations.

4) Not only is it important that the culturally disadvantaged realize their potentiality, but those who deal with them should perceive and treat them according to their potentialities. The disadvantaged should be helped to view their situation as one that is natural and understandable; and most important, that there are growth potentialities even in those negative aspects of life so hard to accept. They must realize that doors may be opened that will enable change and appro-

priate role-definition. Alternative role-playing situations should be encouraged for better perspective in choosing priorities. Both the disadvantaged and those attempting to help should realize that future evaluations and judgments will be made in view of progress toward the desired achievement objectives.

5) It is necessary for those who consider themselves as nondisadvantaged to accept the growth potentiality of the disadvantaged and their progress from one stage to the next as facts of reality.

In the same way that a family must be willing to assist each member to achieve a certain desired individual status, a society's future social, political, and cultural climate is dependent on the advancement of the culturally disadvantaged groups. Instead of a one-sided relationship in which the culturally disadvantaged are dependent upon favors from the rest of society, a positive type of interaction can be fostered creating a feeling of mutual dependency.

6) The culturally disadvantaged, like all other groups of people, have common basic needs as well as certain acquired needs as a consequence of their unique situation. If these needs are not dealt with through preventive action programs promotive in nature, the rest of society will soon face the appearance of manifest negative actions and be forced to institute the more costly and less effective programs of rehabilitation.

As evidenced in different cultures, the needs of the disadvantaged can be anticipated, identified, and dealt with in positive, constructive ways. As an illustration approaches to the intellectual fostering of the disadvantaged in Israel—from preschool to adolescence—will be presented in Chapter Four.

7) Those who are to deal with the culturally disadvantaged must understand that the role and status of these groups are the result of strong pressures exerted by the configuration of many cultural and social forces. If these forces are to be influenced in ways which will promote rather than retard the progress of the culturally disadvantaged, then *the approach to be used must be one which is planned, intelligent, and comprehensive—encompassing all social institutions.*

## THE DISADVANTAGED IN ISRAELI SOCIETY

As mentioned, the concept used to define the disadvantaged in Israel is «Teunei-Tipuach» («in need of fostering»). We introduced this concept to communicate three basic assumptions: first, an *optimistic faith* in the change and growth potential of the groups concerned and in the individual child; second, a *dynamic process-oriented definition of culturally disadvantaged*, as elaborated in the previous section; and third, a *social commitment*, that the school system as an agent of a humanistic and socially democratic society, has responsibility for developing powerful intervention approaches to help the disadvantaged cope with the expectations accompanying the modernization process.

The concept «Teunei-Tipuach» is used differentially for different needs: it is used when there is a need to demonstrate the relatively disadvantaged social status of an ethnic or social group; to describe the relatively lower mean achievement of children from culturally and socially disadvantaged groups; or to define a whole school where the majority of pupils come from disadvantaged backgrounds. Their lower performance provides the criteria for priority allocation of compensatory resources.

In general this concept overlaps in many respects with those described in the previous section—«culturally different,» «culturally disadvantaged,» «culturally deprived,» «poverty area children,» «preferred area»—except that it is limited in origin and in application to the social system of the school. Outside of the school context, other concepts are used such as «Noar Oleh» (immigrant youth), «Yaldei Oni» (poverty youth), «Yaldei Shulaim» (marginal youth) and «Noar Beezorei Metzuka» (youth in depressed areas). The last label has been used by a commission appointed by the Prime Minister to consider a comprehensive approach to the problems of disadvantaged children and youth (including financial support, education, employment, welfare).

Since the present report is focused only on the school setting, the term «Teunei-Tipuach» will be used. For ease of communication, however, it will be used interchangeably with the term «disadvantaged.»

The present report will be limited to a discussion of the role and problems of children from different ethnic and social background within the Jewish (Hebrew) school system in Israel. The Arab school system, due to various historical, political and cultural considerations, is a separate institution although equally affected by state laws. Since our research and expertise was restricted to the Jewish (Hebrew) school system, however, we do not feel qualified to discuss the fostering problems in the Arab system.

In the Israeli school system, the concept «Teunei-Tipuach» is used for four different, although overlapping group definitions—the *ethnic*, the *ethno-social*, the *social*, and the *regional definitions*. Each definition is adapted to specific needs and policy-oriented goals.

### 1 The ethnic definition

During the third stage of responding to needs of the disadvantaged, the so-called «Compensatory Stage» (as will be described in Chapter Three), the Ministry of Education decided to include *all students from Middle-Eastern and North-African parental origin* (immigrants from Yemen, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, etc., usually called «Orientals») in the category of disadvantaged. The clearest demonstration of this priority allocation was found in the 1956 decision that all children from these groups would be evaluated for the privilege to enter selective secondary schools on the basis of lower normative criteria on the national scholastic evaluation examinations given in the eighth grade. While the pass mark for students of European origin was around the 80<sup>th</sup> percentile, those from Middle-Eastern and African background were granted a passing certificate on reaching the 70<sup>th</sup> percentile. The importance of this decision was that those who passed according to the expected norm were assured a place in the selected secondary «academic» schools; and their tuition for schooling was limited according to a social means test called «graded fee system » (based on income, family size, etc.).<sup>3</sup>

Many opposed this ethnic-priority decision made by the policy makers. Some claimed that it was a prejudiced and nonethical approach toward the European-origin children who sat in the same classroom aware of being better students,

while later discovering that they had failed while others had passed. Some spoke against the artificial raising of aspirations among the disadvantaged by giving them access to «academic» secondary schooling although they were not qualified. And the selective schools claimed that by forcing them to accept students of lower motivation, ability and achievement their academic standards would thereby be lowered.

The justification of this approach was based on the following considerations:

First, the «Oriental» ethnic groups represent about half of the Jewish population in Israel, but only 10–13 % of these children passed yearly from the eighth grade according to the standard 80 % norm against 40–45 % who passed in the European-origin group. In fact, 40–43 % of the «Oriental» group did not reach the minimal threshold mark of sixty percent compared with only 10–11 % of «Europeans» (the differential range of percentages expresses year-to-year changes for a decade).

With only one norm available, only 1 in 10 «Oriental» children would be given access to selective secondary academic schools compared with 4 from the «European group.» The availability of a lower norm doubled the number of qualified «Oriental» candidates and so halved the gap to 1:2.

Second, even with this opening of entrance possibilities, for every 100 students who scored between 70–80 %, about 50 % of the «Europeans» entered academic schools (although they were considered failures according to the regular norm applied to Europeans, were not granted priority and had to pay the full tuition fee).<sup>3</sup> Among the «Orientals» of similar ability (who were told by the computer that they were qualified and received a certificate not mentioning the lower norm allowance) only about 30 % entered.

Third, follow-up studies showed that from every entering ability group about half dropped out, so the larger opening doubled the actual number of graduates from the Oriental groups.

Fourth, even those who dropped out after two or three years because of lower ability, maturity or socio-economic pressure had the benefit of higher schooling status and so were accepted to advanced vocational training schools.

Fifth, the «reference group» for those who studied two to three additional years, became that of the secondary school population. This is evidenced in terms of marriage patterns, family planning, choice of residence, education for their children. Such an administrative ruling for lower norm allowance is justified both in terms of political needs (to promote social equality) and in terms of personal needs (to provide the opportunity for the disadvantaged to achieve social and occupational mobility).

In summary, if even today, after 30 years of independence, only about 7 % of the appropriate age cohort of Middle-Eastern and North-African background children have successfully passed the matriculation examinations (a college qualification battery of tests given to high school graduates) against 30 % from a European background age cohort, it is not politically feasible to discontinue priority considerations for an ethnic criterion. The rationale is to encourage youth of «Oriental» backgrounds to strive for academic achievement, in order to satisfy their own needs and to serve as models for the total group.

## 2 The ethno-social definition

This definition is based on the extensive overlap between ethnic origin and socio-economic conditions in the home. It considers the home influence on child development in terms of socio-cultural factors affecting child-rearing<sup>4</sup> as well as basic physical, economic and social conditions of large families in poverty areas.

To help understand this ethno-social priority definition, it should be mentioned that approximately 40 % of Jewish children are reared in only 12 % of the families (families with four or more children of which 80 % are Oriental).

From a study by M. Smilansky and J. Yam, concerning the analysis of the 1962-63 eighth grade national survey<sup>5</sup> one can see how the combination of ethnic origin, father's education and number of children in the family influenced the mean score on the test battery. The same picture appears in a more recent analysis by M. Algarbely of the Planning Unit at the

Ministry of Education, who analyzed the eighth grade survey of 1971-72. <sup>6</sup>

An illustration of a policy based on the ethno-social definition of «Tenuei-Tipuach» can be found in the criteria used in classifying schools as «disadvantaged» or nondisadvantaged. Originally the criteria were based on consideration of ethnic origin, father's education and school results on the national scholastic survey. Later, all schools in the country were classified according to a combined index based on national scholastic test results, percentage of children from Middle-Eastern and North-African ethnic background and qualifications of the teachers. <sup>7</sup>

A school defined as disadvantaged according to this index was entitled to priority in certain budgetary allocations (supply of equipment and materials, smaller classes, longer day programs, tutorial support, counseling). Another illustration—the major focus of this book—is the Boarding School Fostering Program for the more gifted among the disadvantaged. The criteria for acceptance were twofold. About 80 % of vacancies were allocated to youth from Middle-Eastern and North-African origin and priority was given to students according to socio-economic factors and personal family needs.

### 3 The social definition

Children reared in poverty neighborhoods or in poor socio-economic conditions cannot, in the majority of cases, perform according to their potential ability. They are generally unable to compete with other children in a socially-integrated system.

The assumption is that the school system, as an agent of society aiming at democratization and social integration, is responsible for providing the necessary support.

To illustrate the use of a social definition in support of the disadvantaged, the «graded fee» system established in 1955-56 will be mentioned. Because economic priority considerations did not allow the Ministry of Education to provide free schooling from preschool to the age of 18, it was decided that beyond the compulsory school age (then 14 and now 16), stu-

dents would pay tuition according to a social index based on considerations such as family income and size of family.<sup>3</sup> Other measures of support were free or minimal fee, school meals, books, travel to school allowance, auxiliary tutorial lessons, participation in preschool day-care centers or enrichment centers for adolescents and boarding placement.

#### 4 The regional definition

In Israel, as in other countries, residence in certain geographic areas may be a limiting factor in opportunity to receive a quality education. This situation is a by-product of a combination of both historical and current factors that produced a clustering of ethnic groups in certain communities. This distribution of ethno-social groups creates a continued negative selection process and a lower mean standard of school learning relative to expected national norms.

The large-scale evidence of regional lag can be seen in «development towns,» new immigrant villages and urban «poverty neighborhoods.» These three types of settlement are settled mostly with former immigrants of lower social-educational background from Middle-Eastern and North-African origin with large families. Those who are better educated, have preferred occupations, with smaller families and are more motivated toward social and educational mobility move out in search of other futures. Certain development towns offer clear-cut examples of this process. For instance, town A. in the Galilee and town B. in the Jerusalem region received 70–90,000 new settlers during the past twenty years and yet the total population at presents is less than 20,000. These represent mostly the socially weaker element, with a large percentage dependent on social welfare support for basic needs.

#### ENDNOTES

1. The following theoretical discussion is extracted, with some modifications, from a lecture originally presented by the senior author at a forum at the University of Chicago (1965) and then

reproduced for the Faculty of Educational Development at Ohio State University (October, 1970).

2. Central Advisory Council for Education, *Children and Their Primary Schools*, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, England, Vol. I, 1967.
3. Today, Israeli compulsory education covers the age groups from five to sixteen and secondary education is free until 18.
4. In a study by M. Smilansky and Y. Leiser, a multiple correlation of around 70–80 was found between an index of home environment process characteristics (adapted from Bloom, Wolf, and Dave: see B.S. Bloom, *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics*. Wiley, New York; 1964) and the child's capability in school as measured by I.Q., achievement and teacher rating of adjustment.
5. M. Smilansky and J. Yam, «The relationship between family size, ethnic origin, father's education and student achievement» in *Magamot*, Szold Institute, Jerusalem, Vol. 16, No. 3, 1969, pp. 248–273 (in Hebrew).
6. M. Algarbely, Unpublished report presented to the Ministry of Education and Culture on behalf of the planning unit.
7. At present a more elaborate index was suggested by M. Algarbely and adapted by the Ministry of Education. It allows the use of a matrix based on a scale of socio-cultural background characteristics in combination with student performance in school.

## Chapter Three

# Stages and Patterns in Israeli Policy Toward the Disadvantaged

The meaning of any social-educational program can be evaluated only in the frame of reference of a total political, social and economic system at a certain stage and pattern of modernization. So before describing and attempting to evaluate specific programs developed during more than a decade, we shall present our conceptualization of the confrontation and coping of the Israeli school system by suggesting the following five stages:

- 1) *The Pioneer-Voluntary Stage*: up to Israel's first year of Independence and Statehood (to 1948);
- 2) *The Formal Equality Stage*: (1949-57);
- 3) *The Compensatory Education Stage*: (1958-68);
- 4) *The School Reform Stage*: (1968); and
- 5) *The Experimenting School Stage*: exploration and planning toward the future (1973- ).

In this chapter the main features of each stage will be outlined, and Chapter four will detail and elaborate the main approaches during the Compensatory Stage—the focus of the study presented in this book.

### 1. THE PIONEER-VOLUNTARY STAGE

The beginning of this stage is related to the first wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine, described in Chapter One. The first pioneers and their supporters in Europe established

elementary and secondary schools according to their value orientations. At first these were individual and small group efforts focused on the development of a certain institution. Later, organized systems evolved, crystallized around political philosophies and supported by active organizations both in Israel and in other Jewish communities. With the growth of the Jewish community in Palestine and the strengthening of its communal and national resources, schools were available in each municipality and in most cases even in each neighborhood. But the standard of learning differed considerably among the schools and a clear picture of retardation and drop-out emerged in schools absorbing children of immigrants from Middle-Eastern and North-African backgrounds.

Evaluative surveys by Brill, Dushkin, Frankenstein, Bachi and Ortar in Jerusalem, Enoch in Tel-Aviv and Smilansky and Ben-David in Rechovot present a very similar picture about students from culturally disadvantaged «Oriental» backgrounds. There is evidence of failure in the first grade with a high ratio of children repeating the grade; dropout from the middle grades of the elementary school; only a minority continuing to the seventh and eighth grades and very few from each poverty neighborhood entering secondary academic schools. To illustrate quantitatively the situation in poverty neighborhoods of Jerusalem during the decade before Independence, a study by Bachi found that for pupils of families of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin entering the first grade, 30 % of boys and 60 % of girls dropped out before reaching the fifth grade; in all, 30 % completed the sixth grade and only 15 % reached the eighth grade. <sup>1</sup>

Social workers, teachers and youth workers were aware of this situation and tried to confront it through local initiative. Also, in the wake of mounting waywardness and delinquency the central community and national organizations were aroused and declared their intention to cope with the situation. But the disadvantaged groups were small minority groups, weak in economic resources, political power and concentrated in isolated poor ghetto neighborhoods out of the mainstream. And the dominant groups were not really convinced about the problems in «those neighborhoods», so there was no critical issue called the «disadvantaged».

In defence of the dominant social groups in Israel during this period is the fact that attention was focused on other pressing issues which demanded most of the emotional and socio-economic resources. Recalling that the years before Independence were characterized by continuous large-scale crises, we can be more open to understanding. It was the period of world-wide economic depression (that produced the New Deal in the U. S. and Nazism in Germany); rise of Nazi Germany and Jewish repression that ended with the Holocaust; the Jewish refugee problem and the confrontation with both the Arab and British resistance; Arab guerrilla war; Jewish trials to accelerate the process of land settlement under threats of restriction and destruction; internal ideological and political power struggles; World War II, years of threat and mobilization for fighting; and post-world-war struggle for Independence and Statehood. All these events forced the problem of the disadvantaged to a secondary, marginal position.

During this period, the British Mandatory Government acted as a passive observer. This was due to political considerations (such as the relatively better status of Jewish education over Arab education, the lack of readiness among the Arab community to accept compulsory education and among its leadership to accept social group equality of opportunity) and to the fact that the conservative British rulers were not sensitive to the social needs of the lower class either in Britain or within her empire.

## 2 THE FORMAL EQUALITY STAGE

Already during the first year of Independence, when the struggle and ruins of the war were still prevalent, and mass immigration was in its initial stage, the newly-established government passed a Compulsory Education Law (1949). This law made it mandatory for all children—Jewish and Arab—to attend school for nine years from age five to fourteen (one year of Kindergarten and eight years of elementary education). It was also recommended that those aged fourteen to eighteen who did not complete eight years of elementary education should attend

evening schools. To realize the revolutionary meaning of this law, in terms of social aspirations at that period, one should remember the previously-mentioned data on school dropout among the disadvantaged and also the very severe problems of social adjustment of immigrants from Yemen, Iraq, and other Middle-Eastern and North-African countries described in Chapter One.

The second political decision on schooling policy was the State Education Law of 1953. This law transferred all elementary, kindergarten and eight-year elementary schools (private and public) either to the municipalities or directly to the State (in cases where municipalities were not yet formed or were too weak to shoulder responsibility). All kindergarten and school teachers in the country were granted the status of State employees. The importance of this decision for our discussion is the fact that all educators became politically free of local social pressures and economically independent of the differential and restricted financial resources of less affluent local authorities. According to this law, educators receive their salaries according to their level of schooling, type of professional preparation and seniority in teaching—not according to affiliation and status of the school where they teach. Following this law came the large-scale centralized activity to build more schools, train more teachers and raise norms of expectations.

This was the mass immigration period that changed the number and composition of the Jewish population very rapidly. From about 650,000 Jews in 1948 there were about 1 million in 1949 and 1½ million in 1953, when this decision was declared. The immigrants who arrived from Europe were mainly individuals of broken families from Nazi concentration camps after the Holocaust; while those arriving from Yemen (about 45,000 during 1949–50) or Iraq (about 125,000 during 1950–51) were total communities salvaged by airlift after news of the failure of Arab armies in invading Palestine and the fear of reprisals on Jewish lives in these countries. As mentioned in the first chapter, they arrived from a very different cultural and socio-economic background, they were housed in tents, shacks and barracks, and faced difficulties in coping with the new reality in general and the expectation of the modern schooling system for their children in particular. Nevertheless, when the late Minister of Education, Professor

B. Z. Dinur declared the policy of «formal equality», his assumption was that despite the heterogeneity of the population and the large gap in cultural background and demonstrated capacities, it was necessary to declare that all people are equal, so that a unified school system, a unified curriculum and common striving toward mutual goals could be attained. The fact that he could mobilize support for such a proposition by the great majority of parliament and public, may be seen not only an expression of the idealistic value-orientations during that stage of Israeli social evolution and the great belief in education in Jewish tradition, but also the realization by some politicians of the tremendous potential political power of the newcomers. At the same time, it should be recognized that this was a means of pressure (by the dominant European group toward the new immigrants from Middle-Eastern and North-African background) to socio-cultural adjustment and political conformity. Parallel to the general pressure for conformity, this stage provided the foundation for intellectual criticism, demands for cultural pluralism and even initial efforts in evaluative field study.

Despite much criticism of the «formal equality» proposition, as will be detailed, many positive contributions were made during this stage. First, there was quantitative growth in all directions. Schools were opened everywhere – in tents and huts at first and permanent buildings later; teachers were recruited; the army was used for support activities; and children were socialized to accept schooling as both a new cultural pattern and a tool for social and occupational mobility.

While the population grew nearly threefold during the decade (from 650,000 to 1,686,000) the number of pupils increased fivefold (from 100,000 to 500,000) and the number of teachers fourfold (from 6,000 to 24,000). There is no question that this represents a revolutionary quantitative growth in a public school system during a very short period. It should be mentioned that this growth occurred almost without the kind of public resistance or violence predicted by many critical social scientists.

However, «formal equality», it became clear to us, could not serve the needs of the disadvantaged pupil. As will be illustrated and elaborated, both daily experience of those con-

cerned with the field situation and the diagnostic studies conducted by the Szold Institute demonstrated the need to move toward the next stage—that of special compensatory education.

### 3 THE COMPENSATORY EDUCATION STAGE

Since this is the stage that serves as a foundation and focus for our report, it will be mentioned only briefly here, and described in more detail in Chapters Four and Five. There its conceptual background as well as the main approaches and basic dimensions of the fostering programs will be discussed.

This stage also continued for about ten years, until the end of the second decade of Independence. Its aim was to foster opportunities among all ethnic groups – from different strata and geographic areas—and not to be satisfied with «formal equality.» The assumption was that by offering special privileges and compensatory programs the culturally disadvantaged could overcome the primary gap in readiness to cope with school expectations.

The activities developed at this stage undoubtedly contributed towards improving the educational achievements of the culturally disadvantaged as evidenced by progress in schooling and knowledge acquisition. However, *compensatory education is a temporary proposition. It cannot produce long-term and meaningful transformation of the role and status of the disadvantaged*, as will be seen in the next chapter.

Instead of making marginal alterations in the existing system, a new system for helping the culturally disadvantaged had to be devised. This is what led to demand the next, more challenging, stage toward the end of the third decade.

### 4 THE SCHOOL REFORM STAGE

This stage began with the third decade of the Independence of Israel. It aimed at a complete reorientation of the educational system by reforming the school structure, the curriculum, teacher-training and teaching methods. For reasons which will not be discussed here, public attention focused on

the confrontation with the teachers' unions regarding the structure of the schools, thus blurring the fact that the demand for change in the school structure was only a lever to force implementation of drastic changes.

In both the Formal Equality stage and the Compensatory Education stage the disadvantaged were the only group forced to attempt adaptation and change. The dominant group continued to demand rules for a social game according to its needs while the disadvantaged were left with only two alternatives: lose their identity and be accommodated as second rate citizens or fail and drop out. One can question this proposition even in societies where the culturally disadvantaged are a small minority; in Israel, where half the population is at issue, there is no escape from serious confrontation.

One should also realize that the demand for school reform has broader foundations than just the needs of the disadvantaged groups. The tempo and mode of modernization makes the traditional school an obsolete institution in many cases. The demand for its reform is gaining support from many forces in the dominant group in Israel as in other modernizing societies. Our role is to ferment this crisis and facilitate self-renewal and problem-solving capacity of schools and other institutions, so as to provide the necessary support systems for confronting emerging needs.

A memorandum to the Minister of Education in 1959 (2) detailed reasons for the need for change and suggested propositions for a desired pattern. However, nearly a decade passed before public readiness, growing political awareness and forceful leadership of the late Minister of Education, Z. Aran, allowed the passing of a school reform law in 1968.

The main propositions of the Parliamentary Commission, in 1968, were as follows:

a) Compulsory education will gradually be raised from age 14 to 16; all 15 year-olds will be covered by 1972, 16 year-olds by 1975. Compulsory education until 16, and free education until 18 will be implemented only during the current school year, 1978-79.

b) Free preschools will gradually be made available to all 3 to 5 year-olds of disadvantaged backgrounds.

c) The first level of elementary education will be limited to six years and its quality improved by initiating smaller classes, improved teacher education, improved psychological services, special fostering for the disadvantaged, and redesign of registration zones to allow more social integration.

d) All graduates of elementary education will pass without any qualifying examination or selection to a secondary comprehensive school. The secondary school will be of six-year duration, grouped into two units: the middle-unit covering grades 7-9 and the upper unit covering grades 10-12. All graduates of the middle unit will be assured vacancy in one of the tracks in the upper unit (general academic, technical, and agricultural), based on their choice and appropriate guidance process. All tracks will be accredited to give their graduates a matriculation examination certificate opening the doors to university education or a qualifying government diploma.

For the purpose of our discussion, the following main points should be considered. First, the school reform plan was passed as a *political decisión* expressing a certain power equilibrium. In the implementation process, both national and local authorities have been influencing the patterns of implementation according to political needs.

Second, the political decision opened opportunities and its focus on structural changes created leverage for changes in school locality, teacher qualifications and allocation, grouping, curriculum and fostering programs. The actual meaning of this leverage was left to interpretation and action by the persons and institutions concerned.

Third, this reform proposition aimed to achieve three parallel goals:

1) A scientific and technological modernization of secondary education;

2) Democratization of secondary education or in other words, the opening of secondary schools to whole age groups instead of the previous pattern of dualistic, traditional, selective, European-origin academic and vocational secondary schools;

3) Social integration, that should be implemented through

planned socially mixed catchment boundaries called «Educational Regions,» or through bussing.

The history of education provides illustrations of school systems which focus on one of these goals in one stage, then shift to another during the next stage in order to gain equilibrium. But planning and implementation of the reform based on the three needs is a gigantic task requiring strong leadership, political faith, powerful intervention strategy and large-scale resourceful support. At that stage such resources were assumed to be available. Today one would question such an assumption.

Finally, it was assumed that *the adolescent crisis period was the appropriate time for reorientation and reform to take place*. The thought was that one can take disadvantaged youth during early adolescence—after six years in a nearly homogeneous community, low level disadvantaged school—and with appropriate support, challenge them with the need to interact and achieve in a regional, socially-mixed, comprehensive school. This optimistic assumption was based on theoretical propositions about potential capacity of adolescence.<sup>3</sup>

For planning and management of the reform, a special authority was established in the Ministry of Education, acting through both decision-making committees and an implementation unit. This planning process will be described and analyzed in another text. Here, the following are the salient points:

- 1) The present reform is a process that will develop gradually during the 1970s. The initial plan was based on gradual spread of the new design in five to seven years. But a number of forces contributed to a slower and weaker pace of implementation: Financial considerations restricted both the development budget for new construction and equipment of schools and allocations for current expenses; political maneuvering by local authorities not interested in pursuing social integration because of expected pressure from concerned parents; shortage of qualified teachers; contradictory pressures from two teachers unions with conflicting interests; and a change in priority allocation by new Ministers of Education.

- 2) The new management of the Ministry of Education

initiated changes in elementary education, thus creating a different balance between those believing in the preventive and promotive approach of early childhood and those emphasizing the adolescent growth potentiality.

3) From the initial focus on the Middle-Unit (grades 7-9), the planning process has advanced toward the Upper-Unit grades (9-12), emphasizing equality of status in technical and agricultural education as against the selective academic schools. Also, it gave priority to comprehensive 6-year schools wherever possible, especially in new development areas (mostly immigrant-populated small towns) and regional schools for rural areas. The result is that there are no communities in Israel where full-scale secondary education opportunities are not available.

4) To achieve the first goal of education modernization large-scale work is in process in curriculum development, improvement of teacher education, changes in school administration and supervision, improvement of facilities for special education, psychological services, vocational education, and change in the pattern of graduation examinations.

5) To achieve the second and third goals—of *secondary school democratization* and *social integration*—the following decisions were implemented. After a decade about half of the appropriate age cohorts are affected by the Reform.

a) *Transferral to secondary school with no selection process.* The national scholastic selective test was abolished, and transferral was made for all graduates of elementary school either to a Middle-Unit in a secondary school of the region or to one in higher-standard and status secondary school by means of bussing. Student allocation was done according to an urban or rural plan, prepared jointly by the municipal authority and the planning unit of the Ministry of Education.

b) *Mapping of educational regions.* Representatives of the local authority and the Ministry of Education drew the lines of Educational Regions covering a number of local elementary school registration zones in order to promote an ethnically and socially heterogeneous population within each school.

c) *Organization of a heterogeneous mother-classroom<sup>4</sup> and partial grouping.* So that interaction, appropriate reference

group and modeling opportunity will be available to the disadvantaged, there are regulations for each of the parallel five to seven classrooms in each school to be composed in parallel proportions according to background and ability. The student will continue as a member of this same mother-classroom throughout the three years of the Middle-Unit. But to allow adaptation of curriculum and learning patterns to differential capabilities, grouping was introduced according to achievement, as follows: in three subject areas in the seventh grade (Hebrew, English, and Mathematics—approximately one-third of the weekly schedule of 37 hours); in four subjects in the eighth grade (adding another subject, usually physics—covering approximately half of the weekly schedule); and five subject areas in the ninth grade (approximately two thirds of the schedule). For the grouping organization every two of the parallel classrooms is divided into three similar achievement groups in each of the above-mentioned subject areas; the lower-achievement group is designed to be the smallest in size. In other words, the 60 to 70 pupils of the two parallel mother-classrooms are divided in Hebrew, English or Mathematics in higher standard «A» groups of around 25-30; «B» groups of the same size and «C» groups with around 15 pupils. In addition, there are two to three hours of elective options, and in the eighth and ninth grades there is also the possibility for six weekly additional hours of vocational track.

d) *Counseling*. Special teacher-counselors were trained in the universities to serve in support of students and teachers in the Middle-Unit. The regulated norm is two hours of weekly counseling per classroom, which means one to two full-time counselors per school, according to the number of students. The counselors are generally former qualified teachers recommended by school supervisors for a two-year training program in counseling. Their role definition includes: responsibility for allocation to classrooms and grouping, educational and vocational guidance, cooperation with teachers and regional psychological services for those who need special care, and cooperation with parents.

e) *Social education*. To provide an opportunity for the heterogeneous population to experience diversified face-to-face interaction and common experience with social reality, a

social education program was supposed to be developed mainly in the afternoon, officially called «second-part-of-the-day.» Other elements in this second part — beyond the regular 37 weekly schedule study hours — are the six elective weekly hours in a vocational track as well as the whole fostering program for the disadvantaged described in the following point.

f) *Special fostering for the disadvantaged.* To ensure some measure of success with school expectations, it is necessary to provide the disadvantaged with appropriate support. The reform plan offered the following four provisions in addition to grouping, electives, vocational track and social education.

1) *Guidance in homework assignments.* Arranged of all students needing it, by the availability of two teachers in the afternoon (one in the natural sciences and the other in the humanities). They are expected to help students clarify the morning lesson, prepare the home assignments, guide them in locating library information and give them personal attention.

2) *Tutorial (for small groups of four to six students.)* The tutorial aims at supporting students in marginal positions—those, for example, coming from the middle or upper levels of their schools in need of an additional push in a particular subject in order to be placed in a higher achievement group.

3) *Auxiliary lessons.* Allocated to groups of 8-12 disadvantaged students or new immigrants who lag behind their morning groups in certain subjects.

4) *Fostering groups.* Organized for disadvantaged groups who need systematic rehabilitation of intellectual patterns and general cultural enrichment.

g) *Special education.* According to the reform planning, two groups of students, although they do enter also the comprehensive regional school, are not included in the heterogeneous ability mother-classroom. First, the *mentally retarded*, those who have already been in special classes in elementary school or those in need of such classes according to the diagnosis of a local or regional psychological service accredited by the Department of Special Education in the Ministry of Education. In some local authorities, such as Tel-Aviv, special schools are available, while most others pro-

vide special classes in the comprehensive schools. These classes are officially referred to as «advancement classes.»

Second, the *low ability underachievers*, those who do not attain minimal standards in reading comprehension and arithmetic by the end of elementary school. The assumption is that they would not benefit from a heterogeneous mother-classroom, and need special attention in a small group with specially-adapted curriculum and the personal approach.

In both cases the size of the class is limited (usually 10–15, but not more than 20); there is a special curriculum and an attempt to provide appropriate teachers and supervision. In the guidelines it is recommended that no more than one such classroom be established in a school so this option would not become a legal escape from socially integrated and heterogeneous classrooms.

The regulations attempt to limit the number of students in the two types of special classes to only 10-15 % of the age cohort, so that 85-90 % would be in the heterogeneous mother-classroom.

### Evaluation of the reform

As mentioned, the present reform was defined as a longitudinal process, beginning in 1970 and spread out during the decade. To evaluate this process three potential media for evaluation were established.

1) The supervisors of the Ministry of Education were expected to report to the district and central office about their visits to the schools and encounter with the problems there.

2) The Ministry of Education established and financed a longitudinal project responsible for follow-up evaluation of a sample of schools that have been changed along the lines of the reform as compared to control groups (those in which the reform has not been introduced). This evaluation is an independent project carried out by two teams, one at Tel-Aviv University and the other at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup>

3) Partial studies are being carried out by university professors or graduate students.

## 5 THE EXPERIMENTING SCHOOL STAGE

Although the process of implementation and evaluation of the School Reform stage is only in its initial phase, our role is to promote awareness about the need for a new stage and to plan its developmental process, so as to cater to emergency needs and tasks.

An initial discussion of our assumptions and propositions for this emerging stage was presented to the Pedagogical Board of the Ministry of Education in April 1972, in a memorandum entitled «School As Experimental Proposition»<sup>6</sup> And in a detailed report entitled «Planning For The Disadvantaged In The 80's.» For our purposes here, seven main reasons in support of the demand for a new reformation process can be given:

First, the *growing heterogeneity of school populations*—in background, ability, knowledge and motivation—raises the need to give legitimization to cultural pluralism, to release for youth education, additional sources of previously unutilized potential, and foster alternative approaches for coping with needs of different groups.

Second, the *accelerated pace of modernization* demands the individual personalized approach, in the frame of open education units. These human supportive social systems should be planned and developed cooperatively by all concerned, to assure their dynamic adaptation to personal and social needs.

Third, the *initially limited success of compensatory education measures become more limited* when faced with demands of accelerated modernization and the rising expectations of the disadvantaged. The present centralized administrative approach is not sensitive, supportive and accountable enough to provide services adapted to needs of the disadvantaged. The suggested conceptual and practical reorientation, together with provision of additional resources, may provide options for improvement.

Fourth, there is a *need to foster responsibility and creativity among teachers, parents and students.* The explosion of knowledge, the revolutionary technological developments, secularism, the composition and social climate of the modern

family, the projections about the political, military, economic, and the social situation in Israel, are all indicators pointing to the complexity of the problems, unknown future, and need for high level of adaptability. This incompatibility between the needs of people and the readiness of social institutions to relevantly relate to these needs, breeds alienation, irresponsibility, and passivity among a growing number of teachers and students.

In order to adequately deal with this problem, comprehensive and dynamic macro-planning is needed that defines alternative options, goals, and tasks, and provides for resource allocations in what can be defined as national challenge; at the same time, micro-development is also vital, based on decentralization, division of responsibility, and modular creative units based on active participation and cooperation of teachers, parents and students –and systematic experimentation and evaluation.

Fifth, *family and community crisis forces demand experimenting with new programs focused on family building and community cultural development.*

Sixth, *economic restrictions suggest the need to explore new approaches toward financing life-long education; attempting to balance the need for social equity and economic efficiency.*

Seventh, *new technological developments can be used for individualization and personalization of instruction.* Technological developments in rapid printing, audio-visual aids, computers, etc. can be used for individualization of instruction, interaction with the outside school environment, continued learning, and differentiated sharing and achieving according to local initiative and regional as well as national support. <sup>8</sup>

The present leadership of the Ministry of Education recognized the need for change and provided some initial opportunities for movement in this necessary direction. Illustrations are the decisions on a limited form of administrative decentralization, promotion of local initiative, organization of task forces for long-term future planning, some encouragement to those asking for the development of experimenting schools, and some flexibility in budgetary allocation, curriculum development and evaluation. Much more should be attempted and it will be conceptualized in another monograph. <sup>9</sup>

## IN CONCLUSION: ON THE MEANING OF STAGES

After outlining out conceptualization of the five stages in the development of Israeli policy, we feel that some observations on the meaning of the concept «stage» should be added as expressed in the tempo and mode of progress from one stage to another.

*Each stage reflects the value orientations and expectations of that period and pattern of modernization.* What seemed to be a dream of liberals or socialists at a certain stage provides actualization and feelings of achievement when initiated, but frustrations later in the realization of limitation. For example: when there is selectivity in a school system based on social ascription, the dream and goal is «formal equality» based on objective criteria of merit examinations. But when experience shows that only a minority of the disadvantaged benefit from the new stage because of home background and community influences on the socialization process, there is a growing demand for a compensatory stage.

*Each stage is complimentary to its predecessor and generally does not abolish past achievements.* In suggesting a new stage, there is no total discarding of past achievement, but expression of expectations for additional benefits. For example, without discarding «formal equality» arrangements, the request for «compensation» to the disadvantaged was agreed upon and later, the School Reform brought about compensatory measures in the newly designed school.

*The life-space of each stage can be defined in relatively similar boundaries, adapted to basic characteristics of each political system.* In our comparative study of different school systems we were able to diagnose and define clear-cut systematic patterns. Here we shall only repeat the observation that in Israel the pattern was for each stage to continue for about a decade, and the awareness and demand for change appeared approximately halfway through each decade. The explanation may be that a certain incubation period is necessary for building awareness of the limitations at a certain stage. Following the political decision, a similar period is necessary for initial planning processes allowing for the realization of benefits as well as the differentiation of limitations. To cope with the new

awareness again, a similar life-space is necessary and so there is a time cycle, that can be defined in terms of cyclic concepts such as «progress» and «equilibrium.»

Finally, *the actors and even their roles are very similar in parallel stages of school policy change.* This can be illustrated in discussing the comparative roles of politicians, teachers' unions, government officials and parents. But due to the limited focus of this work, this discussion must be postponed.

## ENDNOTES

1. R. Bachi, *The Jewish Student in Jerusalem, Lemaan Hayered Vehanoar*, No. 20, 1944, The Szold Foundation, Jerusalem (in Hebrew).
2. M. Smilansky, «Outline for a reform in secondary education» *Megamot*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 1961, pp. 364–372 (in Hebrew).
3. See for illustration, three analytical interpretations of this approach by C. Frankenstein, M. Smilansky, and R. Feurestein and controlled experiments designed by the same researchers, and reported in Chapter 4.
4. Mother classroom—heterogeneous group where students take all subjects in which there is no ability grouping. See Ministry of Education and Culture, *Chativat-Habenaim* (The Middle-Unit), The Pedagogical Board, Ministry of Education and Culture, Jerusalem, 2nd edition, Jerusalem, 1971 (in Hebrew).
5. M. Chen, A. Lewy, and Ch. Adler, *Procedure and Result in Educational Practice: Evaluation of the Contribution of the Junior High Schools to the Educational System*, Ministry of Education and Culture, Jerusalem, May 1978 (in Hebrew).
6. M. Smilansky and D. Sanders, «School as an experimenting proposition», report presented to the Pedagogical Board of the Ministry of Education and Culture, University of Tel-Aviv, School of Education, 1972 (in Hebrew).
7. M. Smilansky, *et al* report presented to the Ministry of Education in 1975 (in Hebrew).
8. For further elaboration of these points see D. Sanders, M. Smilansky and C. Sofianos, «The Transformation of Adolescent Education.» Report following a workshop of the International Association for Adolescent Education, Human Resources Research Project, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1975.
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## Chapter Four

# Main Approaches Toward Fostering the Disadvantaged During the «Compensatory Education Stage»

Many approaches, projects and specific policies were developed during the decade of compensatory education, 1958–67. It was believed that progress would result from a strategy based on the experimental approach in which opportunities for partial change and transformation were sought and which had the political and administrative backing of the Ministry of Education.

To illustrate the use of this strategy in the field situation, we should first mention the linkage between the Szold Child Welfare Institute and the Ministry of Education which authorized the Institute to act as an independent instrument of evaluation and experimentation—at a time when the traditional European-oriented university available in Israel was not yet ready to perform such a role. Second, a yearly national scholastic survey was organized, testing all eighth-grade students throughout the country. This survey acted both as an instrument for assessing gaps in achievement among student groups and schools and as an objective criterion for the selection of secondary education students and the allocation of priority financial resources. Third, a network of educational experiments confronting preschool and the first grades of primary school at the beginning and later spreading toward the adolescent grades, was approved by the National Pedagogical Board and carried out by the Szold Institute. Fourth, a process of partial differentiation, aimed at facilitating support toward later more meaningful integration, was administratively initiated. Again, this process began with a small number

of classes or schools in selected priority areas. It gradually spread toward country-wide coverage when positive feelings by the teachers, principals and supervisors involved became evident. Fifth, special enrichment and support programs were initiated to allow the disadvantaged pupil more time for adapting to different teaching methods and for receiving appropriate guidance. Examples of country-wide programs were: long day and/or long year programs in schools with a majority of disadvantaged students; remedial programs in the basic skills; counseling and guidance teachers; youth recreation services; prevocational and vocation opportunities; and special enrichment for the more gifted among the disadvantaged. In order to implement these and other programs, the decision was made to establish a special authority within the Ministry of Education for the acceleration of fostering programs for the disadvantaged. This was based on two assumptions. First, it became clear after a short period that there had to be a central authority with the power—and means—to coordinate efforts, plan and initiate, make assessments and be accountable. Second, the Minister of Education and his senior advisors became aware that a portion of the administrative and pedagogical staff—both in the central office and in the regions—was not aware of the needs of the disadvantaged and was not ready for the required transformation.

Therefore, in 1962, a special coordinating committee composed of representatives of various power authorities in the different branches of the Ministry was established to deal with the needs of the disadvantaged. A year later, with personnel changes in the national office, the coordinating committee was replaced by «The Center for Institutions in Need of Fostering». This Center, with some modifications (including a special division for secondary education) continued to operate throughout the decade under consideration. In 1966 this authority had the opportunity to administer a small group responsible for planning, guidance in the field, and supervision. This authority had the special budgets for compensatory education at its disposal and was responsible for focusing attention on the special needs of the disadvantaged in terms of administrative support to accelerate processes, special fostering programs in preschool, the long day and long year prog-

rams, the enrichment programs, promotion of differentiation in the regular school organization, curriculum adaptation for the disadvantaged, and special rehabilitation programs.<sup>1</sup>

The main criticism of the authority was similar to the criticism of the Ministry of Education in general. That is, it was too centralized and standard in its pattern of operation, not open enough to the need to promote autonomy, diversity and creativity in each school, and not secure enough to mobilize the cooperation of persons and institutions from the outside.

The various fostering programs for the disadvantaged will now be described and analyzed in detail.

### EXPERIMENTS IN CHANGING THE PATTERN OF TEACHING IN THE PRIMARY GRADES OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Priority was given to activities in this direction following studies by the Szold Institute which demonstrated the failure of the majority of the disadvantaged to master reading skills. This series of studies pointed up the problems of cumulative deficit, lowered self-esteem and motivation, psychological attrition of the children, guilt feelings and self-blame of the parents, prejudice by other children, and lowered expectations and psychological resignation of many teachers. In the initial series of experiments aimed at assuring the «Right to Read» from the first grade, reading experts from both teachers colleges and from the field participated in order to discover the «best» method for teaching reading to the disadvantaged. But, experience has demonstrated the need to develop alternative approaches—each supported with a guide for the teacher, readers, and work exercises—that may serve the differential needs of teachers and students, at each stage of the learning process concerned with reading. Experimental activities were then diversified in two directions—to the higher grades of primary school in order to assure sustained skill mastery and comprehension, and to the beginning preschool and kindergarten stage for fostering improved cognitive abilities and readiness for schooling.

The next step involved diffusion of the innovative ap-

proaches. For this purpose the above-mentioned authority selected a team of experienced teachers who were specially trained to serve as tutors to teachers in schools with large disadvantaged populations.

Further evidence from repeated experiments, large-scale evaluation by the Authority<sup>2</sup> and reports of teachers and supervisors indicated systematic improvement in the skill learning process. But, according to the same sources, a gap still existed in the primary stage, especially in reading comprehension, creating a growing demand for remedial services. This evidence led to experiments in teaching reading to the disadvantaged in preschool and the consideration of further measures to improve teaching in the elementary school.

### Intellectual fostering in early childhood

It was assumed that intellectual fostering of the disadvantaged child is not only possible, but necessary throughout the whole process of child growth; each developmental stage should be considered according to its role, and special fostering-intervention tasks should be created accordingly. Reasons for focusing on early childhood potentialities are as follows:

- 1) Developmental longitudinal studies (as later evaluated and summarized by McV. Hunt, B. S. Bloom and others<sup>3</sup>) point to the importance of early childhood for cognitive development and not only for emotional development as proposed by earlier psychologists dominant in the field of preschool education.
- 2) A child's entrance into preschool represents passage from the known and secure boundaries of the home to the unknown open boundaries of society at large, represented by the school. This crisis-oriented passage should be utilized to broaden the base of perception, promote differentiation and reorientation toward new values and patterns of behavior and force higher level cognitive integration.
- 3) At this developmental stage, the gap between the disadvantaged and the dominant group is relatively small, prejudiced attitudes are less entrenched, and there is enhanced potential for social integration.

4) In culturally disadvantaged homes, there are generally no demands made on the child with respect to intellectual competency. Thus, the child's positive self-image remains intact, and with appropriate pedagogical approaches, the preschool teacher can foster autonomy for further learning and adaptation.

5) Education is a cumulative process, and if the appropriate foundation can be laid, the later manifestations of psychological attrition and deficits might be prevented;

6) In the traditional Jewish culture, even functionally illiterate parents encourage educational pursuits among their children. As the preschool child generally identifies with one or both parents, the task is to develop an appropriate family support system that will help parents to encourage their children in this direction from infancy onwards.

7) Instead of allowing the development of inappropriate patterns of thinking, language usage, and personal gratification-molded by the home and neighborhood community-preference could be given to early intervention toward desired directions;

8) The school as a social system has traditional patterns of expectations for normative behavior which influence the child's adjustment, evaluation of capabilities by teachers and students, and identity as a person. Even though many of these school norms are irrelevant, unjustified and need to be changed—until such transformation is achieved, a preschool that does not help prepare the child to be able to cope with such expectations is avoiding one of its basic responsibilities.

The criticism of the then prevalent preschool practices <sup>4</sup> and the decision of those responsible for policy-making in the Ministry of Education, produced two processes of innovation—at first competitive and parallel and later interrelated and enriching through what may be called «selective borrowing.» The first process involved a series of creative experiments in innovative preschool fostering directed in the Szold Institute by Sara Smilansky. During 13 years of experimentation, she was able to explore the meaning of intellectual development by means of the «directive approach <sup>5</sup>,» the influence of different learning conditions, <sup>6</sup> the use of

socio-drama,<sup>7</sup> the use of clay,<sup>8</sup> the use of drawing,<sup>9</sup> and the teaching of reading in preschool.<sup>10</sup> In addition, she worked with parents to integrate them in the teaching process and gave special fostering activities to the more gifted preschoolers. A similar process was a confrontation with the problem by the supervisors of preschool education, headed by Faians-Glick, the late N. Naftali and N. Nir. They gradually adopted an approach labeled as the «intensive method,» now predominant in Israeli preschools and kindergartens.

Toward the close of the decade, additional approaches were being tried by psychologists and educators. The projects developed at the Center for the Disadvantaged of the National Council of Jewish Women at the Hebrew University deserve special attention. For example, G. Ortar<sup>11</sup> assumed that intervention could be advanced to infancy, and the mother's use of language in interaction with her child should be a focus of intervention. A. Lombard<sup>12</sup> prepared a home learning fostering program for the mother, supported by nonacademic visiting aides, specially trained by the experimenter. And D. Feitelson<sup>13</sup> experimented with the planned social integration of disadvantaged and nondisadvantaged children in preschools. It may also be mentioned that N. Nir<sup>14</sup> organized meetings between parents and preschool teachers to promote attitude change in both groups, and that D. Shetachel<sup>15</sup> developed a preschool program for a comprehensive elementary science project (covering K-6 grades and headed by D. Chen), at Tel-Aviv University.

For a detailed presentation of each trial and its evaluation by the experimenters, the interested reader can consult the original reports. A comparative analysis has been initiated as part of the macro-planning project of the Ministry of Education. For the purpose of this report, the presently available results are summarized as follows:

a) In a one-year preschool program, using the propositions and materials developed by the experimenters, it is possible to demonstrate an average upward change in I.Q. of 10-15 points. However, the significance of this striking effect is generally diminished during a later two-year period of schooling (first and second grades) because of a gradual

catching-up process by control groups. It seems as if most of the demonstrated gains in I.Q. are more the results of an acceleration process than a basic transformation in level of capabilities, or that the I.Q. tests at the preschool level demand a different qualitative capacity than those considered at a later developmental stage.

b) Children whose initial I.Q. was lower demonstrated a higher rate of change, while those initially above the average showed limited improvement in terms of I.Q. Three possible interpretations are suggested: first, in repeated trials, the statistical phenomenon known as «regression toward the mean» tends to occur; second, those with initially lower I.Q.s are indeed the most disadvantaged and the fostering opportunity helps them to progress toward achieving their intellectual potential; and third, available programs are still not powerful enough to foster higher levels of intelligence.

c) The prolongation of preschool fostering from one to two or even three years (or starting a year earlier) did not produce significantly different results. The same can be said about the continuation of the fostering (follow-through) in the first two years of the primary school.

Since the above results are not different, in general, from the results of similar studies in the U.S., there is no evidence at this phase of research that a public preschool program can produce significant long-term improvement in terms of I.Q.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the main value of preschool is not in raising I.Q. but in preparation for school expectation. Those more ready are having faith in their capacity to learn, are accepted by teachers as more able, are allowed an option not to be de-railed into lower level grouping, etc.

The only very significantly different picture appeared in a comprehensive study of kibbutz-reared children by M. Smilansky and S. Smilansky.<sup>17</sup> From individual testing with Stanford-Binet and Wisc done in 129 kibbutzim a disappearance of I.Q. differences according to ethnic lines is demonstrated when parental level of education is held constant; the whole ability curve is skewed upwards. In this case, it is important to note the fact that equality of opportunity, ethnically-socially integrated education and familial support

systems are available to all children of the kibbutz from the first week of life.

d) The experiments with infants provide some promising evidence, but considering the experience with preschool and kindergarten experiments, care should be taken in interpretation. Longitudinal follow-up evaluations throughout school age must be awaited before it will be known whether the results are due to acceleration, to a difference in I.Q. tests, or if they are real.

e) Attempts to gain cooperation of parents in fostering their children were generally successful, although the difference in terms of the child's measured I.Q. seems to be limited. Even where the results are positive, long-term evaluation results should be awaited. Also, one has to consider the psychological and sociological issues of mother involvement (the parent involved is nearly always the mother) when we deal with large families in overcrowded housing conditions.

f) Against the limited results in terms of I.Q., there is definite improvement in skill development—whether it is in socio-drama, reading or drawing. A large three-year longitudinal experiment in teaching reading in preschool by S. Smilansky and L. Shefatia,<sup>18</sup> demonstrated that those disadvantaged children taught to read in preschool preserved their better achievement standards in comparison to the control group during the first and second grades.

g) Social integration under conditions of very diverse background, as attempted by D. Feitelson, did not produce the expected positive results. However, evaluation by other researchers in institutions with more mild group differences showed a more positive picture. The Ministry of Education accepted a recommendation to give priority to continued efforts in this domain so more evidence will be available in the coming years.

h) The fear expressed by some psychologists and educators that «directive» intervention approaches may be detrimental to the mental health of children did not gain any support. Evaluation in which representatives of the above critics were active showed no more negative signs in the experimental than in the control groups.

## DIFFERENTIATION, ENRICHMENT AND REHABILITATION IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Under this heading different approaches were brought together, whose common denominator was the assumption that the standard elementary school could not be basically transformed at that stage; the way to support the disadvantaged child is by providing opportunities in smaller more homogeneous groups, more time in school, or remedial work if the initial approaches failed.

a) *Grouping in selected school subjects* After an initial experiment in one district (the Beer-Sheva experiment, initiated and guided by its superintendent, A. Simon) it was decided to proceed gradually to a division of two parallel classes into groups in the subjects Hebrew, English and mathematics, according to student achievement. This arrangement was limited to the 6-8 grade levels. The assumption was that after at least one year in kindergarten (which is compulsory in Israel) and five years of elementary education in the standard common classroom, children will have a better opportunity in the three dominant subject areas when grouped according to their differential achievement. Each group would be smaller than the common classroom (the guidelines suggested that in the «C» group—the lower achievers—the size of the group would be minimal, 15 to 20, while the others would be divided proportionally). Because of financial limitations, priority was given to schools with predominantly disadvantaged populations. A longitudinal evaluative study conducted by the Szold Institute for the Ministry of Education and published in July, 1972<sup>19</sup> showed that although the great majority of those concerned—school principals, teachers, students and parents—favor this arrangement, its expected results in terms of achievement are not significant compared to standard sized heterogeneous classrooms of similar populations used as control groups. In addition, the suggested negative effects of grouping on the lower groups in terms of self-image, were not evident. The authors of the report conclude that there is no data to support the assumption that grouping and smaller

group size, as practiced, produce higher levels of achievement. They suggest that the schools were not appropriately utilizing the potential of the grouping system. A follow-up evaluation of grouping in the newly-developed comprehensive middle-schools<sup>20</sup> even show negative impact on the lower ability groups.

To achieve better results, it is proposed that flexibility in grouping and encouragement of upward mobility be attempted, as well as adapting curriculum (especially for the lower group), and developing supportive learning media and improved diagnostic techniques.

b) *Long day and long year program* This program was initiated with the assumption that the disadvantaged child needs more time to acquire the knowledge expected in the state curriculum than the nondisadvantaged child, and an intellectually and socially enriching environment that is not available at home. Since Israeli elementary schools are in session six days per week (generally for five periods from 8 a.m. until 1 p.m.), it was decided to organize a longer scheduled program, usually additional 2–3 hours per day, in schools predominantly composed of disadvantaged students. This would provide thirty percent additional time for schooling. The program was initiated in 1962 on a small scale (about 200 classrooms) and within a decade spread to all schools in the «priority areas» interested in implementing it. According to reports of the program supervisors in the Ministry of Education, this special budget was used to schedule small group study, care for individual needs, use of alternative teaching methods, support in preparing home lessons and trips.

In some of the schools the school year was extended by an additional month which was used for remedial work, social education and recreation. According to a survey of school administrators and teachers, the majority favored the program. However, problems in implementation, such as a shortage of qualified teachers, and waning concentration among students for such long periods, were mentioned. At the request of the Ministry of Education, the Szold Institute evaluated the program longitudinally for two years. According to the report published in October, 1972,<sup>21</sup> there is no support for the assumption that students in a long day program

demonstrate better achievement in arithmetic, reading comprehension or general knowledge than students of similar background and ability from schools not participating in such a program. The report did show some benefit, however, in the social domain, for example, social cohesiveness. Of course, after such a large-scale investment, the results are disappointing when considering the needs of the disadvantaged child for improved intellectual skills and the positive feeling of those involved in implementing the program. Nevertheless, the Minister of Education decided to continue the program although the emphasis was changed from «scholastic» to «educational.» The name was also changed from «prolonged study day» to «prolonged educational day.»

c) *Remedial work* Beginning in 1964, a special remedial program was initiated for children in the lower quartile of achievement in the second to fifth grades. The program focused on reading and arithmetic with the assumption that failure to reach an expected norm in the basic skills during the first grade may cause cumulative deficit and «psychological attrition» in later grades. It was also assumed that one year in an appropriate supportive framework would help the child overcome the initial deficiency.

There are two administrative units for remedial teaching: (1) the «classroom for supportive learning,» active 24 hours per week and accomodating approximately 18 students, sent from their classrooms for 4 to 18 hours per week according to need; and (2) the «auxiliary group,» active for 3 hours per week for every group of 4-6 children. The children are placed in both units according to teacher recommendation and a special diagnosis by the counselors. Different methods and didactic instruments were developed for this work. According to evaluation by the supervisor of the program, in the «classroom for supportive learning,» 60-70 % were able to return to regular classroom participation after a year of support, while others needed more time or a different approach. About 40,000 pupils participated in the small remedial groups during three years. According to both teachers and administrators, a great number required continuous support although some progress was exhibited.

Again this compensatory program has demonstrated the

problems involved in assuming that the school can continue to function in its regular manner, while those who fail to meet the standards of the school should be provided with some outside support.

## PROMOTION OF PREVOCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

A survey conducted in 1956<sup>22</sup> showed vocational education to be a very weak and inefficient system in secondary education according to the criteria of number of students, status, and contribution toward fostering the disadvantaged. As described in that report, the period before state independence contributed very little to the development of vocational schools. Only a few institutions were available through public voluntary and municipal initiative and support; the number of trades taught was limited, and only 1,829 students were registered (about twelve percent of the total secondary school population). During the first decade (the «Formal Equality» Stage) some progress was made, but the basic dimensions of the above-mentioned picture did not change.

Based on theoretical considerations and field interviews, priority was given to vocational education at that stage, for the following reasons. Vocational education, if properly developed, can have immediate and powerful effects by contributing to the absorption and advancement of the culturally disadvantaged. First, in vocational education, work experience allows youth of first-generation literacy to perceive the relationship between theoretical propositions of the sciences and their application in technology. Second, the curriculum can be focused on trades in need of manpower, so youth from non-intellectual homes can better understand the potentiality of personal investment in learning and can be assured of employment on termination of training. Third, the curriculum can be very diversified each day, so those not ready to concentrate and persevere in intellectual tasks will find at least some part of the day to be interesting and satisfying. Fourth, the training programs can be structured in a systematic and gradual way in order to provide the student with a continuous feeling

of achievement toward task mastery. The student will also be able to receive immediate support and reinforcement—factors important to every child, but crucial to disadvantaged adolescents who lack both basic security and the capability for autonomous coping in an open system. Fifth, the program can be differential in terms of vocational aptitudes and levels of expectation, thus allowing for reorientation and replacement according to differences in ability, achievement and motivation following the initial placement. Sixth, because the average capacity of students in vocational education is lower than in secondary academic schools, it is possible for intellectually weaker students to find an acceptable social climate and a reference peer group to develop a positive self-image enabling better social adjustment, at least in the initial stage. Seventh, a vocational school is training for a trade, and not only preparing for another phase of learning like the academic schools. So, youth coming from large poor families; and facing daily crises, can be assured of an opportunity to help support their families. They can become mature men and women, independent in pursuing their chosen life-styles.

The vocational school however, also has potential limitations dependent on its structure, curriculum, and population composition. First, for example, the vocational school may lower the level of aspiration and need achievement of some youth and their families. It will allow graduation from school in a shorter time demanding less intellectual effort and less need to await maturity and financial gratification. Second, the vocational school, by its practice of early specialization, may narrow opportunities for entrance into certain vocations. This is especially true for youth of disadvantaged backgrounds, who, as a group, need more time for developing cognitive skills. Third, vocational training requires hundreds of practice hours in systematic skill development that may take up time needed for intellectual development. And finally, the vocational school may be creating a continued association with lower class patterns of value-orientation and behavior and so prevent those potentially able to strive toward social mobility, intellectual pursuits, and a search for a new meaning and social change from doing so.

Considering these various evaluative criteria, the Minister of

Education decided to proceed at the macro-level by reorganizing the diverse components of vocational education and placing them all under one jurisdiction—that of the Ministry of Education. At that time technical schools were the responsibility of the Ministry of Labor; agricultural schools, the Ministry of Agriculture; and maritime schools, the Ministry of Transportation. The political leaders and officials of these ministries reacted strongly against this move since it would entail the loss of their power bases.

Only the strong conviction of the Minister of Education, his personal status in the political hierarchy and the use of threat of resignation forced the government to accept the demand; at first in relation to technical schools and later for others. With the new responsibility, pedagogical and administrative central authorities for all types of schooling in secondary education were created, and the political deputy Minister of Education was put in charge of technical, agricultural and maritime education. A five-year plan to double the absorption capacity of technical education was prepared. Priority was given to financial allocations for building, equipment and maintenance expenses. The criterion for receiving financial support in the secondary academic schools—the attainment of a certain norm on a yearly scholastic exam—was abolished for vocational education. Also, although actual expenses for technical or agricultural education were approximately double the regular academic schools, the Ministry declared a unified «graded tuition system» based on parent socio-economic conditions. Special fellowships were made available to lighten the financial burden of those interested in technical and agricultural education. In parallel, special efforts were directed at motivating public associations (women's organizations, labor federations, the «Ort» vocational education organization, etc.) and municipalities to enlarge the available facilities. One strategy used was the allocation of special financial grants to schools for every new vocational education classroom provided. Prevocational workshops were built and supported in the upper two grades of elementary schools in disadvantaged areas. Special one or two year absorption classes, called «guidance classes» were developed in technical schools. Technical tracks were assured in many academic schools and

in all comprehensive (general) high schools and higher standard technician tracks—of four and five-year duration were curriculum design, media preparation and special final examinations, assuring the possibility of continuation in higher education to graduates of technical and agricultural schools. In addition, plans were developed for combined technical school and apprenticeship programs, and support was given to private vocational schools with accreditation through supervision.

### SPECIAL FOSTERING OF THE MORE GIFTED AMONG THE DISADVANTAGED

The last approach focuses on a select group of the disadvantaged—those in the upper third in ability ratings. The previously discussed attempts concentrated mainly on those in the lower third. There the questions asked were how to prevent their «psychological attrition» and later marginality or deviancy, how to teach them the basic skills so that cumulative deficits would not prevent further learning, and how to remedy initial deficiencies and failures so that there would be a place for them in the system. Here we are giving priority to a group that demonstrated higher motivation, ability and achievement throughout elementary education.

Three main fostering programs were undertaken in Israel for the high ability disadvantaged, each with a different orientation and performed in a different setting. The first to be developed was the large-scale longitudinal Boarding School Fostering project. This project will be explained and evaluated in detail in Part II. The second was also originated in parallel for the top third in ability in the upper grades of predominantly disadvantaged elementary schools, as an afternoon and summer Enrichment Center.<sup>23</sup> The third was an experiment aimed at intellectual fostering of a selected group of disadvantaged youth in the university high school of the Hebrew University.<sup>24</sup>

Our major assumptions in the development of the regional enrichment centers was that those in the upper academic third

of predominantly disadvantaged neighborhood schools, are average or below average in terms of national ability and achievement norms; if not provided with special support in development of cognitive abilities, cultural enrichment and preparation for expectations of the secondary academic school, their chances for succeeding would be very limited.

Conceptually, we assumed that this group is the most disadvantaged one in terms of the poverty area neighborhood school, when considering its potentialities. This may be explained by the fact that the social climate of the school and the neighborhood is anti-intellectual; it does not provide the necessary fostering and is constantly devaluing attempts of individuals to be different from their peers. In such an environment these youth do not have the benefit of an intellectually-oriented reference group as models for imitation. In addition, local teachers generally gear their teaching to the below-average student. Most class periods are spent dealing with the basic needs of the failures and underachievers. To allow this group an opportunity to step out of this intellectually impoverishing environment, the concept of the regional enrichment center was developed. There they would associate with peers and tutors to form an alternative «reference group»—motivated to perceive themselves as «gifted» and not disadvantaged, learn to role-play accordingly, receive the necessary support and be accountable according to their potentialities.

To actualize these assumptions and propositions, two experimental regional centers were developed, one in Jerusalem and one in Tel-Aviv, during the years 1962–64. Each of these centers was planned to serve all students in the upper third of eight elementary schools in the worst poverty areas of the cities. The students in the sixth grade of each school were diagnosed by a battery of tests and teacher ratings. Those defined in the upper quarter<sup>25</sup> of their group were offered an opportunity to voluntarily attend the enrichment center program two afternoons per week for two to three hours plus one month during the summer, for the three-year period from sixth to eighth grades. The program was focused on systematic tutoring in critical reading and improved thinking, improved study methods, cultural enrichment in the humanities,

science elective courses, and foreign language. In addition, personal counseling and communication between teachers and parents was maintained to ensure understanding and cooperation.

To demonstrate the successful motivational potential of such a center we can mention that about ninety percent of the students in these 16 poverty area schools persevered to attend voluntarily for the three-year period. Although many of them lived far from the centers, no support was given for transportation and no token rewards were used. Instead, emphasis was placed on the fact that they were «gifted,» that they should enrich themselves in the center and force their way in the classrooms. Also, it was emphasized that if they persevere, their acceptance to secondary education would be assured. They were presented with the challenge to demonstrate to all concerned that youth of their ethnic and social background have ability and need the opportunity to prove it. The same motivational strategies that were used in the enrichment centers were also applied to the parallel Boarding School Fostering Project, as will be discussed later.

Looking at follow-up data on the enrichment group four years after leaving, the centers shows quite encouraging results. Although the program did not proceed during the four years of secondary education, about 76 % of the Jerusalem experimental group coming from the poverty neighborhoods of Katamon and Musrarah reached the twelfth grade (66 % in secondary academic schools and 55 % passing the university-oriented matriculation examination). For the control group, only 32 % reached the twelfth grade and only 16 % passed the matriculation exam. In the Tel-Aviv experimental group coming from the poverty areas of Hatikvah and Kfar-Shalem, 53 % reached the twelfth grade (41 % in academic schools and 33 % passed matriculation). The parallel figures for the control group were 30 % reaching twelfth grade and again only 16 % passing matriculation. The evidence gained through this enrichment program on 16 schools, with pupils participating in two different settings, indicates that an appropriate model of fostering—relatively easy to organize and not costly to operate (the centers used facilities in a high school, a youth center, a museum and a public

library)—can double the rate of participation in college-bound programs as well as improve the norm of achievement in those representing the upper 30 % in ability in poverty area schools.

Considering these positive results, the Ministry of Education agreed to develop such centers on a nationwide basis. Twenty-two centers came into existence during the five-year period, 1965–69—reaching about 5,000 participants in 1969–70. However, due to financial restrictions in 1970, evidence of inappropriate management by local authorities, lower participation rates, and the priority given to the development of junior high school reform according to a law passed in 1968, these centers were closed. After further consideration of the problem in 1973 it was recommended that the centers be reopened. This case provides very interesting evidence that the opportunity for success among the disadvantaged is not only dependent on proof that they are ready to benefit from a certain approach but also on the readiness of the system to support them.

The third approach was initiated by Frankenstein in 1966–67. He suggested that the central issue in fostering the disadvantaged is rehabilitation of their thinking processes and appropriate personal attention. He assumed that this should be done for a period of one or two years of intensive effort in a separate group and only then could they be integrated into the regular secondary academic classroom. He conducted his experiment with two consecutive groups of 30 students. These 30 were selected each year from about 250 candidates in Jerusalem. They represented eighth grade graduates who did not pass the national scholastic survey test according to the expected norm for secondary academic schools, but who proved to have an average I.Q. (100). Evidence gained from interviews with parents and teachers also suggested that they had a higher potential than demonstrated in the test.

In their class they received special treatment by teachers who were systematically guided by Frankenstein, both the year before the experiment and throughout the whole process. The teachers were responsible mainly for remedying the students' patterns of thinking, while social workers were responsible for dealing with personal emotional and social issues and maintaining communication with the family.

From the first group of 30 only 1 dropped out between the ninth and twelfth grade and 20 (66 %) passed the matriculation examination. From a control group of similar background and ability 10 dropped out, 8 transferred to vocational schools, only 2 took the matriculation examination, and 1 passed it successfully. With the second group of 30, 1 dropped out, but 5 were transferred to other schools and only 10 passed the matriculation examination. In the parallel control group, 7 dropped out during the ninth grade, 8 dropped out subsequently, 10 took the matriculation examination, and only 4 passed it successfully.

In both age cohorts the «holding power» and the success of those fostered was significantly better in the experimental groups. The better results in the first age cohort Frankenstein explains in terms of better selection of candidates. In his report he emphasizes that for him the evidence of success is not only in school adjustment and achievement but in the observation of a more rational approach of the students toward their future; in their changed relations toward their families and the ethnic and cultural identity and their awareness of cultural and social group differences.

Frankenstein's assumption, however, that after a transitional «separation period» the group would be ready for «social integration» in the upper middleclass classroom was not supported. When after a year or two years, it was suggested to disperse and integrate in the regular classrooms, the students expressed anxiety and declined to leave their security-giving, isolated, protective classroom.

## CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES UNDERLYING THE FOSTERING PROGRAMS AT THE COMPENSATORY STAGE

Until now a description of different programs has been presented with a discussion of the advantages and limitations of each; here, an attempt will be made to examine programs by means of their underlying implicit assumptions.

In trying to summarize the elements of different compensatory education programs developed in Israel and elsewhere

during the 1960s, they seem to demonstrate 10 basic conceptual approaches—each program being based on one or more of these approaches.

a) *The administrative approach.* This approach is based on two major assumptions. The *first* assumption is that public schooling involves a large-scale bureaucratic organization. This organization has many responsibilities and dimensions; its action is based on an administrative pattern of operation involving a complex interrelation among the different elements, which one may call a dynamic power relationship. In order not to upset the «efficient» delivery of administrative services, basic confrontations and attempts to change the system should be avoided. But, compensatory education projects add benefits to each of the power elements—more budgets, more manpower vacancies, more equipment, etc. This type of proposition is acceptable to officials, teachers and parents—there is limited possible opposition, as long as economic resources are available and public disillusionment is not evidenced.

A *second* featured assumption in the administrative approach is the often mistaken idea that structural changes (such as grouping, smaller classes, longer days, changes in administrative structure) will have a direct impact on increasing students' opportunities rather than serving as a lever for various improvements in the educational system of the school that might result in students' progress.

b) *The «compensatory» or «enrichment» approach.* Here the assumption is that because of cumulative home and neighborhood deficits in cognitive or affective stimulation, disadvantaged children do not actualize their potentiality for development. The role of the school is to compensate them with regard to this deficit by providing them with the benefits of these lost opportunities.

c) *The «preventive» approach.* The major assumption of this approach is that at each stage of maturation there are developmental tasks defined by society in terms of entrance prerequisites, scholastic tests, teacher expectations, or maturation credentials (matriculation certificates, diplomas, credits). The disadvantaged child will confront these barriers and because of inappropriate preparation, will fail. The proposition is to

develop in advance the cognitive and affective characteristics that will be needed to «pass» the criterion tests of the society.

d) *The «remedial» or «rehabilitative» approach.* This suggests that the early deprivation created deficiencies and handicaps in capacities like perception, attention, perseverance, and interaction. Because these or similar qualities of operation are necessary for successful adjustment to social demands, it is necessary to try to remedy or overcome these deficiencies. Another argument here is that because the gap between disadvantaged and dominant normative criteria is widespread and deep, there is no possibility but to assign priorities and focus school attempts on elementary remedial skills (like basic reading and arithmetic), that can be defined as survival needs.

e) *The «life adjustment» approach.* In this approach, the assumption is that for the majority of the disadvantaged, the gap created by generational deprivations is so great that no fostering of intellectual abilities is really possible. Instead, the proposition is to utilize many diversified needs of the social and economic system for manpower, i.e., for support and guidance of the disadvantaged from an early age, so that they may be better able to adjust to their limitations. The focus is on diagnosis of available opportunities in the economic system and development of life adjustment educational programs for youth so they can satisfy the demands and gain satisfaction through their ability to adjust to life as it is.

f) *The «demonstration» or «model» approach.* The assumption is that society has many diversified needs and priorities for achievement at each developmental stage. So it is impossible to allocate resources that will produce satisfactory results for all the disadvantaged. The proposition is to identify individuals and groups who potentially have more promise to succeed. Their demonstrated change will serve as a model to the ethnic or social group for improved motivation, promise of mobility and readiness to differ gratifications.

g) *The «differential» approach.* The underlying assumption in the differential approach is that it is very hard (or even impossible according to some) to effect basic change through school intervention. What is possible is to differentiate some elements in the schooling process that can be improved. Through use of technological innovations, teaching aids,

changes in definition of expectations, focus on more relevancy, fewer demands, failures and crises—changes intended to ameliorate the problematic nature of the situation—the problem of the disadvantaged would be «solved» at least for a transitory period.

h) *The «broadening» approach.* The assumption here is that the problem of the disadvantaged child rests on the narrow orientation of the school—with narrow perspective and a limited reward system, which developed historically to serve limited tasks and a limited group. The proposition is to enlarge the cultural frame of reference according to the heterogeneous nature of society, to give more weight to activities that are more in line with the interests and mastery potential of the disadvantaged, thus allowing more opportunity for positive self-image and improved status—first in school and later in society at large.

i) *The «formal integration» approach.* According to this approach, the problem of the disadvantaged child is isolation from the mainstream, resulting in inability to model appropriate value orientations and behavior. In order to overcome this isolation, it is proposed to «integrate» them with the dominant group. It is believed that even if at first only a formal togetherness is achieved, gradually a process of adjustment and modeling of the reference group would promote progress towards social integration. It is also suggested that if they do not behave according to expectations and a situation ensues—the crisis would force those responsible for the policy to intervene with added supportive resources and improved care facilities.

j) *The «dynamic-integral» approach.* The school is a dynamic organism like any social system, suggests this approach. And changing only one element in that system is not sufficient to produce a powerful intervention potentiality. Only a planned and systematic approach that deals with all the elements in the configuration and aims at the development of a different school system will produce models of success. Factual evidence that a school can be powerful change environment will produce a new faith in schooling for both the disadvantaged and the advantaged.

The Compensatory Education decade represented a stage in the confrontation with problems of the disadvantaged by those responsible for policy decision. The orientation and activities developed at this stage, with all the noted limitations, contributed toward some advancement. There is evidence in Israel, like in other countries, of increased participation in schooling, some improvement in achievement, rising expectations and opening of more opportunities than previously available. Although every type of evaluation provided evidence of mistaken assumptions in planning and distorted implementation, there are also examples of progress. But the important issue is that, together with the signs of progress, we were able to perceive the limitations of each approach and the total proposition under consideration. *Compensatory education, however, can only be an intermediary proposition, an answer to demands at a certain stage, but not a solution to the problem. It cannot produce more than exists in its basic assumption.* In other words, even if there had been optimally designed, supported and implemented projects (and this, of course, was far from being the case) there would still be a need to progress toward the next stage.

The reasons for the limited potentiality of the compensatory stage can be summarized in the following four points:

*First, the process of modernization is accelerating, forcing us to ask basic questions and provide appropriate answers.* During the compensatory decade, the process of transformation called modernization opened new political and economic opportunities and raised new demands. We cannot continue only to «compensate»—to patch up and remedy the situation. The configuration of scientific and technological discoveries, economic and political changes created pressures to raise standards and enlarge the «pool of ability.» This has forced systematic development of new systems and new programs.

*Second, demographic and social-psychological factors have changed the composition of Israeli society.* At the beginning of the decade, students of Middle-Eastern and North-African background represented only about 30 % of the eighth grade; now their ratio has doubled to about 60 %. During that period, a number of factors combined to press towards rising expectations—the time factor, the students' adjustment efforts,

and the efforts by the State for their fostering. But the real longitudinal change in upgrading ability and achievement was limited. The opportunities to attain additional improvements in the near future seem to be even more limited, both relative to the rising expectations and the resistance to change by the selective secondary and university systems. These two limitations of the compensatory stage resulted in an increased feeling of marginality among disadvantaged youth.

*Third, fostering efforts during the compensatory stage showed that progress and closing the intergroup gap were two different propositions.* The disadvantaged believed that rapid progress and closing of educational, social and economic intergroup gaps was possible through their efforts in adjusting to the expectations of the dominant group. But in reality, although compensatory programs can enrich and raise norms of achievement among the disadvantaged, only in the case of the more gifted is there evidence on closing the gaps. For the majority—in education as in the economy—«progress» and the «gap» remain different parallel propositions. In order to achieve «equality,» or even a gradual closing of the gap, a revolutionary transformation of the total system should be considered.

And, at last, *the process of modernization gives a systematic advantage to the dominant group.* As mentioned earlier, the basic operating law here is «to him who has even more shall be given.» In the educational realm, it is expressed in the fact that those who possess greater readiness in the beginning phase can benefit more from all the new and improved opportunities brought to the school system. In different cases it was also observed that even the investment and positive results of experimentation aimed at benefiting the disadvantaged were also applied to benefit the others and in certain cases produced improved results. If we add to that the fact that both the parents and the leadership of the educational system are more open to pressure when needs of the dominant group children are brought under consideration, it is clear that the present equilibrium will at best be maintained.

In analyzing the meaning of the configurational influence of the four points, we come to the conclusion that only a forced reorientation of the system will provide opportunity for the necessary acceleration of the process of differentiation

in the disadvantaged group. Although we continued in efforts to actualize the possible potentialities of our investment in compensatory education, this conclusion made us aware of the need to move toward the next stage of school reform.

Toward the future, we must develop the capacity to foster coping capability in the individual, the family and the community. This may be achieved by a school that is adapted to support the needs of the disadvantaged through primary prevention and systematic fostering, and not only by means of compensatory education.<sup>26</sup>

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PART TWO

The Boarding School  
Fostering Program for the Gifted  
Disadvantaged: A Ten Year  
Longitudinal Evaluation



## Chapter Five

# The Rationale of the Program

The rationale of the program will be presented in two parts—the first part deals with the general value orientation and the second part deals with the basic propositions for planning and implementation.

### GENERAL VALUE ORIENTATION

The Boarding School Fostering Program and its organizational design were based on the following five assumptions:

- 1) The present situation of the culturally disadvantaged ethnic and social groups should not be regarded as indicative of limited potential ability.
- 2) Special importance should be given to directed fostering from early childhood, but this does not imply that change is not possible at a later age.
- 3) An «emotional crisis» may be a positive factor which can be intensified and used as a pedagogic-therapeutic tool.
- 4) Adolescence is a particularly suitable time for fostering resocialization activities because it is a potential period of search for self-identity; its directed intensification and exploitation may offer the prospect of meaningful change.
- 5) Preference should be given to fostering the more able of the culturally disadvantaged.

- 1 The present situation of the culturally disadvantaged ethnic and social groups should not be regarded as indicative of limited potential ability

A detailed analysis of results on the eighth grade National Scholastic Survey Test (at the time the first Boarding School Fostering Program was initiated) showed that only a small

proportion of the Jewish population of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin in Israel attained the appropriate achievement norm for continuation of academic studies. <sup>1</sup> In the same survey we found, for example, that from among all those of Middle-Eastern and North-African ethnic backgrounds only 8.6 % of the grade reached the eightieth percentile (which is the regular norm for entrance to academic secondary schools), as opposed to 39 % of European ethnic background. Only 80 out of 14,245 (0.6 %) of children of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin who participated in the survey reached the ninetieth percentile or above which in general parallels «superior ability» in other countries, while from among the European origin children 1,291 out of 20,180 (6 %) attained this mark. Considering the majority group in the Middle-Eastern origin population where the father has only an «elementary education» and there are many children in the family, 7 % attained the 80+ norm in families with 4-5 children, 5 % in families of 6-7 children, and only 3 % in families of 8 children or more. When the father is «uneducated», only 2 % of the children attained this norm, regardless of the number of children in the family. (In the European group, too, there is a definite scale of background factors which influence achievement in the Survey Test. However, in that group when the father has only an «elementary education» and there are 4-5 children in the family, 19 % attained the 80+ norm). Another way to observe the problem is to compare the mean scores in the Survey Test. Children of Middle-Eastern and North-African descent, whose fathers have an «elementary» or lower formal educational level (76 % of this group) attained a mean of 4.4, whereas those of European descent with similar educational backgrounds (only 37 % of their group) had a mean of 6.2. Not only did a small percentage of the culturally disadvantaged attain a promising level of achievement at the end of elementary school, but in the follow-up studies conducted by the Szold Institute, it was found that among those who attained the higher level there was a great difference between them and children from other ethnic and social backgrounds regarding application to academic secondary schools and perseverance there<sup>2</sup>. The follow-up of the 1957 elementary school graduates showed

that of those of European parental origin who reached the 80th percentile in the Survey Test, 73.5 % entered academic secondary schools, 60 % graduated, and 55 % received matriculation certificates granting entrance to higher education. Among those of Middle-Eastern and North-African parental origin who demonstrated the same mean achievement, only 60.5 % applied to academic secondary schools, 37 % graduated and 27.5 % received matriculation certificates.

Similar gaps in achievement and persistence were found at all levels in the Israeli school system in our first survey conducted in 1955-56. The results led us to propose special fostering programs from preschool through secondary school and led to the development of the presently discussed project of boarding schools for the gifted disadvantaged. <sup>3</sup>

The assumption was that the concept *ability* is to, a large measure, a social product (without contradicting the existence of a hereditary factor) based on the opportunity for and significance of individual and group experiences. Therefore, the educational system can and should set up a powerful intervention process of resocialization and reorientation which will offer new promise to the individual and to society.

## 2 Special importance should be given to directed fostering from early childhood, but this does not imply that change is not possible at a later age

According to theoretical propositions prevalent in modern education until recently, early childhood was considered to be the most important period, particularly because of its emotional and social influence. Therefore, it was believed that educational activities at this stage must focus mainly on aspects of emotional security and social adjustment, while intellectual fostering and directive teaching should be left for the school. In pedagogical experiments conducted in Israel and the U.S. during the past decade, it was hypothesized and demonstrated that intellectual fostering of culturally disadvantaged pupils during early childhood, could lead to the realization of higher human potential. <sup>4</sup>

However, we do not accept the proposition of irreversibility which denies rehabilitation, fostering and advancement among

those spent their early years in disadvantaged social and cultural environments. Progress can be demonstrated in terms of learning rates, the ability to meet the accepted normative demand of academic secondary schools, and in terms of socialization toward roles in the family and society.

- 3 An «emotional crisis» may be a positive factor which can be intensified and used as a pedagogic-therapeutic tool.

Intellectual advancement of members of social and ethnic groups whose cultural patterns differ from those dominant in our society demands resocialization—based on a deep psychological change. The change seems more difficult with increasing age. That is, the longer the experience under the home and group cultural pattern influence, the harder it is to resocialize.

*Two conditions are essential for generating a significant change—the individual's awareness of the need for change and his/her commitment to work towards the change.* These two depend upon a feeling of dissatisfaction with the existing situation, leading to what may be defined as «crisis».

If we accept this assumption, then it is clear that only when a feeling of crisis is created, intense enough when compared with the existing situation, a process of reorientation and change is possible. A crisis can be natural—the result of reaching a saturation point and feeling a need to reorganize for the next developmental stage; cultural—the result of a need to adjust and find a suitable identity to fulfill a desirable role among the opportunities presented by society at a particular time; or institutional—resulting from new demands made by the general social system or one of its representatives, whose function it is to safeguard the dominant norm by means of «readiness» or «maturation» tests. Tension and crisis are a necessary stage in the process of building new awareness, as part of self-resocialization.

In order to intensify the crisis, the fostering program recommends that the adolescents be brought to a new environment, apart from their home communities and placed in selective, socially heterogeneous learning groups. This would result

in confrontation with new pressures for change, provide them with a new reference group from which to learn, and give them new models to imitate. They would be forced to develop awareness and self-identity through new insights and challenges—to seek a new, higher level equilibrium, first through differentiation and then through a new integration of perceptions, values and behavior.

Throughout the crisis process, the possibility of breakdown must be considered. Clearly, the crisis approach can have negative manifestations, resulting in: psychological attrition or «future shock», an inability to perform because of the seemingly overwhelming difficulties (either real or imaginary) and the fast pace of expected changes; partial avoidance or withdrawal, performance at lower level than previously demonstrated; or escape, attempts at bypassing or avoiding the crisis completely. Therefore, the necessary support toward equilibrium, greater security and integration must be guaranteed at every stage. These potential adverse reactions can largely explain the development of pedagogic approaches which, because of their concern for mental health, directed school programs away from those demanding great intellectual and emotional efforts in overcoming obstacles, toward «adjustment» programs such as the Modern School in England or life adjustment education in the U. S.

However, *in a society which places greater emphasis on cognitive ability and school achievement, mental health depends on the capacity to succeed in a framework based on these types of expectations.* Assistance in creating tension and crisis with the past, and guidance in living through the crisis during the transitional period will provide sound emotional immunization—just as vaccinations provide immunity to disease by giving a person a mild dose of the disease.

A program based on separating adolescents from their homes and communities, presenting them with intellectual challenges in schools with high academic requirements, placing them in competition with adolescents of middleclass extraction, and *supporting them to assume the role of gifted and not disadvantaged,* is a directed *experiment in the use of «crisis» as a positive learning experience.*

The approach used here is to communicate to the youth

and their parents through the appropriate channels and codes that, because of certain conditions, (child-rearing patterns prevalent in the environment, socio-cultural condition of the family, attitude towards study in the school and in the neighborhood, prejudice and lower expectations of teachers) the child does not yet perform according to the expected norms. Prospects for success in the future depend upon basic and sharp reorientation. This in our opinion, is a *positive pedagogic-therapeutic approach toward disorganization and reversibility*. On the other hand, if, for political, social or pedagogic temporary expediency, the gap is overlooked and avoided (or if its importance is minimized by directing attention to temporary possibilities for adjustment in areas which do not cause a crisis) quiet and stability *may* be maintained, but only for a particular transition period. Gradually, however, frustration and a sense of rebellion will be revealed on an ethnic or social basis. These feelings will be nurtured by the contention that if in fact there is no difference in ability and knowledge based on group belonging, and no change is needed, then members of these groups should be able to attain more respected positions in higher education and other professions. If they are unable to, they must conclude that this is the result of ethnic discrimination.

- 4 Adolescence is a particularly suitable time for fostering activities because it is a period of potential crisis; its directed intensification and exploitation may offer the prospect of meaningful change. <sup>5</sup>

Adolescence, just as early childhood, may be regarded as a potentially critical period. This is a time of marked physical and emotional change. Youths emerge from their state of relative social equilibrium and are expected to plan for the future (to choose a school and career, to determine relationships toward the family, the community and to general society, to identify with the peer group, to learn to interact with members of the opposite sex, etc.). Therefore, a prospect of readiness for reorientation exists, using the adolescent crisis as a key to opening the door. During this developmental stage, they are not only potentially more ready for reorientation, but

they can actively work towards realizing in the crisis process and afterwards.

The fostering activity's success is based to a great extent on upsetting the systemic environmental balance, opening the way to advancement towards new roles and creating the conditions for a confident belief that new opportunities exist. The adolescent crisis period may be used for new and appropriate reorientation programs for change in general, and for the culturally disadvantaged in particular.

## 5 Preference should be given to fostering the more able of the culturally disadvantaged

Every society, even the most wealthy, faces the problem of priorities in planning and implementing activities to hasten modernization; and within this planning are the activities to advance the culturally disadvantaged. So in the same way that there is the problem of priority balance between early childhood and adolescence, there is the issue of priority balance among adolescents of different coping capacity.

In light of the following points, we decided that priority should be given the more gifted among the disadvantaged.

1) The more gifted experienced success in their community elementary schools. Accordingly, they developed a degree of basic security and autonomy necessary for adapting to new situations, and achievement motivation required to attend to and persevere in new and problematic tasks — all of which are necessary for success in schools of an achievement-oriented society.

2) They are closer to the required norm in terms of ability, knowledge, and motivation. With proper fostering they will be more able to realize their potential and rise to the level of the group expectation norms.

3) Their rapid progress and success will prove to the disadvantaged that society is willing to absorb them and that their aspirations for social mobility can be realized on the basis of individual achievement. They will also find that it is not necessary to demand positions in the system and status rights

on the basis of group ascription, because they can be achieved according to merit criteria.

4) This is a national project. Regardless of its dimensions, it has the effect of a beacon radiating confidence on the entire socio-cultural system. The existence of the project and the success of its pupils can be made known throughout the country. In addition, every youth chosen from a particular community can become the source of local pride and the focus of interest, inspiring confidence in the other children that they have a real means and true hope of realizing their potential.

5) The way from social *separation* to *integration* can be approached through partial *differentiation*. Gifted adolescents from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds are the best candidates for this differentiation process. *They are in a position to assume roles of «gifted», «motivated» and «able»;* to succeed in mastering new tasks; to rapidly progress toward social and occupational mobility and so lay a firm foundation for social integration. The culturally disadvantaged must be given the feeling of equality in ability to become part of the broad society based upon their achievements, and not because of belonging to a particular group.

One way to assure this development is to make contact between the gifted culturally disadvantaged and the non disadvantaged of potentially similar ability and achievement. This activity can prove valuable if they are placed together in school classrooms. In addition to this, the culturally disadvantaged must enjoy the fostering framework of afterschool hours with *guidance in learning how to learn, developing self-identity and the capacity for coping with demands of peers, school and society at large.*

It is assumed that both groups will benefit and learn from such a social integration experiment. Both the culturally disadvantaged and non disadvantaged will learn:

- a) that in both groups there are intellectually capable students able to compete according to existing norms;
- b) that in both groups individual differences exist in ability, aptitude and achievement;
- c) that developing motivations, good study habits and per-

severance are important factors in individual and group achievement; and

d) that with proper assistance, the culturally disadvantaged can attain a suitable place in the broad society, based on individual achievement.

## PROPOSITIONS FOR PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION

If it is to fulfill its expectations based upon the assumptions described in the previous section, the fostering project must be planned, organized and function according to defined propositions. Eleven basic propositions are listed below followed by a detailed description of each:

1) A broad-based enrichment program is required for identification and initiation of fostering of the gifted culturally disadvantaged.

2) To foster motivation and raise the level of aspiration, the selected students will be identified as «gifted.»

3) It is desirable to organize experimental projects in voluntary public frameworks, even when the initiative and funding are by governmental authority.

4) The project should be assured high academic and social status and an opportunity for optimal development at the initial stage.

5) In order to maintain the status of different institutions in secondary education and to assure a variety of opportunities for youth with differing needs, training should be channeled into different types of institutions.

6) Only a combination of forces which motivate and assure achievement can provide the opportunity for perseverance and advancement.

7) The program should be limited in number of participants and broad in representation; clear criteria must be determined for acceptance preference.

8) Once students are selected, the utmost care is required to assure their success.

9) When assigning students to schools and classes, each

must be placed in the reference group which affords maximum adjustment and success.

10) The parents are partners in the fostering project; both the home and school must share in supporting the resocialization and adjustment efforts.

11) A project such as this one must have also a school for experimentation—established, organized, and operating according to its needs.

## 1 A broad-based enrichment program is required for identification and initiation of fostering of the gifted culturally disadvantaged

Because of social, psychological and economic reasons, fostering the potentially gifted among the culturally disadvantaged must begin with a broad-based identification and initial fostering on a local and regional basis in the upper grades of the elementary school. Only afterwards should it focus on defined groups in secondary education. In view of this, two parallel-experimental projects were started—one to enrich the upper third in grades 6–8 in culturally disadvantaged elementary schools, and the other to foster gifted secondary school pupils from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds in boarding schools and fostering groups during afternoon hours.

The majority of these children were raised in economic poverty, cultural deprivation and with a lack of suitable encouragement for intellectual activity. The average low standard of the school in the outlying urban slum schools, immigrant villages and immigrant «development towns» does not enable most children, even with a higher intellectual potential, to rise above the average. They had to adapt their expectations to the accepted achievement level there; and they do not have any intellectual challenge to exploit their potential through appropriate experiences.

Even the «good» teacher gives lessons geared to the lower class average, and builds expectations accordingly. Since the children do not bring to class the type of experiences or knowledge that will seem challenging to the teacher, little intellectual stimulation is achieved in the classroom. Thus a field configuration is made up of a poor family and communal en-

vironment which does not encourage intellectual activity—and a school, influenced by this image and acting upon it. Pupils and teachers come to regard the static picture as the potential; tests and surveys (by teachers and researchers) affirm the observation and thereby maintain the impression; testologists, posing as scientists which give the picture a pseudoscientific validity reinforce prejudiced beliefs by telling the teachers and the public about the «normal curve» and the percentage of those who are fit to take the matriculation examinations—which cannot be changed except through developmental processes which will take generations. Consequently, activity is adapted to the expectations and apparently substantiates the limited chances. The assumption was that in order to break this cycle as rapidly and as meaningfully as possible a stimulus model had to be found suited to the activities in the configuration discussed. It was thought that in addition to the general fostering programs from nursery age and up—geared to all pupils (such as experiments in adapting teaching programs and curricula, long-day programs, teacher guidance) a special program should be developed from early adolescence for the more gifted among the culturally disadvantaged—using them as a lever to break the cycle of intellectual poverty which lowers the motivation for intellectual effort and does not allow optimal development of ability and knowledge. Thus the *enrichment centers* were founded, as described in the previous chapter.

The other group, smaller in number, but more problematic because of its composition, would include those who, because of their special ability or difficult home social situation, could not benefit significantly from the proposed enrichment program in their area. For these special fostering project in boarding schools would be established and developed.

## 2 To foster motivation and raise the level of aspiration, the selected students should be identified as «gifted»

In an open and developing society such as Israel, there is much stress on achievement motivation and encouragement of social and occupational mobility. During one decade an awareness of this proposition led to the feeling of most parents,

even in depressed areas, that education is the key to advancement.

The call to strive beyond present conditions has special significance among the more able in the culturally disadvantaged schools; however, this group has little opportunity to get ahead. By identifying these youth as «gifted» rather than «disadvantaged» they can be led to aspire for social and occupational mobility by studying for «matriculation» in academic tracks and by continuing in higher education.

- 3 It is desirable to organize the experimental projects in voluntary public frameworks, even when the initiative and funding are by governmental authority

To ensure the required flexibility in organization of the project, i.e., in selection of instructors and pupils and in determining and evaluating its programs, it was decided to organize the program as a public trust and not as an administrative unit of the governmental education system. At the same time staff members of the Ministry of Education thought that the regular research project approach should not be followed, since often actual field conditions are not considered and artificial laboratories are created. Experience in many research projects showed that even when the findings in such a laboratory were positive it was difficult to transfer the activities to conditions in the general society.

In order to ensure a balance between the two demands, it was decided that a special public organization, (An Association for Advancement of Secondary Education) with defined objectives, be established. Rules for assuring representation of specific factors, finding means and supervisory conditions were set up in the by-laws of the organization. This association was established despite the awareness of the need for almost total financial backing by the Ministry of Education.

- 4 The project should be assured high academic and social status and an opportunity for optimal development at the initial stage

In order to assure the project high social and academic status in its initial stage, as well as the opportunity for optimal

development from a social and pedagogical standpoint, it seemed desirable to place the first groups in Jerusalem, where the Ministry of Education, the Szold Institute, and the only accredited full-scale university in the State of Israel (at that time) was situated. <sup>6</sup> It was thought that university students and teachers might become interested in active participation in the project. Special assignments could be made for working on research projects at the university. In addition, it was thought that an urban center such as Jerusalem would help the culturally disadvantaged to adjust more readily to the pressures of the modern world.

- 5 In order to maintain the status of different institutions in secondary education and to assure a variety of opportunities for youth with differing needs, training should be channeled into different types of institutions.

In the previous proposition the basic issue was how to assure status to the project, whereas in this proposition the primary issue is how the expected status of the «gifted» can be transferred not only to academic secondary schools but to technical and agricultural schools as well. In Israel, as in all countries, academic secondary schools enjoy a higher status than vocational, technical or agricultural schools, both among parents and children. As presented in Part I, the Ministry of Education in Israel has invested great efforts—financial, organizational, and in public relations—to raise the status of these schools. Now, when a project to foster «gifted» culturally disadvantaged pupils is established, and in the first group of recruits all pupils are sent to academic high schools, one may ask if this decision does not contradict the effort to give equal status to other types of institutions. Furthermore, the assumption was raised that in a socially and intellectually heterogeneous population which appears under the sociological title of «culturally disadvantaged», there are youth from different circumstances, with different needs, who can enjoy alternative programs in secondary education.

- 6 Only a combination of forces which motivate and assure achievement can provide the opportunity for perseverance and advancement.

The prospect for success of youth from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds depends upon the combination of motivating and fostering powers which promise achievement. Only a strong configuration of several factors which arouse motivation to progress and prevent failure, can guarantee to youth who grew up in a cumulatively depriving environment successful progress towards the experience of a high level of achievement.

These motivating forces are:

a) *Selection principle.* The teacher who knows the child, in addition to the results obtained on a battery of tests and a selection committee representing society and the secondary educational system, assure the youths and their parents that they are gifted and are capable of attaining the achievement level required for secondary and higher education.

b) *Destiny principle.* Society's representatives, responsible for the project, continually and systematically suggest to the youths and their families that their success can prove to the Israeli society in general and to their neighborhoods, teachers and friends, that those of «minority cultures» or «lower classes» are capable of overcoming the stigma of backwardness assigned to their groups.

c) *Achievement-motivation.* The pupils selected succeeded in the past in the elementary schools and are confident in their ability. Now there are other qualified opinions to reinforce this self-appraisal, which claim that further success is possible not only by local standards but by national ones. This appraisal is guaranteed by promise of appropriate assistance.

d) *Fear of failure.* Together with the stress on selection, destiny, and the prospect of success, the youths are repeatedly forewarned of the risk of failure. They are told clearly that they are indeed the most able in their schools.

However, if they do not complete their secondary and higher education, their status in the future will be lowered and there can then be no serious prospect of succeeding in

joining the successful social groups without the additional effort demanded of them.

e) *Esprit de corps (team spirit)*. The youths are told that they are not isolated individuals, but members of a strong, pioneering group of selected pupils from their local schools. The group is being organized by the State in boarding schools from which they will go daily, as a group, to study in heterogeneous classes. As a group they assist one another in the adjustment process, enjoy emotional encouragement and practical assistance in acquiring skills, learning, and in fulfilling their goals to reach desired objectives.

f) *Mutual cooperation between the parents and the school to support the child's progress*. A pedagogic and sociological direction is being proposed which parents are capable of accepting, despite their «different» cultural patterns. This is different from the case of educational programs in Israel whose principles and means are contrary to home values (such as joining a kibbutz).

g) *Counseling and guidance*. The project framework provides for counselors, youth leaders, tutors and a social worker whose function is to offer personal aid and to provide contact between the home and the school—and to open new paths for progress.

h) *The school as a supportive and promotive agent*. An effort such as this to advance pupils can succeed only if the secondary schools are willing to accept these pupils and are prepared to take the responsibility for their progress. The type of school best suited to this purpose must be determined, and new partnerships between the project and different schools is formed to serve as supportive agents to the boarding school project.

- 7 The program should be limited in number of participants and broad in representation; clear criteria must be determined for acceptance preference

Even if the project proves absolutely successful, it will always remain limited in its ability to absorb pupils. The first reason for this is *financial*. Experience in similar frameworks, and the

estimated budget indicated that the annual cost of maintaining a pupil in a boarding home and in secondary school classes will be about double than the tuition in a regular high school.

The second reason is *social*. Principals of local high schools, local community leaders and others indicated that taking the more able from their communities affects the social climate and the scholastic standard in the local school. Therefore, it should be limited only to the most essential cases, and be based on set criteria.

In discussions held in the Ministry of Education the following criteria were set for preference of pupils from specific backgrounds and circumstances at each stage of the project's development. These served as guidelines, which were binding up on those responsible for selection and placement. Generally, one may say that selection was based mainly on three criteria.

The first criterion was *sociological*. It was decided that preference would be given to youths of Middle-Eastern and North-African ethnic origin, since they are considered to be culturally disadvantaged and deserving of privileged care by the government. It was decided that each year about 80 % of the places in the boarding schools would be reserved for members of these ethnic groups. As for the remaining 20 %, it was decided to give preference to new immigrants who arrived in Israel from Eastern Europe during the last two to three years, and whose family circumstances or family composition made it desirable. It was considered to be desirable for some children who arrive in a new cultural environment, already at the beginning of their adolescence, to be provided with a special framework which offers better prospects for secondary education and social adjustment. This contention has a further explanation. Since members of both these groups are culturally disadvantaged from a certain point of view, they may find a good basis for cooperation and mutual relationships during the adjustment process in the boarding school, when the dominant group in the secondary school will be children of European extraction who are more settled in Israel. Sixty-five percent of the places were reserved for boys. The assumption was that although it is necessary to advance culturally disadvantaged youth of both sexes, because of the

special aims of this project and the large expenditure for each pupil, preference should be given to boys. The explanation is that due to home cultural patterns, boys are more likely to persevere in their secondary and higher studies, to reach academic studies, and in particular, to reach positions of leadership in both military and civilian life.

At the same time preference would be given on a geographic basis to those who came from immigrant settlements and «development» towns; places where at a certain stage there was no secondary education available on a suitable level for complete fostering of the youth's intellectual potential. The fact that they were the only ones on their level of ability and achievement justified taking them from their environment, despite the fact that they might «empty» those areas of the most able in the local population. This approach promises positive results even locally, as the parents can be convinced that their being in «development» settlements does not hinder their able children's prospects. Pupils in these places are told that society offers a reward to those who are willing and able to make the intellectual effort.

The second criterion was *educational-psychological*. The program was geared for absorbing «gifted» pupils, relative to their groups, where the diagnosis of the psychological services and the selection committee (which finalized its recommendations on the basis of various sources to be described in Chapter 6) stated that they would be fit, based on their capability to meet the demands of the boarding school and the secondary school classes. For those who were accepted, additional classification to different institutions which seemed appropriate to different youth was carried out. On the other hand, gifted pupils interested in specific areas where no opportunities in that field were available in their places of residence, were also accepted.

The third criterion was *social*. For «gifted» pupils in the above defined groups preference was given when it appeared that considering existing family circumstances (as determined by the local community index, parents' education, parents' occupation and employment, number of children, number of rooms, and the school and social service recommendation) it would be better for the child to leave home and go to a boarding school. According to this criterion, many pupils were

accepted from disturbed and broken homes, homes with many children or homes that were particularly primitive—where it could be assumed that in the existing home situation optimal opportunity to continue studies and develop socially and intellectually was impossible, even if assistance in school assigned homework preparation could be found.

#### 8 Once students are selected, the utmost care is required to assure their success

The accepted pattern in academic secondary schools in Israel, as in Western European countries, is early entrance selection and subsequent dropout over the years of those who do not seem to meet the expected norms of the school or the required level for success in the matriculation examinations. This negative manner of selection is reinforced in Israel by the fact that the Department of Secondary Education in the Ministry of Education and Culture was giving the reward of an «accredited» school<sup>7</sup> to those schools where a high percentage of their pupils pass the external matriculation examinations. In other words, a school which originally rejected pupils of a weaker intellectual background and ability level, thereby easing the job of fostering in advance, and subsequently suspended anyone who appeared unable to pass the external tests, was defined as a «good» educational institution, worthy of having its internal evaluation scale recognized.

We proposed that the only way to assure the readiness of the boarding schools and those schools participating to invest in the optimal educational care was to guarantee that every student accepted would succeed. The decision had already been made in the guidelines for the first group that the boarding school and the secondary school would not dismiss a pupil without early consultation and the agreement of those responsible for the project.

No pupils should be dismissed from the boarding schools, except in the most extreme circumstances: a serious family crisis necessitating the youth's return home; repeated signs of nonadjustment to the demands of the boarding school; a shared feeling among all concerned (the boarding school administration, the school administration, and the fostering pro-

ject supervisor) that the youth has very limited ability, and that the original diagnosis was an error.

- 9 When assigning students to schools and classes, each must be placed in the reference group which affords maximum adjustment and success

Youth should be assigned to schools meeting the following requirements:

a) The school administration and teachers should want to integrate the boarding school pupils and be willing to create a social climate suited to their integration.

b) The school should be recognized for its high standard of teaching.

c) The school should be socially and ethnically heterogeneous in order to ensure an appropriate reference group and model for imitation for intellectual development and adjustment to the desired behavior norms of Israeli society.

d) In the case of a vocational secondary school there should be training available in suitable occupations and on levels fitting the pupils' needs.

e) Schools and classes with various tracks should be available so that it is possible to send the brightest pupils to high-level classes, and so on. The gap between the youth's ability and the ability curve in the class must not be so great of that no fostering program can be of benefit.

- 10 The parents are partners in the fostering project; both the home and school must share in supporting the resocialization and adjustment efforts

In all the pedagogic experiments that we organized (first at the Szold Institute and then at Tel-Aviv University) to foster culturally disadvantaged pupils from kindergarten until adolescence, there was agreement about the parental position. Except in pathological cases, it was contended, parents are interested in their children's progress, are prepared to believe in the school's importance in advancing them, and are even able to help in the adjustment efforts of the children as students.

They are willing to help despite their being «different» in their cultural background and in many cases even intellectually and socially limited—despite the fact that the fostering projects directs and guides the children to learn roles adapted to the school and the modernization process—thereby to acquire different values and behavior from their parents.

In this project this contention is based on *proposing to the youths and their parents the thesis that in a changing and developing society it is natural for the children to be different from their parents.* In the old world, where the parents grew up, there were positive value and behavior patterns which the parents had no reason to give up. Indeed, the youth must learn to respect and understand these cultural differences. Nevertheless, the parents are supported to be aware that in order to assure their children a place in the new society where they must succeed, the children have to learn the rules of the game—and to fulfill and succeed in the expected roles. Just as the home and the school are two different social institutions in their role, structure and function, and the differences between them do not reflect the higher value of one of them, so too *during a period of rapid cultural change they represent two separate worlds*—the culturally disadvantaged home is the old world, and the modern school is the world of tomorrow. Both have different values and expectations, and there is no need or possibility of determining the value advantage of one or the other. *The youth can live and study in these two different worlds and can respect the legitimate demands and enjoy the advantages which each gives.* However, the representatives of the two worlds must get to know each other and communicate; each must understand the role, aims, plans and behavior of the other; and must be helped to fulfill their different roles successfully in both places.

Practically, parents could give emotional support to their children to pass over the «crisis,» to meet the adjustment demands of the boarding school and the classroom and to persist in trying to reach their aims. The administration, instructors and teachers on their part would attempt to understand the youths' situation, believing in their prospects for success and helping in assuring their adjustment and progress; communicate regularly with the parents about the youths' status

and problems; guide the parents to understand their children's circumstances and to aid in reinforcing their motivation to learn; and guide the youth to understand the condition of the parents—to respect differences and accept the parents as they are.

- 11 A project such as this one must have a school for experimentation—established, organized, and operating according to its needs

The difference in the make-up of the population being discussed on the one hand, and the needs of the different institutions of the educational system on the other, necessitated the establishment of many small boarding schools in different places. However, at the beginning of implementation, when difficulties were encountered in locating suitable places, it was thought desirable to establish one experimental model school.

In discussing the subject with the Executive Board of the Ministry of Education, these propositions were accepted regarding such a school:

- a) The selection committee, the school administration, and all the teachers and instructors would be selected in advance, on the basis of awareness of the fostering project's objectives, its assumptions, and its programs. They would be permitted to keep their positions, subject to their suitability and willingness to help try out new ways of achieving these expectations.

- b) School planning, acquisition of equipment and its operation would be determined in advance and during its operation, based upon the project's changing needs.

- c) The make-up of the student population and their assignment to classes would be determined annually according to the fostering project's needs.

- d) In developing curriculum and in the use of treatment approaches (in the morning school program, afternoon tutorial program and evening social enrichment program hours) there would be a constant experimental effort to create a proper climate to ensure suitable materialization of the fostering project and its expectations.

- e) Apportioning the existing budget and gathering addi-

tional funds would be directed at materializing the needs emanating from the above points.

In other words, while using existing institutions and trying to adjust them to the project's needs, the first effort was an attempt to create an experimental model suited to the fostering needs of culturally disadvantaged adolescents.

## ENDNOTES

1. M. Smilansky, and J. Yam, «The relationship between family size, ethnic origin, father's education, and student achievement», *Megamot*, Vol. **16**, No. 3, 1969, pp. 248-273 (in Hebrew).
2. a) L. Orr, *Follow-Up of the continuation of Studies among the National Survey Examinees*, Szold Institute, Jerusalem, 1964 (in Hebrew).  
b) M. Smilansky, and T. Parness, «Educational and vocational guidance in Israel: A follow-up study», *Megamot*, Vol. **10**, No. 3, 1960, pp. 242-270 (in Hebrew).
3. See M. Smilansky, «The social implications of the educational structure in Israel», *Megamot*, Vol. **8**, No. 3, 1957 (In Hebrew). This was a first general memorandum to the Minister of Education about the need for compensatory education. Subsequently five specific memoranda followed which outlined experiments in kindergarten, elementary school and at adolescence. The memorandum for this project was submitted in August 1956.
4. Listing of reasons for the importance of intellectual fostering at this age can be found in M. Smilansky, and S. Smilansky, «Intellectual advancement of culturally disadvantaged children», *International Review of Education*, Vol. **XIII**, No. 4, 1967.
5. For a more systematic discussion of adolescent needs see M. Smilansky, and D. Sanders, «Education of disadvantaged adolescents» *The Educational Forum*, Vol. **38**, No. 4, 1974, pp. 411-431.
6. During the last decade five additional universities have been accredited and Teachers Colleges («normal schools») and Junior Colleges developed toward different stages of accreditation.
7. For students from an accredited school taking the matriculation exam the final grades in the matriculation certificate are mean scores computed from their school grades and the score they got on the matriculation exam, unless the gap between the two scores is greater than 2.

## Chapter Six

# The Process of Implementation

### IDENTIFICATION AND SELECTION OF CANDIDATES

From the first year's group in 1961, the pupils to be placed in boarding schools under this scheme were selected on the basis of the following three criteria:

#### 1 Ethnic criterion

Preference was given to disadvantaged children whose parents came to Israel from the Middle-Eastern and North-African communities as described in Chapter Two. About 80 % of the available places were reserved for candidates from these ethnic groups. The remaining 20 % were reserved for new immigrant children from Eastern Europe who had arrived during the preceding two or three years. For various family reasons—composition, place of residence and conditions incident upon their newcomer status—it was decided that they should receive special attention to ensure the continuation of their education.

#### 2 Psychological-educational criterion

The program was designed for the most gifted pupils of the above categories based on social reports, tests and personal interviews of parents and children.

#### 3 Socio-economic criterion

Pupils from the above categories were admitted only when present family conditions (determined on the basis of a combined index of place of residence, parents' education, trade

and occupation, number of children, and size of housing facilities) made it desirable for the child to leave home under an educational boarding program of this kind.

While the basic definition remained the same during the subsequent 15 years, the specific procedures for identification and selection were modified according to developmental stages of the program in line with experience and data from the follow-up evaluation.

There were three main phases in the policy of selection and placement. In the first place, which continued for three years, selection was carried out in four stages.

a) As soon as the results of the National Scholastic Eighth Grade Survey had been processed and compiled by the Ministry of Education all children of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin who received a score of 80 and a similar school rating were identified—some 1,200 during the first year (1961) and steadily increasing numbers in subsequent years. From this list those pupils for whom the socio-economic criterion failed to apply, were eliminated, i.e., those whose fathers had an average level of education and a similar or higher occupational standing. The list was thus reduced to about one half.

b) The reduced list was forwarded to the headmasters of the elementary schools concerned, together with a letter stating the objectives and nature of the scheme and asking them to evaluate the ability and social status of each candidate. They were also requested to add names of eighth grade pupils who were no less gifted than those already listed, but who were apparently excluded because they did not succeed in the National Scholastic Survey or because of errors in their social rating.

At the same time, the original list of candidates was sent to the local welfare bureaus asking for their opinion on those included in the list, and for suggestions concerning other candidates. At a meeting with the directors of the municipal school psychological services it was further requested that the psychologists forward recommendations based on their testing and evaluation.

c) With the recommendations received from the three

sources, the list totaled close to 1,000 candidates for the 80 vacancies. A committee of project supervisors then eliminated all those whose social background did not seem to qualify them for inclusion in the scheme. The remaining 300 candidates were invited for an individual aptitude test by psychologists.

d) The list was then transmitted to the executive committee in charge of the project, which selected the first year candidates on the basis of the above-mentioned criteria.

Later, after the first group proved successful as freshmen, the program was expanded to include candidates for vocational and agricultural secondary schools, despite the crowded physical facilities and the educational difficulties encountered in the schools. This decision required certain changes in the selection process. In addition to special testing and consultation with a vocational guidance service, special recommendation and selection committees were set up. A supervisory-pedagogical committee appointed by the Ministry of Education, resolved that these selection boards be composed of a secondary school inspector, vocational and agricultural training inspectors, headmasters of secondary schools and representatives of the boarding facilities or schools to which the candidates were to be admitted. The candidates and their parents were invited for an interview so that members of the board could gain a personal impression and rate them accordingly. Both the applicants and their parents could express their wishes concerning the type of secondary school they preferred. At the same time negotiations were proceeding at the Ministry of Education concerning the fundamental orientation and scope of the project. For financial reasons as well as on grounds of principle, it was decided that the program should be limited in scope, and that most secondary education activities should be carried out locally at the individual schools or under special regional schemes operating at a given schools specially designated for this purpose. Thus the boarding schools were designed to cater only to limited numbers and types of students.

During the second phase the selection process consisted of seven stages, as follows.

a) At the beginning of the school year all elementary schools in the country (not only those whose pupils successfully passed the National Scholastic Survey) were requested to submit lists of candidates from among their eighth graders, attaching a detailed ability rating and a report on social background conditions.

b) Candidates found to be qualified were referred to a regional testing center for a modified battery of aptitude and achievement tests in vocabulary, verbal intelligence, comprehension, general intelligence (pictures), power of concentration, nonverbal intelligence (matrices), form perception, mechanical aptitude, arithmetic (exercises), and arithmetic (problems).

c) Prior to completion and evaluation of these tests the results of the National Scholastic Survey were obtained, as well as the results of the psychotechnical tests from localities where a general vocational guidance testing service had been operating.

s) On the basis of these results the selection and placement team determined the cross sectional achievement minimum in these tests, qualifying candidates for continuation in the selection process.

e) Candidates not disqualified during the first round were invited to appear before interviewing boards with their parents.

f) The classification and placement team then made the final choice according to the recommendations of the selection boards and the number of vacancies for admission.

g) The candidates attended an observation camp for a period of about three weeks to get an experience of life at an educational boarding school while the selection team and the project supervisors had the opportunity to become acquainted with them. In isolated instances candidates were still disqualified at this stage, but for the great majority the camp was the beginning of the adjustment process for boarding and secondary education.

The third phase is based on the results of the follow-up evaluation (that showed the possibility of limiting the number of tests and time of testing) and on the new need to accom-

moderate larger numbers of candidates. To illustrate the selection process at this phase data for the 1969–70 school year will be used. Nearly 3,000 candidates were recommended by 570 elementary schools (about 2,000 schools were operating throughout the country during this school year). Three reports were attached to the recommendation—a student performance rating by the school, a social rating of family situation by the Department of Welfare in the local authority, and a medical report. All the candidates were invited to a regional testing center where the improved (limited) battery of tests were given. From the candidates, 921 pupils were selected for further screening. This selection was based on the establishment of a cutting point with some consideration of the follow-up data, but was limited to mainly the number of vacancies available and financial restrictions. The candidates and their parents were invited for consideration by selection committees who based their judgment on the three evaluation documents, test results and personal interview. This screening finalized the decision regarding acceptance of 526 candidates for that freshman year class.

For an updated description of candidates and selection patterns for the current years, the reader is referred to Chapter Twelve where the future prospects of the project are discussed.

## THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

### 1 Academic and vocational school alternatives

The students of this fostering project are distributed today in different types of institutions according to the basic assumption that different students can enjoy positive adjustment and develop their potentials in alternative types of schools. And, a project that is labeled nationally as fostering the «gifted» should distribute its status potentiality to a variety of institutions. Using the illustration from 1969–70 again, the 1,300 students were distributed in 17 institutions for academic, technical, agricultural and maritime education, including general and religious schools. <sup>1</sup>

Some of these institutions can be defined as boarding schools because most or all of the student population are boarders and the institution is an educational system having both a secondary school and boarding facilities. Others are educational boarding homes, in which students attend one or more secondary schools in the community. The original group of the project, 1961 freshmen, started in a community youth hostel as its boarding home and attended four secondary academic schools in Jerusalem. The policy is to use available schools for placement and help them to build and maintain boarding facilities, and only in specific cases, to maintain institutions of the project directly. Examples of the latter case are the Boyer Secondary Academic School that was built by the project to serve as a full-scale experimental boarding school, and the Karmit Boarding Home in Jerusalem whose students attend two available vocational schools in the city.

Since the students of the project are distributed in different institutions and attend different schools, their fostering program varies considerably in terms of social heterogeneity, time allocation, content and pattern of interaction. Regarding social heterogeneity, for example, the general academic schools are coeducational while the religious ones separate boys and girls; the vocational schools are in reality unisex because of vocational-occupational specialization, although ideologically they are coeducational. In terms of time schedule, secondary academic schools are generally in session six days per week from 8:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., while the vocational schools remain in session daily until about 4:00 p.m. with a weekly load of up to 56 hours. Many hours of work-practice experience are included in both the vocational and agricultural schools as part of their compulsory weekly schedule.

The weekly load is composed of about half academic studies (language, history, foreign language, mathematics, physics) and half vocationally-oriented hours (partly practice and partly applied technology subjects). In the agricultural schools, a student is requested to practice 8-12 hours per week in addition to the academic curriculum. In both cases, it is not only a heavy time schedule load but also a physically demanding pressure. In the academic schools there is also a heavy work load. Beyond the six hour school day, there is generally a two

to four hour homework assignment, with no interdisciplinary cooperation or consideration available. From this illustrative presentation it should be clear that the boarding school fostering program is differentially limited in its potential opportunities for changing the educational activities of the participating institutions.

## 2 Special fostering activities

The discussion in the opening section of this chapter about the different types of institutions that serve participants of the project illustrates the limitations in systematic presentation and discussion of the actual weekly fostering program in each of the 17 institutions available for evaluation. To provide the reader some picture of the composite elements involved in fostering, illustrations from observations and reports of different periods and selected institutions will be presented.

The two Jerusalem boarding facilities represent the initial baseline of the project. As already mentioned, the project institutions were originally boarding homes for social and educational fostering. During the first part of the day the students were bussed to either an academic or a vocational school. The following represent programmed activities beyond the regular school curriculum, during after-school hours and weekends.

*Auxiliary lessons* These activities started at the preparatory summer camp at which the trainees spent about four weeks prior to their admission to secondary school. A special directed effort was made to supplement and improve their knowledge and skills in a number of selected subjects. The summer camp further served to acquaint the students with one another and with the staff. In this context it should be borne in mind that the children arrived from all parts of the country and although they were all classified as «underprivileged», the standard they had attained in the different subjects varied tremendously. There was also a considerable gap between their scholastic standing and the requirements of the schools they were to attend. Efforts to close the gap continued until the end of their first year in secondary school, and in certain instances also in higher grades. The main subjects taught in this fashion were Hebrew,

mathematics, and English. The instruction was adapted to individual needs and given partly by trained specialized teachers and partly by the instructors at the boarding facilities. During the first years the average student spent four to five hours per day (afternoon and evening) in auxiliary lessons and personal homework.

At examination time special efforts were made to help the children master the material required, either in collective lessons or through individual assistance to those with special difficulties.

Close contact was maintained between the staff of the boarding facilities and of the schools attended, both at the management and at the teaching level (between instructors and class teachers). In some of the schools representatives of the boarding facility took part in the meetings of the pedagogical council of the school.

*Cultural enrichment* Various informal courses were provided to help the children expand their cultural horizons. Courses were thus held on a wide variety of subjects, from music appreciation, sculpture, drawing, and drama to psychology, electronics, astronomy, topography, and ethnic folklore. Many pupils took an active part in the orchestra, in music classes and the repertory group. The subjects were chosen by the management in consultation with the student council on the basis of individual preferences and with a view to enriching the cultural background. At the vocational boarding home, for instance, most of the courses dealt with various aspects of art so that the trainees might learn to enjoy listening to good music, to attend theater performances and read worthwhile literature. It was assumed that once they learned to derive pleasure from these kinds of activities, at least some would continue even after leaving.

At first every pupil was required to take part in at least one course, but now the majority choose to participate in two or more courses, which are generally run by specialists outside of the permanent staff.

*Social activities* The pupils were divided into social groups, each group meeting regularly once a week under the leader-

ship of the group instructor to discuss various social matters, e.g., contemporary problems of Israeli society, problems of adolescence, social ethics, and the significance of certain chapters in recent Jewish history. At the beginning of the school year a rough program was drawn up for these meetings by the project executive, which later was adapted by the instructors to the special needs of their groups. The instructors hold regular meetings with the project leaders to coordinate the programs and give them the desired bearing. Within the scope of these group activities outside guests were also invited to stimulate discussion, raise problems and present controversial attitudes.

It should be noted that although these groups have in many cases evolved a fairly lively activity, they still lack the necessary orientation in the light of original principles and goals.

*Student self-government* To educate the youth towards independence and a democratic way of life the students were encouraged to elect representatives to their student council and permanent committees to deal with various aspects of life at the boarding home. In addition, they frequently undertook responsibility for the organization of various events. An attempt was also made to organize special «student days» when the elected student representatives are made solely responsible for running the boarding home, the regular staff acting in an advisory capacity only.

Since most of these activities were still in the initial stages of development it seemed to be too early to evaluate their significance. Presumably many alterations will occur until the activities are properly adapted to the age, nature and sphere of interest of the pupils and to the declared objectives of an educational institution of this kind.

*Voluntary activities* There is no novelty in regarding self-help and voluntary service as major elements of education in Israel and it appears desirable that they should also be embodied in the structure of this program. However, it is only in the last few years that activities in this direction have been sufficiently expanded to play an important role in the social education of the boarding facilities.

Among the first experiments in this direction was the help given by the boarders in the tutoring of elementary school children from another institution in the vicinity; the «adoption» of schools in immigrants' quarters, where the trainees organized various courses and gave Hebrew lessons to the families; volunteer work with the fire brigade and the Red «Magen David» (Israeli Red Cross); and voluntary help given to institutes for the training of the blind and for the care and rehabilitation of invalids. Similar activities were launched in the other boarding homes. Some of the trainees also volunteered to instruct at the neighborhood Youth Education Center and to work on the farm of the educational institute.

The minimal requirement is two hours of volunteer service per week. In view of the favorable response on the part of the trainees and the gracious attitude of the institutions concerned, it was planned to expand these voluntary aid programs so that in the future pupils would give double the time, while additional ways of rendering meaningful service are being explored. Here, too, it may be expected that a more well-defined program will be worked out for the approval of the executive board and the student council as the desired mode of behavior.

### 3 Guidance and tutorial services

In each institution there is a boarding school administrator, who is usually a professional educator with experience either as a school principal or a youth leader. In the absence of special programs for the training of group instructors for educational boarding facilities these workers are generally selected on the basis of their personal qualities, general education and past leadership experience in youth organizations or schools.

In most boarding facilities, four main personnel roles are available: group instructors, «house mothers,» tutors and service personnel. The role of the instructors is to serve as group leaders. Usually they wake the students in the morning, supervise their preparation for school, eat breakfast with them and see that they leave for school, on time. They are expected to talk with students about their experiences, attend to personal needs in the afternoon; organize the evening recrea-

tional and educational social activities and supervise their night preparation. On weekends and holidays they are responsible for planning and supervising the Sabbath social activities, serving as leaders on trips or other visitation programs, facilitating group interaction within the institution or with outside groups and being available for personal counseling with students or visiting parents.

Thirty-four of the 36 group instructors in 1969-70 were university students, mostly in training for different social service roles, some aiming toward professional teaching positions. Two-thirds of the instructors were males. Another factor worth considering is the fact that 24 of the 36 were in their first year of work experience in the project, 6 worked for 2-3 years and only 6 were employed longer. This situation has both advantages and disadvantages. The main advantage is that the adolescent student sees youth leaders who are also students, striving toward higher education. Therefore, the instructor can serve as a model for imitation. On the other hand, the instructors have their own studies to deal with, which limits the time they can devote to their work. This creates tensions and clashes in relation to the headmaster and the students, of whom many complained about their insensitivity and neglect. Since the majority of instructors have very limited experience in such roles, and since most do not persevere for many years in this role, their intervention potentiality is greatly reduced. This situation, although common to most boarding schools in Israel, should be considered as very grave. Such fostering projects must ensure special sensitivity, empathy and understanding to culturally different and socially disadvantaged youths, who are separated from their homes, placed in a crisis-oriented situation and are undergoing a process of self-identity formation.

There are several reasons for the large-scale turnover. First of all the work involves an irregular schedule (evenings and nights, weekends, holidays); and second, there is limited opportunity for professional identity. Bearing these reasons in mind, various boarding schools have tried to attract better candidates and increase their holding power by providing improved working conditions—higher salaries, appropriate living quarters, free board and even university fellowships. The

objective is to stabilize the educational staff—at least for the duration of one complete four-year course of an age cohort. In many cases, there has been a yearly turnover in instructors for a certain group of students. Another approach, supported by the Youth Division of the Ministry of Education, is to train youth instructors to be teachers so that when they cannot continue as group instructors the transfer to regular teaching positions in the same or another institutions will be possible.

The «house mother» serves as substitute «mother» for the students—to guide in personal needs, supervise and help in room arrangements, be responsible for health and cleanliness. Their working hours are partly in the morning—when the students are in school and there is a need for work to be done in their rooms (bedding, clothing)—and partly in the afternoon—when students return until they go to the tutorial courses and social activities.

The «house mothers» are mostly wives and mothers who have personal experience in home economics. They were selected on the basis of their interest shown in this work, and their suitable personalities for such a role. In many cases, the «house mothers» are wives of a group instructor or other staff member. The assumption is that hiring a couple provides another financial incentive for persistence in residence.

The role of tutors is performed either by qualified teachers, some of whom also serve in the morning school program, or by graduate students or professionals who give courses in their areas of specialization. In addition to the regular problem of selecting the proper content for the tutorial activities, there is the problem of whether it is preferable to have the same person serving as both teacher and tutor. Originally, a total gestalt approach was thought to be preferable. Therefore when the Boyer experimental boarding school was established, one basic condition for hiring teachers was their readiness to work a twoshift day. It was assumed that an English or mathematics teacher, for example, would be in a better position to assure mastery learning when teaching a class in the morning and then giving tutorial support in the afternoon. Experience, however, has shown the need to question this assumption, both from the point of view of the teacher and the student. Each teacher has only so much to offer; as for the

students, if they don't understand something in the morning, they are not ready to present their failures to that same teacher (who will also be evaluating them in relation to other peers) in the afternoon. It seems preferable then, that a new tutor role be opened—in order to permit an alternative approach to learning. The negative aspect of such role differentiation can be overcome through a policy and social climate of cooperation between teachers and tutors who can plan and evaluate needs and performance jointly.

The fact that this project has accepted responsibility to take youth away from home for a four-year resocialization program (and as will be presented in the discussion of trends toward the future there is a trial to accept youth from age 12 for a six-year program); and that the proportion of cases with severe home problems (broken families, one parent in a mental institution, one parent alcoholic or prostitute, etc.) has increased, is forcing additional professional support personnel. The findings obtained from the analysis of the boarding school population show a definite decline in the social and emotional status of the admitted students. This is explained mainly by the decision to give priority to overburdened large-sized families from culturally and socially disadvantaged backgrounds, problematic families, new immigrants, and adolescents whose parents have adjustment problems. Most of the institutions have added a social worker to the staff, whose role is to act as a bridge between the institution and the family, and to provide supporting treatment to the student in time of crisis. The services of a psychologist are only partially available in most cases and in future planning more opportunities and improved service seem to be a basic necessity.

#### 4 Management of the project

Originally the project was organized and administered through the Szold Behavioral-Research Institute where the senior author served as director. But the decision to enlarge the scope of the project and diversify opportunities of placement toward the end of the first year suggested the need for an independent organization. Thus, a public trust named the Association for Advancement of Secondary Education was es-

tablished, with membership to the Board of Trustees allocated to initiators of the project, representatives of the Ministry of Education, and individual persons active in ethnic and social organizations.

Since the total burden of financing was the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, the Ministry decided, after a short period, to incorporate the management of the project into the regular administrative structure of the Ministry, and placed it in the Division of Secondary School Administration. For all practical purposes, this project should be perceived as a government enterprise. Only for assumed needs of expediency (acceptance of tax-exempt private contributions, flexibility in expenditure, more freedom from political pressures in choice of schools and allocation of candidates) and public relations, the formal organization of a public Association for Advancement of Secondary Education was maintained. The head of the Division for School Administration also served as a chairman of the board of trustees, and the project supervisor is an official of the Ministry of Education.

## 5 Physical facilities

As mentioned, the project originated with a small group of 78 youths and gradually was enlarged to absorb about 3,000, diversified to alternative types of institutions in different localities. Initially, when the project was limited, the observation of events was more personal—the participant-observer approach. But later with the diversification and bureaucratization of the project, most sources of evaluation became secondary—occasional visits, observation schedules by the evaluation staff, interviews of students and personnel. One thing became quite evident from our experience, which forced a reorientation in future planning, i.e., the very limited potentiality of physical facilities to influence positive opportunities of fostering.

To illustrate this point, the available resources for the first group included only a grant of IL60,000 from the Ministry of Education and an ideological commitment by the senior author to translate an assumption about needs and potentialities into reality. To provide a physical facility for boarding and

facilitating the growth opportunity of the selected group, negotiations with the trustees of the Stephen Wise Youth Hostel in Jerusalem were conducted. Their cooperation was secured in making the hostel available during the trial year. The first group of students (78 were accepted for the budgeted 60 vacancies, because of the great number of candidates) was housed 8–12 per room with double beds, no personal facilities and in many cases the only available place to write lesson assignments was the bed. One girl, in the weekly personal interview remarked, «Yes, we are getting many important things but one problem is that when I feel the need to cry about something that happened to me there is no place but to lock myself in the bathroom;» a boy said in a group meeting that «living here is more crowded than in my home;» and another girl said that she «cannot adjust to being constantly pressured to feel for the needs of so many others who have their needs.» At the same time, any evaluation available for that period—by students, staff and observers—was mainly positive. The positive social climate of the institution, the progress and problems in school, the feeling of crisis and growth by the students—those were the dominant factors discussed and evaluated and the concern for physical facilities was so minor that the students' complaints were astonishing to every one of the many critical weekly visitors concerned with the project.

In the second year when it was decided to enlarge the student enrollment, vacant places were found in a newly-built institution of the Labor Federation. These facilities were ideal relative to the previous year, but still unadapted to many of the defined needs. Again experience demonstrated that the issues raised and the problems confronted were related to personal and group needs; in no way were they affected by the potentialities of the new and much improved facilities. This proposition received stronger support in the fourth year of the project when through a personal contribution, the Lou Boyer School and dormitories were especially designed and built for the project. All concerned shared in the design of the physical facilities; the available resources were practically unlimited. But when building and equipment were completed, it became even more clear how minor those factors are in assuring a positive fostering potentiality for a group of adolescents.

This statement is not intended to imply that educational institutions don't need appropriate physical facilities—they should be considered, though, only as a threshold variable—and the threshold of influence is very low. Adolescents can be healthy, happy, progressing, and positive about their experience in the institution practically independent of the available physical facilities. And these items begin to be an issue only when other experiences—mainly of an interpersonal nature (relationships with both peers and staff)—are negative or deteriorating.

## 6 Expenditures per pupil

In the 1969–70 fiscal year, the expenditure for a student per year was between IL2000 to IL3000. The lower sum was given as a grant to youth villages or agricultural schools that were able to provide a relatively inexpensive service because of the existence of a farm or proximity to a parent—institutions whose budgets are covered from other public or governmental sources. The higher sum was appropriated for institutions dependent completely on the project for their budget. This budget is used for the physical maintenance of the boarding facility, administration, food, and the special education and welfare program. It did not include the basic school tuition which is paid from another budget of the Ministry of Education—one used to cover secondary school expenses according to a national graded-fee support system. It allows all students in secondary education (beyond the age of compulsory education) to pay according to an index based on socio-economic status of the family. Since the students in this project come from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, the Ministry of Education covered their tuition. This budget also does not include the basic investment in building and renovating the boarding schools, since these items are covered by «development funds.» These financial resources include: allocations for school building by the Ministry of Education; contributions from foundations and private philanthropies distributed through a tax-exempt public trust called the Education Fund; long-term loans to local authorities from a national lottery system supporting education and health building needs;

and miscellaneous other resources (friends committee, women's auxiliary, alumni contributions). The investment required for a boarding school student is about twice that required for a regular academic school student (approximately IL5000 rather than IL2500). The ratio is relatively smaller in comparison to vocational or agricultural school students.

Since students of this project were maintained by the Ministry of Education for four years, a total additional investment was calculated at the period under consideration of around IL10,000 per student.

## SOME PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION

### 1 Selectivity and the concept of «gifted students»

The principle of selectivity underlying activities in this project, and the label «gifted students» accorded to those chosen for the boarding project raised certain misgivings among members of the Pedagogical Board of the Ministry of Education, the Public Education Advisory Commission and other parties. They feared that the approach might infringe upon the principle of formal equality governing Israeli society generally and the educational system in particular, or that it might create a feeling of superiority and false-pride in the trainees. They might thus dissociate themselves from their peers or suffer severe frustration in case of failure. Also the instructors in the boarding facilities and even the pupils themselves objected to this designation on the grounds that their experience tended to prove the contrary: they were not «gifted» but just ordinary boys and girls who had to work hard to keep abreast at secondary school. Therefore, they contended that the designation was misleading and might put them in the wrong light, both at school and before the public at large.

These pressures bred not only a countercurrent of opposing public opinion, but also led to some confusion through the use of alternative euphemisms, attempts to minimize the significance of the project and the inclusion of programs not suited to its scope and objectives. The first years did little to pacify spirits in this respect or to lead to further elucidation, which may be expected only as a result of further studies.

Our attitude and prognosis were that although the principles of selectivity and the designation of «gifted pupils» might give rise to some complications, on the other hand, they constitute a strong motivation for constant effort. The sense of belonging to a selected group helps the youths to overcome their adjustment difficulties and leaves no adverse aftereffects. Evaluations of teachers, instructors and parents, as elicited by questionnaires and interviews with a clinical psychologist, confirm this assumption.

Our prognosis was based on the assumption that in a developing society characterized by social and occupational mobility, it is permissible to create motivations for new aspirations and to raise the level of expectations. Membership in a selective group constitutes an effective counterweight against the obstacles faced in having to compete with members of the established middle classes setting the norm at the secondary schools. This has a two-fold effect of profound psychological and social significance. On the one hand, the way is opened towards what Kurt Lewin has called the «psychological future,» in that individual morale depends on the future perspective while being influenced by the perception of the past and the experience of the present. In addition, membership in a potential social elite welds the group into a closely-knit peer unit that serves as a «reference group» whose values become the individual's norms of behavior. To keep one's place in this status group, the individual, therefore, makes great efforts to identify with acquired values and undergoes a process of learning, internalization and general activity at a level conforming to expectations. Thus, a state of equilibrium is reached between factors which hinder progress and those which push them on towards the aspired goals. The state of «satisfactory adjustment» established accordingly, represents the functional expression of this equilibrium.

Moreover, the experience of the past years has shown that fears of a sense of superiority on the part of the trainees are unfounded. As seen from our interviews and those of the clinical psychologist, they are constantly reminded that they are «gifted» solely in relation to their own origin group, and that they have to struggle hard to keep their position at the mixed secondary schools they attend.

Finally, it ought to be mentioned that during any given year of the period under consideration, only 15–17 % of all 17–18 year olds in the country obtained their matriculation certificates. Moreover, only 6 % of an age cohort of the Middle-Eastern and North-African origin communities attain this standard, despite the fact that they make up half the Jewish Israeli population. Still worse, of those whose parents had only elementary schooling, and who are the first generation to receive secondary education (the category to which most of the project participants belong) only 2–3 % qualified for this certificate. Hence, even objectively speaking, there is no falsification in the statement that these children are the more «gifted» of their social class.

On the other hand, observations and preliminary data obtained from the more recent classes, when an attempt was made to understate and play down the selective character of the group, seem to indicate a resultant decline in effort and a higher dropout rate. This was true especially in the less selective schools, despite the considerable improvements which took place in the physical and educational conditions of the boarding schools.

As a compromise it is accordingly proposed to use the alternative term of «college-bound youth» to preserve the necessary tension on the one hand and not to overstress the «giftedness» of the group, on the other.

## 2 Acceptance of social values and attitudes

The Ministry of Education and the public at large regard the boarding facilities as a national enterprise whose duty it is to instill in the trainees certain values which appear desirable at certain periods. It is thus expected of them to bring about the materialization of values which at one time formed the ideological basis of Israeli society, although in practice even then hardly accepted by the majority of the population. The standard of evaluation is therefore taken from a past ideal to which verbal tribute is continued to be paid without its having anything to do with actual reality. It is not only right but essential that youngsters at the age of adolescence should be confronted with an ideal, for undoubtedly lack of ideals leads

to instant gratification or even corruption. In certain instances, it might even be possible to bring about changes in the desired direction within a closed group in spite of the fact that the outside world has a different conception of matters. In this case it is, however, necessary, first, to inquire what is the existing and desired relationship between this inner circle and the circles which surround it. It should be remembered that the boarding facility is no monastery and no closed educational institution. The boarders are in an open social system with daily contact and competition with their peer group at the secondary schools they attend. They are further influenced by what is going on in the wider circles affecting the acculturation of their families, communities and ethnic groups and are aware of existing and developing trends in Israeli society as a whole. Being more «gifted» than members of their own origin group they are better able to learn and imitate, and as adolescents forced into a state of «crisis» are more open to reorientation. In principle, they are ready to accept and internalize new facts and views both at the boarding facility and at secondary school. Hence they have a lively awareness towards new values and attitudes and in this respect the boarding home undoubtedly fulfills one of its major tasks. Whether as a result, behavioral and ideological patterns will emerge corresponding to the values regarded as ideal by those responsible for Israel's educational pattern and philosophy, is a question which cannot be answered by the boarding homes alone. The external social climate has to bear on the importance the trainees attach to different values and affects the degree to which the verbal values instilled are reflected in actual behavior. In this context it should be borne in mind that after graduation, when the trainees enter the outside world, cultural home and community patterns and the behavior and attitude of Israel's general society have a much greater impact.

Two main stages so far be distinguished in the process of teaching norms and values of behavior to the various groups.

In the first course the main concern of the boarding institution was that the children should be able to prove themselves equal to their classmates with middle class backgrounds in ability, achievements, and values. As we have demonstrated in this report striking results were attained. However, once these

underprivileged children make an effort to model the members of the more privileged classes, it is not surprising that they imitate the negative together with the positive aspects.

Both for the first group of project participants and for the sixth group, attitude questionnaires and interviews are available. In total data for more than 2,000 cases—in boarding and comparison groups—have been accumulated at the ninth and twelfth grade levels. But financial restrictions have forced a postponement in the elaboration and presentation of these data. Presented here are a few items chosen from the evaluation.

The questionnaires concerning vocational choice and social aspirations show that the verbal values of the boarding group are generally the same as those of the dominant group at the schools they attended. It was further seen that boarders attending schools whose orientation and level of aspiration differed from the accepted norm, shared the views of boarders attending schools whose students enjoyed high social status, rather than accepting the views of their classmates. In other words, the «reference group» of boarders attending low status schools was not their school but the boarding group, and the «focus of reference» of all the boarders was influenced by the verbal values held by the population of the secondary school which had the highest social standing.

This phenomenon seems to be due to a number of interrelated factors. In the area of educational aspirations there is a general acceptance of upper middle class values in Israel at this stage of modernization; and there is a corresponding acceptance of the dominant norms of the high status secondary schools as the desirable frame of reference among the boarders. In addition, the desire for social mobility on the part of the youth and their parents is reinforced by the demands made upon them by Israeli society. This desire can be satisfied thanks to their intellectual ability.

However, the *verbal* expression of values should not be confused with an indication of actual future behavior. A certain discrepancy between declared values and actual practice is frequently encountered, but may be much greater in this group. Because of the strong effect of community and home patterns since early infancy, regression is liable to occur in

those domains where there is a large discrepancy between acquired verbal values and the behavioral and ideational pattern of the origin group. Moreover, Israeli society is in a rapid state of flux, accompanied by a general disclaimer of traditional values. The majority of secondary schools make little effort in value-oriented education and are ill-equipped to do so. As a result, the secondary school teachers assume a more or less «subject» specialist role. On the other hand, the boarding school project has not sufficiently consolidated its approach and developed valid programs for fostering the values it strives to impart. A regression from the declared verbal values therefore seems highly likely.

The first signs of such regression were noted as soon as the first graduates left the boarding and secondary school framework and were due to join the army. As already mentioned, many of the girls who had expressed full acceptance of the idea of the equality of women made use of the legal provision exempting religious girls from army service, and made declarations to that effect. Although the great majority of these girls came from traditional homes which strongly objected to girls serving in the army, their refusal to join may be regarded as a sign that the gulf between declared values and actual behavior might widen in the future and extend to other spheres (e.g., social orientation, choice of occupation, family interaction patterns).

### 3 Removal from home and local community

Strong objections were raised to the idea of taking children away from their homes and environment to external boarding homes. Among the opponents were members of the Pedagogical Board of the Ministry of Education, representatives of the Public Education Commission, headmasters of schools in development towns, teachers and psychologists. The three main contentions were: first, that from the sociological-pedagogical aspect the removal of the more gifted children from certain disadvantaged centers would lead to a further decline in standards and might impair the prospects of the secondary schools being developed in the area; second, the fear that separation from the family and home environment would have a

deleterious psychological effect and might cut the children off from their families and native group; and third, the financial considerations involved in the high maintenance costs of boarding institutions. These contentions are being relayed in numerous ways to this day.

Three arguments well-accepted in psychological, pedagogical and social theory were raised which relate to these contentions.

First, studies on maternal deprivation in infancy<sup>2</sup> point out the danger of emotional deprivation as a result of separation from home and family. However, we assumed that during adolescence such separation might have a favorable effect in strengthening personal autonomy and helping to shape better relations with parents, provided the separation is based on positive, mutually agreeable goals rather than as an escape. Second, the boarding home is designed to promote success and is thus likely to have a beneficial impact on the home community through increased motivation for peers and younger siblings. Third, the fear of their not returning to their families and home settlement may be considered irrelevant, because at this age, after leaving the boarding home, and after doing their army service and completing their higher studies, it is quite natural that they should cease to live with their parents and build up their own families. As to the financial considerations involved, they are valid with respect to a large-scale mass education program, but not for a foster project for a limited intellectual elite. In the present instance, a relatively small-scale expenditure is likely to yield large returns.

From experience gained so far, it may be added that:

a) Interviews with boarders and their parents support the proposition that they have not become indifferent or hostile to their parents, but on the contrary show signs of increasing responsibility towards their families.

This is due to the strong cultural influence toward family cohesiveness among the ethnic groups in question and to the fact that both in theory and in practice, the boarding project is based on cooperation with the parents. Hence, the children are not faced with the dilemma of deciding between their

home culture and the new culture they are expected to acquire, but are left emotionally free to make the best of both worlds and benefit from two supportive rather than competitive systems.

b) In most cases the child's personal autonomy is strengthened by separation from their homes. They are able to widen their psychological horizons in the process of maturation, and critically examine the norms of behavior and difficulties of adjustment encountered by their families, free from the pressures of everyday life. Many aspired toward upgrading their families together with them, through their own efforts.

The presentation of the positive potentiality of boarding education should not be interpreted as a recommendation for the majority of youth to be separated from their families at adolescence. It is only a proposition for looking at the issues involved differentially and considering the potential meaning of such an alternative for certain adolescents without being subjected to a preconceived negative judgment. As will be stated in the propositions toward the future systematic personality oriented follow-up studies should be conducted in the future to shed more light on the problem involved.

#### 4 Parental readiness and cooperation

As assumed, the majority of parents and children believed in the prospects of social and occupational mobility which could be attained by adequate education, and joined in the effort.

First there were practically no instances of refusal to enter the boarding facilities even in the case of girls, notwithstanding the opposition engendered by the traditional cultural home pattern to girls living in coeducational boarding homes. This was all the more remarkable since from the first course all specific promises were carefully avoided as long as there was no guarantee as to the availability of suitable facilities and no assurance of success. Secondly, only in very rare instances did pupils leave the project at the request of their parents, despite the many difficulties families had to contend with. It should be remembered that various educational projects designed for

children from backward social strata in Israel extended assistance to the parents during the training period. Thus the «Joint Youth Centres» of the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Education and the Jewish Agency were paying a certain sum to the parents in lieu of the work done by their children, and at Miftanim (an establishment of the Ministry of Welfare) boys were paid directly for their work, while the training groups organized by the Youth Immigration and Absorption Departments of the Jewish Agency at various kibbutz settlements has maintained a parents' aid fund. In the present project, not only did the children earn no income whatsoever during their four years of training, but the parents were even required to make a certain financial contribution, however small in relation to the actual expenditure, and in addition were called upon to supply clothing and pocket money.

Thirdly, from discussions with the children and their parents on the eve of their departure from the boarding home and at meetings with the trainees prior to their discharge from the army—as well as from the data on perseverance in higher education—it transpired that most of the parents agreed to the continuation of their child's studies at an institution of higher learning. This is most encouraging considering the financial hardships of most of the families in question, and the denial of special financial and organizational support for higher education—both by the government and the universities.

Efforts were made to maintain regular contact between the students and their families. Once every three weeks the pupils have the weekend off to visit their homes. The summer vacations and holidays are also spent at home. In addition, «parents'days» are held regularly when current information on their children's progress is supplied to representatives of the family and various general problems are discussed with them. The parents are further invited to various events and celebrations. When problems arise the parents are invited for additional individual talks with the staff of the boarding facility. Also, the social worker, or the instructor, visit the parents' homes whenever necessary, while the parents are encouraged to visit their children at the boarding facility at their own initiative.

In many instances, the parents provided their children with emotional support in periods of stress and prevented them from dropping out when the burden seemed too heavy to bear, by insisting that they persevere in their studies.

## 5 The boarders' reaction to the benefits conferred on them by the project

In periods of liberalization, especially in a Welfare State, most people are geared to regarding as their due everything which the State may actually give. Furthermore, they feel discriminated against as soon as something which is denied them is given to anyone within their sphere of perception. As a result, they fail to properly enjoy that which is given, and bear a constant grudge against all deficiencies, however small in relation to what has been attained. It was assumed that these features would be even more pronounced in a group of youth from an underprivileged environment thrown together with secondary school pupils mostly hailing from the overprivileged classes of the new «affluent society» which tends to exaggerate the importance of material values. The fact that for the first few groups, no adequate housing and learning facilities had been provided, gave additional cause for concern. Accordingly, no far-reaching generalizations were made from the reactions of the first groups of boarders, and final conclusions have been withheld until further groups can be observed which could enjoy the benefit of improved installations and facilities. Nevertheless, it may be noted for future consideration in those clinical evaluations and policy considerations that although most of the children came from an impoverished background and received much to be grateful for to the Ministry of Education—both in absolute and in relative terms—observations and interviews seem to indicate considerable discontent and even various degrees of animosity against society and its representatives.

Many explanations may be given for this disaffection, of which the main ones are:

a) In spite of the general improvement which has taken place in the state of the more backward classes of the Israeli

population, it seems that conditions are not improving fast enough to keep pace with the emerging affluence of other more established classes. To a certain extent the disparity has become more acute, since the population which fills most of the ranks of the underprivileged is raising its standards and expectations much faster than it is able to satisfy them. The selected group admitted to highly selective secondary academic schools is in an even worse situation of being able to directly compare the fate of the privileged classes with that of their own families. They are constantly brought face to face with the rampant lack of equality in Israeli society. This causes them acute embarrassment in adjusting their sense of values, so that their dissatisfaction with the benefits conferred on them is merely a partial expression of their general emotional state.

b) The intentional aggravation of the internal conflicts due to adolescence—by being taken away from their homes to live with their own age group and being purposely trained towards personal autonomy and free democratic expression and behavior—tends to foster their critical ability and their readiness to make use of it. While their cultural home patterns tended to suppress the expression of certain feelings, the cultural patterns of modern way of life are gradually absorbed and internalized during their stay at the boarding facility, with the release of the «lid» which had previously dampened their demands. Since they are unable to direct their dissatisfaction at their home environment in view of their inbred prohibitions, or at the dominant political elite that is not available for confrontation, the main flow is diverted against the «therapeutic agency.»

c) As the distance separating the members of the selected group and the dominant privileged classes recedes, the «new-comers» feel they have a right to certain things which only recently had failed to appear within their scope of perception. It is a wellknown fact that social revolutions tend to break out not during periods of utter subjection but just as matters are on the point of improving. Similarly with these youth—as their situation ameliorates and the barriers begin to tumble, they develop certain feelings of frustration and animosity, failing to see the road along which they have come and attaching

their standards to goals which have only been discovered recently and are not yet realized.

## 6 Vocational training versus academic education

Controversy concerning the status of the vocational as against the academic secondary school exists in many countries, and many different factors enter into it, such as the traditions of the country in question, the pace and direction of its economic development, and the personal views of the «strong man» or dominant group determining its educational system. This matter will be investigated more thoroughly in the future in the light of some research and a special task force that will be considering the problems in this field.

In this context, it should be noted that the present project was expanded to include secondary vocational schools, according to assumptions presented in our rationale for the project (see Chapter Five). Since vocational training should also be evaluated according to the subsequent economic functions and status of the trainees, it is still too early to discuss the broader future aspects of this part of the project. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the developments which have taken place so far.

a) The great majority of trainees sent to vocational schools preferred to go to regular academic secondary schools. Their wishes were, however, not granted since according to the planning authorities of the Ministry of Education, in view of the country's primary need for more and better trained technological manpower, it was essential to raise the standard of the vocational schools. One of the ways of accomplishing this was by demonstrating to the general public that even «gifted» pupils were being sent there, a move designed to enhance the social status of these schools. It was further assumed that in certain personal or family configurations, the vocational school had educational advantages.

Most of the trainees reconciled themselves to the decision forced upon them and learned to appreciate, and even identify with the positive elements in the vocational schools to which they were sent. From the experience gained so far, it seems desirable to maintain alternative frameworks, and

specific orientation in a given direction seems to have no deleterious effects. On the other hand, the counseling and guidance system as well as the administrative guidelines, require improvement and expansion to permit two-way traffic from one type of school to another according to individual needs in keeping with the heterogeneous manpower requirements of the Israeli economy.

b) The dropout rates among pupils of the selected group attending vocational schools were low, especially considering that primarily those of lower personal ability or social background were directed to these schools. Hence the vocational schools seem to possess particular holding powers for a certain group.

One of the special features of the vocational schools is the possibility to transfer students from one trade or one department to another when instructors, teachers or students themselves feel that the present course is ill-adapted to the student's abilities or inclinations. This may be the main reason for the low dropout rate in these schools, and points the way towards the expansion of activities in this direction.

c) In the field of vocational training, a parallel experiment (known as «day fostering») is available for consideration providing a foster program on a daytime rather than boarding basis at the Technical School of the Haifa Technical College. At the same time a boarding program was conducted at the Neurim boarding facility, whose participants attended the Ort Vocational School in Nethanya, and at the Karmit boarding facility whose trainees went to the Ort School in Jerusalem. Thus, certain conclusions may be drawn regarding the advantages of a boarding over a day program. It may be gleaned from the experience so far at the Technical School of the Haifa Technical College that a day program conducted by a suitable director, as long as adequate support is forthcoming from the school attended, may promote scholastic achievements even when the pupils are not removed from their homes. Hence it seems advisable to keep the vocational boarding facilities mainly for those pupils who have no vocational school of the required level and in the desired trades near their homes, or where family conditions are likely to interfere with learning.

A more thorough study of the differences in the values and behavior of pupils separated from their homes or attending day programs still has to be carried out.

d) Although some of the pupils sent to vocational schools showed less ability than those who were sent to academic schools, the rest had similar abilities, inclinations and background. In these instances, a vocational training program was preferred in view of the child's special fields of interest which the counselors of the Selection Board thought would be best furthered by a technical school and by the Haifa Technical College; or because, as a result of the difference of the status of the vocational schools, there was a surplus of candidates for the academic program while the vocational boarding schools still had vacancies.

A preliminary analysis of the questionnaires on the inclinations and aspirations of pupils in the eleventh grade seems to hint at a significantly lower percentage of pupils interested in higher education at the vocational schools than at the academic secondary schools. Final conclusions must obviously be withheld until the graduates have had a chance of translating their plans and aspirations into action following their army service. In case this trend should materialize however, it will be necessary to reexamine whether sending pupils capable of higher studies to vocational school does not cause a significant decline in achievement motivation.

This phenomenon may be attributed to the different composition of the student population in the two types of schools and the diversity of their respective goals, creating a dissimilar social climate. The academic school stresses intellectual activity and scholastic achievements at higher institutions of learning, imparting a sense of failure to those who are not willing to aspire to these goals. Thus, whoever fails to meet these demands and expectations feels doomed to a future occupation lacking dignity. The vocational school, on the other hand, by virtue of its more heterogeneous student body and the diversity of trades and standards of training, is able to maintain emotional balance by reducing the level of aspirations. It provides the safety valve of an assured trade whenever difficulties arise in the materialization of loftier ambitions.

Based on interviews and questionnaires administered at en-

trance and departure from the program it appears that many pupils change their vocational inclinations and aspirations during the four-year period.

In the eighth grade, practically all the pupils declared their preferences for a given trade or profession, and a considerable portion of them even claimed in the psychotechnical questionnaires that their inclinations had been formed a number of years ago.

A comparison of the vocational inclinations at the commencement and on termination of secondary school shows that:

a) A high percentage of secondary school pupils claim they do not know what they want (27 %).

b) In this respect there is a difference between the various schools, in that the higher the social status of the trainees, the higher the percentage of those who cannot make up their minds regarding the choice of their future occupations.

c) There is a difference between academic and vocational schools in that, in the latter, even those who had previously proclaimed a different inclination tended to identify with their major subject of training.

d) There seems to be no significant relation between these developments and the pupils' sex, country of origin or placement in a given boarding home.

Explanations for this phenomenon may be found in various studies on trends in vocational choice. For instance, it may involve a process of «psychological moratorium», i.e., postponing the search for self-identity. Attendance at an academic school obviates the immediate need to chart a definite course in life. Especially for pupils from well-to-do social backgrounds, adolescence is prolonged beyond the period of army service and college training. Since the selected academic boarding group learned to identify with the dominant European group at the secondary schools they attended, they internalized their values in this respect. Thus, their scope of perception tended to expand even when a more realistic attitude might have been called for. It may be asked what are the social and edu-

cational implications of youth from poor, oversized families who are ill able to afford such prolongation of maturation.

## 7 Changes in leadership patterns

In the organization and operation of the various foster programs, the far-reaching influence of differences in values, personality and leadership qualities on an entire project or on various children within a given framework may be clearly observed. Students in the social sciences are aware of the effects of leadership, as experimentally demonstrated by Kurt Lewin and his disciples, but only those who have seen its consequences in diverse systems and during a prolonged period of a decade are able to realize the severity of the problem.

The post of director of the Karmit Boarding Home changed hands many times during the early years of its existence and there was considerable turnover of instructors and other staff. The personnel of the other boarding homes were also far from being stable. On the other hand, in the secondary and vocational schools attended, the headmaster or headmistress and certain class teachers were able to exercise their influence on a more lasting basis. From the mutual impact of the personalities of schoolmasters, instructors and trainees it was seen that *except for student ability, the leader had a greater influence than any other single factor in determining the social climate of the boarding home and shaping children's prospects of attaining specific goals.*

For future orientation of research, the following generalizations may be made:

a) The degree of success attained is not directly related to intellectual ability but rather depends on the type of leadership the person in charge is interested in developing, the extent to which the staff identifies with that leader, and the resulting mutual communication within the framework as a whole. If the director of the institution does not manage to obtain staff cooperation, there is little chance of the pupils accepting his authority.

b) Care should be taken not to equate certain styles of behavior with the trainee's original cultural patterns. Certain

modes of behavior which in one year were directly ascribed to background and thus reluctantly accepted, underwent a striking modification on the arrival of a new director at the boarding facility who created a new atmosphere.

c) When the leadership of the educators and instructors is accepted much greater demands can be made on the students in the scholastic sphere and in voluntary service. They also can adjust better to poor physical conditions. This seems to be only partially related to the director's personality and character: the same person with the same educational philosophy, may succeed in one institution in a given year and fail in another in the next year or vice versa, according to the degree of initial acceptance. In other words, it is the interface between a certain personality, role and institutional configuration which is important.

d) Acceptance does not depend solely on the personality and training of the director, but is largely conditioned by the previous leadership history of the institution in question.

e) Chances for success depend on the degree to which the staff and the trainees feel that the director has the support of external authorities—project leaders, school inspectors, etc. The weaker his status appears on the outside, the poorer the influence he is able to exercise within the institution.

## 8 Summary

To sum up the results of the first stage of the project, it seems that although the shortcomings of the management, the staff and the program considerably diminished its educational potential, on the whole what was seriously intended was accomplished. The crux of the matter is, however, that we are not satisfied with the values and behavior of the dominant elite in the secondary schools, which are a mere reflection of the patterns prevailing in Israeli society as a whole. Although overtly the trainees has been directed to imitate these standards, covertly we wanted them to be different. In other words, the ideal of social integration which is the basis of present-day Israeli society is charged with the inherent internal conflicts between the values which should represent the ideal image to be aimed at and between the actual social climate and the availa-

ble models, forming a frame of reference the children are able to imitate within their own sphere of perception. The expectations from educators are to define ideal social functions and values and socialize the children accordingly, in a manner which should be sufficiently realistic to enable them to accept, and identify with these values, while abstaining from blind imitation and acceptance of the actual state of affairs.

Hence the conclusion that the provision of suitable conditions for study and activities in the existing frameworks is not sufficient. Those responsible for the reorientation of these adolescents must also strive towards bringing about the desired changes in their frame of reference. This maxim is, of course, applicable to all educational activity at any age, and various experiments to this effect have been launched from kindergarten onwards. At the age of adolescence, however, it is an essential prerequisite; unless the attainment of scholastic success alone is regarded as the ultimate target. The dimensions of a more powerful intervention in the affective domain should be a focus for a special study.

## ENDNOTES

1. In the Israeli school system, State Education Law of 1953 allows each parent to choose yearly between a religious and secular track.
2. For illustration see
  - a) T. Bowlby, *Maternal Care and Mental Health*. World Health Organization, Monograph No. 2, 1952.
  - b) W. Goldfarb, «Psychological deprivation in infancy and subsequent adjustment» *American Journal of Orthopsychology*, Vol. 15, 1945, pp. 44-56.
  - c) R. A. Spitz, «Hospitalism: an inquiry into the genesis of psychomatic conditions in early childhood» in *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, Vol. 1. Int. Universities Press, 1945, pp. 53-74.

## Chapter Seven

# The Evaluation Design of the Program

### INTRODUCTION

When the first group of students was accepted into the program, an evaluation plan was established to provide information on the merits of the program and guide its development. Although the evaluation design has undergone various changes during its ten years of existence, it was always based on the assumption that evaluation should be an integral part of the development of this program. While implementation of the program was mainly the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, the responsibility for evaluating it was delegated to an outside agency under the supervision of Dr. Moshe Smilansky, who was the initiator of this program. During its first five years, the evaluation study enjoyed the hospitality of The Henrietta Szold Institute, a nonprofit institute for research in the behavioral sciences, while later it was moved to the Research and Development Laboratory for the Study of the Disadvantaged at the Tel-Aviv University as the authors joined this institute. <sup>1</sup>

The evaluation study served two main purposes. In its *formative role*, it provided information to the Ministry of Education to facilitate the process of implementation and development of the program. In its *summative role*, the evaluation study assessed the merits of the program and evaluated its social and educational significance as an innovative effort to advance culturally disadvantaged students within a society undergoing a process of modernization.

To satisfy the formative need, two courses of action were taken:

a) Oral and written reports by the evaluation team were provided to the administrative and professional staff of the

program. Specific summary reports were prepared at the request of the program staff. Interfacing with the leaders of the program enabled the direction of the evaluation to respond to the needs of the program.

b) The administration of the program was urged to create its own evaluation unit and received assistance from the outside evaluation team. The purpose of such a unit was to support the evaluation efforts during the period of the external study and to develop to its full capacity upon completion of the evaluation study. The director of the program made one of his staff members responsible for this assignment and allocated additional funds for various small-scale evaluation studies according to current needs. An example of such a study was the study conducted by Levin and Nevo<sup>2</sup> on the validity of tests used for the selection of candidates. As a result of this study the Ministry of Education decreased the number of tests considerably and substituted more individualized selection procedures.

In its summative role, the evaluation study provided information to the research community as well as to the public regarding the accomplishments of the program, the types of students accepted, their success in school, and their social adjustment. This information was presented in conferences and workshops and published in three extensive research reports.<sup>3</sup> The present book is an additional effort to present the results to the general educational research community, policy decision-makers and the public interested in compensatory education, so that the significance of the program can be assessed from a wider point of view and its adoption in other social settings considered on the basis of some evaluative evidence.

Starting in 1961, when the first group of students was admitted to the program, three main stages may be distinguished in the design of the study.

## STAGE ONE: EVALUATION OF THE 1961 CLASS

At this stage, the focus was on the first group of students admitted to the program—the 1961 class—who started their

study in the ninth grade. Included were 78 students who shared a common boarding facility but attended four different secondary schools in Jerusalem. This group was evaluated during a four-year period until graduation from secondary school at the end of 1964.

Two comparison groups were included in the study:

1) *The candidates comparison group*, including 78 students<sup>4</sup> matched as closely as possible on the basis of similar intellectual ability and socio-economic background. They were selected from a group of about 300 candidates who were not admitted to the program. The reasons for their nonadmission included: better home conditions, residence close to a secondary school, and unwillingness of parents to let their children leave home. To select this comparison group, a pair-matching technique was used, although a complete matching for each pair was not achieved. Thus, although a given subject in the comparison group may differ from its companion in the boarding group, a comparison of the groups as a whole showed that the initial position of both groups, regarding the level of ability and socio-economic background, was similar with a nonsignificant advantage for the «candidates.»

2) *The classmates comparison group* was comprised of about 300 students<sup>5</sup> from a higher socio-economic background who attended the same schools as the boarding group. During this first stage, the main focus was on obtaining the following information:

a) *Background information*. This included family data (origin, housing conditions, social circumstances) and basic data on the students themselves e.g., elementary school marks and the scores from the eighth grade Psychological Service tests.

b) *Consistency and success in secondary school*. This included grades in the main subjects taught in secondary school, matriculation examination scores, and repeated aptitude testing at the end of twelfth grade using the same test battery of the Psychological Service by which the students were measured at admission to the program. The above information was collected mainly for the boarding group and the classmate com-

parison group, whereas information on dropouts during secondary school was recorded for all three study groups.

c) *Adjustment to the boarding facility.* Every year the instructors rated all the trainees for their degree of adjustment to boarding conditions according to a special scale. This rating was used in addition to the scholastic scores.

d) *Social relations.* Sociometric questionnaires were filled out every year both at the boarding facility and at the secondary schools attended, so that the degree of adjustment to the school population could be assessed.

e) *Social values.* A questionnaire concerning general values and vocational preferences was administered among the boarders and their classmates. Although no intensive investigation was made at this stage, information on expressed values was thus obtained whose modification during the time spent at the boarding facility could be assessed in comparison with children from a different social background.

f) *General evaluation.* At the end of the twelfth grade (before graduation from high school) all graduates were individually interviewed by a clinical psychologist. The interview focused mainly on outstanding attitudes with respect to the boarding facility, the parents' home and future plans. The interviews were recorded to allow detailed analysis.

## STAGE TWO: EVALUATION OF THE 1966 CLASS

When the results of the evaluation of the first stage had been published,<sup>6</sup> a decision was made to start a further stage of the evaluation intended to validate and assess the significance of the findings from the first stage on a broader sample of students, and to broaden the study by adding variables not included in the previous stage.

At this stage, the study included about 2,000 students representing a wide variety of secondary schools—from comprehensive schools in «development» townships and rural areas to selective academic schools in the large cities. The following nine study groups were included:

Group A. *The fostering boarding group.* This group included 224 students who were accepted into the program in the

1965-66 school year. They were absorbed in five boarding facilities and studied at seven academic and technical secondary schools in urban and rural areas. School Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 were attended by the students in this group.<sup>7</sup>

Group B. *The classmates comparison group*. This group consists of all 188 students who studied in the same classes as the students of the boarding program, but who were not included in this program.

Group C. *The day-fostering group*. This group consisted of 62 students from culturally-disadvantaged strata who studied in the framework of a selective technical school (School No. 40) and received individual treatment, help in preparing homework, and cultural enrichment in the afternoon, in the fostering framework of the Ministry of Education. The students lived at home with their parents. The students in this group were selected on the same basis as those in the boarding program.

Group D. *Comprehensive schools in development townships*. This group is composed of 293 students in two comprehensive schools (Schools No. 21 and 22) whose socio-economic background is similar to the students in the boarding group. Generally these schools represent the kind of educational institution that would have been available for the students in the boarding program if they had not been accepted into this program.

Group E. *Regional secondary school*. This group includes 100 students from School No. 23. It was chosen as a comparison group because it represents a regional school in a rural area absorbing pupils from well-established and from new immigrant villages.

Group F. *Academic secondary school in an immigrant town*. This group consists of 238 students who studied at School No. 32. This school was located in a town with a large majority of Middle-Eastern and North-African immigrant families. Some of the students came from immigrant villages in the area.

Group G. *Average-level academic school*. This is an academic school in one of the large cities of the country (School No. 31). It was chosen on the assumption that it absorbs Middle-Eastern and North-African students from the uppermid-

dle class. Of its student body, 22 % were of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin. This group included 245 subjects.

Group H. *Selective academic secondary school*. This group included 638 students from three of the most selective academic schools in the country (Schools No. 50, 51, and 52). All students that entered these schools in 1965–66 are included in this group, excluding students of the «special boarding school» (Group I) who studied in two of these schools. These schools represent the highest level of secondary schools in Israel in terms of their educational standards, and the intellectual ability and socio-economic background of their students. Only about 6 % of the students in this group are of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin. This comparison group was chosen to serve as an «upper-level» standard for the assessment of the boarding school fostering program.

Group I. *Special boarding schools*. This group consisted of 130 students who lived in two boarding facilities and studied in the framework of selective academic schools (51, 52). These boarding facilities were not part of the fostering program, and were the responsibility of the Ministry of Defence, which financed them. They were chosen as a comparison group because they represent students of high-level ability, outside the framework of the boarding school fostering program.

Although these comparison groups do not form a representative sample of all students in the Israeli secondary schools, they make it possible to compare the students of the boarding program with students of similar and different backgrounds in various educational institutions. Table 7.1 summarizes the structures of the comparison groups in terms of two general characteristics—socio-economic background and level of ability. This characterization served as a basis for selecting the educational institutions to be included in the study; a detailed description of the socio-economic background and the ability of the subjects in the various groups is provided in Chapter 8.

Table 7.1

## A General Characterization of the Study Groups by the Socio-economic Background and Ability Level of Students

Study Group	Socio-economic Background		Ability Level		Number of Subjects
	Low	High	Low	High	
A	X			X	224
B		X		X	188
C	X			X	62
D	X		X		293
E	X		X		100
F	X		X		238
G		X		X	245
H		X		X	638
I		X		X	130
Total					2,118

As can be seen from this table, the boarding group (Group A) is mainly a group of students from low socio-economic background with relatively high level of ability and so is Group C of the day-fostering program. The other study groups can be divided into two clusters. The first cluster consists of schools absorbing students with a socio-economic background similar to the boarding group but with a lower level of ability (Groups D, E, and F). The second cluster consists of institutions absorbing students with a high level of ability (similar to the boarding group) but with a socio-economic background that is higher than the one of the boarding group (Groups B, G, H and I).

The main measurements of our study were conducted in all groups during the ninth grade (1965-66 school year) and during the twelfth grade (1968-69 school year). Additional data were collected throughout the four years of the study. The following data were collected at this stage of our study.

1) *Students' background.* This information was obtained by means of an informative questionnaire that was distributed to

all students in the ninth grade and in the twelfth grade. For missing information school files were utilized.

2) *Intelligence scores.* The «Miltha» group intelligence test was administered to all study groups in the ninth grade and repeated in the twelfth grade. The «Miltha» is a standardized Israeli group intelligence test constructed by Dr. G. Ortar<sup>8</sup> based on the verbal part of the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test.<sup>9</sup>

3) *The eighth grade «Seker» scores* were collected from the files of the Ministry of Education. The «Secker» was the National Scholastic Survey Examination of overall achievements in elementary school. It was administered by the Ministry of Education to all eighth grade students in the country and served as a criterion for evaluation and classification of students for admission to secondary school and eligibility for graded tuition fees. New test questions were prepared each year representing elements of intelligence, general knowledge and achievement in main school subjects.

4) *General attitudes and vocational preference.* A questionnaire on attitudes, mainly concerning choice of profession and aspirations for the future, was constructed for this study and tried out in its first stage. The questionnaire was given to all groups in the ninth grade and in the twelfth grade.

5) *Sociometric status.* A sociometric questionnaire was used in the boarding facilities of the fostering program and in the classes where students of the program studied. Thus this questionnaire was given to students of Groups A and B.

6) *Social adjustment.* A rating scale on social adjustment of the students to the boarding facility and to the school was filled out by the class teachers and by the group instructors at the boarding facilities. The teachers filled out the rating scale for the boarding school students and their classmates. The rating scale was especially constructed for this study.

7) *Attitudes toward the boarding program.* A questionnaire on attitudes toward the boarding school fostering program was given to the boarding group at the end of the twelfth grade. This questionnaire also included questions concerning planning towards the future and attitudes to various social problems.

8) *Dropout rates.* Dropouts in all study groups were

recorded for the four-year period of secondary education. The records accounted for each student included in the study at the ninth grade, providing longitudinal data on the dropout rate of all groups during secondary education.

9) *Success on the matriculation examinations.* The matriculation examinations are given by the Ministry of Education at the end of secondary education. Students who pass these examinations upon graduation receive the «Matriculation Certificate,» which is a requirement for admission into higher education. Besides its various limitations as an evaluational tool, it has the advantage of being a national test given to all grades of secondary education at the same time and therefore allowing sound comparisons between various groups of students. The grades for the students of our study groups were obtained from the Ministry of Education files.

10) *Parents' attitudes toward the fostering program.* About half of the parents of the boarding students were interviewed when their children were accepted into the program. The interview focused on parents' expectations of the program and of secondary education. A parallel sample of parents from the other groups was interviewed at the same time to allow a comparison between parents of various socio-economic backgrounds.

Part of the findings of this stage were published in the two technical research reports mentioned previously on student success in studies and on social acceptance at the secondary school.

### STAGE THREE: FOLLOW-UP ON GRADUATES

Parallel with the evaluation of the 1966 class of the boarding program (Stage Two) a follow-up study was started on the graduates of the 1961 class and «the candidates comparison group» who were included in Stage One.

As mentioned, 78 students were accepted into the boarding program in 1961 and started their secondary studies in the ninth grade. Sixty-five of them (83 %) graduated from secondary school in 1965 within the framework of the program and took the matriculation examination. During the period of

1965-71 contact was maintained with this group by means of mailed questionnaires and personal communication and thus information was obtained on post-secondary studies, army service, marital status, etc. In 1971 we had updated information on 60 out of the 65 graduates of this class (92.3 %).

As described earlier, this group consisted of 78 students of similar ability level and socio-economic background who were selected from among a group of about 300 nonadmitted candidates to the boarding program. In 1965, when the subjects were at the appropriate age for completion of secondary education, they were sent a mailed questionnaire in order to determine the level of schooling that they reached at that time. From the 78 students in the candidates comparison group, 74 or 95 % responded to either a mailed questionnaire or personal visit. These responses revealed that only two students (3 %) did not enter into any secondary school, while from among the others that continued their secondary studies, 43 students (58 %) graduated from high school after completion of the twelfth grade. (see Chapter 11) In 1971, ten years after graduation from elementary school, the subjects of this comparison group were mailed another questionnaire asking them about their level of formal schooling. From the 43 subjects who graduated from high school in 1965, 33 responded (77 %), while from the other 31 subjects 20 responses were obtained (65 %). As can be seen in Table 7.2, the mean rate of responses of the comparison group was about 72 %.

Table 7.2

## The Study Groups of Stage Three by Responses to the 1971 Mailed Questionnaire

		Responses	Total Group
The Boarding Group	Number	60	65
	Percentage	92.3	100.0
Candidates Comparison Group	Graduates	Number	43
		Percentage	76.7
	Dropouts	Number	20
		Percentage	64.5
	Total	Number	53
		Percentage	71.6

Seventy-two percent may be perceived as a relatively high rate of responses for a group that is approached several years after the initial contact. Although the rate of response of the comparison group is lower than the one of the boarding group (92.3 %) we assume that in both cases the groups that responded are representative of the total study groups.

Thus Stage three in our study provided two groups of students from culturally disadvantaged strata with similar levels of ability—one of them accepted into an innovative fostering program while the other group remained within the conventional framework of the educational system. A ten-year follow-up study of these groups provides a sound basis for the assessment of the significance of the boarding school fostering program as a new educational opportunity for culturally disadvantaged students. Although this follow-up investigation is based on a relatively small number of subjects, the fact that it provides longitudinal data for a period of ten years may suggest a special significance for our findings.

In addition to the above information obtained for both study groups at this stage, a decision was made to interview all subjects of the boarding group. A comprehensive interview questionnaire was constructed focusing on such topics as plans for future studies, family planning, relations with the extended family, military service, attitudes toward the boarding

program, and problems of minority groups. By the end of this stage, 44 out of the 65 graduates of the 1961 boarding class had been interviewed. Eleven graduates were either out of the country or unavailable for other reasons (army service, etc.) during the six-month period in which the interviews were conducted.

Overall, the three stages of our study, in spite of the limitations of each stage, provide a comprehensive evaluation design over a period of ten years. We believe that the information obtained during this study can serve as a sound basis for the assessment of the boarding school program and its social and educational significance. Nevertheless, the evaluation design of this program was developed during the process of implementation parallel to the development of the fostering program. The experience gained from our evaluation study could be used to improve the evaluation of future programs.

## ENDNOTES

1. The evaluation study was supported by a grant from the United States Federal Office of Education.
2. J. Levin and D. Nevo «An evaluation study of selection procedures for boarding schools», *Megamot*, 1970, 17, pp. 50-56 (In Hebrew).
3.
  - a) M. Smilansky, D. Nevo and S. Marbach *Identification and intellectual advancement of gifted culturally disadvantaged youth in post-elementary education*. The Szold Institute, Jerusalem, 1966.
  - b) M. Smilansky and D. Nevo *Secondary boarding schools for gifted students from culturally disadvantaged strata. Technical report no. 2: The socio-economic background of the students and their success in secondary school*. Tel-Aviv University and the Henrietta Szold Institute, Tel-Aviv, 1971.
  - c) D. Nevo and M. Smilansky *Secondary boarding schools for gifted students from culturally disadvantaged strata. Technical report no. 3: The social acceptance of students within the secondary school*. Tel-Aviv University and the Henrietta Szold Institute, Tel-Aviv, 1972 (In Hebrew). The first two have been translated into English for dissemination to a broader audience outside the country.

4. Four subjects in this group could not be reached during the study. Thus this group includes actually only 74 students.
5. The number of subjects in this group varied from year to year as we were unable to follow them after they left their original school. Their number was 141 when they took their matriculation exams at the end of the twelfth grade.
6. Smilansky, Nevo, and Marbach, 1966, *Ibid.*
7. For obvious reasons, the names of the schools that participated in our study are not disclosed; see Appendix for a short description of these schools.
8. G. Ortar, and Morieli, A. *Miltha intelligence group tests for grades 4-12*. School of Education, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1966 (in Hebrew).
9. I. Lorge, and R. L. Thorndike, *The Lorge-Thorndike intelligence tests*. Houghton-Mifflin Co., New York, 1954.

## Chapter Eight

# Students' Educational and Socio-economic Background

Data from two periods in the program history will be used to answer the question, «Who are the students selected and served by this program?». One period relates to the sixth graduating class, selected during the second pattern of identification, which serves as the demonstration group in the follow-up evaluation; the other period relates to the students selected during the third pattern of identification. In this chapter the make-up of the program population at its present stage of development will be examined, on the basis of the criteria set forth in previous chapters (country of origin, cultural background, social conditions, residential background, level of ability and so on). In addition this group will be compared with various groups in the secondary school populations, in order to find out what makes this program unique.

### 1 COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Of the students in the sixth graduating class 55 % were born in Israel; some 80 % began their schooling in Grade 1 in Israel, and about 90 % began in Grades 1-4. Among comparison groups, 90-96 % of the children were born in Israel.

As for the parents' origin, Table 8.1 shows that *about 82 % of the parents were born in Middle-Eastern and North-African countries*, and only some 15 % originate from Europe and America. A similar high ratio of Middle-Easterners and North-Africans, can be found in the «day-fostering» group (77 %), which is also part of the fostering project, except that these children live at home rather than in a boarding-school. However, even in the group of comprehensive schools in development

Table 8.1

## Groups by Father's Country of Origin (in percentages)

Group <sup>a</sup>	Country of origin of father				No.	Total Percentage
	Israel	Middle East & North Africa	Balkan countries	<sup>b</sup> Europe America		
A. Fostering boarding schools	1.7	81.9	1.3	15.1	224	100.0
B. Classmates of fostering pupils	23.3	36.4	3.0	37.2	188	100.0
C. Day-fostering	4.6	77.0	1.5	16.9	62	100.0
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	1.0	50.0	2.7	46.3	293	100.0
E. Regional secondary school	7.0	38.0	1.0	54.0	100	100.0
F. School in immigrant town	3.4	27.1	11.1	58.5	238	100.0
G. Average level «academic» secondary school	6.8	21.8	3.4	68.0	245	100.0
H. Selective «academic» secondary schools	12.7	5.8	6.0	75.5	620	100.0
I. «Special boarding» schools	17.0	11.0	1.5	70.4	130	100.0

<sup>a</sup> See Chapter Seven for a description of study groups.

<sup>b</sup> This group includes the countries Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Italy and Spain. We decided to treat this as a separate group in spite of the number of pupils in it. For certain purposes, it can be added to other groups.

townships, only 50 % of the parents are of Middle-Eastern origin, and in the regional secondary school there are only 38 %. In the secondary school in the immigrant town, there are 27 % Middle-Easterners. On the other hand, in the group of selective secondary schools chosen for the sample, comprising 638 pupils, only 5.8 % of the parents come from the Middle-East and North-Africa. And in the «academic» secondary school of average ability level which was chosen on the assumption that it absorbs many pupils of Middle-Eastern origin (of relatively high socio-economic standing), there are only about 22 % of this origin. It is interesting to note that even in the «special» boarding schools financed by the Ministry of Defense, only 11 % of Middle-Eastern extraction were found.

The boarding schools did absorb a high ratio of pupils of Middle-Eastern and North-African descent. Therefore, *the fostering project does, in fact, meet with the first criterion which was determined in the definition of its role, i.e. to absorb within this framework approximately 80 % of pupils of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin and only 20 % of European origin.*

## 2 NUMBER OF YEARS IN ISRAEL

Table 8.2 presents the number of years the parents of the various groups have been in Israel. Most of those in the program (56 %) are children of parents who reached Israel with the mass waves of immigration (after Israel Independence) from 1949–56; 19 % arrived during 1957–61, while only about 15 % came to Israel before the emergence of the State.

These figures should be compared to those of the selective «academic» and selective «special» schools where more than 75 % of parents are pre-state period residents. In other words, the project is serving not only a group that originates from a culturally disadvantaged ethnic background, but also a majority of recent immigrant families whose children are, in most cases, not candidates for the more selective schools.

In Table 8.2, it can also be seen that the children who live in the boarding schools attend classes in which more than

Table 8.2  
Groups by Number of Years of Father in Israel (in percentages)

Group	Year of father's immigration						Total	
	Born in Israel	Before 1948	1949-1956	1957-1961	1962-1965	1966+	No. <sup>a</sup>	Percentage
A. Fostering boarding schools	1.8	14.4	56.3	19.2	8.3	0.0	224	100.0
B. Classmates of fostering pupils	21.3	33.3	29.3	8.8	5.7	1.5	188	99.9
C. Day-fostering	3.6	25.5	47.3	5.5	18.2	0.0	62	100.1
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	0.7	18.2	43.8	23.5	13.5	0.3	274	100.1
E. Regional secondary school	8.0	46.0	38.0	8.0	0.0	0.0	87	100.0
F. School in immigrant town	3.8	47.6	28.1	9.5	11.0	0.0	210	100.0
G. Average level «academic» secondary school	10.0	43.1	39.4	6.3	1.3	0.0	245	100.1
H. Selective «academic» secondary schools	18.6	58.5	13.7	5.4	3.6	0.2	600	100.0
I. «Special» boarding schools	20.6	55.9	6.8	13.7	2.9	0.0	125	99.9

<sup>a</sup> The number of cases is not identical with the total number of those who studied in each institution because some pupils did not know the exact year of their parents' immigration. This note also applies to other cases in some of the other tables.

50 % of their classmates have parents who were either born in Israel or arrived here before the emergence of the State.

Thus the fostering project not only absorbs pupils who are mainly of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin, but also relatively «new immigrants.» The fact that they study at schools where about half of their classmates are from settled families and only a third are of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin, permits a second generalization i.e., *that the project has kept to the criteria of social and ethnic integration.* Nevertheless, the situation varies from one institution to another and the possibilities for a reference group and model for imitation were better in the early years of the project.

### 3 FATHER'S EDUCATION

As seen in Table 8.3, *roughly 75 % of fathers of the sixth graduating class had only elementary schooling or less*<sup>1</sup>—only 17.5 % had secondary or higher education.

This level of education is the lowest of all the groups included in the study, and even in the development townships (Group D) and the immigrant towns (Group F) no more than 50 % of the fathers had had elementary schooling and less. Among the classmates of the project pupils, only 40 % are children of fathers with elementary education and less.

Obviously the ratio of pupils in the secondary schools whose fathers have received full or partial elementary education is lower in proportion to the selectivity of the school.

In the selective «academic» secondary schools (Group H) only 1.3 % of the pupils' fathers were of this low level of education. In the average level «academic» secondary school (Group G) 23 % of the fathers were of this standard.

It is interesting to observe the level of education of fathers of the «special» boarding school pupils, and particularly, the ratio of children of «intellectual» fathers (higher education), which is low (14 %) compared to the selective «academic» schools (45 %) where these boarders attend school.

The data on the later groups show similar distributions. In the 1975 group 67.9 % of the fathers had only elementary schooling or less.

Table 8.3

Composition of Groups by Father's Education (in percentages)

Group	Father's education					Total		
	Partial elementary or no education	Elementary	Partial secondary	Secondary	Post secondary	Higher education	No.	Percentage
A. Fostering boarding schools	45.6	29.1	8.7	11.2	3.4	1.9	224	99.9
B. Classmates of fostering pupils	22.4	18.4	17.9	21.6	9.8	9.8	188	99.9
C. Day-fostering	18.8	34.0	13.2	30.2	1.9	1.9	62	100.0
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	21.5	28.9	16.9	23.2	5.0	4.5	293	100.0
E. Regional secondary school	14.0	25.0	17.0	33.0	9.0	2.0	100	100.0
F. School in immigrant town	22.7	27.5	19.4	18.0	7.1	5.2	238	99.9
G. Average-level «academic» secondary school	7.2	15.4	17.4	41.9	9.1	9.0	245	100.0
H. Selective «academic» secondary schools	4.7	8.2	9.6	32.0	15.7	29.8	612	100.0
I. «Special» boarding schools	4.0	23.4	12.1	46.0	8.9	5.6	124	100.0

In summing up, it is important to note that the fostering project has provided an opportunity for secondary education to sons and daughters of parents with little education, even to a greater extent than schools in development townships or immigrant towns. At the same time, the project has enabled them to study in classes where the other pupils are from relatively higher educational backgrounds (for example, some 20 % of the fathers have had higher education).

#### 4 FATHERS' OCCUPATION

As seen in Table 8.4, *roughly 70 % of the pupils in the program are children of manual workers or of unemployed persons*<sup>2</sup> and only about 3 % have above average employment status (technicians, teachers, managers, academicians). The occupational status of the fathers is low also in comparison with that of fathers of pupils from development townships (57 % manual workers, 13 % above average status) and immigrant towns (48 % manual workers, 17 % above average occupational status). As opposed to this, *half the pupils in the selective «academic» schools are children of fathers of high occupational status, and only about 15 % are children of manual workers.*<sup>3</sup>

Thus the data on fathers' occupation contribute to the general picture of the pupils as children from low social background, in line with the third criterion for the selection of candidates.

#### 5 NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY

The outstanding feature in Table 8.5 is the high ratio of the project pupils who come from large families—77 % come from families with four or more children, 43 % from families with six or more children. Only 23 % come from small families (up to three children); this ratio is high even in comparison with pupils in comprehensive schools in development townships (53 % from small families) or in regional schools (about 58 % from small families).

*Over 90 % of the pupils in the selective «academic» schools (Group*

As

Table 8.4.  
Groups by Father's Occupation (in percentages)

Group	Father's Occupation						Total			
	Dead or Unemployed worker	Unskilled worker	Skilled or semi- skilled worker	Small-scale indep- dent busi- nessman *	Clerk	Technician or elemen- tary school teacher		Manager busi- nessman	Academic Profession	
A. Fostering boarding schools	14.8	27.0	28.7	14.8	11.3	0.9	1.7	0.9	223	100.0
B. Classmates of fostering pupils	6.3	5.2	21.6	18.9	22.4	5.9	9.2	10.4	185	99.9
C. Day-fostering	7.7	10.8	43.1	4.6	16.9	6.2	9.2	1.5	62	100.0
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	5.8	18.8	32.2	17.1	13.4	3.7	4.1	4.8	290	99.9
E. Regional secondary school	4.0	7.0	16.0	56.0	1.0	0.0	14.0	3.0	100	100.0
F. School in immigrant town	5.2	9.2	34.1	19.7	14.0	5.7	8.7	3.0	221	100.0
G. Average-level «academic» secondary school	5.2	3.0	19.7	15.8	20.9	5.5	22.4	7.5	244	100.0
H. Selective «academic» secondary schools	4.2	1.2	9.2	16.2	18.7	4.4	20.6	25.4	630	99.9
I. «Special» boarding schools	4.5	3.0	13.4	17.2	19.4	11.9	23.1	7.5	130	100.00

a) including from-overs in «moshav»

Table 8.5

Groups by Number of Children per Family (in percentages)

Group	Number of children per family				Total	
	1-3	4-5	6-7	8 or more	No.	Percentage
A. Fostering boarding schools	22.8	33.8	22.3	21.1	224	100.0
B. Classmates of fostering pupils	51.6	26.9	13.0	8.5	188	100.0
C. Day-fostering	53.8	29.3	4.5	12.4	62	100.0
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	52.7	20.4	14.6	12.2	293	99.9
E. Regional secondary school	58.0	20.0	15.0	7.0	100	100.0
F. School in immigrant town	77.2	15.0	5.6	2.2	233	100.0
G. Average level «academic» secondary school	90.1	6.4	2.4	1.2	242	100.1
H. Selective «academic» secondary schools	91.7	8.0	0.3	0.0	618	100.0
I. «Special» boarding schools	88.6	7.5	3.0	0.8	130	100.0

*H) come from small families.* As regards the number of children in the family, the project pupils also differ from their classmates, of whom 50 % come from small families (as opposed to 23 % of the project participants) and only 21 % come from families with six children or more (compared with 43 % of the project pupils).

The data on the 1975 group show a similar distribution with even a higher rate of children (82 %) from families with four or more children. Considering the size of a flat in the available housing of these children, one gets an idea of the crowding and restriction in which these children grew up for 14 years, before acceptance to the boarding opportunity.

The data on family size should be considered in light of the fact that only about 12 % of the Jewish families in Israel have four or more children, and only about 4.5 % have six or more children. Such comparative consideration illustrates the fact that the total schooling system operates with a predominantly small-sized family as its focus.

In summarizing this point, it would be correct to say that one of the prominent characteristics of the fostering boarding school group is that they come from large families, in addition to the other features that typify their family background.

## 6 REGULARITY OF FAMILY: ORPHANS, CHILDREN OF DIVORCED PARENTS, AND CHRONICALLY ILL PARENTS

Of the sixth graduating class, 9.8 % are orphans of one parent or both as seen in Table 8.6. This percentage is higher than in the other groups studied, but a similar proportion of orphans is found among the classmates of the project pupils (8.1 %) and in the day fostering group (7.7 %). In the other comparison groups the percentage of orphans ranges between 2.9 % and 5.4 %.

Children of divorced parents represent 3.4 %, a similar proportion (3.1 %) being found also in the day fostering group. Among the «special» boarding school group we find 4.4 % are children of divorcees, a situation which appears to reflect the tendency of divorced parents to send their children to boarding schools, rather than resulting from fostering project criteria. In the other groups, the number of divorced parents is no more than 2 %.

The total, then, of project children coming from broken homes (either by death of a parent or divorce) is 13 %. Eleven percent of the day fostering group come from such families, while in the other groups, the proportion of such cases ranges between 4 % and 9 %.

Thus, while the initial focus of this project was on the fostering of intellectual development of the more gifted among the disadvantaged, it had to accept a certain number of children from broken families. These children were referred to

Table 8.6  
Groups by Regularity of Family (in percentages)

Group	Regularity of family				Total	
	Orphaned of both parents	Orphaned of father	Orphaned of mother	Parents divorced	Regular family	No. Percentage
A. Fostering boarding schools	0.4	6.8	2.6	3.4	86.8	224 100.0
B. Classmates of fostering pupils	0.3	4.8	3.0	0.3	91.6	185 100.0
C. Day-fostering	0.0	7.7	0.0	3.1	89.2	62 100.0
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	0.0	3.7	1.7	2.0	92.5	293 99.9
E. Regional secondary school	0.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	96.0	100 100.0
F. School in immigrant town	0.0	2.6	0.9	0.4	96.1	233 100.0
G. Average-level «academic» secondary schools	0.0	2.7	0.8	1.2	95.3	245 100.0
H. Selective «academic» secondary schools	0.0	4.4	0.6	1.2	93.7	638 99.9
I. «Special» boarding schools	0.0	2.9	0.0	4.4	92.7	130 100.0

the program because there was a need to provide them with some kind of boarding facilities and/or remove them from their homes. This might explain the slightly higher rate of children from broken homes in the boarding group.

## 7 EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF SIBLINGS

Surveying the background data on the groups studied, the project children are distinguished by their low socio-economic status, as reflected in ethnic origin, parents' education and occupations, and the size of the families. It will now be interesting to inquire if these families are characterized by the importance they attribute to learning despite their low social status, and whether they, therefore, attempt to provide education for their children even without the help of the fostering project.

We have tried to determine the proportion of families whose children have already received secondary education or more, in those families with children of the *appropriate age*.

It can be seen from Table 8.7 that among the project pupils who have at least one sibling of 17 years or over, 85% have at least one sibling who has received at least partial secondary education. A similar rate is found among those investigated in the development townships (Group D), in the immigrant town (Group F), and a slightly lower rate in the regional school (Group E). In the selective schools and in the average level «academic» secondary school we find that almost 100% of those surveyed have at least one sibling at this level of education.<sup>4</sup>

In the second column of the table we find that of all the project participants who have siblings aged 18 and over, 46% have at least one sibling who has matriculated. A similar proportion of siblings with matriculation certificates is found in the immigrant town school (46%), and a slightly higher rate in the development townships (59%) and in the regional school (64%). The proportion is naturally much higher in the selective schools (89%), in the «special» boarding school (91%) and in the «academic» secondary school of average level (81%).

In the third column of Table 8.7, we find data on the per-

Table 8.7

Percentage of Students Who Have at Least One Sibling at a Given Educational Level from among Those Who Have Siblings of Appropriate Age

Group	Level of Education		
	Partial secondary education or more (at least 11 years)	Matriculation or more	Higher education
A. Fostering boarding schools	85.1	46.3	9.6
B. Classmates of fostering pupils	98.4	82.2	38.9
C. Day-fostering	88.6	65.5	36.0
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	84.5	59.2	13.3
E. Regional secondary school	81.6	64.3	8.0
F. School in immigrant town	86.1	46.3	36.4
G. Average-level «academic» secondary schools	97.6	80.8	45.1
H. Selective «academic» secondary schools	98.1	88.7	57.8
I. «Special» boarding schools	93.4	90.9	25.7

centage of pupils who have at least one sibling who has received higher education, from among those who have siblings of appropriate age. Here the gap between the groups is much bigger than at the previous level of education. Among the project pupils there are 9.5 % whose siblings have received higher education. A similar proportion is found in the regional school (8 %) and in comprehensive schools in development township (13 %). Much higher rates are found in the selective schools (58 %) and in the average level «academic» secondary school (45 %). It is interesting to see the relatively

large number of children who have siblings with higher education among the pupils in the immigrant town (36 %). Perhaps this fact can be explained by the comparatively high percentage of European immigrants in the school concerned (see Table 8.1).

Another interesting point is that among the pupils of the «special» boarding schools the ratio of children who have siblings with higher education is fairly low (26 %) although the proportion of siblings with matriculation is extremely high (91 %). This situation matches the findings concerning fathers' occupation and education (see Tables 8.3 and 8.4).

It may be said that the educational level of the families of the project participants is similar to that of the families of pupils in the development townships, immigrant town and the regional school, who represent a similar population from the point of view of socio-economic background. The educational level of the siblings of the project pupils is very low in comparison with the selective schools, the average level «academic» secondary school, and the «special» boarding schools,<sup>5</sup> with whom they are expected to compete.

There is, therefore, no support for the hypothesis that although the program pupils come from disadvantaged strata, their families are a selective population that have tried to acquire better education for their children; and it is more feasible to assume that in general they can be regarded as «the first generation to be educated,»<sup>6</sup> from certain ability levels of the socially disadvantaged.

## 8 SUMMING UP

The data presented in this chapter on the background of the project pupils point to the fact that these children are from culturally and socially disadvantaged strata, according to the following criteria:

a) About 82 % are of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin.

b) About 85 % of the fathers are new immigrants who came to Israel after the emergence of the State in 1948.

c) Seventy-five percent of the fathers have only elementary education, or less.

d) Eighty-five percent of the fathers are of low occupational status (manual workers, members of small rural settlements, («moshavim») shop keepers, peddlers or unemployed.

e) Seventy-seven percent come from families with four children or more; 43 % from families with six children or more.

Comparison with groups from various types of secondary schools stressed even more strongly the significance of the project's special contribution. This comparison also provides an important frame of reference for understanding the data presented in the following chapters.

## ENDNOTES

1. Twenty-seven percent of the fathers in this group had no more than four years of schooling; that is, what is generally defined as «functional illiteracy.»
2. Including 6.1 % orphans.
3. Again, it is interesting to note comparatively low rate of «academicians» among the parents in the «special» boarding schools (7.5 %) compared with the parents of pupils in the selective schools (25 % «academicians») where the students of the special boarding schools study. This difference stood out also in our discussion of the fathers' education.
4. It should be observed that the method of comparison used here is likely to reduce differences between large families (such as those of the program pupils) and families with a small number of children. Since the criterion is «*at least one sibling*» at each educational level, a pupil with, for example, five siblings aged 17 and over, of whom only one has received education, will be classified with another pupil who has only one sibling of this age, being educated. This remark applies to all the data in Table 8.7.
5. And this despite the methodological reservation noted previously.
6. It should be remembered that this group is already the sixth in the fostering project, and many of the «learned» siblings received their education in the framework of this project.

## Chapter Nine

# Students' Success in Secondary Education

### INTRODUCTION

The presentation of evaluation results regarding students' success in secondary school will focus on two main variables: dropout rates and success in matriculation examinations. «Dropout rate» is one of the most studied variables in educational research and of main concern to educators, especially those interested in students of culturally disadvantaged background.<sup>1</sup> One of the hypotheses of this study was that the boarding school fostering program should be able to decrease the dropout rates of its trainees to a level comparable to that of students with similar ability but of European origin and middle class background. Thus the «holding power» of the institutions included in this program was perceived as one of the main criteria for evaluating its merit. The matriculation examination, given by the Ministry of Education on a nationwide basis is the other variable to be considered. In spite of its limitations as a national evaluation device and criticism by various scholars,<sup>2</sup> we perceive the rate of success in the matriculation exams as an important criterion for the evaluation of this program. As long as the matriculation certificate is considered as a requirement for acceptance into institutions for higher education, it should be and important objective for a program that intends to assure success to its trainees in a college bound educational program. The significance of this variable is also supported by the fact that the matriculation examinations provide the only measure of stu-

dent achievement in the Israeli secondary schools. They are conducted on a nationwide basis by one central authority enabling comparisons among the various schools.

The results presented in this chapter are derived from the first two stages of our study. The first stage provides data on the first group absorbed into the boarding program (1961 class,  $N = 78$ ) in addition to the two comparison groups—classmates and candidates not accepted into the program. The second stage provides data on the sixth group of students absorbed into the program (1966 class,  $N = 224$ ) and eight comparison groups comprising 2,000 subjects.<sup>3</sup>

### DROPOUT RATES IN SECONDARY SCHOOL

Seventy eight students were accepted into the boarding program in 1961; sixty five of them (83,4 %) graduated from high school four years later, yielding a dropout rate of only 16,6 %. In the candidates comparison group, comprised of students with similar background and level of ability, it was found that although almost all of them (97,3 %) continued their studies beyond the eighth grade, only about 60 % graduated from a four-year academic, vocational or agricultural school program. As can be seen in Table 9.1, only 50 % graduated from

Table 9.1

Boarding Group and Candidates Comparison Group (1961 Class) by Last Grade of Studies

Study group		Last grade attended						Total
		ninth	tenth	eleventh	Academic	twelfth	Other	
						Total		
The boarding group	Number	4	5	4	65	—	65	78
	Percentage	5.1	6.4	5.1	83.4	—	83,4	100.0
The candidates comparison group	Number	3	9	17	36	7	43	72 <sup>a</sup>
	Percentage	4.2	12.5	23.6	50.0	9.7	59.7	100.0

<sup>a</sup>Four out of the 78 students originally included in this group did not respond to our questionnaire and could not be reached personally. Two students did not study beyond the eighth grade.

an academic school, similar to those attended by the boarding group. Comparing the dropout rates by the various school grades reveals the fact that while in the boarding group there was a constant dropout rate of about 5 % per year, there are extreme differences in the annual dropout rates of the comparison group. Only 4 % of the students in the comparison group dropped out in the ninth grade while 23.6 % of them terminated their education by the eleventh grade.

A four-year followup study <sup>4</sup> conducted on an entire cohort of elementary school graduates who were at the appropriate age for graduation from secondary education in 1963, provides an additional source for comparison. That study provides dropout rates according to ability level and ethnic origin of students. Regarding students with a relatively high level of ability, <sup>5</sup> it was found that among students of European origin who started their studies in secondary schools, 81.2 % graduated from the twelfth grade, while only 61.9 % of students of Middle Eastern and North-African origin graduated from high school. Comparing our findings with those of Orr (about 85 % of our study participants were of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin) reveals the fact that while the dropout rate of the «candidates comparison group» was similar to the Middle-Eastern and North-African «Norm A» group, the dropout rate of the boarding group was similar to that of European «Norm A» students. Thus, *even at this early stage of development, the boarding program achieved its objective in increasing its «holding power» up to a level that assures students of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin a probability of success as high as the one of students of European origin with a similar level of ability.*

The second stage of our study, conducted on the 1966 class of the boarding program, provides a much more comprehensive source of data regarding the relative «holding power» of the fostering program.

As seen in Table 9.2, 73.7 % of the students that began their studies at fostering boarding schools in the ninth grade completed their secondary studies through the twelfth grade. Thus the dropout rate of the boarding group was 26.3 %.

This dropout rate is low compared to the usual rate for youth of culturally disadvantaged background in secondary

Tabla 9.2  
Study Groups by Persistence in Secondary Studies

Study group	Persistence in studies			
	Dropouts <sup>a</sup>	Completed 12 grades	Total grade 9 beginners	
			No	Percentage
A. Fostering boarding group	26.3	73.7	224	100.0
B. Classmates	51.9	48.1	188	100.0
C. Day-fostering group	37.9	62.1	62	100.0
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	54.1	45.9	293	100.0
E. Regional secondary school	67.0	33.0	100	100.0
F. Secondary school in immigrant town	42.1	57.9	238	100.0
G. Average-level «academic» school	54.9	45.1	245	100.0
H. Selective «academic» secondary schools	21.3	78.8	638	100.0
I. «Special» boarding schools	50.7	49.3	130	100.0

<sup>a</sup> Pupils who did not complete the twelfth grade in the institution where they began their studies in grade nine; some of them may have transferred to another school.

schools in Israel and other countries and is similar to the dropout rate in the selective schools (Group H) in our study (21.3 %). From the comparisons in Table 9.2 it can be seen that over half of the students did not complete 12 grades in the comprehensive schools in development townships (54.1 %), in the average-level «academic» school (Group G) 54.9 % or the «special» boarding schools (50.7 %). A similar dropout rate (51.9 %) is found among the classmates of the boarding school students, while in the regional school (Group E) 67 % did not reach grade 12. It is interesting that the dropout rate in the day-fostering group is 37.9 %—higher than that in the group of boarding school participants, but lower than that in schools where no organized effort for fostering is made in addition to the regular educational program.

In some institutions, dropouts also included pupils defined as «completing two-year or three-year programs.» In some of the cases the students were directed to these streams at the early stage of school grouping, and in other cases they were transferred to them after failing to keep up with the demands of the school. For certain purposes a distinction can be made between pupils who dropped out after the tenth grade and those who «completed a two-year stream,» but for the purpose of examining the «holding power» of various educational institutions the fact remains that a large group of students do not complete secondary education.

In spite of the fact the dropout rate of the boarding school group is lower than the rate in most comparison groups and similar to the dropout rate of the selective schools, it is nevertheless higher than it was in the 1961 class (see Table 9.1). Two points should be made in relation to this finding. First of all the dropout rates vary among the five schools included in the boarding program. In school No. 10 which is similar to the school of the 1961 class, the dropout rate was as low as 20.4 % while in the other four boarding schools it ranged from 26.5 % up to 29.0 %, yielding an average dropout rate of 26.3 % for the entire boarding group. Second, the possibility of diminishing achievements in moving from the experimental stage to a more established stage should be perceived as potentially dangerous in any innovative program. This point will be discussed in Chapter Twelve.

Nevertheless, the boarding program, in both the class of 1966 as well as the 1961 class, succeeded in bringing a high rate of students to the completion of their secondary studies in spite of absorbing socially and culturally very disadvantaged groups. Whereas the students of the program were similar in background to the students in the schools in development townships, the regional school and the immigrant town secondary school, in terms of dropout rates they were similar to the students in the selective schools.

This advantage of the fostering boarding schools also stands out in comparison with students of a similar level of ability who studied at the other institutions. In Table 9.3 it can be seen that the dropout rates in the fostering boarding group are the lowest at all ability levels.<sup>6</sup> At the same time it is

Table 9.3

Dropout Rates by Study Groups and «Miltha» IQ Scores <sup>a</sup>

Study group	IQ Scores				
	To 89	90-99	100-109	110-119	120+
A. Fostering boarding group	45.8	23.2	26.0	10.8	9.1
B. Classmates	50.0	44.0	38.9	22.2	22.2 <sup>b</sup>
C. Day-fostering group	62.5 <sup>b</sup>	46.2	37.5	21.4	0.0 <sup>b</sup>
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	74.6	25.6	36.3	27.2	0.0 <sup>b</sup>
E. Regional secondary school	95.1	65.2	40.9	22.2 <sup>b</sup>	40.0 <sup>b</sup>
F. Secondary school in immigrant town	65.9	45.8	28.1	14.7	0.0 <sup>b</sup>
G. Average-level «academic» secondary school	64.0	67.5	49.1	41.6	50.0 <sup>b</sup>
H. Selective «academic» secondary schools	30.0	29.3	26.2	16.3	12.5
I. «Special» boarding schools	100.0 <sup>b</sup>	50.0	64.7	43.4	50.0

<sup>a</sup>) The test was given in the ninth grade. See Chapter 7 for test description.

<sup>b</sup>) Ten cases or less.

important to note that the picture changes in a number of groups when the dropout rates are presented according to level of ability. The most outstanding difference is in the comprehensive schools in development townships; in this group 74.6 % of those with a «Miltha» score below 90 do not complete 12 grades, but the dropout rates at the other ability levels are much lower, ranging from 26 % to 36 %. These dropout rates in the development townships are relatively low although they refer to only 44 % of the pupils in the develo-

pment township group who have an IQ score of above 90. The significance of these dropout rates will be seen later, parallel with the data on success in the matriculation examinations.

The «Miltha» score of 90 forms a dividing line with regard to dropout rates in most of the groups. Thus, for example, in the regional secondary school 95 % with scores below 90 drop out of secondary school, while in other frameworks some two-thirds of the pupils drop out. In the boarding group only half of the pupils with this level of ability reach the twelfth grade, while at other levels of ability some 80 % manage to complete their secondary studies. Perhaps those responsible for the boarding school program should regard this dividing line as a criterion in selecting candidates from the standpoint of the cost-effectiveness of investment in a group of pupils of whom, in the present circumstances, only half will complete their secondary education. Alternative programs should be developed for students with a lower level of ability.

As the boarding school program was mainly developed for students of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin,<sup>7</sup> it should be interesting to analyze the data on dropout rates according to the ethnic origin of students in our study groups.

In Table 9.4 it can be seen that in the boarding group there is no difference between the dropout rates of pupils of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin and those of European origin, although in most of the other schools these differences are substantial. In the comprehensive schools in development townships the dropout rates of pupils of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin are almost twice those of students originating from Europe. In the regional secondary school 91 % of the students of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin who began to study at this institution dropped out. And in the selective schools, where the pupils of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin are few and generally do not come from a low social class, their dropout rates are almost double those of European origin pupils. In the «special» boarding schools the dropout rates of students of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin are much lower than the rates of those originating from Europe. Because of the special character of these boarding schools the dropouts

Table 9.4

## Dropout Rates by Study Groups and Father's Country of Birth

Study group	Father's country of birth			
	Israel	Middle East and North Africa	Balkan Countries	Europe
A. Fostering boarding group	33.3 <sup>a</sup>	25.1	33.3 <sup>a</sup>	25.2
B. Classmates				
C. Day fostering group	50.0	42.5	—	11.7
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	0.0 <sup>a</sup>	65.1	57.1	38.2
E. Regional secondary school	16.6	90.9	0.0 <sup>a</sup>	56.3
F. Secondary school in immigrant town	37.5 <sup>a</sup>	50.8	20.8	39.3
G. Average-level «academic» secondary school	66.6	56.5	37.5	52.1
H. Selective «academic» secondary schools	26.3	37.5	12.1	19.4
I. «Special» boarding schools	55.0	23.0	0.0 <sup>a</sup>	52.5

<sup>a</sup>Less than 10 cases.

are generally «problematic» and related apparently with other variables than those of socio-economic background and ability.

Looking at the dropout rates of students of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin it can be seen that in the boarding schools of the fostering program these rates are much lower than in other institutions. While in these boarding schools only 25 % of such pupils dropped out, in the comprehensive schools almost two-thirds dropped out; in the regional school more than 90 % dropped out, and in the immigrant town secondary school almost 60 % dropped out. Therefore, if the variable «ethnic origin» is isolated, the achievement of the

fostering program in lowering dropout rates of students is even more apparent.

A similar analysis of the dropout rates was made according to father's occupation and level of education. Controlling these two variables did not change the general finding of lower dropout rates in the boarding group as compared with the other groups of our study. <sup>8</sup>

An interesting result was obtained from the analysis of dropout rates by sex (see Table 9.5). While in all comparison groups the dropout rates of girls are lower than those of boys, in the boarding group their rate is considerably higher than that of boys. The gap between the dropout rates exists in all institutions of the boarding program that absorb students from both sexes, but is highest in the technical boarding school (50.0 % for girls and 18.6 % for boys) and in the academic boarding school (29.4 % for girls and 15.6 % for boys). These two boarding schools differ in their educational programs and in the average level of ability of their students, but in both of them the girls form a minority of students and their average level of ability is below that of the boys.

Table 9.5

Dropout Rates by Study Groups and Sex

Study group	Sex	
	Male	Female
A. Fostering boarding group	21.5	32.0
B. Classmates		
C. Day-fostering group	36.1	20.0 <sup>a</sup>
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	68.7	41.2
E. Regional secondary school	67.7	46.5
F. Secondary school in immigrat town	44.9	40.0
G. Average-level «academic» secondary school	56.7	46.1
H. Selective «academic» schools	24.5	16.9
I. «Special» boarding schools	50.7	— <sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Less than 10 cases.

<sup>b</sup>There are no girls in these boarding schools.

Controlling the variable of IQ, it was found that the difference between the dropout rates of the two sexes is large not only below 90 (69.2 % for girls and 38.4 % for boys) but also at the high level of IQ, 100 to 109. No such gap was found for the medial level of 90 to 99.

The above findings may suggest that the boarding program has not yet found the appropriate way to treat the girls it absorbs, regarding their direction into an educational program that is meaningful for them and the provision of the necessary support for adjustment to a certain social framework or living away from home. This result confirms part of the doubts of the program's leadership when a decision was made to absorb a majority of boys. This decision was based on the assumption that because of different social expectations for girls within certain ethnic groups, the girls would not be able to benefit from this program in the same way as boys.

## SUCCESS IN THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS

This section presents the rates of success in the matriculation examinations for those taking these exams in the various study groups. In analyzing the results attention must be paid not only to the proportion of students who qualify for the certificate of matriculation, but also to those students who need to pass only in one more subject in order to qualify for the certificate. Some students will take this examination during or after their military service; hence they may be regarded as potential matriculants. In other words, defining success in matriculation only as success in all subjects not including the students who lack only one subject in order to qualify for the certificate, might be misleading. A clear example of such possible distortion can be seen in the data concerning the comprehensive schools in development townships (Group D, Table 9.8). The rates of students who passed in all subjects of the matriculation examinations as well as the rates of those students lacking only one subject on their exams are included.

Table 9.6

Rates of Success in Matriculation Examination of the Boarding Group and Their Classmates (1961 Class)

Study Group	Success in matriculation		
	Actual matriculants	Lack one subject	Potential matriculants
The boarding group	92.3	6.1	98.4
Classmates	86.4	11.5	97.9

The first group is defined as «actual matriculants» while the total of both groups is defined as «potential matriculants.»

Sixty-five out of the seventy-eight students who were accepted into the first group of the boarding program completed the twelfth grade and took the matriculation exams; 92.3 % of them passed the exams and qualified for the «Matriculation Certificate» and additional 6.1 % lacked only one subject for matriculation, yielding a 98.4 % rate of «potential matriculation.» As can be seen in Table 9.6, the «actual» rate of matriculation in the boarding group is higher than the one in the comparison group of their classmates (86.4 %), while the «potential» rate is almost identical in both groups.

Similar high rates of success were found for the candidates comparison group and for the high level «Norm A» Middle-Eastern and North-African students in the Orr study,<sup>10</sup> but all of these rates have to be viewed together with the higher dropout rates in the comparison groups, as presented in the previous section of this chapter.

Another criterion for evaluating success on matriculation exams is provided by the scores attained in the various subjects included in the examinations. The scores are based on a 10 point scale where a score of «6» is defined as the minimal satisfactory score.

In Table 9.7 it can be seen that generally the scores attained by the students of the boarding program were similar to or slightly higher than those of their classmates, in spite of their cultural and educational background and the low dropout rate

Table 9.7

Mean Scores on Matriculation Examinations by Study Group and Subject (1961 Class)

Study group	Subject							
	Written expre- ssion	Litera- ture	Bible	English as a foreign language	Mathe- matics	Chemis- try	Bio- logy	Social sciences
Boarding group	6.6	7.1	7.4	6.3	7.1	7.3	7.2	7.3
Classmates	6.5	7.0	7.3	6.9	6.7	6.5	7.0	7.0

of the boarding group. The only exception was «English as a foreign language,» where the teaching standard in most elementary disadvantaged schools is particularly low. In this subject it seems that despite the efforts made by the students and their teachers in the boarding program, they were unable to bridge the gap.

In Table 9.8, the rates of success in the matriculation exams of the 1966 class obtained from stage two of our study are presented. The differences between the groups stand out more if the rates of «actual matriculants» are compared; they decrease if the rates of «potential matriculants» are compared. Almost 90 % of the pupils in the selective schools who reached the twelfth grade qualify for certificates of matriculation; if those lacking only one subject are added, nearly 95 % of the candidates in these schools will matriculate. At the other extreme are the comprehensive schools in development townships. There only 43.4 % matriculated, although adding those who lack only one subject, almost 80 % are potential matriculants. The range of success in the matriculation examinations from among those who persisted till the twelfth grade is, therefore, between 43 % and 89 % when speaking of immediate success in the examinations, and between 78 % and 94 % when referring to «potential success.»

Of the boarding school pupils who sat for the examinations, 71.3 % matriculated and about 16 % more lacked only one

Table 9.8

Rates of Success in Matriculation Examinations by Study Groups (in percentages)

Study group	Success in examinations		
	Actual matriculants	Lack one subject	Potential matriculants
A. Fostering boarding group	71.3	15.7	87.0
B. Classmates	63.9	18.6	82.5
C. Day-fostering group	76.2	16.7	92.9
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	43.4	34.9	78.3
E. Regional secondary school	74.3	8.6	82.9
F. Secondary school in immigrant town	66.3	23.1	89.4
G. Average «academic» secondary school	69.5	17.1	86.6
H. Selective «academic» schools	88.6	5.4	94.0
I. «Special» boarding schools	73.6	10.5	84.1

subject; that is to say, 87 % can be regarded as potential matriculants and holders of «admission tickets» for further studies in institutions of higher education. Analyzing the success rates of the various schools included in the boarding program reveals the following differences. While in the academic boarding school (school no. 10) 89.5 % were «actual matriculants» and 100 % «potential matriculants,» the parallel rates in the «religious boarding school for girls» were 84.6 and 96.1 %. At the other three boarding schools of the program the rate of «actual matriculants» ranged from 61 % to 65 % and the rate of «potential matriculants,» from 78 % to 94 %. The rates of success of the first two schools are similar to the high rate of success in the «selective academic schools» (Group H) in spite of the much higher socio-economic background of the students in this comparison group.

Among the various comparison groups, 74 % of the candi-

dates in the regional school matriculated, and another 8.6 % lacked only one subject. In the average level «academic» school (Group G) 69 % matriculated and another 17 % lacked one subject. A similar rate of success can be found in the immigrant town school (Group F). However, these data are not surprising if the data on dropout rates in these schools are added to them. Virtually half the pupils entering these schools at grade nine do not complete the four years of study (see Table 9.2), so that the population which arrives at these examinations is a selective one whose success in matriculation should be assured. Success of the fostering project pupils in the matriculation examinations should, therefore, be considered together with the data on their lower dropout rates. Approximately 87 % of those who sat for the examinations will matriculate now or in the near future, in spite of the fact that only about 26 % of the pupils in the project dropped out of secondary school and did not reach the matriculation stage. Only such observation of the data reflects the significance of the prospect that the fostering project gives to its participants. This kind of analysis is provided in the following section.

As in the case of dropout rates, an analysis of the data on the matriculation examinations was made controlling the variables of IQ, sex, ethnic origin, and father's level of education. <sup>11</sup>

In general the matriculation success rates rise with increasing ability level. In the boarding school of the fostering project a clear dividing line is observed between the success rates of those with a «Miltha» score below 100 and those whose score is over 100. It is interesting to note this dividing line in conjunction with that for dropouts at the «Miltha» score of 90. (See Table 9.3).

In spite of the fact that the dropout rates in the boarding schools of the fostering program are low compared with those in the other groups studied, their success rates do not fall below those of students of similar ability in other institutions. At the same time it should be noted that the differences are not large, and sometimes the position of the boarding school pupils is worse—for example, those with a low level of ability. Forty-six percent of the boarding school students below the 90 «Miltha» level qualified for matriculation certificates, with

another 23 % lacking one subject, that is, 69 % of them are potential matriculants. In the development townships only 26 % of the pupils at this level of ability qualified for matriculation, but another 63 % lacked only one subject—89 % are potential matriculants. In the immigrant town secondary schools 59 % matriculated, with another 42 % lacking one subject. It was impossible to compare these figures with the other groups because hardly any students of this level of ability remained in school until the matriculation stage. Thus one advantage of the boarding school lies in its «holding power.» It holds the pupils of a low level of ability and brings them to the matriculation examinations, as opposed to other institutions, which cast them out in the course of the four years of secondary education. However, it appears that the fostering project has not yet found the right way to promote these pupils of below 90 «Miltha» IQ and improve their chances of success in matriculation in spite of their low level of ability.

Separating the students of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin, the fostering boarding schools still have the advantage, although this advantage is somewhat reduced if «potential matriculants» are taken into account. Sixty-nine percent of the boarding school pupils who are of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin qualify for the matriculation certificate, as opposed to 56 % in the development townships, 32 % in the immigrant town, 57 % in the average-level «academic» school, and 71 % in the selective schools, although the boarding school pupils of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin are generally of a higher average level of ability than those in the other institutions.

About 69 % of the students in the boarding program whose fathers had incomplete elementary education qualified for matriculation certificates, with another 17 % lacking only one subject. This is a higher rate of success than in the comprehensive schools in development townships (43.5 %). In the regional school and in the immigrant town school only a few pupils with fathers at the elementary educational level reached the matriculation examinations. In the average-level «academic» school and in the selective schools the rate of success was higher, but the students in these schools were

generally of European origin. A similar picture is obtained at the other educational levels of the fathers.

Another important finding was that in the fostering boarding schools the high success rates were not greatly affected by the father's educational level. This is particularly important with regard to the large group of children of fathers with no schooling or with only elementary schooling who form about 75 % of the boarding school pupils.

## A COMBINED INDEX OF DROPOUT RATES AND SUCCESS IN MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS

In the two previous sections of this chapter we dealt with the dropout rates in secondary school and with the rates of success in the matriculation examinations. The data on each of these two criteria were discussed separately. In this section we will attempt to examine all the data together in order to get some idea of the differential chances of success for the students in the various groups. Since success in secondary school is correlated with level of ability and with ethnic origin, and the boarding program was developed mainly for students of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin, this section will focus on the results regarding students of this origin presented according to level of ability.<sup>12</sup>

For certain levels of ability, however, there are very few Middle-Eastern and North-African students in some of the comparison groups. Therefore, a detailed comparison between the boarding group and some of the comparison groups is of limited value. As an example, for level of ability below 90 there are no Middle-Eastern and North-African students at the «special» boarding schools (Group I), only two students in the selective schools (Group H) and only nine students among the classmates. Most of the Middle-Eastern and North-African students of this level of ability are concentrated at the comprehensive schools in the development townships. At the same time the largest group of Middle-Eastern and North-African students with an ability level of 110 or more was at the «selective» academic schools (Group H), there were none at the regional school (Group E) and less than ten in

Groups D, F, G and I. While this situation might reflect an interesting finding of our study, it nevertheless restricts analysis of the data. To overcome this difficulty and at the same time to condense presentation of the results, all comparison groups were combined into one total group.<sup>13</sup>

As mentioned in Chapter 7, the comparison groups were not selected on a completely random basis, thus this total comparison group does not necessarily represent the entire population of Middle-Eastern students within the secondary school system of Israel. About one-third of the Middle-Eastern and North-African students in our comparison group studied at high level secondary schools (Groups G, H and I), while the rate of Middle-Eastern and North-African students in the entire system that are accepted into secondary schools of similar quality is lower than that. This fact might suggest that the rates of success of Middle-Eastern and North-African students that were found in our study are an overestimate of the actual success rates of Middle-Eastern and North-African students in the entire system. From this point of view, the bias of our sample might be «against» the boarding program in the sense that it decreases the actual gap between the rates of success that the program provides for students of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin and the rates of success provided by the entire educational system. Thus the results of our study might actually provide an underestimate of the relative advantage of the boarding program in improving the educational opportunities of Middle-Eastern and North-African students.

While presenting the comparison between the boarding group and the total comparison group of the Middle-Eastern and North-African students, some illustrations of the success rates within specific comparison groups that are typical for students of various levels of ability will also be provided.

Table 9.9 shows the success rates of the Middle-Eastern and North-African students in the boarding group and in the total comparison group according to their level of ability. Starting with the ability level of a below 90 «Miltha» IQ score, only 19 students of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin at this level of ability were absorbed by the boarding program. Half of them (53 %) completed 12 grades of secondary educa-

Table 9.9.

Rates of Success in Secondary Education of Middle-Eastern and North-African Students in the Boarding Group and in the Total Comparison Group by Levels of Ability

Level of ability (IQ)	Study group	Began secondary studies		Rates of success		
		Number	Rate	Completed 12 grades	Potential <sup>a</sup> matriculants	Actual matriculants
To 89	Boarding group	19	100	53	32	16
	Total comparison group	178	100	22	13	6
90-99	Boarding group	50	100	86	66	48
	Total comparison group	96	100	49	38	31
100-109	Boarding group	62	100	73	65	55
	Total comparison group	100	100	69	51	39
110 and over	Boarding group	40	100	90	83	75
	Total comparison group	83	100	81	69	64

<sup>a</sup> Including students who lack one subject for matriculation.

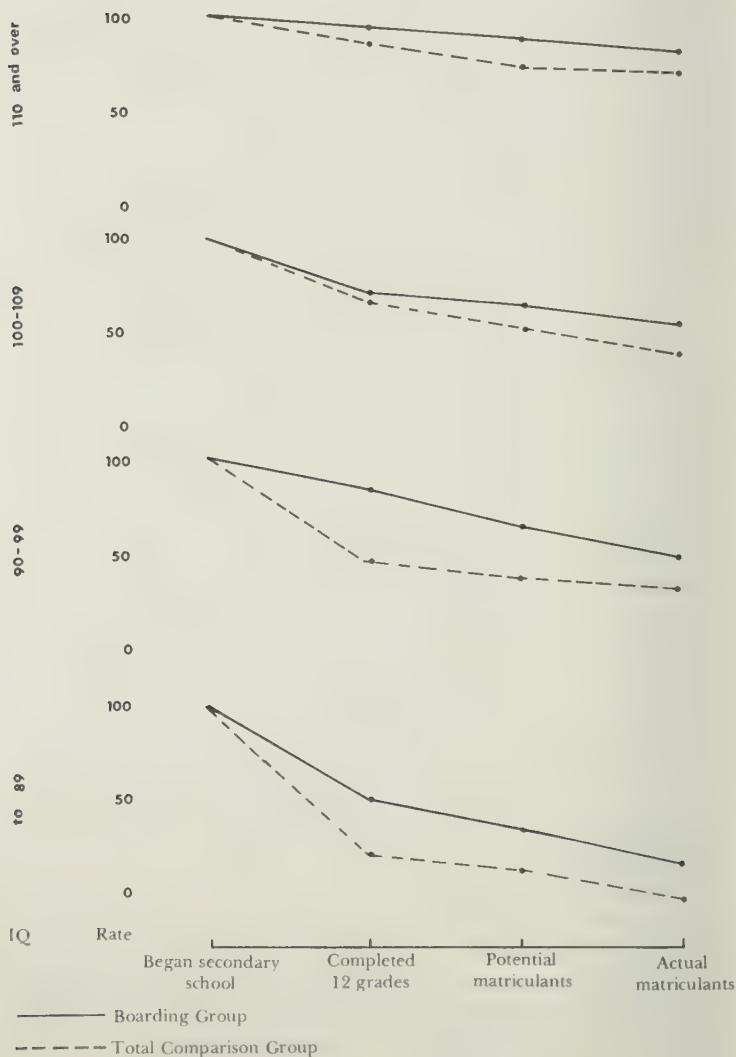
tion, about one-third of them may be perceived as potential matriculants (including those that lack one subject for matriculation) while only 16 % completely passed the matriculation exams. Although these rates of success are not high they are much higher than those of the comparison group. One hundred and seventy eight students of this origin and level of ability began their secondary studies within the schools included in our study. Only 22 % of them reached the twelfth grade and only 13 % of those that began their studies became potential matriculants. Most of them (106 students) began their secondary studies within the comprehensive schools in the development townships. In these schools the rates of success were even lower than the average for the total group; only 19 % reached the twelfth grade, only 2 % passed the matriculation exam with and additional 8 % lacking one subject. The educational opportunity provided by the boarding program to this kind of students is much better than in the other institutions, although it is not as good as the opportunity provided by the program for students with higher levels of ability. However, only a small number of such students were accepted into the program.

Much higher rates of success were obtained within the boarding group for students with a 90 to 99 IQ score. At this level of ability 86 % graduated from secondary school, about two-thirds of them being at least potential matriculants. These rates of success were almost twice as high as the parallel rates in the comparison group with some moderate differences between the schools that accepted such students.

At the two higher levels of ability there is an increase in the rates of success in the boarding group as well as in the comparison group. Thus, while the boarding program provided a better chance of success for students with a higher level of ability, its relative advantage over the regular educational institutes decreased.

The relative advantage of the boarding program for Middle-Eastern and North-African students of various levels of ability can best be seen in Figure 9.1 where the data for Table 9.9 are presented graphically. It is apparent from this graphical presentation that at all levels of ability the boarding program has an advantage in creating a better chance for

Figure 9.1 Rates of Success in Secondary School of Middle-Eastern Students in the Boarding Group and in the Total Comparison Group by Level of Ability.



success than the one provided by the regular school. Nevertheless, this advantage is extremely large for the lower levels of ability and becomes gradually smaller at the higher levels of ability. In other words, students of Middle-Eastern and North-African origin with high level of ability succeed in acquiring secondary education outside the framework of the fostering project, too. For these youths the fostering project might perhaps find more difficult challenges in the intellectual, human and social domains, than simply to reach and pass the matriculation examinations. On the other hand, the chances of success of pupils with low ability are much improved in the framework of the fostering project, although their chances fall far below the chances of the more able pupils, and the rates of their absorption into the program are lower.

## ENDNOTES

1. See, for example, A. J. Tannenbaum, *Dropout or diploma*. Teachers College Press, New York, 1966. D. Schreiber, (Ed.), *Profile of the school dropout*. Vintage Books, New York, 1968. R. A. Dentler and M. E. War hauer, *Big city dropouts and illiterates*. Fredrick A. Praeger, New York, 1968.
2. See, for example, L. Orr, «The reliability of the Israeli "Bagrut" examinations», *Megamot*, 1963; 12, 220-243 (In Hebrew); J. S. Bentwich, «Examination and evaluation in secondary schools» *Megamot*, 1963, 12, 203-219 (In Hebrew); M. Chen, R. Doron and G. Yaziv, «The value of the "Bagrut" matriculation examinations in predicting success in higher studies», *Megamot*, 1966, 19, pp 359-371 (In Hebrew).
3. See Chapter Seven. It is recommended that the reader review the description of the various study groups prior to reading the rest of this chapter.
4. L. Orr, *Follow-up of the continuation of studies among the National Scholastic Survey examinee*. The Henrietta Szold Institute, Jerusalem, 1964 (In Hebrew).
5. «Norm A» in the «National Survey Test» (Seker), referring to the upper quartile on a nationwide standardized test.
6. Except for the selective schools, where the dropout rate of pupils with an I.Q. of no more than 90 is lower than in the fostering boarding schools, but in these schools there are only

10 pupils with this level of ability, and they form 1.7 % of all the pupils. It may be assumed that their admission to the school and their persistence were made possible because of some special family background.

7. «Origin» refers here to father's country of birth; most of the subjects in our study were born in Israel or began their elementary schooling from the first grade in Israel.
8. The interested reader could refer to the detailed data presented in our technical report, M. Smilansky and D. Nevo, *Secondary boarding schools for gifted students from culturally disadvantaged strata. Technical report no. 2: The socio-economic background of the students and their success in secondary school*. Tel-Aviv University and the Henrietta Szold Institute, Tel-Aviv, 1971.
9. School No. 10, see Appendix.
10. Orr, 1964, *Ibid.*
11. Smilansky and Nevo, 1971, *Ibid.*
12. For parallel data on students of European origin see: Smilansky and Nevo, 1971, *Ibid.*
13. Excluding Group C of the day fostering program.

## Chapter Ten

# The Social Acceptance of the Boarding Students Within Their Classes

### INTRODUCTION

When socio-metric measurement first began, efforts were made to use this instrument to examine intergroup separation and prejudice. Numerous studies have found ethnic origin and socio-economic background as correlates of social acceptance. <sup>1</sup> One of the strong apprehensions of American educators who took an interest in mixed white-black schools following the process of desegregation within the American educational system, was the fear that minority group children would be socially rejected by their classmates. The fostering boarding school was especially concerned about this variable as one of its assumptions was that students from culturally disadvantaged strata should be brought into classes of students with higher socio-economic background and thus create a basis of interaction and mutual understanding between the groups. The central hypothesis regarding this effort of social integration within the school, was that there would be a positive adjustment of the culturally disadvantaged students to the social framework in the heterogeneous classes where they study, as expressed by the students' social acceptance by their classmates. Various criteria could be used to evaluate the social adjustment of the boarding students to the social framework of the integrates class. In this chapter the following three will be discussed:

- 1) The representation of the boarding students in the var-

ious levels of acceptance in the integrated classes where they studied.

2) The correlation between the social acceptance of boarding students in the boarding setting comprised of students with similar background, and their social acceptance in the integrated class including their peers of higher socio-economic background.

3) The rate of in-group and out-group social relationships of the two groups in the integrated class.

The first two criteria are similar in essence but differ in the way they define «positive social acceptance.» In both cases the boarding students were not expected to occupy the highest levels of social acceptance only; neither were they expected to be rejected into the lower levels of acceptance in their integrated classes. The criterion for positive social acceptance in the first case was equal distribution among all levels of acceptance within the class. In the second case social acceptance of a student in the boarding home comprised of peers with similar socio-economic background was used as a criterion for social acceptance by peers of higher socio-economic background in the integrated class. Thus, a positive correlation was expected between the social acceptance in their class.

The third criterion was based on the notion that one of the goals of the boarding program was to facilitate social integration among youth of different socio-economic background and ethnic origin. It was anticipated that social interaction among students in a mixed class would not be related to background and would disregard the present «belonging» to the «boarding group» or to the regular population of the class.

Social acceptance was measured at the second stage of our study by two socio-metric questionnaires administered simultaneously in the boarding setting and in the classroom setting, at the end of the ninth and twelfth grades. The one administered in the boarding setting was comprised of eight questions with positive choices (e.g., «Who are the students with whom you would most like to share a room?») and four questions with negative choices (e.g., «Are there any with whom you would *not* like to share a room?»). The parallel questionnaire administered in the classrooms, included the same items as in

the boarding questionnaire except the question about living in a shared room, which is irrelevant to the classroom setting. The questionnaires were not filled in anonymously; subjects were asked to write their names, which enabled us to investigate relations between the groups, not only the level of members' acceptance.

Students' acceptance scores were determined by the number of times they were mentioned by their peers in all the positive questions, minus the number of times mentioned in the negative questions. The students were ranked in each class and boarding facility according to their score of acceptance, and were divided into acceptance quarters according to this ranking.

In the following sections the main findings on the social acceptance of the 1966 class of boarding students will be presented according to the three criteria that were defined. <sup>2</sup>

### THE REPRESENTATION OF BOARDING STUDENTS IN THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE IN THE INTEGRATED CLASS

In this section the social adjustment of the boarding students in their classes will be evaluated according to the first criterion. As mentioned earlier, the total population of each integrated class, including boarding students and their classmates, was ranked according to the net <sup>3</sup> number of choices for each student; then quartile points were located for each class. The acceptance level of the students was then determined according to the quarter they were in. The first quarter represents the lowest level of acceptance and the fourth quarter represents the highest. Thus, a student in the fourth quarter is one of the 25 % of the students in the class with the highest level of acceptance. Table 10.1 presents the distribution of the boarding students according to quarters of acceptance in their integrated classes in the ninth and twelfth grade.

For an equal representation of the boarding students in all levels of social acceptance 25 % would be expected in each quarter. The findings indicate only slight deviations from such a uniform distribution—generally towards the higher levels of

Table 10.1

Boarding Students by Class Quarter of Acceptance in the Ninth and Twelfth Grade (In Percentage)

Grade	Level of acceptance				Total
	1st Quarter (lowest)	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter (highest)	
Ninth Grade	23.1	24.0	26.0	26.0	100.0
Twelfth Grade	17.3	28.3	26.1	28.3	100.0

acceptance. In other words, not only were boarding students not rejected into the lower levels of acceptance, they were slightly overrepresented in the higher levels of social acceptance. In the twelfth grade their representation in the lowest level was considerably smaller than in the ninth grade, as some of the students with adjustment difficulties dropped out of school and others probably improved their level of acceptance by further acquaintance with peers during the four year period.

The data were also analyzed separately for various classes where the boarding students studied. Although there were some variations among the classes, the results did not change the general picture as presented in Table 10.1. If equal distribution of the boarding students among all levels of social acceptance is perceived as a satisfactory criterion for adjustment to the social framework of their classes, our finding support the notion that culturally disadvantaged students can be accepted by their peers in an integrated class—if they belong to the type of selective and supportive group represented in this study.

#### THE CORRELATION BETWEEN SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE IN THE HOMOGENEOUS BOARDING SETTING AND THE INTEGRATED SCHOOL CLASS

For each boarding student two scores of social acceptance were obtained; one was based on the responses of classmates

and the other on the responses of peers in the boarding facility. It was expected that students with a high socio-metric status among their peers of similar socio-economic background in the boarding facility would have a similarly high status among their classmates in the integrated class.

The correlation coefficient between the two scores was 0.75 in the ninth grade and 0.55 in the twelfth grade. These coefficients are not only statistically significant at the 0.01 level, but are also considerably high.

These correlation coefficients may result, to some extent, from the fact that the same boys and girls who participated in determining the acceptance in the boarding setting also participated in determining acceptance in the class. Therefore, the correlation coefficient between the score for acceptance in the boarding facility and the acceptance score by the classmates only was calculated that is, the score that would have been obtained were only the classmates to choose in the class. These correlation coefficients were found to be lower than the first ones (0.59 in the ninth grade and 0.33 in the twelfth grade). The latter correlation coefficients overcome the statistical limitation of dependence between acceptance in the boarding setting and acceptance in the class when part of those choosing are identical. However, in effect the score «acceptance by classmates only» is artificial—for the fact that the boarding students are in the class and certainly influence the student's acceptance in the class cannot be disregarded. In either case the correlation coefficients were significant at the 0.01 level.

Table 10.2

Correlation Coefficients between Acceptance Scores in the Boarding and Class Settings in the ninth and twelfth Grade

	Total class	Classmates only
Ninth Grade	0.75 <sup>a</sup>	0.59 <sup>a</sup>
Twelfth Grade	0.55 <sup>a</sup>	0.33 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Significant at 0.01.

These correlation coefficients seem to support the general hypothesis about the social acceptance of the boarding students in their classes. However, the existence of a correlation between the acceptance score in the class and in the boarding setting does not provide any information about the degree of change of the socio-metric status of the students when moved from the homogeneous setting of the boarding facility to the heterogeneous setting of the integrated class. To answer this question, the acceptance quarter of each student in the boarding setting was compared with the acceptance quarter in the class. A summary of such comparisons for all boarding students is presented in Table 10.3.

Table 10.3

Changes in Level of Acceptance from Acceptance Quarter in Boarding Setting to Quarter of Acceptance in Integrated Class (In Percentage)

Grade	No change	Rise in one quarter	Rise in two quarters	Decline in one quarter	Decline in two quarters	Total
Ninth Grade	49.6	16.6	7.9	18.7	7.2	100.0
Twelfth Grade	37.2	26.9	12.8	14.1	9.0	100.0

In Table 10.3 there is an almost balanced situation for the ninth grade and a trend of improvement in the twelfth grade. In the ninth grade about 50 % did not change their socio-metric status, as they were in the same acceptance quarter in the boarding setting as well as in the class setting. About 25 % of the boarding students in the ninth grade improved their status by moving from a lower level of acceptance in the boarding setting to a higher level in their class. A similar rate of about 25 % lost some of the status they had in the boarding setting by moving to a lower level of acceptance in their integrated class. For similar reasons to those mentioned regarding the data in Table 10.1, the situation was somehow different in

the twelfth grade. There only 37 % of the students remained at the same acceptance level, about 40 % improved their status and only 23 % lost status. In the twelfth grade the rate of boarding students who improved the socio-metric status in their classes relative to their status in the boarding setting, was considerably higher than the rate of those that lost status, while in the ninth grade both rates were similar. Thus culturally disadvantaged students did not lose the socio-metric status among their peers in an integrated class—rather a situation of change occurred, in both directions, in the transfer from one social setting to another.

*To summarize this section, there is a strong relation between the socio-metric status of the boarding students among peers of similar background and their status among peers in an integrated class. We did not expect all boarding students to attain high socio-metric status in an integrated class; we did expect them not to pay the price of integration by losing status among their peers while sharing a class with students of higher socio-metric background. The results of our study seem to justify such an expectation in the framework of a fostering program like the one in question.*

### IN-GROUP AND OUT-GROUP SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS OF THE BOARDING STUDENTS AND THEIR CLASSMATES IN THE INTEGRATED CLASS

As previously indicated, the socio-metric questionnaire which served as the basis for measuring social acceptance in the class setting, was comprised of seven positive choice questions and three negative choice questions. In each question the students were asked to indicate three names, but they were permitted to write fewer than three names if they so wished. Each student could, therefore, list 21 names or less in the positive choices and 9 names or less for the rejecting (negative) questions. For the ninth grade, 2,580 positive choices were made by 173 boarding students, <sup>4</sup> comprising 37.7 % of the student body in their class, and 4,124 positive choices were made by their 286 classmates, comprising the other 62.3 % of the stu-

dent body in these classes. If socio-metric choices are perceived as an expression of social relationships (both positive and negative), then the relative relationship rate both within each group and outside the group can be examined, by dividing the choices made by each group into «in-group choices» and «out-group choices» and comparing them with the proportion of each group in the total population of the classes. According to our criterion for social interaction between the boarding students and their classmates, the rate of in-group choices for each group was expected to be similar to its proportion in the student body of the class.

Table 10.4

Rates of Positive In-Group Sociometric Choices of Boarding Students and their Classmates in the Ninth Grade (In Percentage)

Study group	Rate of in-group choices	Proportion in total population
Boarding group	74.2	37.7
Classmates	79.6	62.3

As can be seen in Table 10.4 and Table 10.5, the results did not support our expectations. While only 37.7 % of in-group choices were expected among the boarding group, 74.2 % of their choices were found to be in-group choices. At the same time only about 62 % of the classmates' choices were expected to be in-group choices, but almost 80 % were found. For both groups the deviations of the obtained rates from the expected rates are statistically significant,<sup>5</sup> although the deviation of the classmates' group seems to be smaller than that of the boarding group.

In the twelfth grade the rate of positive in-group choices was still higher than the proportion of each group in the total population of the integrated classes, although there seems to be a considerable decrease in the rates of in-group choices. The rate of in-group choices of the boarding group decreased from 74.2 % in the ninth grade to 64.4 % in the twelfth grade.

At the same time, because of lower dropout rates, the proportion of boarding students in their classes rose from 37.7 % in the ninth grade to 46.8 % in the twelfth grade. Thus although the rate of in-group choices more closely approximated their proportion in the classes, it was still significantly different from this proportion. There was also a similar drop in the rate of in-group choices of the classmates' group, from 79.6 % in the ninth grade to 68.4 % in the twelfth grade, but at the same time their proportion in the population also dropped from 62.3 % in the ninth grade to 53.2 % in the twelfth grade.

Therefore, contrary to expectations, in both groups there was a significant tendency to prefer in-group social relationships. This tendency was found in the ninth grade as well as in the twelfth grade, although it was considerably weaker in the final grade, following four years of interaction. Should this tendency be perceived as an expression of cleavage and hostility between the two groups in the integrated class? Before attempting to answer this question, let us consider the results of the *negative* socio-metric choices.

Table 10.5

Rates of Positive In-Group Socio-metric Choices of Boarding Students and their Classmates in the Twelfth Grade (In Percentage)

Study group	Rate of in-group choices	Proportion in total population
Boarding group	64.4	46.8
Classmates	68.4	53.2

As we mentioned earlier, the socio-metric questionnaire also included questions on negative choices, or rejection, like, «Are there some students that would *refuse* to help you?» or «Are there some students that you *don't like*?» The boarding students in the ninth grade made 520 negative choices; 64.2 % of them were in-group choices. The classmates made 77 negative choices; 72.4 % of them were in-group choices and only 27.6 % of them were directed toward the boarding students in their class.

Table 10.6

Rates of Negative In-Group Socio-metric Choices of Boarding Students and their Classmates in the Ninth Grade (In Percentage)

Study group	Rate of in-group choices	Proportion in total population
Boarding group	64.2	37.7
Classmates	72.4	62.3

As can be seen in Table 10.6, the rates of in-group choices were much higher than expected according to the proportion of each group in the population of the classes. Comparing Tables 10.6 and 10.4, the tendency to prefer both positive and negative in-group choices can be seen. The results for the twelfth grade are similar to the results in the ninth grade, (See Table 10.7). The rates of in-group choices for both groups are still higher than the proportion of these groups in the total population, although they are lower than in the ninth grade. The decrease in rates of negative in-group choices from the ninth to the twelfth grade, was smaller than the decrease in the rates of positive choices. This is especially outstanding in the classmate group, where in spite of the decrease in their proportion in the total student population (from 62.3 % in the ninth grade to 53.2 % in the twelfth grade), the decrease in their rate of in-group choices was only from 72.4 % to 68.1 %.

Table 10.7

Rates of Negative In-Group Socio-metric Choices of Boarding Students and their Classmates in the Twelfth Grade (In Percentage)

Study group	Rate of in-group choices	Proportion in total population
Boarding group	57.6	46.8
Classmates	68.1	53.2

To summarize the findings regarding the criterion of in-group and out-group social relationships in the integrated classes, the following points should be considered:

- a) Both groups in the integrated class tend to prefer in-group social relations.
- b) This tendency seems to be weaker in the twelfth grade, following a four-year period of interaction.
- c) The tendency to prefer in-group socio-metric choices applies to positive as well as negative choices.

In a situation where hostile relationships exist between two groups, one would expect that each group would direct positive choices towards its own members and negative choices towards members of the other group. However, in the integrated classes where the boarding students studied, each group preferred both positive and negative in-group choices. These findings do not indicate a situation of hostility between the groups; rather, they indicate a situation of greater intensity of social relationships within groups of similar characteristics, a common mode of living and greater frequency of daily physical contact. However, the boarding program should have attempted to intensify the social interaction between the boarding students and their classmates both during and after school hours.

## SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Three criteria were set for the evaluation of the social acceptance of the boarding students among their peers in the integrated classes where they studied. The first criterion was the distribution of the boarding students among the various levels of social acceptance in their classes. The second criterion was a positive relationship between the social acceptance of the boarding students within the boarding setting, comprised of students with similar socio-economic background, and their social acceptance in the integrated class shared by students with higher socio-economic background and not included in the boarding program. The third criterion was related to the

in-group and out-group social relationships among both groups, the boarding students and their classmates, comprising the integrated class.

As for the first criterion, it was found that the boarding students were equally represented in all four quarters defining levels of acceptance within the integrated class. Regarding the second criterion, high positive correlations were found between social acceptance in the boarding setting and the class setting. Although there were some shifts in the socio-metric status of boarding students, when their status at the boarding setting was compared with their status in their class, the shifts in status seemed to be balanced, providing increases of social status for some students and decreases for others. There seems to be no danger that culturally disadvantaged students, involved in a program like the boarding program, would lose their social status among their peers in an integrated class. *Thus the findings regarding the first two criteria supported our hypothesis about the positive adjustment of the boarding students to the social demands of the integrated class.*

As for the third criterion, support was not found to our expectation of balanced social interaction between the group of boarding students and their classmates. In both groups a tendency to prefer in-group social relationships was found, although this tendency was weaker in the twelfth grade than in the ninth grade. *Since this tendency was found for positive socio-metric choices as well as for negative choices, we concluded that it should not be perceived as evidence for hostility and rejection between the two groups; rather as mutual avoidance based on insufficient daily contact and difference in background and interest.* The preference of the in-group relationships is related apparently to the fact that the boarding students stay together for almost the entire day, whereas they are with their classmates only during school hours and in certain extracurricular activities in the afternoons. Also, the boarding students are similar in cultural background and are united by common goals and a separate organizational framework. With some minor exceptions, no serious effort was made by the management of the program to develop closer relationships between the boarding students and their classmates outside school hours. The daily routine at the boarding facility made it somewhat difficult to

maintain such contacts, and the motivation for the maintenance of such efforts was not supported by a clear ideological assumption about their necessity and feasibility. If the boarding program invests more in this direction in the future, the situation might change. However, even within the present set-up in the boarding program it is possible to maintain good social relationships between the two groups in the framework of an integrated class. This offers the culturally disadvantaged students a chance for positive social adjustment by inclining them towards a reference group which serves as an imitation model to raise their aspirational level, to motivate learning, and to acquaint them with the norms of the more well-established strata of the population.

To what extent can we generalize from these findings to the degree of social acceptance of culturally disadvantaged students who study in other heterogeneous settings in the educational system? This question is particularly significant in light of some recent social developments, which created an increasing measure of integration in the educational system. We must, of course, be wary of the simplified generalization of the findings for situations outside the context within which this study was conducted, because of the unique character of this educational framework and the purpose this evaluation study intended to serve. Our study does not suggest that culturally disadvantaged students will be accepted by their peers in every heterogeneous framework. However, we do suggest that *there is a possibility* that culturally disadvantaged students may attain positive social acceptance in an integrated framework, *if* deliberate efforts are made to create the appropriate conditions. The fostering boarding program suggests some of these conditions.

*The first condition* is that culturally disadvantaged students succeed in their studies and that their educational achievements do not fall below those of the other students, at least in the schools' minimum goals. This can be achieved either by advance selection of the most able students from among the lower social strata, as in the boarding program, or by altering the curriculum, instructional methods, and organization of the school in such a way as to guarantee success in studies of below average ability level students. Even those studies proposing

that the relationship between social acceptance and educational achievement is not linear but curvilinear, claim in effect that the prospects for social acceptance of students with low achievement levels are rather meager.

*The second condition* is that the culturally disadvantaged students have a strong motivation for success and willingness to cope with the social and educational demands of the heterogeneous framework. The suggestion of the boarding program's founders—to raise the motivation by creating a «crisis» and raising demands through selection and giving the pretentious title «gifted» to those selected—is one way for achieving this condition, which may or may not suit other situations. Other ways must be sought to create such motivation and in any event it is difficult to assume that it will be self-created. So, for example, we may ask, to what extent are culturally disadvantaged students, entering the heterogeneous Israeli junior high schools in seventh grade, prepared to cope with expectations of the new framework and to what extent is the educational system taking appropriate measures to prepare them for this?

*The third condition* is that an educational project directed towards social integration and positive adjustment of culturally disadvantaged students into a heterogeneous framework will be afforded high social and public prestige and broad support in the effort demanded. This support must be expressed both in its influence on the students who must cope with the problem and also in the assistance and support for the teachers and the educational system which accompany the students in the process of coping with the mixed framework's demands.

In the integrated school framework the prospect of positive social acceptance of culturally disadvantaged students will be brought about if the above mentioned conditions are created. If no deliberate effort is made to ensure these conditions, it is doubtful whether social integration can come about on its own by just placing students into mixed frameworks. There may even be hidden dangers concealed in this mixed framework if the suitable efforts for ensuring true integration in the schools are not made. In our presentation of a sample of a heterogeneous educational framework where culturally disadvantaged students achieved positive social acceptance, *we are*

not proposing support for the claim that culturally disadvantaged students are absorbed positively into the mixed schools' social framework, and therefore there should be no hesitation to create such schools in the educational system; we do suggest that there is such a possibility and we point to an educational effort which exemplifies the conditions for its realization. The prospects for culturally disadvantaged students to be absorbed socially in the integrated high schools depend upon the degree to which the conditions are created for their positive absorption and we must not be satisfied with the hope that «things will take care of themselves» only because in a formal way a mixed framework was set up.

## ENDNOTES

1. See, for example, A. D. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*. Wiley, New York, 1949; J. S. Coleman, *The adolescent society*. The Free Press, New York, 1961; R. J. Havighurst, et al., *Growing up in River City*. Wiley, New York, 1967; J. Katz, «Review of evidence relating to effects of desegregation on the intellectual performance of Negroes» in *American Psychologist*, 1964, **19**, pp. 381–399; B. Neugarten, «Social class and friendship among school children» in R. J. Havighurst, et al. (Eds.), *Society and education*. Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1967.
2. A complete report on the social acceptance of the boarding students can be found in the third technical report of this study. D. Nevo, and M. Smilansky, *Secondary boarding schools for gifted students from culturally disadvantaged strata: Technical report. No. 3: The social acceptance of students within the secondary school*. Tel-Aviv University and the Henrietta Szold Institute, Tel-Aviv, 1972 (In Hebrew).
3. The number of positive choices minus the number of negative choices.
4. The students of the rural boarding school (school no. 16, Appendix A) were not included as their classmates shared the boarding facilities with them.
5. Chi square test, significant at the 0.001 level.

## Chapter Eleven

# Continuation of Studies in Higher Education

Seventy-eight students were accepted into the boarding program in 1961 and started their secondary studies in the ninth grade. From among about 300 candidates that were not admitted to the boarding program, a comparison group of 78 students of similar ability level and socio-economic background was selected. A followup study on the «boarding group» and the «candidates comparison group» during a period of ten years, <sup>1</sup> provided longitudinal data on the educational attainments of these two groups. Both were from culturally disadvantaged strata with similar levels of ability; one was accepted into the boarding fostering program while the other group remained within the conventional framework of the educational system. While the boarding program accepts students only for a four year period of secondary education, the ten year study on the students, from the ages of 14 to 24, provides a comprehensive basis for assessing the significance of the boarding program.

Table 11.1 shows the educational levels attained by both groups during the ten year period since graduation from elementary school. Among the boarding students, 83 % of those accepted into the program graduated from high school. Almost all of them (79 %) entered some institute of post-secondary education—65 % studied in universities. In 1971, ten years after graduation from elementary school, 63 % of the boarding students were involved in undergraduate or graduate studies at the university, while 40 % of the total group had already attained a B. A. degree. In the comparison group, almost all students (97 %) who graduated from elementary school started secondary education in 1961

Table 11.1  
 Rates of Students in Study Groups Who Attained Various Educational Levels During Ten Years Since Graduation  
 From Elementary School (In Percentage)

Study group	Educational level attained							
	Graduated from elementary school	Entered the ninth grade	Completed twelve grades	Completed twelve grades in academic school	Entered post-secondary institute	Entered a university	Studied in a university in 1971	Held a B. A. in 1971
Boarding group	100	100	83	83	79	65	63	40
Comparison group	100	97	58	49	51	39	36	16
	100	97	73	59	58	46	43	19

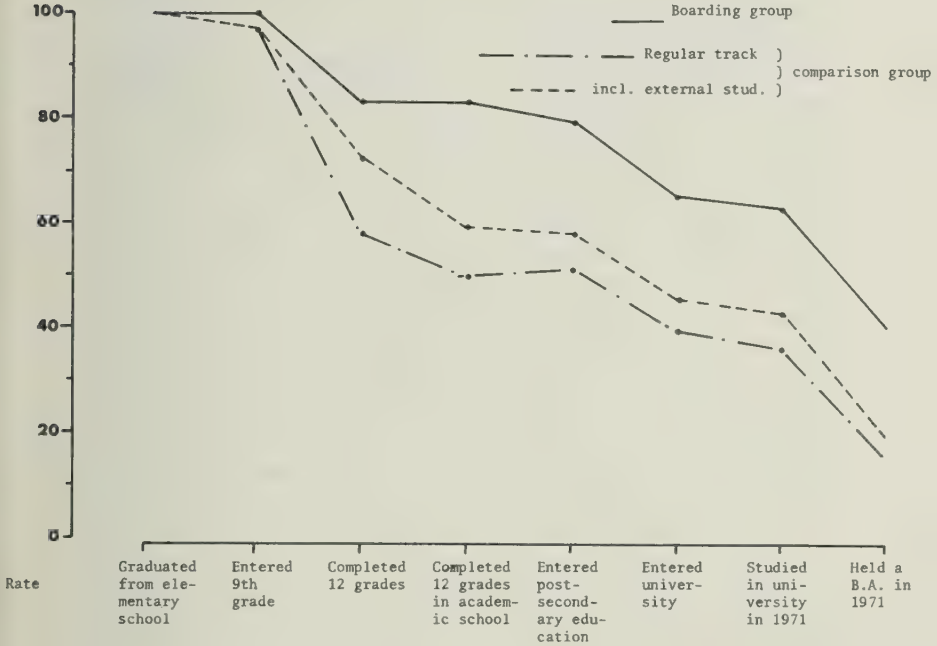
with 58 % graduated from «academic» high schools similar to those attended by the boarding group. Fifty-one percent entered post-secondary education; among them 39 % studied in universities. Following those students who graduated from secondary school in 1964, 36 % of the total group were involved in graduate and undergraduate studies in 1971 and 16 % had already attained the B. A. degree.

The above rates include only those students who graduated in the regular study track; they do not include students who completed their secondary education after dropping out of regular school.

As the comparison group was comprised of students with relatively high levels of ability, some of them who dropped out of school before 1964 (when their peers graduated from high school), succeeded in completing their secondary schooling in some other way—for example, independent studies or correspondence schools. Some of them were even accepted into institutes of higher education. Some additional students from the comparison group might still complete their secondary studies in the future, although it may be assumed that those who did not complete their secondary studies by the age of 24 are not going to complete it later. If the calculations include those students who completed their schooling by external studies, there is a decrease in the gap between the study rates of the boarding group and those of the comparison group, but the gap still exists.<sup>2</sup> The lower part of Table 11.1 shows that if external studies are included, 59 % (instead of 49 % in the regular track) completed 12 grades of «academic» secondary school; 46 % entered into university studies and 19 % held a B. A. degree in 1971.

The gap between the educational opportunity provided by the boarding program and the one provided by the regular educational system is apparent in Figure 11.1, which provides a graphical presentation of the data. In this presentation the advantage of boarding programs seems to be clear at all levels of education. The educational opportunity provided by the boarding program at certain levels, such as completion of «academic» high school or success in higher education is almost twice as much in the boarding group as in the comparison group.

Figure 11.1 Rates of Students in Study Groups Who Attained Various Educational Levels During Ten Years Since Graduation From Elementary School (In Percentage).



An interesting feature in Figure 11.1 is the fact that the lines connecting the study rates of each group are almost parallel for all levels of education except for the level of «completion of twelve grades,» where the main gap between the two groups was created. This finding is consistent with the general perception that graduation from secondary school is the «bottleneck» in the process of attaining higher levels of education. Those who succeed in passing this hindrance increase their chances of continuing post-secondary studies. One way to assess the significance of the boarding program may be in its role as a «bottleneck opener» for culturally

disadvantaged students. This program helped its trainees to complete secondary education and while fostering their learning ability and their level of aspiration, it provided them with a better educational opportunity beyond secondary education, although they left the program upon graduation from high school and received no additional treatment during their studies at the university.

As the two study groups were different in sex composition and sex is perceived as an important variable related to continuation of formal studies, the data were also analyzed separately for each sex. This analysis revealed no difference between the study rates up to the level of entering post-secondary education, but a significant difference was found between the sexes in both groups regarding the rate of study in universities. In the boarding group about 75 % of the males studied at the university and 60 % of them held a B. A. degree in 1971, while only about 35 % of the females in this group studied at the university and less than 25 % held a B.A. degree in 1971. In the comparison group about 50 % of the males studied in the university and 27 % of them held a B. A. degree, while only about 25 % of the females entered a university and only 4 % held a B. A. degree. In both study groups the girls preferred studies in teacher's seminars or vocational colleges, rather than studies at a university which lead to the attainment of academic degrees. In spite of the differences between the sexes in both groups the advantage of the boarding group over the comparison group does not decrease even when the comparison between the study groups is made separately for both sexes.

Based on this ten year followup study, we may conclude that the boarding program did succeed in creating a better educational opportunity for the gifted among the disadvantaged than did the conventional educational system. Our followup on the first group (1961 class) has shown that this advantage of the boarding program is retained even six years after graduation from secondary school even when no additional fostering efforts are made. The high rates of success in secondary studies of other classes of students in this program,<sup>3</sup> suggest that their success in higher education will not be lower than that of the first group of students.

## ENDNOTES

1. A detailed description of study procedures regarding these groups is provided in Chapter Seven.
2. Among the dropouts of the boarding group there were obviously also students who completed secondary school by external studies. They were not included in the study rates of this group as we were interested in the educational opportunity provided by *the boarding program* itself.
3. See the results for the 1966 class in Chapter Nine.

## Chapter Twelve

# Toward the Future

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROGRAM

The detailed rationale of the program, the discussion of the process of implementation and the evaluation data allow a summarized presentation of the significance of this program.

First, there is *evidence to support an optimistic approach to the potentiality of fostering disadvantaged youth*, even when they come from first generation literacy homes, large families, poverty area culture, poor elementary schooling and no special fostering before the age of 14. Although they arrived at the boarding facility with cumulative deficits in different areas, the great majority successfully completed secondary academic education, passed the «matriculation» examination, (when even today only about 11,000 persons per year gain the right of entrance to universities—about 18 % of each age cohort) and entered universities; persevering therein a ratio better than the average student of European background. This was accomplished despite the fact that the supportive fostering program was available only during secondary education. In the university they were left to compete with no special financial or tutorial support. In other words, in this program there is not only «advancement» but rapid progress toward «closing the gap.»

Second, those who were placed in selective secondary school in Jerusalem, with a predominantly European origin and high status middle class student population, *proved that they were capable of role-playing in a competitive environment*, in terms of persistence in school, achievement in subject matter, and socio-metric standing.

This clear-cut demonstration was possible even though no curriculum adaptation was made, nor was there a lowering of expectations, or especially qualified teachers. On the contrary.

the teachers in the schools and the tutors and social instructors in the boarding facility did not receive enough appropriate psychological and pedagogical support to be ready to cope with needs of the group in an optimal manner.

It should be remembered that this first Jerusalem group was selective in terms of ability, success in elementary school and motivation for study. With the broadening of the municipal base of the program, later groups were less selective in terms of ability, but still had a mean I.Q. of around 100. For the less able students, placement was arranged in institutions that are more socially oriented and less competitive.

While this project demonstrated to psychologists, sociologists and educators that human potentiality for social adaptation should not be underestimated, this generalization is still limited to groups beyond a certain threshold, as defined in our report. Future intensive experimenting should explore the possibility of increasing the success potential of less selective groups, through the provision of more appropriate support.

Third, *to those who lost their faith in the possibility of producing a powerful intervention model in the school, this project should have special significance.* Here is a case in which no early childhood program was available, nor was the elementary school changed; still, a four year fostering program produced socially significant results. There is reason to assume that a more appropriate and systematic experiment with improvement of schooling beginning in early adolescence (as will be discussed in the next section) will produce even more significant results. This is not to suggest that early childhood programs should not be developed or that elementary school should not be improved; rather, to propose a rigorous differentiation in our generalizations about the potentiality of schooling; i.e., for what groups schools can produce improvement in certain components of human social coping capacity. For example, some improved both in I.Q. and school achievement, while for others, no significant change was evident in measured ability. But, through their motivation and appropriate support they demonstrated progress in school achievement.

There were students in each type of school and boarding facility who blossomed, while others maintained very low standards. There were those for whom only limited opportu-

ity was predicted at the initial stage, but who later matured and adapted giving them a better rating. Budgetary limitations did not allow for the development of the appropriate dynamic evaluation process necessary to answer in a more significant way many of the questions that should be considered. However, both personal observations and the data available suggest that much more can be expected than is presently achieved in the schools, if more systematic experimentation is possible.

Fourth, *this project demonstrated clearly that the regular secondary school is a barrier to social and occupational mobility opportunities for many disadvantaged youth; even those who have the capabilities for advancement, as evidenced by the results of the control groups. The fostering support helped them to overcome this barrier and they all entered higher education with the majority being successful in fulfilling university expectations.*

Fifth, the next significant step would be to study the correlations between status according to different criteria, at adolescence and later patterns of coping as adults. After an additional ten years we intend to return to a sample of the groups and study their residence, occupational choice, work patterns, family building, self and social value orientations, and community involvement. Only after this stage will the more significant aspects of this project be available.

Sixth, to the economists, educational administrators and political policy decision-makers, this project can serve as a model providing a balance between efficiency and equity. It is a *case in which although input in terms of investment per child is twice as high when compared to a standard secondary school, output also proves to be as high. The efficiency model should include: economic criteria of lower rate of dropout at both the high school and the university and high achievement after a doubled investment during only the four years of high school; sociological criteria of short term development of «models for imitation» and a «new reference group» for the social and ethnic groups concerned; as well as «proof» to the dominant group that the disadvantaged have potentiality for equality. And the psychological criteria of social adaptation to separation from home environment, perseverance in motivation against*

school hardships and the socialization toward goals suggested by the dominant group.

Seventh, for all concerned there is a *relatively good case of the development process in education*. It was originated as value-oriented proposition by a social scientist, designed as a limited experiment through cooperation of a child welfare research institute and the Ministry of Education. The initial trial was limited to 78 youths placed in a standard, low cost, youth hostel and a first year budgetary allocation of 60,000 Israeli pounds. After the initial promise of success, the project was taken over by the regular administration of the school system and through a gradually controlled diffusion process in which those responsible for the experimental stage shared, a national network was created, using available institutional resources in parallel to developing additional placement opportunities. In 1975 the freshman intake was increased to about 1000 and the total budget for about 3000 boarders was around 8,000,000 Israeli pounds. While one should be aware of the many limitations (some discussed in this report), this educational development project has maintained a humane personalized approach during 15 years in a centralized government system, clear policy criteria, continued service to its defined culturally and socially disadvantaged group, and an openness to evaluation.

Finally, this project had enough placement diversity – 20 institutions including selective «academic» schools as well as technical, agricultural and maritime regular secondary schools; secular and religious schools; government controlled schools and those owned by public organizations; uni-task oriented and multi-purpose schools—to allow meaningful systematic and dynamic research. The present report should be considered as very limited. *There would be much greater significance to our initial contribution if continued follow-up was possible with the same groups, replication with new groups, and in-depth study of specific hypotheses, raised both by ourselves and by others.*

## SUGGESTED IMPROVEMENTS <sup>1</sup>

It is necessary to differentiate between immediate and long-term improvements. The immediate attempts at improvement

can be based on our observations and those of the management, of educators, students and parents associated with the program. At the same time further reorientation should be considered in the broader priority allocation context in planning toward the next decade. The future orientation should confront the basic needs of the disadvantaged, ask questions about alternative possible approaches, define priorities, suggest relevant research and systematic experimentation and establish criteria for evaluation. In this broader context of macro-planning, the role, structure, and composition of the boarding program should be considered as a way to serve specified needs of certain groups at a certain stage of their socialization. Here only those improvements that can be suggested in the present frame of reference will be discussed. The propositions are not listed in order of priority.

### 1. Staff development

Any powerful social intervention attempt is dependent on the quality of unit leaders, teachers, social instructors, counsellors and other supportive personnel. In a boarding program this dependence is even greater because the youths are separated from family, asked for very basic reorientation and expected to demonstrate accelerated progress according to different criteria affecting ability, knowledge, motivation and coping patterns. While many of the boarding institutions have high quality directors they suffer from turn-over among teachers and social instructors. The discussion in Chapter six described the dimensions of the problem; here four possible improvements are proposed.

First, because about a quarter of all secondary school students in Israel are involved in one of the many types of boarding institutions (Kibbutz, youth villages, agricultural schools, technical schools, academic Yeshivot, pre-military technical and other schools, social welfare institutions, schools for wayward youth) priority must be given to the development of relevant training facilities for staff development in the universities, teachers colleges, junior colleges and other post-secondary educational institutions.

Second, because of the many personal problems of these

youths and the relatively heavy investment in their education, each institution should have trained psychologists and social workers who will be available to give support to the teachers and instructors, as well as the students and parents.

Third, a specially trained new professional seems to be needed—one whose initial training is in psychology and sociology and who would specialize in fostering self-identity, preparation for family building and urbanism. It is not an easy task to prepare adolescents from disadvantaged backgrounds in a secluded institutional environment, to confront and cope with the above-mentioned expectations. It cannot be left to a temporary university student role-playing as a youth leader, or even to a teacher prepared to teach history or mathematics.

Fourth, a highly qualified regional support team of the project should be available for systematic site-visit and provision of in-service personnel training.

## 2. Adaptation to a lower background and ability group

The data available on the 2303 candidates for the ninth grade in 1973-4 show that with the expansion of vacancies and the changes in the school system according to the present school reform there are more candidates from very large families (about 65 %—five or more children; 35 %—seven or more children); low parental education and occupation (about 35 %—unskilled or unemployed; 35 %—semi-skilled); crowded homes (nearly 70 %—three or more persons per room; 35 %—four or more persons per room). The performance of the candidates is lower (about 30 % of this age cohort performed below 90 on the «Milta» I.Q. test, which is less than 100 on Wechsler; 30 %, 91-100 «Milta»; 30 %, 101-110; and 10 %, 111-120) and their achievement on the selection battery is also lower (43 % did not qualify for the minimal norm although it was lowered relative to the standards described in our evaluative data). This and other data point to the need for added investment in personnel as well as investment in individualized and personalized care, adaptation of curriculum and development of teaching-learning media. If the original group demonstrated the possibility to help the

candidates succeed in school as it is now for the lower ability adolescent there is a need for adaptation of schooling. Anticipation of such a need was behind our original efforts to establish the Lou Boyer High School in Jerusalem as the special unit of the project, as well as our current unsuccessful effort to develop an experimenting secondary school in Tel-Aviv. In a project like NETA (Secondary School Fostering Project developed jointly by Tel-Aviv University, the Ministry of Education and the Bernard Van Leer Foundation)<sup>2</sup> there are beginnings towards meeting part of such needs, but much more expansion and in-depth development of such programs is necessary to support a systematic rehabilitation of cognitive patterns, self-development and coping capacity.

### 3. «Head start» at early adolescence

According to the gradually developing school reform, secondary education begins at the age of 12 (seventh grade); therefore, it was decided to explore the possibility of earlier acceptance of candidates to the boarding project. This would allow for both accepting candidates with less cumulative deficits and prolonging the period of rehabilitation and fostering to six years. Such a prolongation covering the period of early adolescence until the age of 18, can allow more opportunity for the comprehensive and in-depth approach just discussed. The first group of 180 seventh graders was accepted in five institutions during the 1972-73 school year. They demonstrated positive adjustment and nearly no dropouts occurred during the year. In the 1973-74 school year an additional 350 12 year olds were accepted from among 1350 candidates; they were placed in 11 institutions. This early adolescent boarding group should be considered a new experimental dimension of the project, and a well-designed follow-up evaluation may contribute data and propositions of both theoretical and practical relevance. Again, because financial resources for the evaluation are not available we suggest that others take the initiative. Of course, for a younger age group separated from home, a more personalized approach is a prerequisite. In the process evaluation, we mentioned the fact that all institutions are based on group work and peer support but were not able

to develop the more individualized approach. Alternative ways to create an opportunity for one-to-one relations were discussed during visits to the institutions that were evaluated. For example, family type grouping, groups of differential age composition with the more mature taking responsibility for the younger; responsibility of each adult in the institution (whether in an administrative, teaching or counselling role) for a small group of five to six children (that would be «adopted» by that person for the purpose of dealing with personal affective needs); and small educational group work supported by curriculum development in NETA to deal with self-identity, family building and urbanism.

#### 4 Prolonged day fostering parallel to boarding

In the initial planning stage two parallel opportunities were envisioned—one in day care and the other away from home. At the same time that the first boarding facility in Jerusalem was started two day care programs were also begun—one in a selective technical school in Haifa associated with the Technion (School of Engineering) to which students were bussed from the city and nearby communities, and the other in a secondary academic high school situated near a large-scale poverty area in Tel-Aviv. The Haifa trial was headed by a very qualified woman and from the many site visits as well as her reports, there was clear evidence on the positive potentiality of prolonged day fostering. In our report, this program is labeled as «Day Students.» There is no need to assume that boarding placement is the best solution for all adolescents. The present situation involves an investment of more than 5,000 Israeli pounds per student per year for boarding (in addition to a similar investment in high school or technical school) or less than 500 pounds in some supportive tutorial work for the disadvantaged in the regular high school. This reality cannot be considered as logical, psychological or economic. We propose that for the majority of adolescents fostering is possible in a «Day Care» program, but it requires an appropriate investment in program development and financing. If, instead of the difference between 500 and 5,000 pounds, there would be a continuum between 1,000 and

5,000, with many alternative programs and a possibility of initial choice selection and later transfers according to needs, there would be a greater success potentiality.

## 5 Local boarding parallel to national facilities

Both ideologically and practically, all boarding planning until now was on separation from home and the community whether it meant living in the rural environment of a youth village or a boarding school. The boarding facility serves those who are leaving home for socialization in an environment different from their cultural and familial system. For future consideration an additional alternative is proposed—a local boarding facility attached to an urban secondary school that would serve the needs for partial separation from home authority for some adolescents in the poverty area. In the planning for a new experimenting model school in Tel Aviv this proposition is considered, but the conceptual and practical implications will not be discussed here. However, it should be repeated that there is the need to break away from the dichotomy of complete separation for a four to six year period, or remaining, in a problematic home and having to cope with all the limiting factors of such an environment.

## 6 Continued fostering in higher education

The present report has illustrated the practice of fostering during four years of adolescence and its long-term influence after the youth have been away for three years in the army and returned to independent coping in the university. It has been shown that even without additional support, about half of the cases in the more selected group adjusted to university expectations. Now it is proposed to test the implications of refined supportive plans in higher education.

This may have been relevant to that half of the group (that was followed) who did not finish their B. A. during the regular four years. It may be even more important potentially for the future groups of graduates who, according to the above-mentioned data, are coming from a more disadvan-

taged background and their mean measured performance on ability and achievement tests is significantly lower.

## 7 Improved social integration opportunities

One of the assumptions in the design of this program was that boarding would permit youth reared in disadvantaged communities to experience face-to-face interaction with students of a higher socio-economic level. What happened in reality is very different in many cases. With the increased number of students and the diversification into technical, agricultural and maritime tracks, most of the present placements are in institutions where the majority of students are from disadvantaged backgrounds. The reasons for this process are evident. First, in the present composition of technical and agricultural schools about 60% are from Middle-Eastern and North-African background. Second, because of the accelerated urbanism process, there are more boarding vacancies in the agricultural and maritime schools, so absorption of students can be accomplished with no need for investment in building and equipment during a period of economic recession. Also, many persons in dominant positions in the Ministry of Education believe in the positive influence of rural environment on adolescents as well as in the need to assure the necessary candidates for future rural development. While all this can be understood we must be aware that the difference between this project and other boarding programs is in its focus of promoting the more gifted among the disadvantaged to secure social and occupational mobility through social integration in high school and the universities in an accelerated phase of urbanism. This is not the place to design the process by which a more balanced social integration opportunity can be assured but the need for improvement of this dimension seems to be evident.

## 8 Academic versus technical and agricultural education

In the discussion of the main approaches to fostering (Chapter 4) and the rationale for this project (Chapter 5), we presented the general importance of technical education for

the disadvantaged and the reasons for guiding some of the students to technical and agricultural schools. The present follow-up was concluded when only the first group placed in secondary academic school graduated from university education while the diversified population was followed only up to graduation from high school. A basic question is whether those placed in technical and agricultural schools continued to higher education, especially when their measured ability was similar to those placed in the academic schools. As in the previous case, this question is suggested not to express a preference for one life pattern against another, but because the project had a special responsibility to assure a larger representation of the disadvantaged in university education and high level social-occupational accomplishment. Future placement and evaluation should give a clear-cut answer to the question of how effective different types of schools are in assuring motivation and coping capability toward defined priority directions. This answer can be found in a longitudinal study designed to consider both student and institutional characteristics.

## 9 Adaptation to differential sex role needs

Except in specific religious or technical schools, the secondary education system is coeducational and no special attention is given to differential sex needs. This study was not designed to confront this problem. But, three types of data point toward a need to consider improvement in this direction in the future. First the on-site visits described in illustrative evaluation case studies<sup>3</sup> and our interview of girls in the sample suggest a relatively lower level of satisfaction. Second, the data on persistence in schooling demonstrate a higher rate of dropout among girls in secondary schools and in the university. Third, the interviews with the first group suggest the graduating girls are facing psychological or sociological problems in family building that only a more in-depth study can clarify.

Since theoretically one can hypothesize about possible problems for girls who come from traditional lower class Middle-Eastern and North-African background in facing the problems of sex role identity and family building, there is a need

to confront this issue. This can be done—first by building awareness among both students and educators about the differential needs; second, by coping with the needs in the socialization process, through both a formal curriculum facing problems of self-identity and family building and informal support given to girls during the boarding and follow-through period of university education.

## 10 Cooperation with parents

In our rationale we suggested the need for securing support of the parents to the adolescent crisis reorientation in the socialization process. From our school site observations and interview of parents in all institutions, relatively limited attempts are evident in this direction. Usually parents are invited to special festivities in the boarding facility quarterly (or semester, or yearly) reporting and discussion of specific problems of their child. In some cases a social worker or an educator visit the home. We assume that much more should be attempted. This can be done by formally arranging a periodic visit of parents for discussion in a group session of the needs of the adolescent and the parent; by an informal systematic work of a social worker with the parents in the communities and through our above-mentioned community-bound boarding facilities.

## AN INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE APPROACH

The need for boarding facilities for specific groups of disadvantaged adolescents is recognized in different countries. They may have a special significance for those societies intent on acceleration of social process in disadvantaged areas. A cooperating association of projects comparatively designed and evaluated may provide both important assistance to policy and practice personnel and enlargement of behavioral science knowledge.

## ENDNOTES

1. The data on the present situation in the program and many suggestions were supplied by Mr. S. Marbach, coordinator and supervisor of the program in the Ministry of Education during the whole decade, who shared with us also in the preparation of the follow-up technical reports. We repeat our sincere thanks for his long-term cooperation and support in developing the project and facilitating its evaluation.
2. A book report describing NETA curriculum development will be available for publication during 1979.
3. M. Smilansky; H. Hausdorff, H. and D. Nevo, *Evaluation of non-conventional educational institutions*, R & D Laboratory For the Study of the Disadvantaged, University of Tel-Aviv, 1971.

# APPENDIX

## THE SCHOOLS WHICH TOOK PART IN THE STUDY AND THEIR CODES

- 10 An academic secondary school in a large town. The school is designed for pupils of the foresting project, who live in the boarding-school attached to the school. The school also absorbs external pupils outside the framework of the fostering project; these pupils do not live in the boarding-school. The project pupils who study at this school are the group with the highest level of ability among all those accepted by the boarding-schools of the foresting project.
- 11 A technical school in a large town. The group of pupils who study at this school live in a boarding-school shared by wards of the project studying at two other technical schools in the town.
- 12 A technical school in a large town. The group of pupils who study at this school live in a boarding-school shared by project pupils studying at two other technical schools in the town.
- 13 A technical school for girls in a large town. It also absorbs a small group of girls from the fostering project, who live at a boarding-school shared by wards of the project studying at school no. 11 and school no. 12.
- 14 A religious academic secondary school for girls, attached to a teachers' training college. A group of religious girls from the foresting project study at this school, and they live in the boarding-school of the training college. This school is also attended by ordinary pupils, outside the fostering project framework.

- 15 A religious academic secondary school for boys, attached to a teachers' training college for the religious. It also absorbs wards of the fostering project, who live in the boarding-school of the fostering project. This school generally absorbs those with the highest level of ability among the religious pupils in the fostering project.
- 16 An academic secondary school with residential quarters in a Youth Village that has a farm, although it is not an agricultural vocational school. About half of the pupils in this school belong to the fostering project. The others also live at the boarding-school although they were not admitted through the fostering project. This institution absorbed pupils with low levels of ability relative to the other boarding-schools of the fostering project.
- 21 A comprehensive school in a development township in the north. A large proportion of its pupils are of Middle-Eastern origin, and most of them are from low social strata.
- 22 A comprehensive school in a development township near to a large town. A large proportion of its pupils are of Middle-Eastern origin and from low social strata.
- 23 A regional secondary school in a veteran «moshav» (cooperative village). Roughly a third of the pupils are children from old-established villages, and about two-thirds are children from immigrants' villages and from a development township situated in the region.
- 30 A nonselective academic secondary school in a large town. It absorbs pupils with a below-average level of ability from the population of the outskirts of the town.
- 31 An academic secondary school in a town. It is considered to be a school of average level, which absorbs pupils of Middle-Eastern origin from good social background. 22 % of its pupils are of Middle-Eastern descent.

- 32 An academic secondary school common to two large immigrant towns. It also absorbs a small group of children from immigrant villages in the area.
- 40 A selective technical school of high level. A group of «day-fostering» pupils of the fostering project study at this school.
- 50 A selective academic secondary school in Tel-Aviv. It absorbs pupils of high ability level.
- 51 A selective academic secondary school in a large town. Pupils from one of the «special boarding-schools» study at this school.
- 52 A selective academic secondary school in a large town. Pupils from one of the «special boarding-schools» study at this school.



## Name and Subject Index

- Adiel, S. 91  
Adler, Ch. 66, 92  
Adolescence 36, 102, 145, 149,  
152, 225, 231  
    *Crisis* 58, 97, 100, 102, 138,  
    235  
Adolescents 79, 100-103, 134-  
138, 152, 231  
Algarbely, M. 46, 49  
Arab school system in Is-  
rael 44, 52  
Aran, Z. 36  
Association for Advancement of  
    Secondary Education 108,  
    131-132
- Bachi, R. 51, 66  
Beer-Sheva Experiment 75  
Bentwich, J. S. 201  
Bloom, B. S. 49, 70, 91  
Boarding School Fostering Pro-  
ject 81, 83, 97-236  
    (see also Rationale of the  
    Boarding Project; Selection  
    of Candidates; Separation  
    from home; Parental coop-  
    eration; Evaluation of the  
    Boarding Project.)  
Boaz, T. 91  
«Bottle neck» 221  
«Bowlby, T.» 152  
Boyer (Lou) Secondary  
    School 124, 130, 133, 230  
Burg, B. 92
- Change agents 39-40  
«Chativat-Habeinaim» (the mid-  
    dle unit) 57, 59, 66  
Chen, D. 72, 92
- Chen, M. 66, 92, 201  
Coleman, J. S. 217  
Compensatory Education 32-  
    33, 44, 56, 63, 68, 77-78, 86,  
    89  
Compulsory Education 19, 20,  
    21, 37, 49, 52, 56  
Counseling counselors 60, 68,  
    83, 111, 147  
Cultural Diversity 7, 11, 17,  
    19-22, 53-54, 63  
Culturally Disadvantaged (see  
    also Disadvantaged) 26-42,  
    51, 55, 97, 112, 118, 181, 215,  
    216  
    in Israel (see also Teunei-  
    Tipuach) 33-34, 43-48  
    in other countries 29, 32, 33,  
    35, 99  
    «Crisis Syndrome» 39, 41,  
    101, 216  
    Growth potentialities of 40-  
    42, 43  
Cumulative deficit 77, 81, 230
- Dentler, R. A. 201  
Development areas 10, 106  
Dinur, B. Z., 53  
Disadvantaged (see also Cultura-  
    ly Disadvantaged) 3, 18, 20,  
    47, 56, 58, 61, 63, 88  
«Gifted» 47, 68, 81-85, 99,  
    103-107, 113, 117, 123,  
    135-137, 216, 233  
Israeli policy toward 50-66  
    in other countries 56, 73,  
    235  
Dominant group (s) 19, 35, 39,  
    40, 51-52, 54, 56, 70, 88, 90,  
    112, 139, 145, 151, 226, 227

- Doron, R. 201
- Dropout rate, dropouts (see also Evaluation of the Boarding Project) 19, 45, 51, 53, 85, 114, 147, 156, 160-161, 181-191, 194, 196, 201, 226, 230  
among, girls 234
- Elementary School 52, 53, 57, 59, 69, 75-78, 225
- Emigration 13
- «Emotional Crisis» 97, 100, 103
- Enrichment center 81, 82-84, 86  
Program 105-106
- Evaluation of the Boarding Project 122-123, 153-222  
Evaluation design 153-164  
Formative role 153-164  
Summative role 153-164  
Study groups 156-159, 181-201, 218-222  
Comparison groups 155-158, 218-222  
Evaluation limitations 196-197, 226, 230  
Evaluation results 166-222  
(see also Dropout rate; secondary School-Success in; Matriculation Examinations Success in; Post Secondary Education; Social acceptance).
- Feitelson, D. 72, 74, 92
- Fostering programs (see also Boarding School Fostering Project; NETA) 55, 57, 61-62, 68-91, 100  
in early childhood 70-74, 225  
conceptual approaches 85-91

- in Higher education 232-233  
Special activities 125-128
- Frankenstein, C. 51, 66, 84-85, 92
- Goldfarb, W. 152
- Grouping 60, 75-76
- Guidance and tutorial services 129-131
- Gutman, Y. 92
- Hanes, U. L. 91
- Havighurst, R. J. 217
- Housdorff, H. 236
- «Holding power» 85, 147, 181, 183, 195
- Hollingshead, A. D. 217
- «House mothers» 130-131
- Hunt McV 70, 91
- Immigrants 3-5, 7-12  
problems of adjustment 15-24, 35  
European 4-5, 17, 53  
Middle-Eastern and North African 5, 8-9, 10, 17, 19, 22, 48, 51, 53, 54  
Second generation of 15, 18-19
- Immigration (see also Immigrants)  
Absorption of 5, 8-15, 38  
Mass 8, 13, 21, 53  
Waves of 3-7, 11, 17, 50
- I. Q. 31, 33, 73, 74, 84, 186, 194, 197, 198, 201-202, 225
- Israel  
Independence 8-9, 52  
Pre-state era of 6-7, 15, 16, 19-20, 36, 51-52

- the state of 5-6, 15, 16, 17, 23
- Jewish population of 3, 8-9, 45, 53, 98, 137, 144-145
- Israeli society 3, 6, 16, 22, 23, 24, 25, 89, 107, 110, 135, 140, 144-145, 151
- Jewish Agency 7, 9
- Jewish Society 6, 13
- Karmit Boarding-Home 124, 147
- Katz, J. 217
- Kibbutz 4, 6, 36, 73-74, 111, 143
- Kindergarten 9, 10, 72-73, 75, 115, 152
- Kreiger, T. 92
- Leiser, Y. 49
- Levin, J. 154, 164
- Levin, Kurt 139, 150
- Lewy, A. 66, 92
- Lombard, A. 72, 92
- Long day and Long year program 68, 76
- Lorge, I. 165
- Ma'abaroith (transitional work villages) 10-11
- Marbach, S. 164, 165, 236
- Matriculation Examinations 46, 57, 83, 85, 86, 99, 107, 108, 114, 118, 155
- Success in (see also Evaluation of the Boarding Project) 161, 191-202
- Miltha 160, 165, 186, 187, 194, 229
- Minister of Education 53, 56, 68, 76
- Ministry of Education 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 72, 74, 75, 76, 84, 108, 109, 112, 114, 117, 120, 121, 132, 134, 135, 137, 146, 153
- Minority cultures 118
- Modernization process 3, 5, 22, 24, 26-28, 30-31, 34, 35, 56, 63, 65, 89, 90, 116, 139, 153
- Mooney, R. 91
- Morieli, A. 165
- Motivation 81, 110-111, 136, 226
- Naftali, N. 72
- National Scholastic Eight Grade Survey («Seker») 67, 84, 97, 98, 117-118, 122, 160, 201
- NETA (Secondary School Fostering Project) 230, 231, 236
- Neugarten, B. 217
- «Neurim» Boarding Facility 147
- Nevo, D. 154, 164, 165, 202, 217, 236
- Nir, N. 72, 92
- «Norm A» 98, 183, 191, 201
- «Norm B» 44, 45
- «Normal curve» 107
- Orr, L. 118, 183, 191, 201, 202
- «Ort» Vocational Education Organization 80, 147
- Ortar, G. 51, 72, 92, 165
- Parental Cooperation (see also Boarding School Fostering Project) 74, 106, 115-117, 121, 142-144, 235

Parness, T. 118  
 Pioneers 7-8  
 Plowden Report 33  
 Post-secondary Education (see also Evaluation of the Boarding Project) 218-222

Rationale of the Boarding Project (see also Boarding School Project) 97-118  
 Reference group 46, 82, 88, 101, 106, 115, 136, 139, 226  
 Remedial Work 77-78

Sanders, D. 63, 66, 118  
 Secondary school(s) 9, 21, 23, 46, 57, 59, 67, 68, 78, 83, 111, 134, 136, 138, 139, 140  
 academic 44-46, 51, 59, 82, 84, 95, 100, 109, 123-125, 146, 152, 157-158, 187, 220, 227  
 agricultura 59, 109, 121, 124-125  
 comprehensive 36, 57, 59-61, 81, 157  
 religious academic 124  
 success in (see also Evaluation of the Boarding Project) 181-201, 220  
 Technical 59, 109, 233  
 Vocational 78-81, 115, 121, 123-125, 146-152

Selection of Candidates (see also Boarding School Fostering Project) 117-152, 154, 166-180

Separation from home (see also Boarding School Fostering Project) 101, 140-142, 148, 155, 226, 232

School Reform (Law) 56-62, 63, 84  
 Schreiber, D. 201  
 Secularism 22, 63  
 Seker (see National Scholastic Eight grade survey)  
 Shefatia, L. 74, 91  
 Shetachel, D. 72  
 Simon, A. 75  
 Slums 11, 18, 19  
 Smilansky, S. 71, 73, 91, 92, 66, 73, 92, 93, 118, 153, 164, 165, 202, 217, 236  
 Smilansky, S. 71, 73, 91, 92, 118  
 Social acceptance (see also Evaluation of the Boarding Project) 203-217  
 Social integration 16, 57-58, 59, 74, 85, 88, 216, 233  
 Social (and Vocational) mobility 23, 34, 38, 46, 48, 54, 103, 136, 139, 226  
 Social status 18, 22, 23, 32, 139, 143  
 Social welfare services 19  
 Sociometric questionnaires (see also Evaluation of the Boarding School Project) 156, 203, 217  
 Sofianos, C. 66  
 Special Education 61-69  
 Spitz, R. A. 152  
 Szold Institute 55, 67, 75, 76, 98, 109, 115, 153

«Tabula rasa» 29  
 Tannenbaum, A. J. 201  
 Teachers' unions 55, 58, 66  
 «Teunei-Tipuach» (see also Culturally Disadvantaged) 33-34, 43-44, 47  
 Thorndike, R. L. 165

Underachievers 62

Urbanization 22

condary Vocational  
School) 21, 78-81, 146-151

Vaad Leumi (National commis-  
sion) 8

Value orientation 22, 23, 28,  
29-30, 35, 51, 54, 65, 88, 226,  
227

Vicious circle 18, 19, 20, 107

Vocational training (see also Se-

Warshauer, N. E. 201

Well, D. 92

Yam, J. 46, 49, 118

Yaziv, G. 201









