

**Social Resilience: The Case of Diversity and Inclusion
In The Israeli Project Renewal**

Zvi Weinstein

Ministry of Construction & Housing

Department of Project Renewal, ISRAEL

E-mail: zwiw@moch.gov.il

Berlin 29.8.2013

Abstract

Israel is coping with deprived neighborhoods since the mid-1970s. In 2013 there are 104 sites including in Project Renewal (PR) with a population of 1.250 million inhabitants consist of ethnic minorities, new immigrants as well as Arabs and Druze. PR is a comprehensive and integrated program of physical, social, economic, community, employment and educational aspects.

The heterogeneous population created the diversity with the influx of new immigrants most of which arrived from Ethiopia and ex-Russia in the early 1990's. They preferred to settle in PR neighborhoods due to low rent and cheap housing. This group found itself in different ethno-cultural, educational, social, economic and political adversities comparing to the veterans population who have already passed through the corridor of the "melting pot" into the Israeli society.

Diversity and social inclusion are two poles that need a special policy leading to integration and inclusion. PR established holistic approach expressed in understanding of what does culture mean to each of the different groups of immigrants and how the professionals translate and implement terms in daily work policies. Social resilience policy became the tool that enabled the transformation from adversity to capacity of both individual and the community to negotiate for the resources to be provided in culturally meaningful. The uniqueness and success achievements of the Immigrant Integration Defined Localities (IIDL) program are due to six main components: Targeted population; managerial unit; intensive effort; creation of social networking; developing the space as service area; and integrating physical, social, economic and cultural aspects.

Key words: Social and community resilience; culture conflicts; disadvantaged neighborhoods; multicultural community building; democratization; social capital and inclusion.

Purpose: The purpose of the paper is to describe processes and actions performed among new immigrant communities in Israel, with a focus on the Ethiopian population settled in distressed neighborhoods included in Project Renewal program. The questions we ask are: firstly, how the concepts of social resilience, social capital and human capital can be relevant to the challenges of social exclusion, cultural tension, marginalization, disengagement, lack of networks with host community, norms and values differences; secondly, what are the social, human and cultural capitals' benefits of the absorption process in a new country for them; and thirdly, did the process of absorption achieve social resilience and social inclusion among new immigrants.

Design/methodology/approach: The population examined in the study is the Ethiopian immigrant in Israel. They are all residents of disadvantaged neighborhoods included in the Israeli Project Renewal. The model of IIDL integrates between theory and practical implementation in the field. This fact designs the approach of the model in 22 neighborhoods where the program is taken place. We have based our data and analysis on documentations, evaluations written by local operators, meetings with the professional staffs, services suppliers, groups of new comers, and visiting to the location to follow up the advancement of the program. The case study of Immigrants Integration Defined Localities program described in this paper is a summary of 12 years operation.

Originality/Value: The paper describes the unique concept of a simultaneously holistic involvement in community - social, environmental - housing, personal - family and the organizational network aspects achieving community resilience. The uniqueness of the program rests on both personal practice and community-group practice. It emphasizes the central processes ethnic groups are passing from the first stage when they leave their country of origin

until they are absorbed in Israel. These are fundamental and complex processes due to deep gaps between old and new; between past traditions performed in less developed countries and traditions based on modern history; between lack of democratization and citizenship. Immigrants Integration Defined Localities became a challengeable policy action and a new way to absorb culturally new immigrants. It is using culture capital as a vehicle, a mean and a mechanism to overcome differences and gaps in situations that have to be coped with, aiming to build healthy resilience and sustainable society based on social networks.

Practical Implications: The model became best practice for programs operators dealing with social policy plans specially emphasizing the cultural sensitivity toward different ethnics groups in the Israeli society.

Type of Paper: practical case study paper.

Introduction

This introduction section describes different aspects of immigrants absorption by the host community that are influenced by culture, exclusion, diversity, social cohesion, social capital and cultural capital processes. It is important to understand them as a background to the social resilient and social capacity approaches that were chosen as a model to absorb new immigrants from poor countries into Israeli society.

The process of immigrants into host society has been studied for many years, from many perspectives, and with relation to multiplicity of factors and characteristics that influence the process. In addition to immigration characteristics (such as number of years since migration) and the demographic characteristics of the immigrant (such as gender and age), economic, social and psychological characteristics have also been found to be linked to the process. Language plays a central role in the integration of the immigrant in the new labour market and his/her ability to narrow economic gaps vis-a-vis the natives (Chiswick 1998; 2002). The relevant skill applicable to the new country, together with appropriate level of education and local language proficiency, all comprise the human capital of the immigrant. In this paper we argue that human capital and social capital when being integrated together create community resilience. Besides, the outcome of a continuous process of resilient ends with sustained community. The connection among these terms will be described and analysed.

The different faces of Resilience

Resilience is a familiar and much used term and seems to be a multidimensional concept which makes it difficult to define, operationalize and measure (Bajek and Okada, 2007). In everyday conversation, a variety of media reports, recent public policy documents and academic papers, resilience enjoys liberal usage. Perhaps inevitably, the potential slipperiness of this concept increases as we move away from a scientific and technical usage of the term, towards an exploration of what resilience might mean in the human realm of the social sciences. The literature on different types of resilience has grown rapidly (e.g. urban resilience, organizational resilience, community resilience, regional resilience, national resilience) and it is not the purpose of this paper to cover and discuss it here.

The term originally was used to describe the capacity of material or system to return to equilibrium after a displacement as it appeared in Holling's (1973) thesis about "ecological resilience". The concept of resilience has since been applied to describe the adaptive capacities of individuals, human communities and larger societies (Norris et.al. 2008:127). Resilience has been defined in a variety of ways by different authors who emphasise a capacity for success in the face of disturbance, stress or adversity (see Table 1). We added new definitions appeared in

the literature later than Norris's described them until 2007 in regard to levels of ecological system, community and society.

Table 1: Multi faces of resilience definitions

Source	Level of analysis	Definition
Holling, 1973	Ecological system	The persistence of relationship within a system; a measure of the ability of systems to absorb changes of state variables, driving variables and still persist.
Longstaff, 2005	Ecological system	The ability by an individual, group or organization to continue its existence (or remain more or less stable) in the face of some sort of surprise.....Resilience is found in systems that are highly adaptable and have diverse resources
Resilience Allies, 2006	Ecological system	The capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still maintain essentially the same function, structure and feedbacks – and therefore the same identity.
Adger, 2000	Social	The ability of communities to withstand external shocks to their social infrastructure
Bruneau, 2003	Social	The ability of social unit to mitigate hazards, contain the effects of disasters when they occur and carry out recovery activities in ways that minimize social disruption and mitigate the effects of future earthquakes
Brown, 1996	Community	The ability to recover from or adjust easily to misfortune or sustained life stress
Paton, 2000	Community	The capability to bounce back and use physical and economic resources effectively to aid recovery following exposure to hazards.
Ganor, 2003	Community	The ability of individual and communities to deal with a state of continuous, long term stress; the ability to find unknown inner strengths and resources in order to cope effectively; the measure of adaptation and flexibility
Kimhi, 2004	Community	Individuals' sense of the ability of their own community to deal successfully with the on-going political violence
Pfefferbaum, 2005	Community	The ability of community members to take meaningful, deliberate, collective action to remedy the impact of a problem, including the ability to interpret the environment, intensive and move on
Norris et.al., 2008	Community	A process linking a set of adaptive capacities to a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation after disturbance
Masten, 1990	Individual	The process of, capacity for, or outcome of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances
Butler, 2007	Individual	Good adaptation under extenuating circumstances: a recovery trajectory that return to baseline functioning following a challenge

Additional definitions cont. /

Source	Level of analysis	Definition
Maguire & Cartwright, 2008	Community	The ability of a community to respond to a change adaptively. Rather than simply returning to pre-existing state; transforming to a new state that is more sustainable in the current environment; shaped by its vulnerabilities, resources and adaptive capacities.
Newham London, 2011	Community	Possessing a set of skills and having access to the resources that allow to negotiate the challenge and overcome the more difficult circumstances...and to take up opportunities come on the way
Rand, 2011	Community	The ability of communities to withstand and mitigate the stress of a disaster; develop capacity of the community to account for its vulnerabilities in ways of preventing, withstanding and mitigating the stress
UK Cabinet, 2011	Community	The capacity of an individual, community or system to adapt in order to sustain an acceptable level of function, structure and identity
Australian Government, 2009	Community	The ability to bounce back after negative experiences and to cope in unknown situations. It refers to both individuals and communities to transform in a way which makes it more sustainable in the future
ICLEI, 2012	Community	The capacity and ability of a community to withstand stress, survive, adapt, bounce back from a crisis or disaster and rapidly move on. It is a societal benefit of collective efforts to build collective capacity and the ability to withstand stress
Young Foundation, 2012	Community	Resilience is made of number of features incorporating cultural, human, political, financial and social resources. It is not simply about exhorting communities to pull themselves together but about giving them the capacity to identify assets and utilize them

The above definitions describe a wide spectrum of domains to the related term "resilience": ecological system, community, individual and social. According to the periods these definition were published, it seems, that in the last decade the emphasis and the focus of the term applied more and more to the direction of social, community, economic and resource aspects. The most relevant disaster events coping with it were the famous nature hazards such as: Katrina, the Tsunami, Sandy, earthquakes around the globe and more. These damaged human lives, destroyed important infrastructures, caused to displacement of populations and economic failures. The common fact characterized these hazards is the human factor and his/her assets around. This is the most crucial point where governments, policy decision makers, researchers and organizations understood the importance of taking resilience theory change forward.

Therefore, the definition we proposed is as follow: **Resilience is a process that builds capacities and skills for the individual, the community and the society as a whole. It integrates in a comprehensive way cultural, human, social, economic, community and institutional resources. These resources are aiming to cope with external disasters that**

influence deeply human being lives. Resilience has two sides of the same coin: on one hand, it equipped them with abilities to achieve former framework of state by keeping their values, norms and traditions, and on the other hand, they receive tools how to get adapted to their new ecological system of human environment and to transform it to their new reality.

Our definition is wide due to the fact that the process of rehabilitation after events of stress and disaster takes time and many resources are invested to rebuild the infrastructures of services and institutions necessary to achieve the goal. Along the definitions in Table 1, three terms are repeated explicitly i.e. persistence, adaptation and transformation.

The following sections will describe and discuss the different elements which compose and associate with the phenomenon of resilience and its multi dimensions elements related to human factor. Our goal is to integrate the various ways past writers have conceptualized resilience and related terms and to formulate them into our paper. Besides, we suggest another sight of resilience not just related to environmental and nature hazards but an insight relates to human adversities caused by political, violence and persecutions.

Holling's (1973) article on "Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems" is considered the base for the study of resilience. He addressed "the persistence of ecological systems and their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations and state variables" (ibid.p.14). The term "stability" described the ability of the system to return to an equilibrium state after a temporary disturbance.

The Resilience Alliance, the international group of researches devoted to resilience studies defines the "ecosystem resilience as the capacity of an ecosystem to tolerate disturbance without collapsing into a qualitatively different state that is controlled by different set of processes. A resilient ecosystem can withstand shocks and rebuild itself when necessary. Resilience in social system has the added capacity of human to anticipate and plan for the future (Resilience alliance, 2007).

Community resilience

The concept of "community resilience" raises the same concerns as the concept of resilience per se, but it further complicated by variation in the meaning of community. In our paper we relate to the population of the Ethiopian immigrants community that share the same fate and the collectively experienced acute onset of political and religious executions, a long and dangerous journey from Ethiopia crossing enemy borders and subjected to robberies, famine, death and captivity **(see p.20 for the full description).**

The Young Foundation (2012) has developed a holistic understanding of community resilience based on a number of features incorporating cultural, human, political and social resources. These are divided into two kinds of assets: the first are public goods such as access to services and amenities and organizations that enable communities to come together, allowing people to access support and to have their voices heard in relation to local issues; the second are networking assets including relationships with the foci family, religious leaders, friends, local neighbours as well as social assets such as local voluntary and state organizations and the wider kinship relationships with their community. The community members are given the capacity to utilise these assets both by their own leadership and by the consultancy and guidance of community and social workers.

The study by the Young Foundation emphasised the importance role of the community both as geographical territory and as an emotional attachment to a place, in understanding resilience. Individuals resilient depends not only or personal attributes and skills, but also on the resilience of the community. This includes the nature of relationships between citizens and neighbours, local authorities, housing associations, voluntary groups and will have a profound impact on quality of life and the capacity of the community to contribute to positive social change. These contexts are internal and external to the community and raise the importance particularly for deprived communities, of the institutional context which they are embedded (ibid. 33-34).

The growing literature on community resilience seems divers (Norris, 2008; Ganor, 2003; Pfefferbaum, 2005; Kimhi, 2004). However, current mainstream understandings of resilience share two important limitations. First, community resilience has become associated primarily with defensive attributed, limiting our ability to imagine a more optimistic and adaptive form of resilience. Secondly, resilience is frequently defined in relation to one-off' exogenous events, stresses and hazards. This approach has limited focus on the less spectacular, yet perhaps more relevant changes that communities are undergoing in the long term (Young Foundation, 2012:13).

While most of the literature deals with communities that were disturbed by different types of emergencies and evolved actions that gave mainly social and economic solutions, our thinking of community resilience deals with different aspects regarding a community that was enforced to leave its original place and to displace itself in a new place with totally different conditions thousands of kilometres away. This crucial most important difference is the paper's case study focus of IIDL.

Based on an on-depth study by the International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC) of programmes implemented as part of the tsunami operation during the year 2010-2011 it identified five key themes critical to strengthen community resilience: Meeting **basic needs** (food, water, shelter, health) is a prerequisite building resilient communities. Communities who are unable to meet their basic needs, whose day-to day focus is **survival**, do not have the capacity to build resilience. This is particularly important in deciding when to commence Community Based Disaster risk Reduction (CBDRR) programmes in post disaster situation. Building **assets** (physical, natural, financial, social, political and human) are seen as critical 'buffers' to withstand shocks and stresses. A distinction is made between those assets within the control of the community and access to **external assistance** and **resources** (IFRC, 2012:5).

Figure 1: Community resilience resources



The study identified six characteristics of a resilient community highlighting the fundamental importance of **knowledge and health** as the foundations of resilience at an individual level. Resilience communities are made up of resilient individuals who are well **organized**, have access to **infrastructure and services**, **economic opportunities**, and can manage their **natural assets**. A resilient community may be self-sufficient, either partially or entirely, but the resilience of the community will be greatly increased by strong connections with external actors, who provide a wider, supportive environment, and supply goods and services when needed. In other words, we emphasize the social capitals of the community.

Social resilience

The first definition of social resilience was provided by Adger (2000:361) who considered it "as the ability of communities to withstand external shocks to their social infrastructure". The focus of this definition was on the capacities of social entities to protect themselves from all kinds of hazardous events. Turner et al. (2003:8075) incorporate the notion of resilience into their vulnerability concept and defined it as "system's capacities to respond whether autonomous action or planned, individual or institutional tactical or strategic, short or long term, and their outcomes collectively determine the resilience of coupled system" (ibid. 8077).

Cutter et al. (2008) defines social resilience as "the ability of a social system to respond and recover from disasters" and states that it "include those inherent conditions that allow the system to absorb impacts and cope with an event, as well as post-event, adaptive processes that facilitate the ability of the social system to re-organized, change, and learn in response to a threat".

Social resilience is defined as the ability of communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change (Adger, 2000:347). Social resilience is an important component of circumstances under which individuals and social groups adapt environmental change, especially among communities who were depended on their closeness to ecosystems and their economic activities such as the agricultural society of the Ethiopians whose economy was based on livelihood and agriculture production.

In addition the concept of resilience is clearly related to other configurations of environment society relationships such as vulnerability (Cutter et al. 2003, 2006 cited in Norris, 2008). Analysis of vulnerability as a social phenomenon also has a long tradition within cultural geography and the critical questions of food security and famine (Watts and Bohl, 1989, cited in Adger, 2007:347).

Social vulnerability is the exposure of people or individuals to stress as a result of the impacts of environmental change. In general, it encompasses disruption to livelihood and loss of security. For vulnerable communities such stresses are often pervasive and related to the underlying economic and social situation (Chambers, 1989 in Adger, 2000). Social resilience has economic, spatial, social and institutional dimensions. Therefore, it is defined as the community level rather than being a phenomenon pertaining to individuals and related to social capital of societies and communities.

Adger (2000) finds links between social resilience and resource dependency. Stresses and variability associated with resource dependency are manifest in instability and increased variance in income and risk of failure of particular source. Social instability is manifest through various social indicators such as the impact of population displacement. This point will be discussed in the case study of our Ethiopian community.

Several studies by Voss (2008), Lorenz (2010), and Obrist et.al. (2010) have suggested that three different types of capacities are necessary for understanding the notion of social resilience. These are labelled: 1) *Coping capacities* address reactive and absorptive measures of how people cope with and overcome immediate threats by the means of those resources that directly available. The rationale behind coping is the restoration of the present level of well-being directly after a critical event. 2) *Adaptive capacities* refer to the pro-active or preventive measures that people employ to learn from past experiences, anticipate future risks and adjust their livelihoods accordingly. Adaptation is geared toward incremental change and serves to secure the present status of people's well-being in the face of future risks. The major difference between coping and adaptive relates to the scope of activities involved. While coping addresses tactical agency and short term rationale, adaptation involves strategic agency and more long term planning. 3) *Transformation capacities* encompass people's ability to access assets and assistance from the wider socio-political arena (government organizations and civil society), to participate in decision making processes, and to craft institutions that both improve their individual welfare and foster societal robustness toward future crisis (Keck and Sakdapolrak, 2013:11).

Mayunga (2007) and Obrist et. al. (2010) draw on insights from the social vulnerability and livelihoods approach and point to the importance of endowment with different kinds of assets as crucial determinant of social resilience such as economic capital, physical capital, natural capital human capital etc. Among the assets which are widely acknowledged to be products of social resilience, social capital is recognized as playing a key role in building and maintaining social resilience.

Pelling and High (2005), and Traerup (2012) place emphasis on the content of social relations and on critical roles the trust, reciprocity and mutual, support. Pelling and High have suggested that informal social interactions are communities' best resources for maintaining their capacities to build social resilience and to change collective direction.

In attempting to understand people's access to resources, several authors have stressed the importance of institutions. Adger (2000:354) states that "social resilience is institutionally determined in the sense that institutions permeate all social systems and institutions fundamentally determine the economic system in terms of its structure and distribution of assets. The issue of access has brought questions on equity, justice and power into the agenda. In this regards, Orbits et.al. (2010b) have made clear the importance of people's cultural capital- in the form of gender, kinship or ethnic role models- determining their access to malaria health care.

Recent studies of social resilience emphasise the role of knowledge and culture. Furedi (2007:485) has argued that the ways in which people "cope with an emergency or a disaster are shaped by a cultural narrative that creates a set of expectations and sensitises people to some problems more than others". As such, "perceptions of risk, preference, belief, knowledge, and experience are key factors that determine, at the individual and societal level, whether and how adaptation takes place" (Schwartz et. al. 2011:1138 cited in Keck et.al. 2013: 12).

Resilience and migration

The concept of dependency stems from a rural sociology perspectives on communities and their interaction with risky resources. Under this concept of dependency, the promotion of specialization in economic activities has negative consequences in terms of risk for individuals within communities and for communities themselves. Social resilience is therefore observed by examining positive and negative aspects of exclusion, marginalization and social capital.

Resource dependency relates to communities whose social order livelihood and stability are a direct function of their resource production and localized economy (Machilis *et.al*, 1990, cited in

Adger, 2000:352). There are number of elements by which the consequences of dependency can be observed: income stability, social stability and migration. This last element is corresponding with the population examined in our case study. A society which lost its resources due to migration processes became depended on new resources, mainly, external institutions in their new location. Enforced displacement migration, as it is presented in our case study caused by a deleterious state of affairs in home locality and has negative impacts on social infrastructure. Where migration is in the form of displacement it has both economic and social dimensions. Neoclassical economics generally models the migration as individual decisions or as inter temporal family contracts for risk spreading and adaptation (Ruitenbeek, 1996; cited in Adger, 2000:356).

Sheffran et.al. (2011:1) discuss the migration as a contribution to resilience and innovation in climate adaptation. He argues that though migration was often associated with hardships, it also offers opportunities to acquire new knowledge, income and other resources or create social networks across regions. This social capital contributes to the adaptive capacity and resilience. When permanent distress migration caused by hostile conditions it is usually expressed in the loss of vital assets, but what it is possible and adequate depends on the vulnerability to hazards change, the resilience and capability for self-help, the social organization and institutional mechanism of the community (Christoplos, 2010 in Sheffran, 2011). If migration movements are sudden, unexpected and large-scale, communities and governments face considerable challenges that can overwhelm their management capacities and provoke conflict. Institutions can help to accommodate problems in their new locations and avoid conflicts by creating links and benefits with host communities.

Sheffran et.al.(2011) presents key concepts shaping the conditions and opportunities for innovative approaches, namely: *Capability, livelihood and development* i.e. migrants acquire resources that support human capabilities which are essential for development and sustainable livelihoods (Sen, 1985; Valdes-Rodriguez & Perez-Vazquez, 2011 cited ibid.2011:3); *diversity, resilience and social capital in migration networks* i.e. social linkage and networks are vital parts of social capital. They "tie the migrants to the source community" (Conway & Cohen, 1998:33) and empower local communities to strengthen their resilience; *Institutions, cooperation and co-development*, i.e. the challenge is to develop adequate institutional mechanism that help to overcome the barriers and enable innovative solutions in the migration process, such as self-help, social rules, joint and sustainable management. These serve as a basis for cooperation between governments, citizen groups and businesses. To maintain resilience individuals need to merge their social capital by co-development which is a bottom-up and participatory approach initiated by immigrant organizations (Ostergaard-Nilsen, 2010 cited in Sheffran, 2011).

The impact of displacement after disasters has often been profoundly adverse (Norris, 2008; Levine 2007). People are displaced from neighbourhoods and communities in whom they are deeply rooted. It becomes more devastating when the community's displacement finds itself in a place where the sociological characters supposed to be similar but different modes of life and cultural codes do not match all in the host country.

Resilience and adaptation

Resilience occurs when resources are sufficiently robust, redundant, or rapid to buffer or counteract the effects of the stressor such that the return to functioning, adapted to the altered environment occurs. The more severe, enduring and surprising the stressor, the stronger the resources must be to create resilience. The process that produces adapted outcomes is

resilience: the more rapid the return to pre-event functioning the greater the resilience (Norris, et.al. 2008:132).

Resilience emerges from a set of adaptive capacities – community resilience from a set of networked adaptive capacities. The combination between them used the term adaptive capacities. Adaptive capacity is a concept closely related to both resilience and vulnerability. It is defined as the ability or capability of a system to modify or change its characteristics of behaviour to cope with actual or anticipated stresses (Brooks 2003:8). Adaptation is a response to a stressor, in contrast to mitigation, which involves pre-empting a challenge and taking steps to avoid that treat. Adaptation includes actions taken to reduce vulnerabilities and to increase resilience (Smith and Wandel, 2006) and adaptive capacity is the ability to take those actions.

Adaption can only be measured as a community's actual response to a change. A community's adaptive capacity (i.e. capacity for adaption), on the other hand, can be assessed through the use of indicators such as the presence of local leadership, communication channels in place in the community, and the community's ability to organize itself. In other words, this is the essence of resilience- being able to utilise community resources to transform and respond to change in an adaptive way. A crucial component of the ability to translate adaptive capacity into actual adaption is the presence of redundancy in the system. A resilience community has the flexibility and creativity to develop and embrace new and alternative ways of doing things (Resilience Alliance, 2007).

Folke (2006) adds that resilience involves transformation, encompassing the capacity for learning, innovation, renewal, reorganization and attainment of the state that is sustainable in the current social and political environment besides the ability to adapt to change.

In analysing and assessing the community's adaptive capacities after being under adversity, several questions have to be asked: Is the community able to effectively be organised itself? Are there leaders in the community who can mobilise awareness and resources to manage the process? Can the community learn from change? Does the community seek creative solutions to change? How long does it take the community to respond to change? Are there strong communication channels within the community? We will relate to these questions later on in our discussion and conclusion chapter.

Economic resilience and resources

Economic resilience is about being able to withstand financial shocks, being able to access employment and having the resources to make genuine choices about your life. Economic resilience allows people the time and freedom to develop those personal and community experiences that build resilience more broadly.

A lack of economic resilience has significant impacts for personal and community resilience. The relationship between low income, debt and mental health is well established (Newham London, 2011). Economic resilience depends on external circumstances too on the national level regarding balance growth strategy that will create jobs accessible to people with a range of skills levels in all areas.

Communities are subject to larger sociological and ecological forces. Adger (2000) developed a set of key parameters or observing social resilience. The first parameter encompassed economic growth, stability of livelihood, and equitable distribution of income and assets with populations. Land and raw materials, physical capital, accessible housing, health services, schools, and employment opportunities create the essential resources base for a resilient community

(Pfefferbaum et. al. 2005). Because of the interdependency at the macro level, economic resilience depends not only on the capacities of individual business but on the capacities of all the entities that depend on them and on which they depend (Rose 2004, 2005 cited in Norris, 2008:137).

Societies do not allocate environmental risk equally, often making the poorest communities the weakest link in hazard mitigation (Cutter et.al. 2003; Tobin & Whiteford, 2002). Poor communities not only are at greater risk for death and severe damage, but they often are less successful in mobilizing support after disasters. The capacity to distribute post-disaster resources to those who most need them seems vitally important for community resilience.

Social capital

Community resilience is highly relevant theme to social capital. Like resilience, social capital is a concept transferred from one discipline to another (Bourdieu, 1995). Bourdieu defined social capital as the total resources, feasible or potential, that an individual or a group accumulate by means of constant maintenance of social networks or reciprocal social interactions. The basic idea of social capital is that individuals invest, access, and use resources embedded in social networks to gain returns (Lin 2001 in Norris et al, 2008).

In the context of emergency management it is important to disentangle the nature of relationships within and between communities and between communities and the social milieu in which they are embedded. In this regard the social capital construct can provide some valuable insights. Grootaert,(1928:2, cited in Murphy 2007:302) defines social capital broadly as "the set of norms, networks and organizations through which people gain access to power and resources, and through which decision making and policy formulation occur". These networks and organizations are typically considered to be embedded within civil society, rather than within government or the economy. There is also some support for the idea the 'rural' or 'tradition' societies may have stronger social capital relationships due to the increased and sustained interaction among community members (Hofferth and Iceland, 1998 in Murphy, 207:302).

The Young Foundation study (2012) found social capital to be the most critical aspect of community resilience. Human resources (people's skills, expertise, and leadership), political resources (how well connected people are to power, organizations and government) and, most importantly, social relationships between people are what allows communities to thrive.

Although social capital is a key component in building community resilience, some researches argue that an overdependence on these strong social ties in a community can inhibit the ability of a community to work together. The strong ties reduce the individual's and the community's capability to develop, innovate and flourish through change (Granovetter, 1973). Strong ties between old neighbours make it hard for new comers to integrate and feel part of the community and gain their trust. Weaker bridging and linking ties between people from different backgrounds are important. Granovetter refers to this as the strength of weak ties.

These weaker relationships that extend beyond the community can link people and communities at much broader levels. By providing the channels through which ideas, influences, or information flow, weak ties can be manipulated and used by individuals to tap into resources, such as knowledge, finance and power, in order to better attain the goals, such as improved housing, better job prospects, more community activities and environmental sustainability.

One of the consequences of the lack of these weaker ties stretching out beyond the community is that problems and tensions can go unnoticed or unobserved by others until they build up into a

real crisis. Such communities can lack voice and can appear invisible to policy makers and decision makers (Young Foundation, 2012).

The Australian Social Inclusion Board (2009) developed principles to help communities and organizations to contribute to strong, inclusive and resilient communities by building resources and capacity. They encourage building strong networks and support and to provide opportunities for people of all ages, cultural, language and socio-economic backgrounds and people living with disability to participate in social and community networks and feel that they belong in their community. They emphasize the important networks including families and friends, religious, social, cultural and community organizations, community leaders and local services as well as promoting volunteering and recognize the role of non-government organizations.

The intercultural junction

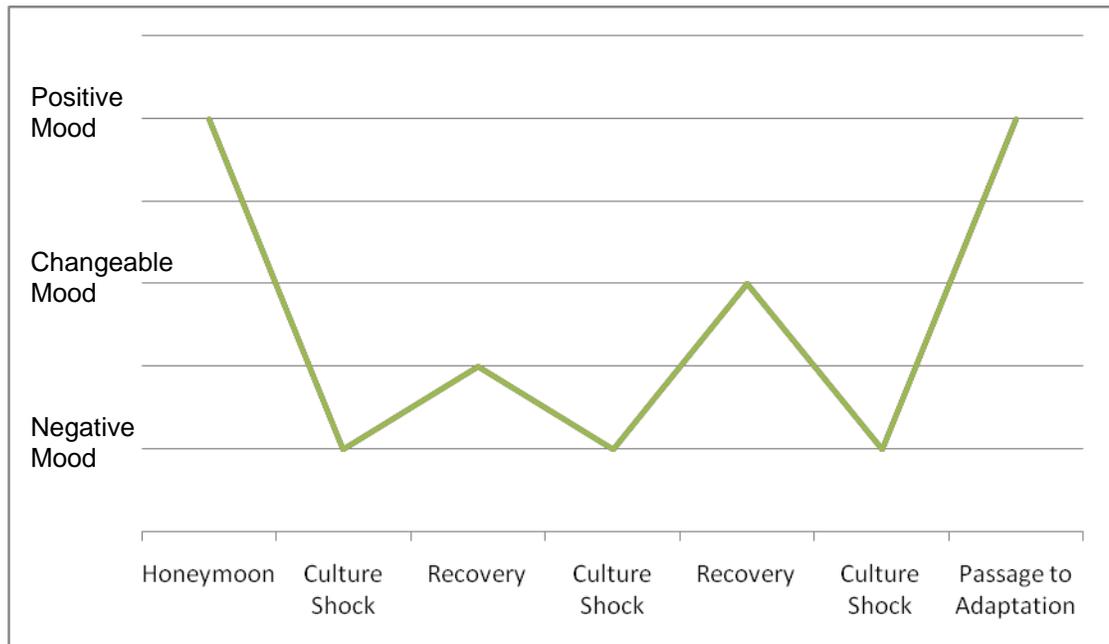
The Western world is going through deep processes of big migration waves moving from countries characterized by lack of resources, poverty, political unrest and internal wars among racial and ethnic groups. The main targets of these waves are the European Union and developed countries like Israel. As a result, governments are facing new problems: Higher rates of unemployment; racial conflicts; cultural conflicts; concentrations of immigrants in deprived areas; vandalism; crime; and housing deterioration; These effects caused governments and local authorities to invest larger budgets to tackle the problems, from hiring additional professional personnel to providing suitable services and resources to different groups.

Migration from one country to another is often connected to loss of personal and communal status, place of work place of dwelling and friends. During the process of absorption the new immigrant has to acquire new symbols, norms, manners, language, neighbours and friends; to communicate with his new surrounding and to re-examine those norms and values he/she was raised along on. In the literature it is termed "cultural shock" (Oberg, 1960). The features of cultural shock are: a decrease in self-security, segregation, lack of orientation, lack of working and learning abilities, breaking of family ties, changes in family functions, stereotyped outlook toward local people, alienation. Marx (1999) describes a model of adaptation stages in a new cultural reality: Honeymoon>cultural shock>recovery>passage to adaptation. Weinstein (1983) added the term "democracy shock" to describe the state of sharp changes and transformation immigrants are passing through when originally came from countries where no democratic values were performed to a free and democratic state. This cultural reality compelled policy makers to a more comprehensive view in their approach to, and engagement with, localities where different cultural population groups live side by side.

Figure 2 describes the stages of an adaptation model an individual immigrant experiences in the new cultural reality. The model is characterized by lack of linearity and it is composed of different stages repeating themselves. Non-adaptation and staying in one of those stages might create a deep crisis resulting in lack of function, apathy to the surrounding, segregation and anomaly. The processes a new immigrant passes and influences the whole community in the locality are:

- Difficulty to connect to others and to contribute to the wider community.
- Apathy and indifference toward the local physical and environmental of the community. This is expressed in neglect, vandalism, resentment, lack of cooperation and confrontation with other groups.
- Segregation and continuing keeping of norms and values of original culture and unwillingness to be integrated in the community.

Figure 2: Stages of an immigrant adaptation model



Source: Marx, 1999.

Each group of affiliation has its different cultural context. The cultural junction point among the groups raises questions that need to be considered too:

- Are the affiliation groups of both absorbers and absorbed easy or contentious to the process of absorption and the adaptation for mutual life in the locality?
- Are the affiliation groups insisting in keeping the norms and unwilling to accept the other one?
- Is there an openness and readiness to make concession towards the other?
- Do the norms and values of the absorbed community clash with those of the veteran community?
- Does the veteran community dictate the norms and the behavioral way?

The cultural mode

In order to understand the community process both parties are going through, it is necessary to examine the characteristics of each group. The most important feature is the cultural one. We use here three definitions for the term "culture":

1. Culture is the sum of ideas, beliefs, values and the knowledge for the mutual basis for cultural activity (Collins, 1991).
2. Culture is the way things are done and practiced (Marx, 1999).
3. Culture consists of both external and internal layers. The first includes symbols (habits, customs, dressing, guests' reception and food), heroes (historical figures that design culture and are most significant and important), and ceremonies (mourning, marriage), whereas the second includes the values (Hofstede, 1994).

The internal layer includes the principles and attitudes that influence human behavior and design his/her relation to significant issues in life. Values influence and fix our thoughts, senses, feelings and manners. Values are obtained in the socialization process, for example: what is allowed or

forbidden, attitude towards authority, good and bad. Values include among other things sensibility, tolerance, analogy and respect to culture.

The paper adopts Hofstede definition due to his basic assumption where human being from different cultures are coping with the same basic problems such as attitudes towards authority and the self, but they take different ways to reach solutions.

Social aspects of immigration

The complex conditions that have been unleashed by changing demographic profile of Project Renewal neighborhoods draw attention to the need to engage public policy responses that will mitigate the tensions arising from conditions of social exclusion and create conditions within which access to opportunities are enhanced and institutionalized for immigrant communities.

Social networks have been used successfully as a foundation for local social and economic development in many countries. There are numerous examples of developing social capital in development health, child welfare, education and in the fight against poverty (Dourston, 1991 in Galabuzi, 2010).

Increased levels of ethnic immigration among mixed populations of new immigrants and veterans living in Project Renewal neighborhoods raised concerns about the need to establish positive relations between the receiving populations and recent immigrant groups. As Kumar & Qadeer (2006) suggest, immigrants' social relationships and networks, along with other forms of capital, can offer potential solutions to improving their economic and social well-being, which in turn benefits society as a collective.

The decision to immigrate is highly important step for the individual, as the process involves economic, social and cultural risks and expenditures. Economists who have studied the process presume that individuals make their decision based on rational considerations; however, this assertion has since been weakened by the growing understanding that individuals do not always make completely rational decision. Another distinction in migration decision-making relates to the differences between free and forced migration. The former describes individuals who believe they will succeed in covering the costs involved in the immigration process through their skills and talents and make free choice to immigrate. These immigrants, whom the literature calls *economic immigrant*, are motivated by economic consideration, and are different from refugees who have no choice but to abandon their countries of origin due to persecution, prejudice, natural disaster, anti-Semitic attitude and feelings of social alienation (Amit & Riss, 2007).

In the immigration process, social networks may play a central role in the initial stages of integration into the receiving country, especially when they serve as support groups. In recent years, the promotion of supportive social networks has come to occupy essential place in policy makers' interests, especially when dealing with migrants in poor neighborhoods (Phillipson *et al*, 2004 in Amit & Riss 2007).

As immigrants go through the various stages of settlement into the Israeli society, they rely on different types of social networks. Results from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada found that friends and family are key reason for immigrants' decision to immigrate and where to reside in Canada (Kunz, 2005. P.54). In addition new comers use these familiar contacts to help them find a place to live and to adjust to their new host societies, including obtaining information about employment, health and education.

Beyond neighborhood selection and its impact on social capital, differential experiences among racially groups can also determine the quality of social networks and social capital. Some ethnic groups are more likely than others to leverage social capital both from within the groups and from

the broader community. They are also more likely to be represented in the low social capital and low income neighborhoods than in the middle-class high quality social capital neighborhoods.

Since bonding social capital is linked to other forms of capital, the quality available to those who are poor and socially deprived is limited by the strength of their social networks, even within their own ethnic communities. As a result, for a majority of immigrants employed in their own ethnic group, due to the poor quality of their social capital and poor access to other forms of capital, they tend to be economically marginalized in lower-paying positions in poorer-paying labor market sectors (Kunz, 2005).

In addition, the quality of social networks in immigrant and ethnic communities is tied to the communities' institutional completeness. Institutional completeness refers to the full parallel institutions in comparison with those found in the mainstream society. The more institutionally complete is, in term of business, religion, banks and social services, the more it can offer newcomers and established members in terms of resources that increase ethnic attachment and bonds (Kunz, 2005, p. 55).

Communities of minorities are often subject to social distance from the dominant cultural group. This distance interferes with their ability to utilize their social capital and to build relation with members of the broader community. An important dimension of the process of bridging capital is, therefore, the development of relations between dominant groups and minority groups. The argument here is that greater contact through inclusive institutions, such as schools, recreational centers, public spaces and libraries can help diminish the social distance between groups and open the door for sharing capital across cultural or ethnic boundaries. Providing opportunities to bridging and linking social capita also has the possibility to reduce discrimination due to increased contact between dominant and minority groups in line with Allport's (1984) contact hypothesis.

Pettigrew (1986) argues that encouraging the tendency to minimize antagonism based on group difference and interest of values requires four key conditions: equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, laws and customs. The successes of bridging and linking networks depends on the capacity of ethnic and newcomers communities to participate in coalition building efforts, rather than being simply passive participants. Services delivered in the neighborhoods are providing innovative strategies to create more inclusive communities by acknowledge the service needs of newcomers' communities, along with more established ethnic communities (Caidi & Allard, 2005).

Immigration flows trigger two-way processes of integration for host communities and immigrants with social, economic, cultural and political implications at the local community level. It is in local neighborhoods that the changes to economic and social life are felt first hand. These processes of change bring with them both opportunities and challenges particularly given the ethnic and racial diversity among 21st century immigrants.

The changing ethnic and racial makeup of the population means that social cohesion must be reconstituted around new and varied points of common bonding that internalize diversity. Research from many western countries shows that the existence of cultural differences between immigrants and receiving populations does not in and of itself undermine successful integration, and that building mutual support and solidarity within communities can be a basis for effective integration into mainstream society (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006; Harty & Murphy, 2005).

Florida (2002), cited in Galabuzi et al, (2010) has suggested that diversity, as a key positive value, can be harnessed for community renewal, since it offers new ideas and creative energy vital to the organic process of community building. Investments in diversity and maintaining strong community relationships pay off not just for local or ethnic communities but also for other sectors

of society such as the business sector (Prusak & Cohen, 2001). In multicultural societies, accommodating differences is essential to successful immigrant integration, making diversity a positive societal value. The cultural differences that exist between immigrants and receiving populations are used as a vehicle to building mutual support and solidarity within communities as a basis for effective integration into mainstream society.

In immigrant settlement, the activity of receiving new residents into communities often invokes normative structures, including existing social networks, norms and shared values that act as community assets, representing a renewable "capital" that can provide the glue and the institutional bulwark around which to constitute "new" functional communities (World Bank, 1998).

Social cohesion

Social cohesion refers to a process and outcome of social solidarity based on shared values, common norms and common bonds within a community (Osberg, 2003). There are two key approaches to the concept. The first suggests that it is rooted in common norms and shared values that make society possible (Almond & Verba, 1963). The focus here is on how homogeneity provides the glue or common bond that unites individuals and groups is and the basis for group identity.

The second approach focuses on citizenship practice an exclusion/inclusion based on the broad community engagement and citizen participation as key to a form of social integration that acknowledge the multiple identities that compose modern societies has argued that social cohesion represents the absence of exclusion and marginalization, and a contrast between a sense of belonging versus isolation, participation versus non-engagement, recognition versus rejection and legitimacy versus illegitimacy (Jenson, 1998 in Galabuzi, 2010).

There is another approach that is increasingly cited in the literature - one that equates the idea of social cohesion with the dependence on social capital maintenance and formation (Osberg, 2003; Soroka, et al. 2006 in Banting & Kymicka, pp.49-91). Drawing largely from Putman's work, there is a growing understanding that social cohesion requires the constant maintenance and regeneration of social capital, understanding as representing networks of social trust, civic organizations and associational life generally (Putman, 1995; 2000).

Soroka et al. (2006) have argued that both inclusive citizenship and social solidarity though seemingly contradictory agendas to the life of diverse, multicultural societies and need to be pursued through public policy. Kymicka (1998 in Galabuzi et al. 2010) has suggested that they are mutually compatible, in that to successfully integrate marginalized groups or new immigrants into society, it is essential that such groups retain a sense of their heritage as a basis for engaging in the broader society.

Social capital theory suggests that social trust is a critical ingredient in social relationships and is indispensable in the process of community building and social cohesion (Putman, 1995, 2000; Potres, 1998; Woolcock, 2000; Coleman 1988; World Bank, 1998). The Canadian experience shows that growing intersection between low income and ethnicity is increasingly correlated to neighborhood selection (Hulchanski, 2007; Preston & Giles, 1995 in Galabuzi et al., 2010).

These conditions can amplify isolation, marginalization and powerlessness, and limit the capacity for civic engagement. They are also literature that shows that ethnic concentration, especially around coherent social networks, tends to moderate the negative effect of such conditions and provides a bridge to better service delivery in ethnic enclaves (Galabuzi & Teelicksingh, 2010).

Social capital among immigrants

The social integration of immigrants may be reflected in their level of social capital. Social capital was defined by Pierre Bourdieu (1986) as the total resources, feasible or potential, that an individual or group accumulates by means of constant maintenance of social networks or reciprocal social interactions. It follows that social capital is a resource associated with social interactions conducted by the individual or the group and it is based on mutual commitment. Hence, social capital enables individuals to manage and obtain economic and cultural resources, including information and knowledge and ensure benefits for themselves by belonging to organizations and social networks. Studies dealing with immigrant integration cite the relative deficit of social capital suffered by immigrants in a new country, as compared to the veterans and native-born. In order to compensate for this deficit, organizations and social networks are formed at both the family as well as the group level in order to assist and support the immigrant (Amit, 2010).

Putman suggests that social capital has quantifiable effects on different aspects of life in the community, and goes well beyond community or cultural pride (Putman, 2000, p. 23). Galabuzi (2010) mentions some further aspects of social capital effects of everyday life from different sources, such as the U.K. Office of National Statistics notes that it is associated with better health (Wilkinson, 1996), better educational achievement (Coleman, 1988), improved child welfare (Cote & Healy, 2001), effective governance (Putman, 1995), enhanced economic achievement and low transaction costs (Fukuyama, 1995).

Two dimensions are often used to describe social capital - homogeneous (i.e., relations or ties among those of similar background or interests), relating to what is called bonding capital, and heterogeneous (i.e., relations or ties that cross boundaries of ethnicity, race, class, minority status), relating to bridging capital. In both cases, we come to understand individual or group actions as being both potentially rational and self-interested, on the one hand, and socialized, or governed by social norms, rules and obligations (Coleman, 1988) on the other. Social capital is, therefore, said to have various social functions that relate to bridging, bonding or linking. Bridging capital is said to allow for communities or individuals to get beyond their preoccupation with common bonds and engage in cross-community, cross-cultural or mainstream relation building. According to Putman, bonding capital keeps pre-existing networks together and may be valuable for immigrants who need to transition into integration by offering familiar environments and reference points, up to and including such frameworks as ethnic and religious social networks and ethnic enclaves.

The third formulation is linking capital, which focuses on the relationships between individuals and groups and their ability to leverage those relationships for individuals and social benefits. Onyx and Bullen (1997) have identified eight factors that can be said to constitute social capital in action:

- Participation in local community
- Neighborhood connection
- Family and friend connection
- Tolerance of diversity
- Work connection
- Proactive in a social context
- Feelings of trust and safety
- Value of life.

These factors will utilize us in analyzing the case of building social capital among new immigrants to Israel who settled in disadvantaged neighborhoods included in Project Renewal and in relation to social resilience.

Social exclusion and immigrants

Social exclusion is understood as describing both the structures and the dynamic processes of inequality among groups in society which, over time, structure unequal access to critical resources that determine the quality of membership in society and ultimately produce and reproduce complex of unequal outcomes (Galabuzi et al. 2010). Omidvar & Richmond (2003) note that: "Whether the source of exclusion is poverty, racism, race, fear of difference or lack of political clout, the consequences are the same: a lack of recognition and acceptance; powerlessness and voiceless; economic vulnerability; and limited life prosperity" (p.viii).

Immigrant exclusion from the labor market leads to such outcomes as high levels of unemployment, underemployment and underutilization of skills, as well as problems associated with poverty, including neighborhood selection and the poor integration of children into school systems. Derouin (2003) mentioned in Galabuzi et al, (2010) suggests a link between exclusion and social capital. Communities with poor relations between host communities and newcomers will encourage intra-ethnic networks as a survival strategy.

Neighborhood services play an important role in assisting immigrants to overcome social exclusion by improving access to needed information in ways that are linguistically and culturally appropriate for all members of immigrant families (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003). Social inclusion, as both goal and a process involves a commitment on the part of dominant groups to bring about the conditions of inclusion.

The Israeli Case

The migration of Jews to Israel can be classified as a 'Returning Diaspora', quite unique feature among migratory movements in general (Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein 2003). As a Returning Diaspora, the Jewish immigrants (Olim) who came to Israel feel an affinity with their new host society even before migrating and frequently exhibit warm feelings of homecoming upon arrival. Immigrants to Israel are driven by a complex mixture of various motives; alongside the religious and ideological motivation to immigrate there is also the fear of nationalist persecution, compounded by economic damage to the Jews' interests (Amit, 2010).

Throughout the years, the State of Israel has been ideologically committed to the successful integration of new immigrants into Israeli society. In spite of that, the social and economic gaps among different ethnic groups are very significant. Findings point out clearly that the absorption process of new immigrants from poor and traditional countries was very difficult in comparison to immigrants arriving from western industrialized countries. Moreover, the social and economic gaps created among these groups are not limited only to the first generation but continue to next generations. These gaps are the source to tensions and conflicts, and threaten the social solidarity of the Israeli greater society (Ruppin Index, 2007).

As mentioned above the key factor to cope with the absorption of different ethnic groups is to understand their cultural features and to find out those contact points enabling to build a multicultural and sustainable community where they live side by side. This paper will relate to the cultural group of the Ethiopians.

The concept that dominated Israel regarding Jews who arrived from ex-Soviet Union was to divide them into two main groups - "Jews of Russian origin" and "Jews of Asian republic origin". Perception of new immigrants in dichotomy terms is typical pattern to the Israeli society: Ashkenazim <> Sepharadim; Modernists <> Traditionalists; Orthodox <> Secular. This pattern of

thinking perpetuates polarization and ignores the variety, the richness and cultural uniqueness exists among the different ethnic groups. There are additional variables that design each community and sharpen the differences among them: leadership patterns; socialization; norms and values of internal and external relationships.

In regard to the Ethiopian community their absorption turning point occurred when they moved out of caravan sites and absorption centers into permanent housing in cities and neighborhoods defined in Project Renewal. Along with this movement there arose the need to monitor the process and assess the immigrants' absorption in various areas, including their integration into local communities and their relationships with neighbors. The differences in housing form caused to negative influences of the quality of life and with the relationships with their veterans neighbors.

The Ethiopian Jews migration to Israel

In order to understand the uniqueness of the Ethiopian Jews community, the processes of their absorption in Israel, their culture and social structure and the way IIDL program succeeded to achieve their absorption into the Israeli society, the following backgrounds are necessary to explain later both their social resilience and social inclusion in the Israeli society and how their community resilience was built. We will describe the process of immigration only to period between the 1970's and nowadays.

The migration of Ethiopian Jews

The Israeli –Ethiopia diplomatic relations existed until 1973 when, in the wake of the Yom Kippur War, Ethiopia (and 28 African nations) broke diplomatic relations with Israel under the threat of an Arab oil embargo. In 1973 the Israeli Minister of Absorption reported on the Beta Israel ethnic group (the historical name of the Israelite Ethiopian community) followed by the Sephardic chief rabbi decreed that the community of Beta Israel have the recognition as Jews after they have been accused converting Christians and enabled their migration to Israel according to the Law of Return accepted by the Israeli government in 1950. The law was the principle of unrestricted Jewish immigration legally enshrined and whose first article declares that "Every Jew has the right to come to this country as an *oleh*" (the Hebrew word for an immigrant). At that time there were 30,000 Jews in Ethiopia (Waldman, 1985).

Months later, Emperor Haile Selassie's regime ended in a coup d'etat and was replaced by Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, whose Marxist-Leninist dictatorship increased the threat to the Beta Israel. Soon Mariam instituted a policy of "villagization", relocating millions of peasant farmers onto state-run cooperatives, which gradually harmed the Beta Israel by forcing them to "share" their villages-though they were denied to own the land-with non-Jewish farmers, result in increased level of anti-Semitism.

In the early 1980's Ethiopia forbade the practice of Judaism and the teaching of Hebrew. Numerous members of Beta Israel were imprisoned on fabricated charges of being "Zionist spies", and Jewish religious leaders, *Kesim* (sing. Kes) were harassed and monitored by the government.

The situation remained exceedingly bleak through the early 1980's. Forced conscription at age 12 took many Jewish boys away from their parents, some never to be heard from again. Additionally with the constant threat of war, famine, and horrendous health conditions, the Beta Israel position became more precarious as time progressed.

The Mariam regime began to slightly soften its treatment of the Jews due to terrible famine wreaked havoc on the economy and it was forced to ask Western nations, including the USA and Israel allowing both to exert a modicum of pressure for release the Beta Israel. In the absence of official relations with Ethiopia, the Israeli Mossad contacted officials in Sudan, which is adjacent to Ethiopia. Nearly 20,000 people of the Jewish community left rapidly and secretly their homes and move by foot to the border between Ethiopia and Sudan. They moved through unknown areas in many different tracks, cross territories and landscapes with difficult topography, deserts, mountains, rivers and forests. They were attacked by roads robbers and suffered from famine, diseases and many death casualties. The march lasted three to five weeks but even several years due to long arrests and enforced return to Ethiopia by the Sudanese authorities. Even when they succeeded to cross Sudan's border they were put in refugee camps for two years. The Ethiopian community lost nearly 4.000 people in their march. This operation (known as "Operation Moses"). With the help of the American CIA the Israeli succeeded to bring to Israel in two operations more Ethiopian Jews – 1,200 in Operation Sheba and 800 more in "Operation Joshua" which took place in 1985. The mission was stopped due to news leaks and more than 15,000 Jews were left behind in Ethiopia (Israel Foreign Affairs, 1999).

In early 1991, the Eritrean and Tigrean rebels succeeded to defeat Mengistu forces and he left the country. With internal deterioration in Ethiopia and the fears of vulnerability a decision was made by the Government of Israel and the American Jewry to take an action and save the Jews in Ethiopia ("operation Solomon"). When the regime changed, the new Ethiopian government agreed after a difficult negotiation to enable the migration of the residual Jews to leave the country in return of ransom payment of 40 Millions \$. In this wave 14.500 people were transferred during 36 hours (starting on May 24th, 1991) by air plans directly to Israel (Israel Ministry of foreign Affairs, 1996).

First sight meeting with the State of Israel

On their arrival to Israel the Ethiopian immigrants were housed in Absorption Centers where they stayed for 6-12 months in order to improve their Hebrew language, meet their relatives who came to Israel in earlier stages of migration, get acquainted with life in the new country.

In contrast to their expectations the Ethiopian Jews faced many difficulties in the process of their absorption. Some were connected to their skin color ("black Jews") and some were related to the definition of their Jewish identity. The State of Israel on the other side became first acquainted to the special uniqueness of the Ethiopian community expressed by difficulties of the immigrants' low level of education, Hebrew language ignorance, cultural and appearance differences. Besides, there was a gap between men and women regarding employment experience and education.

Due to their poor educational background and their poor experience and with the intention to help migrants to integrate in employment, the absorption programs focused first in vocational training in accordance to its quality to the Ethiopians (Leibel, 2000). The absorption process was in the hands of the Jewish Agency and the policy was called "Intermediary Absorption". It was executed by intervention of government organizations in issues concerned place of dwelling, employment and the management of their mode of life. The intermediary absorption branded the new immigrants as highly problematic and as a socially needed category (Hertzog, 1998). That policy led to an absorption hindrance and to the empowerment of the clerical strata. They were responsible to take care of the immigrants buy their attitude was homogeneous. Thus, a complete community was tagged as "community", "different", "traditional" and "problematic" by the general population of Israel (Shabty, 2001).

Cultural and social characteristics

The Ethiopian population arrived to Israel as a different social, ethnic and culturally minority and it had to cope with the powerful scope of changes while meeting the ethnocentric Israeli culture and the negative connotations regarding their skin color. In spite of the cultural distance, they were explored as adaptive community due to their Ethiopian culture characteristics: an image of passive and obedience, giving respect to the other person, not saying 'no' to authority. It is assumed that because their negative stereotype around them, they became a source of motivation to be like everyone else (Shabty, 2001).

Following their mass migration from Ethiopia, they were exposed to a normative system of behaviors and to a social hierarchy very different from their local norm from where they arrived. The Ethiopian society acts according to authoritative hierarchy (Ben Ezer, 1992). The Ethiopian family is a traditional and patriarchal. In the framework of the family and that of the whole community there are very clear criteria that fixed the hierarchy, such as age, family authority, congregation function and duty. It dictates the level of norms behaviors. There are behavior codes among the Ethiopian community: body expressions and gestures toward different persons.

The Ethiopian immigrant met different people: firstly, the representatives of absorption center like social workers, teacher at the "ulpan" (special classes to teach Hebrew), manager of the absorption center, the clinic staff (doctor, psychologist, nurse) and local services. The differences among these persons and their duties are not clear to them. They all considered as the representatives of the government, and therefore, they should be treated according to the norm that structured the relationships between the pliant and the authoritative in the system (Ben Ezer, 1992). The social code is always positive.

Figure 3: Diversity wheel characteristics



Difficulties between immigrants and the Israeli society

Additional hardness in meeting the Israeli society stemmed from the lack of attitude towards tells of the marching immigrants. In a study by Ben Ezer (2002), he analyses interviews of young people who survived the long march and pointed out three main issues: their Jewish identification; their suffering; and their heroism.

For hundreds of centuries the Jews in Ethiopia dreamt to come to Israel and in their mind they draw very clear sights and colors of Israel. Some were sure that the Holy Land is similar to what their ancestors told them about the "land of milk and honey" and about "Yerusalem" (Jerusalem the holy city). During all stages of the long march and the long awaiting in camps in Sudan, their Jewish identity based on religious laws was kept very strictly. They kept the Jewish codes regarding the Holidays, Kosher food, woman's monthly period etc.

Physical, mental and ideological difficulties accompanying the immigrants through their march and caused them lot of suffering. Most of them emphasis the march as a heroic story they were able to withstand (Ben Ezer, 1999). The fact that the Israeli society didn't approve and didn't accept the Ethiopian Jews' self-perception following their march, had weakened their ability to cope with absorption difficulties.

The cultural variations between the immigrants and the host society caused to sharpened relationships and a buffer gap. Their perception about Israeli people made the gap wider. Ben Ezer (1992) found out the following differences: the meeting with secular Jews in Israel the Holy Land; the technological development; the community characters; different understanding of terms like time, food, climate, health, self- choice of the individual; disparity among families; deep generation gaps between parents and their children.

The mistakes during the process of absorption and lack of cultural sensitivity of the establishment were most substantial factor that created the severe difficulties and the feeling of crisis among the new immigrants. The government institutions like the Rabanical Authority suspected the Ethiopian Jews religious identification and ordered them to pass a proselytizing before they will be considered Jews. There were even concrete evidences regarding Jews who became Christians. The reaction was a very big protest of the whole Ethiopian community against the attitude received from the official Israeli institutions. The religious leadership of the Ethiopian Jews' known by their name – Kaise, didn't receive automatically the recognition of the Israeli rabanical confirmation (Bodovsky & Eran, 1994).

Another kind of difficulty in the absorption process was the housing. Most of the Ethiopians were put in absorption centers and in neighborhoods already housed by Ethiopian inhabitants. This situation caused to their isolation and put many difficulties on their social integration. In opposite to the government declared policy to direct them to settlements ranked in a higher socio-economic scale they preferred to stay in large concentration in many locations that are included in Project Renewal program. The action of absorption was a point of failure and criticism by many organizations. To overcome these obstacles the government together with a coalition of ministries, public and private organizations decided to take a step toward and cure these failures.

Differences of cultural meetings

Meetings between people from different cultures might bring diversity and enrichment to cope with daily situations. They may lead to the development of mutual tolerance, identification, empathy and readiness to accept the other. Sometimes, these meetings encourage curiosity and the need among the participants to get acquainted with different cultures and even the desire to adopt new habits regarding food and communication. On the other hand, in Israel a country of polarized society based on political identification, cultural diversity might evoke conflict between groups. Table 2 presents some examples of different cultural characteristics between Ethiopians, Caucasians immigrants and veterans populations reside in Project Renewal neighborhoods.

Table 2: Coping with changing mode of life and cultural codes

ETHIOPIA	ISRAEL
Traditional and religious society	Modern and pluralistic society
Religious leadership	Political leadership
Rural way of living	Urban way of living
Agricultural and independent livelihood	Urban technological occupations as wagers
Primitive technology (in rural regions)	Sophisticated technology
Minor formal studies	Much emphasis on formal education
Large family in the center	Foci family in center
Elderly people in center	Children in center point
Respect for the person in high hierarchy	Extent of equality and less ceremonial
Authoritative atmosphere	Much freedom of choice
Politeness and modesty	Assertiveness, smoothness, demand for rights
Keeping secrets and emotional restrain	Expressing emotions
Patience and comfortable	Emphasis on rapid performance & time bound
Indirect communication, metaphoric, long culture	Direct and short communication culture

Source: Bodovsky, D. (1994)

Differences of norms among groups which share mutual properties (like block buildings) raise conflicts and disputes. As long as the conflict continues and forms part of the community's history and tradition, its power will be higher and the solution might mean an attack on traditional values (Katan, 2002). Conflicts are usually accompanied by strong negative feelings. Inability to understand the source of the cultural value makes it difficult to cope with them. The different ways to cope with them both personally and within groups are embedded in the personal, historical, status and belonging, concepts and values. The professional literature presents four strategies to deal with conflict: Problem solving- searching the win-win solution; Struggling- enforcing one solution on both parties; Concession - satisfying one's needs on the account of the other one; and Avoidance- non-action steps or cessation of the conflict intervention (Rubin, Pruitt & Kim, 1994)

Selecting strategies in order to cope with is influenced by the collective cultural capacity. Different cultures are placing different claims and pressures characterized by their culture in front of their community members. On the other hand culture put towards the individual some limitations against members' claims, and supplies him with sources that contribute individual decisions in solving these problems (Gibson-Cline, 1996). The conflicts are empowered when different ethnic groups take measures that differ one from the other such as struggle vis-a-vis problem solving.

Working with populations characterized by different cultural background obliged the professional team to thoroughly study their mode of life, cultural codes and patterns of behavior. Although the new immigrants (mainly the youngsters) adopt partially the outlook of the surrounding society and despite the fact of being citizens of the country for many years, the norms and patterns of behavior as well as their cultural codes are remain rooted in them and affect their behavior within their own communities. The more veteran immigrants who experienced failures during their absorption reveal passive patterns of reaction and do not believe in making any change in their lives. One way to overcome cultural differences among different ethnic groups is to understand the variety of behavioral meaning among them (Hertzog, 1999).

The professional teams have learned in the immigrants' localities how to get closer and gain a better understanding of different cultural groups, using a number of insights described below:

- It is important to learn the norms and habits customary in the motherland. This insight supports the building of good contacts with the elder of the community. Among the young generation there exists a kind of denial to cultural codes performed by their parents. Today, they criticize the establishment and express their dissatisfaction with the attitude of the authorities.
- In order to enhance programs at the community level it is necessary to keep contact with the recognized leadership and spread information to the community through these channels.
- Intercultural mediators play a significant role in understanding and translating cultural codes, and transferring exact information from one language to another. This is done orally or by means of written pamphlets which provide details of services available to the entire community.
- Creating suitable conditions for dialogue to enable Ethiopians to talk freely about their feelings and thoughts. Young Ethiopians find it easier than their elders to participate in discussion with others.
- To keep the community's private interests and concerns 'in the face of strangers', professional people need to interact and communicate with a high degree of sensitivity and respect, building credibility and trust.
- Transferring knowledge and tools to service suppliers of the different communities in order to improve and facilitate their communication with the population.

The professional team plays an important role in preparing the local activists to take an effective part in establishing contacts with the population in the neighborhood. The preparation stage is one of the most important principal aspects for the success of the IIDL. Special attention is given to the behavioral codes of the Ethiopians ethnic group and these must be explicitly understood both by the new immigrants and the professional staff. For example, when an Ethiopian person wishes to suggest an issue for discussion or to relate to a particular theme, he or she won't ever do it directly, but indirectly and through hints. The professional team organizes mutual activities for all parties in the IIDL. General agreement is given to activities like national holidays, summer events for children, celebrating the New Year, maintenance of common property.

Background to the Immigrants Integration Defined Localities Program

Following the enormous immigration waves (over one million) to Israel from Ethiopia and former Soviet Union in the early 1990s, concentrations of deprivation were created in many cities where new immigrants settled. The two main reasons why this happened is the implementation of the public housing privatization policy and the attraction of low price housing in poor neighborhoods under the Project Renewal program. The stronger veteran population succeeded to move out of these neighborhoods and those who remained were elderly people and weak families of third deprivation generation who felt resented following the entering of the new immigrants. Both groups found themselves sharing the same buildings. This situation created a new housing reality characterized by low maintenance of the flats; inter-cultural conflicts between veterans and new immigrants; lack of social and communal framework; multi-dimensional risks - environmental neglect, vandalism, anxiety and fear among elderly, crime and unemployment.

Coping with multiple deprivation of both affecting immigrants groups and veterans living in the same area, brought about the need for a change and establishment of a new approach of comprehensive involvement in these defined areas. The new program is called "Meesh'ol"⁽¹⁾ in Hebrew and its initials mean: Immigrants Integration in Defined Localities (IIDL).

The initiative behind the program is a direct result of the creation of concentrations deprivation in areas involving immigrants, mainly from Ethiopia, who acquired apartments following the Israel government's decision to implement the "Direct Absorption" policy⁽²⁾. Most immigrants settled in distressed neighbourhoods included in Project Renewal⁽³⁾. These neighbourhoods are characterized by low level housing, poor physical infrastructures and weak social-economic population. A complex new reality was created whereby new immigrants and veterans had no choice but to live together in these neighbourhoods sharing the same buildings and facilities. The sharing of buildings exposed the deep social gaps among the tenants. The lack of social ties between the tenants intensified alienation and feelings of being marginalised (Angel and Avrahami, 2005). To alleviate the problems, and tensions created by the mix of different cultures in poor neighbourhoods, new ideas, as well as different levels of engagements, needed to be explored which could help bring about a change for the better. The IIDL adopted and implemented a comprehensive intervention program to improve the environmental, social, community and personal lives of the tenants and their neighbourhoods.

The intervention program aims to create substantial changes: from isolated groups to integrative communities; from dwelling in risk conditions to better build housing; from feelings of alienation to a sense of belonging; from dependency on locality to being fully absorbed into integrated communities which encourage independence, self-help and group empowerment.

The program has two central aims: (1) Improvement both quality of life and quality of housing of all tenants in multicultural localities characterized by high concentration of veterans and immigrants who lack resources; (2) Enhancing partnership and mutual responsibility among defined areas residents and local services suppliers in order to improve the physical and social conditions of the areas.

The program is executed according to the following innovative principles:

- The intervention program is not focused on immigration populations as other absorption programs but rather in a defined locality where new immigrants and veteran residents live together.
- The intervention relates to both physical and social aspects in a defined locality.

- The intervention program is based on systematic work in a defined locality and on a genuine acquaintanceship with the tenants. It tries to overcome the lack of reliability phenomenon which exists among professionals, service suppliers and residents.
- The program is based on building a genuine partnership with tenants: establishing tenants' committee and local steering committees enabling empowered to represent resident needs and taking responsibility and commitments on themselves.
- Multi- cultural approach toward immigrants and veteran involving the principle of developing a cultural dialogue strengthen cultural identity as a tool for empowerment.

The program

The "Defined Area" approach (IIDL) means a physical space including 250 - 400 dwelling units, usually building blocks consisting of 16 to 36 flats each surrounding a common public space. There are 22 sites in 13 cities included in the program, populated mostly by 30,400 immigrants of Ethiopian origin, ex-Soviet Union immigrants and veterans in 7,600 households. The total budget invested so far is \$3.5 Million (Starkov, 2005). The program's stages building is shown in figure 4.

The program's targets developed and changed during the decade of operation. In 1999 the target was defined as "to enhance residents, to improve the environmental conditions and to create a positive social and communal climate".

In 2001 the definition was "to execute a positive process in endangered environment to cause new immigrants and veterans who live together in a multi-distressed and multi-cultural location, to participate them in the creation of better environmental conditions and creating a positive social and communal climate" (Starkov 2005:12).

In 2004 the target was changed to: "The IIDL program aims to create a process to enhance cooperation between tenants, newcomers and veterans and make services accessible to everyone in the neighborhood". This aim will be achieved through four sub-targets: First - identifying needs and problems out sourcing, developing services and creating solutions to support different groups in the neighborhood; Second -educating tenants to use existing services in the neighborhood; Third - encouraging residents to become involved in neighborhood affairs and to acquire knowledge and tools to be responsible for their own environment; and Four - personal and group empowerment women; advancing their involvement in the community.

During the years some developments occurred and from a general target of assisting tenants in 1999 it focused on treatment targets and empowerment. It must be emphasized that in 2004 there was a certain decline in tenants' participation and moving the support to assist in services access and needs. But the aim of enhancing involvement was changed into taking responsibility as a tool, but still not as real participation in decision making processes due to the long process and skills acquisition needed to get acquainted.

The Defined Localities sites are selected in accordance with the following criteria:

- Cities over populated with new immigrants (over 30%).
- Areas in deteriorated situation environments characterized by physical neglect and social alienation.
- Social and economic inequalities.
- Welfare dependency ratio.
- Lack of supporting community during both crisis and routine periods.
- Local municipality willing to build a true partnership.
- Existing and valid base to service accessibility.

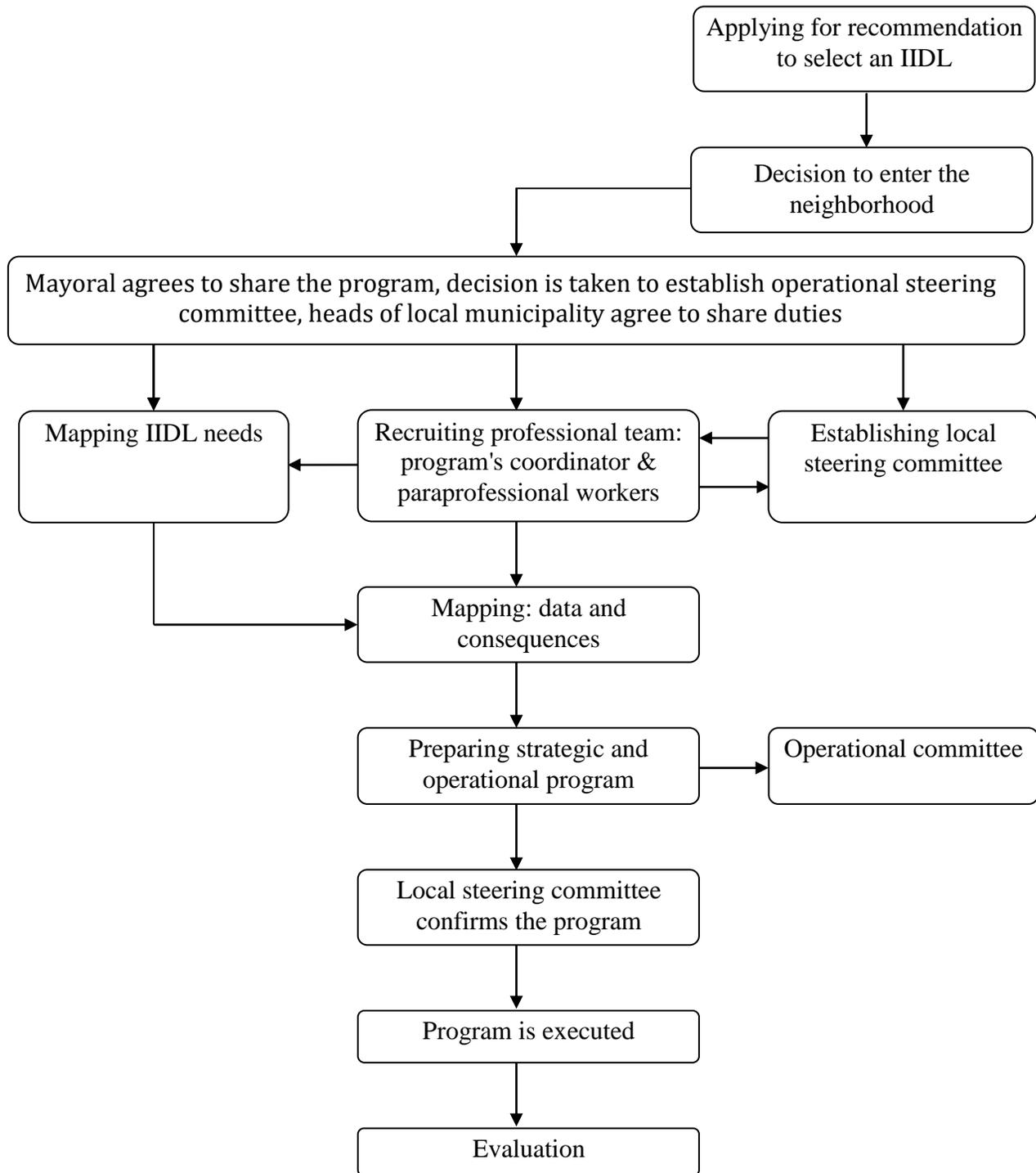
- Partnerships with organizations located in the urban region.

The sites were characterized by deep economic distressed, inter-cultural conflicts, youth at risk, ineffective use of leisure time, violence and abuse, high rates of unemployment, women at risk, language difficulties, lonely elderly people, communication difficulties among tenants and the establishment official representatives and lack of minimal involvement by the establishment in community activities. Besides, the program included guiding working concepts of five elements:

- *Operation in emergency and routine periods*: Creation of a supportive community and delivering a sense of security to the residents in both periods. That is done by empowering residents, improving the neighborhood environment, establishing the community mechanisms such as community institutions and local services.
- *Interdisciplinary approach*: The IIDL approach implements a comprehensive involvement integrated in the personal, physical and community spheres. An approach like that obligated the establishing of partnerships both at the local and national levels, leveraging financial and professional resources like physical building and renovation, community work, welfare, health and education. The main vehicle to implement it is by establishing local steering committees engaged and accompanying the program along all its stages.
- *Resident engagement in leading change*: Creation of resident responsibility by means of establishing interested groups of residents who lead the change. According to this concept, the program encourages residents to take responsibility by identifying their own needs and plan relevant responses, to build mechanisms that ensure community strength for the long run independent of external and establishment institutions and to build local leadership.
- *Enhancing residents at the individual, group and community levels*: The program aims to strengthen the individual and the whole community by improving accessibility to services of welfare, employment, health, education, leisure, neighborhood events and meetings between different populations.
- *Partnerships between residents and organizations*: These partnerships are due to become the future organizational structure which will replace the present activity after the program will phase out the locality.

This approach aims to build a genuine contact with the residents based on mutual confidence and commitment to the housing and the community living there. It enables to develop awareness and to build the need of engagement. The concept commits professionals and especially the function of the community bridging person to accompany the tenants to get to know them personally, to be located at the area, to open an office in the defined area and to establish residents working groups on a variety of issues concerned them.

Figure 4: Stages of building IIDL program



Source: Angel & Avrahami, 2005:38

The program policies and principles

Working in a systematic model requires performance of a practical approach which can combine various environmental, physical and social aspects. Its stages include: Establishing a steering committee > Selecting a defined locality > Recruiting personnel > Mapping needs > Building leading resident groups for change > Establishing housing committees > Enhancing the locality in physical, social and community-cultural aspects.

- Mapping needs: The mapping process is done through person to person acquaintance with the defined area residents which enable to know each household and it serves simultaneously two functions: examining personal and family needs and an intimate acquaintance with each member of the household.
- Building leading residents groups for change: This is the program's most significant activity and the basis for future institutional infrastructure. Leading groups are established in accordance to a variety of issues such as, environment and neighborhood guard as well as in community and social domains like youth and women. Building leading groups aim to create a commitment among the residents. It is followed by training and guiding them by professional staffs.
- Tenants committees: Each building on the locality site must establish a committee. This is done with the assistance of the social worker in charge, who also runs workshops to train tenants chosen as committee members. The training is done with the cooperation of the Housing Association, to whom tenants pay their monthly membership fee.
- Physical renovations: Maintenance of buildings and their yards in the defined areas are in bad condition. Water, electricity and sewage systems are old and do not functioned. Yards around the buildings are neglected. Leisure facilities are broken and unsecured. Each building receives a special grant to renovate the entrance to the buildings (lighting, doors, post boxes, floors, and sewage system), and developing community gardens. Tenants are involved in the decision making process concerning the items to be renovated. The renovations are done in compatibility collaboration with other partners: Ministry of Construction & Housing (Project Renewal Department), local municipality (department of environment and physical infrastructure).
- Services accessibility and new social programs: The IIDL program creates opportunities for services accessibility located in the urban space for example, employment, vocational training, teaching Hebrew language, centers for young population, youth programs, encouraging women back in to work, cultural mediators. In addition, new program are developed: a neighborhood fair, celebrating holidays, workshops for one parent families, health, youth leaders, parents-children, women empowerment through art, after school activities, preparing for first grade school, budget management.
- Relationship with external groups: The IIDL program seeks to strengthen the social fabric of the neighborhood community through enrichment activities provided by college students and graduates of youth movements. Students participating in these activities receive scholarships to cover half of their rents; in return they commit to volunteer 8 hours per week working with elderly people and school children.
- Multi-cultural dialogue: Understanding culture is the key to connect and overcome the differences and diversity among ethnic groups which make up the locality. Great efforts are invested to enhance conversation between new immigrants and veterans. The IIDL program pays special attention to cultural sensitiveness and preservation of cultural identity and ensures that proper channels for dialogue and community meetings are used. Some practical examples: setting up a translation center for Russian speakers; publishing bilingual information about neighborhood services for Ethiopians residents, employing professional mediators to resolve conflicts caused by misunderstanding cultural differences.

The Immigrant Integration program operates according to five policy principles:

(1) *Residents participation in decision making processes*: Residents, both new immigrants and veterans are equal partners together with planners and professionals in developing programs to improve their quality of housing and life.

(2) *Multi cultural approach*: The defined areas are populated by immigrants from Ethiopia, Caucasian, Bukhara, Russia and veterans of third and fourth generation of social deprivation. This kind of reality suggests a special attitude and approach towards different culture groups when taking into consideration developing of new plans. The guiding principles of the multicultural approach are developing inter-cultural dialogue; strengthening the cultural roots of the different groups developing cultural identification as a vehicle for empowerment.

(3) *Inter-organizational partnership*: Developing partnerships of institutions and organizations at both the local and national levels.

(4) *Integrated work of community and the individual*: The model encourages collaboration between the community and individual in order to share allocations, resources and professional support.

(5) *Adaptation and implementation*: Integrate the planning process and its aims in structural and strategic lines to ensure the program's continuation for the long run.

Organizational structure of the Immigrant Integration defined Localities

The organizational structure is built on two parallel levels: national and local municipality. In both, managerial and executive partnerships exist. At the national level the managerial partners sitting on the steering committee are representatives from the Ministries of Construction & Housing, Absorption, Welfare, as well as representatives from the JDC and the Housing Association. There are three other partners who are responsible for the execution of the program: an organization consultant; a NGO appointed to operate the program at the national level and a regional coordinator.

On the local level there are the local steering committee composed of regional representatives from the different ministries; the community workers department in the local municipality; the program's coordinator and a local NGO in charge of the program operation.

There are many other bodies active and engaged in the program: municipal departments like engineering, education and youth at risk; community center; center for conflict in the community; housing associations; center for child development, community police; schools and academic institutions. The main functions of the IIDL organization are:

- *National steering committee* - The committee acts as a professional body and it operates as a "think tank forum" to examine new models and phasing out processes. The national steering committee is authorized to select the areas for the IIDL, to decide on the action principles, to approve each IIDL plans and strategies and to decide the annual budget for the program. It meets at least four times annually.
- *National directorate* - The committee which mentors and guides the local coordinators is in charge of the establishing, developing and institutionalize all networks and systems of partnerships at the local level.
- *Local steering committee* - It is a parallel committee to the national one acting on the local level of the neighborhood. It is composed of all representatives from the district and the municipality engaged in the program. The local steering committee decides about the program details; has the responsibility to execute it; controls and supervises the

advancement of the plans and the overall program; fundraising; and service accessibility. The committee meets three times annually.

- *Local IIDL coordinator* - The coordinator is the most important factor in the program. Coordinators are social workers specialized in community work. They are entrusted with a wide range of responsibilities: developing partnerships with organizations and local municipality departments; mapping the neighborhood needs; coordinating the services provided by organizations and municipal departments; maintaining daily contacts with tenants; setting up tenants leading groups; establishing tenants committees; developing new plans; reporting regularly to the local steering committee.
- *Community work department* - This department acts as the professional mentor and consultant on all aspects of the program.
- *Community worker* - a social worker, speaks fluently the dominant language in the locality, creates intimate contacts with the tenants and work together with the local coordinator.
- *Community house keeper* - This person is in charge of the maintenance and repairs of the physical aspects of the Defined Localities.

Having approved the decision to enter the program the local steering committee of the city composed of government officials, professional teams and residents delivers the annual comprehensive master plan that identifies its targets, context and criteria for success.

Table 3 describes the four domains the program is engaged with: social - communal; environmental and housing; personal and family; and the organizational integration. Each domain has its own inputs and outputs criteria as well as the targets for change.

The indices for success identify the percentages of changes expecting to be achieved in the future. When the levels reach the expecting changes then the program comes to its end. The criteria and indices are the consequences of the targets, aims and the principles of performance and therefore they have to be measured and updated with information, surveys and quantitative research. One important point should be emphasized: all criteria and indices are according to "western eyes". But priorities are fixed in accordance to the cultural and social background of the residents' characteristic

Table 3: Characteristics of Immigrant Integration Defined Localities Program

DOMAIN	TARGETS OF CHANGE / CRITERIA	INPUTS INDEX	OUTCOMES INDEX
1. COMMUNITY-SOCIAL	Relationship system among tenants of different cultures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • x% Out of all plan and programs aimed to the tenants • x% out of all plans and programs in IIDL deal with intercultural dialogues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • X% increasing of tenants participating in the program • X% decreasing in cultural confrontations
	Developing loyalty relationships among tenants and service suppliers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acquaintance with cultural features • Developing x% of new needs or x% of accessed services • Developing new tools and skills to cope with social community issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing number of residents consulting with services representatives • Increasing number of residents using services and expressed satisfaction
	Resident participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing partnership model between residents, organizations and services • Tenants representatives are partners in planning and performing x% of the total programs operated in IIDL 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residents acquire knowledge and tools from decision making processes to problem solving and to working with organizations • X residents who represent different cultural groups are part of local steering committee • Establishing forums shared by residents and services staffs
	Management responsibility for shared property Decreasing vandalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In x% of the buildings tenants established housing committees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building are maintained and managed regularly • Decrease of x% in destruction and vandalism
2. HOUSING – ENVIRONMENT	Building renovations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • X% buildings in IIDL are under renovations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • X% of all buildings needed to be renovated in IIDL were completed
	Environmental development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancing plans for environmental development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In x% of the buildings gardens and paths were built
	Decreasing sanitation obstacles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing routine treatment to cope with sanitation obstacles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pest control is done twice a year
	Improving maintenance of open spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop and maintain public spaces by municipal and private bodies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop public parks - vegetation and cleaning

Cont./

DOMAIN	TARGETS OF CHANGE / CRITERIA	INPUTS INDEX	OUTCOMES INDEX
3. PERSONAL - FAMILY	Improving residents function	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishing self-help groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> X% declining of welfare services clients
	Enhancing employability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> X% of the plans are focused in preparing residents for employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> X% unemployed in IIDL began to work X% increase in labor force Family Income level among low wagers increase
	Skills & training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> X% of total programs are devoted to acquire skills X% of total families participate in programs devoted to parents and children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participants achieve at least X skills
	Enhancing education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acting X programs for first grade All children up to 18 years old are in formal or informal activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> X% number of children prepared for first grade X% less children at risk X% non-speaking Hebrew achieve language skills Establishing X plans for youth at risk
4. ORGANIZATIONAL FRAME	Developing comprehensive personal and community work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developing model of partnership between community and personal work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Team met once in two months Private, family and community programs are developed

Source: Angle & Avrahami, 2005: 48

The IIDL program achievements and outcomes

The policies and the principles of the program, as they have been presented in the paper, have succeeded to establish fundamental changes among new immigrants from Ethiopia. Figure 5 describes the social networks that have been built among ethnic groups living in disadvantaged neighborhoods where the program is operating. The changes and achievements will be examined according to Onyx & Bullen (1997) eight factors to constitute social capital in action:

1. Participation in local community: Utilizing best practices and experiences both from Project Renewal and long periods of absorbing new immigrants in Israel, the initiators of Immigrant Integration program have begun from the very beginning point to build social networks with the immigrants, trying to engage and involve all members of the family and especially with the religious and honored leaders of the community. The reason for that was the high credibility

these leaders deserved from their own fellow communities. They became the contact persons with the outside world, that is, with the neighborhood and local services at large. In order to overcome cultural differences the program employed bi-lingual translators, educated people and student who belonged to the same ethnic group. Through many workshops, local steering committees meetings, recruiting professional staff in charge of local service delivery and the building of social networks and social capital benefits began its march. The immigrants began to use local services, mainly, clinics, community center enrichment activities, schools, kindergarten, and human capital center aimed for employment.

2. *Neighborhood connection:* The informal meeting among new immigrants and native population whether on the same dwelling block, in school or at the community center influenced to break the worries and fears from both side. Community events where most of the neighborhood's community met whether to celebrate holidays, school graduation, food testing, weddings or mourning contributed a lot to create social networks and neighborhood connection among major parts of the local and greater community.

3. *Family and friend connection:* the Ethiopian ethnic community has inherent characteristics to build close connection inside their own communities. That virtue was brought with them from their origin country and was kept through all years of settlement in Israel. Therefore, it is not surprising that this factor exists and contributes to the bonding of their social networks. It helps them to cope with problems they have to tackle against the authorities whether local or national levels.

4. *Tolerance and diversity:* Both populations - new immigrants and veterans - with the consistent supervising, mentoring and guidance of professional staff learnt to know each other and to respect each one unique feature and live with it. The neighborhood, the place where daily life is managed by many factors, institutions and organizations, aiming to build social capital benefits and to establish a sustainable community, has learnt how to live side by side in democratic ways. Tolerance and diversity are integral part of mutual life in democracy state.

5. *Work connection:* As the professional literature taught us, new immigrants are coping with economic difficulties to find their assimilation in the host community regarding employment and leverage their standard of living. The IIDL program has paid great attention to cope with building human capital base for the new immigrants. The first difficulties were learning the language and to acquire employability skills. This process takes longer time and involved government support as well as steady economy that need working hands and people with professional knowledge. This factor is still need to be pushed forward.

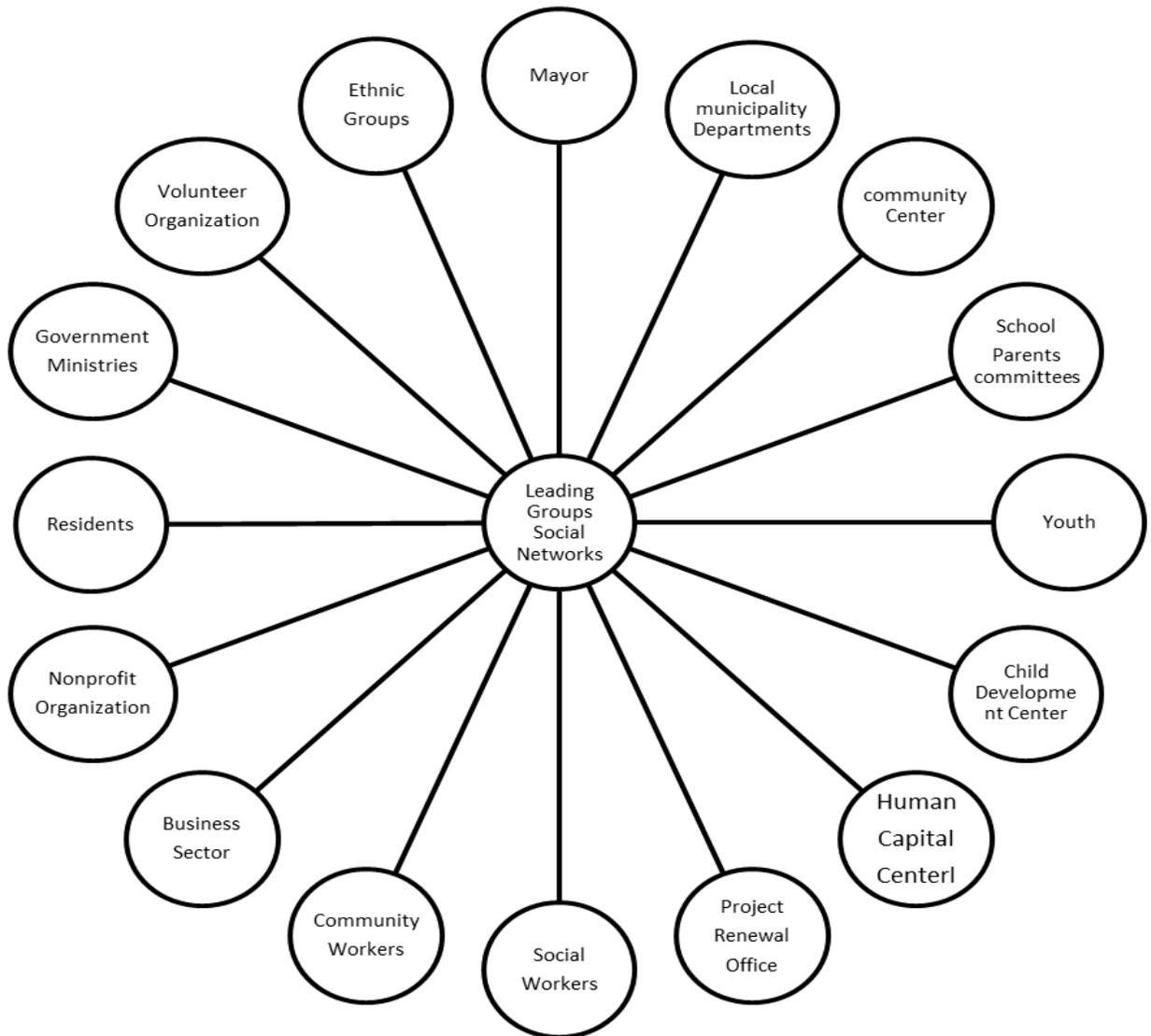
6. *Proactive in a social context:* We have to distinguish between two kinds of proactive in a social context: the first is dealing with the close family and friends which we may call the close circle and the second deals with the engagement and involvement at the neighborhood arena. The social context of the first one takes shape of helping the relatives of the family and other friends who live outside the neighborhood, whereas the second, concentrate on actions ethnic groups do for the general community like volunteering activity, participating in parents committees in school and neighborhood leadership, persons who are responsible to manage services and deliver them. Thus, the social capital benefits are twofold and in between them there exist mutual partnerships.

7. *Feelings of trust and safety:* Trust is one of the most frequently encountered elements in definitions of social capital (Fukuyama, 1995) and is an essential ingredient of any successful community building effort. The Ruppin Index of immigrant integration (2007) reveals that over 50% of ethnic groups are satisfied with their absorption process and over 65% pointed out their new connections with the greater community at the neighborhood level. To the feelings of trust and safety we can add the information sharing element. It is obvious that information has its own power and implications to one self-security and safety. Moreover, during the years of the program operation the levels of tension and intercultural conflicts have dropped down. The institutional infrastructures performing in the neighborhood contribute to the improvement of feelings of trust and safety in that they became the meeting places where the neighborhood populations get to know each one personally.

8. *Value of life:* Both the social capital and the cultural capital benefits together with the physical and environment improvements at the defined locality, as well as the knowledge capital equipped the immigrant with variety of skills to manage his/her life. The process of accumulation enables

the individual to value his life in the new country and to become a citizen holding his rights and duties towards the society he/she is part of.(see annex 1 for types of activities).

Figure 5: Social capital networks among ethnic communities in disadvantaged neighborhoods.



Discussion and Conclusion

This part of the paper will discuss and conclude three issues: Firstly, the IIDL program; Secondly, the extent to which social capital, social resilience and social inclusion were achieved; and thirdly, inter relationships among social capital- social resilience-social inclusion-IIDL.

IIDL program

Integrated Immigrants Defined Localities (IIDL) began in 1999 as an experimental program in the four most populated with new immigrants cities in Israel. The program was further developed nationally during 2006-2008 and today (2013) a total of 22 sites in 13 cities with 30,400 people living in 113 building blocks with 156 tenants' committees benefit from the Immigrants Integration Defined Localities program. IIDL has been on-going program since then (JDC et. al. 2013).

The Immigrant Integration Defined Localities is operating almost 12 years. Newcomers from poor countries, as is the Ethiopian ethnic group put heavy burden on the host communities. Their settlement in disadvantaged neighborhoods throw additional difficulties, namely, coping with a new language; get to know the local culture, norms and values of the veteran populations; building connections with the service suppliers; differences of behavior and culture that create tension, alienation and exclusion; and especially heavy budget burden on the authorities which have to assist them and supply the needed services.

Although the IIDL is relatively a young program, we can point out successful achievements such as building social and community networking, tenant engagement, establishing of local leadership, improvement of housing maintenance, tenants committees, and local services matched to the different ethnic groups.

The program is executed simultaneously along all channels of its principles to achieve the best benefits and impacts. The plans cover a very wide range of fields: Technical courses for residents teaching them how to repair elementary failures and faults of electricity, gas, painting, water taps; Maintaining the common parts of the building; Establishing a building committee; Language classes for non-Hebrew speakers; Basic education skills - writing, reading and arithmetic; Acquaintance with service deliverers: school, kindergarten, day care center, youth club, clinic, health, welfare, community center, local municipality departments, police, employment; Mutual meetings and discussions with veteran neighbors; Problem-solving process by the residents; Employment training; Workshops for mothers and children, Women empowerment; Social activities for children, youth and elderly people; Developing building yards.

The targets of change include four main domains of involvement:

(1) The **community-social domain** which aims to create a change in the inter-cultural atmosphere relationships and tolerance among veterans and new immigrants: (a) From confrontation to partnership and mutual acquaintance; sharing in mutual events, developing a sense of tolerance and mutual neighborly relations; (b) To develop loyal relations between residents and local services: service accessibility and to develop new responses to cultural adaptation; (c) To build working models between residents and services representatives; (d) Developing responsibility for mutual property management: creation of self-management organization by the residents, establishing maintenance network of the building included in the defined area;

(2) The **environmental-housing domain** dealing with (a) the physical renovation and the development of the surrounding environment; (b) raising awareness in home owners and those renting their responsibility to their physical environment;

(3) The **personal-family domain** enhancing residents individually and empowering their families to acquire knowledge, skills and means to help them function independently, integrating them into employment and how to use educational and social services;

(4) The **network-organizational domain** aims: (a) Effect a transfer from a collection of different organizations taking care of the defined area to a comprehensive network involvement; (b) Develop multi approach of mutual responsibility such as think-tank networking in order to improve quality of life.

The uniqueness of the IIDL is expressed through the following components: (1) **Targeted population**: individual attention toward every family and its members within the general community that lives in the defined area. (2) Defined area as a **managerial unit**: Enables high level of coordination among staffs, achieving effectiveness and supervision of both residents and services. (3) **Intensive effort**: Investing united efforts among all organizations involved create significant changes individually, socially, physically and communally. (4) **Creation of social networks**: These networks enable mutual assistance in time of crisis, development of recognition among residents, acquisition of self- confidence, develop social anchors based on the residents' strength as a leverage for developing contacts with other populations in the neighborhood. (5) **Developing the space as service area** includes: services accessibility, develop new services for the population, teaching families how to use these services. (6) **Integrating physical and social aspects** as a stimulus for comprehensive involvement.

Defined areas of immigrants have both difficulties and achievements. The achievements at the national level are: Developing of working concepts and regulations; Strengthen national level partnership; Developing means and skills; Developing programs and organizational infrastructures. And at the local level: Pooling resources; Enhancing residents' involvement in decision making processes; Better coordination among professional teams; Intensive efforts and detailed acquaintance with local residents and their needs.

Besides, there are some difficulties to cope with: Lack of budget; most immigrants (mainly, Ethiopians) remained below the level of poverty; Welfare services are investing a lot of personnel and budget resources to take care of weak families; Social and economic difficulties are put top priority for many households; Big cultural gaps still exist between new immigrants and veterans.

To sum up, we present here a list of both supportive and preventive factors based on the Israeli experiences of building social and cultural capitals among new immigrants arriving to Israel in the early 1990s settled in deprived neighborhoods. We suggest that those factors can be considered elsewhere in democratic countries. It is clear that are differences between Israel and other countries concerning the political system, culture, socio-economic conditions, demographic composition, experiences of resident participation, policies of absorbing new immigrants, civil society, government priorities and more. The list of factors below is not complete, but it points out the most influential and important variables and factors as experienced and functioned in IIDL and Project Renewal.

Factors inhibiting success: Network and political delays at both the national and local levels regarding budget; appointment of professional staff; lack of sufficient involvement from municipal mayors; difficulty in showing instant outcomes and results; slowness of decision-making processes especially in big cities; interested groups acting at the local level; difficulty in understanding multicultural processes both among different immigrants groups and between veterans and new immigrant

Factors of success: A structured operation model; commitment and readiness of the local municipality to perform the program by the department of social work; building infrastructures

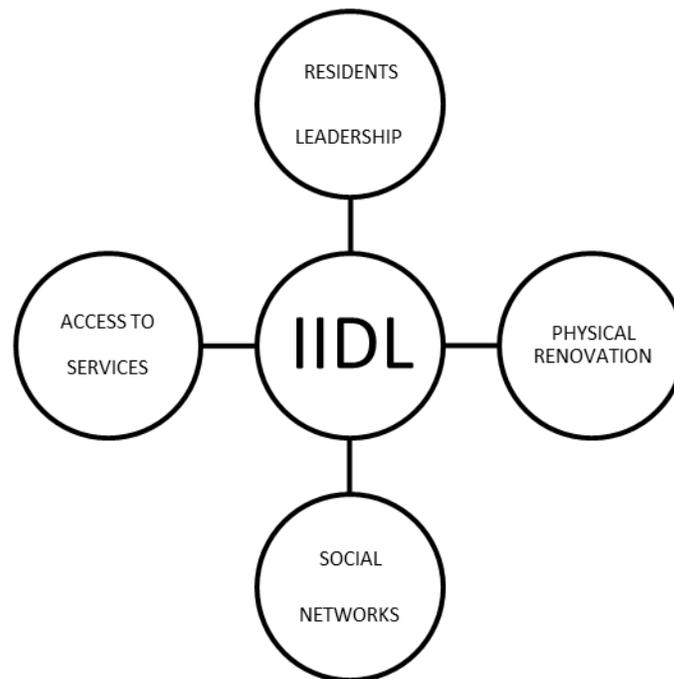
based on partnerships at the neighborhood level; creation of new platforms to integrate related programs and services; intimate acquaintance with the residents in the locality; establishing a mechanism that serves the residents in emergency periods; professionalism, enthusiasm and sense of commitment among the personnel at the national and local levels; an innovative program in a process of emergence which enable a dynamic process of learning and changing. These factors contributed to the achievements of the program and slow down ethnic conflicts between new immigrants and the veteran population living in the same locality.

The key word that best explains the program's success is a deep and fundamental understanding of what does **culture** mean to each of the different groups of immigrants and how the professionals translate and implement the following terms in their daily work: symbols, heroes, ceremonies, rituals, values, habits, customs, manners of eating, happiness, mourning, tradition, history, language, religion, personal-family-community events, respect, tolerance and decision making process.

There are some more points of success to be mentioned: Although the migration to Israel wasn't planned in advance, like many other families arriving to Israel as new immigrants, the Ethiopian community was enforced to leave not because of natural hazards but of political factors. Leaving their home behind wasn't planned but performed under impossible conditions of persecutions, famine, arrests and death. Their march from Ethiopia to Sudan was strengthened by their belief in the near coming redemption. The Ethiopian community has built for many centuries its own resilience through a set of social capitals from one generation to the other. Both individual and collective social networking systems were built for years and became rooted in the whole community. Another very important issue should be clear: The immigration of Jews from Ethiopia to Israel wasn't base on any theory whatsoever. These points aren't found in other parts of the globe.

However, social and community activities are not the only key for success. Performing it alone will raise doubts of credibility toward the authorities. What is needed to achieve maximum impact is the renovation of the neighborhood buildings and developing public spaces and well-designed infrastructures. Visible and tangible properties are the most important evidences which contribute to the residents' motivation and open dialogue with the authorities. Figure 6 shows the four main indices of the program success. The first is resident leaders who represent their communities in the neighborhoods, cities and national forums where decision making processes are taking place. These representatives assumed to lead the social change regarding rights, policy and services inspection. They should be empowered and skilled by professionals. The second is the physical renovations where residents are integrated part of the planning, pay their relative payments and maintain it through processes of community development and social involvement. The third is the development of social networking characterized by cross cultures and the fourth is service accessible. The cohesion of social networking will bring informal support among residents, to enhancing the sense of belonging and personal security.

Figure 6: Principal indices of IIDL program success



Based on the second Ruppin Index of New Immigrants Integration in the Israeli society (2007) concluded the following findings collected and analyzed regarding their social, cultural and human capitals. In regard to the social integration, the Ethiopians reported on feelings of loneliness due to less social networks with veterans Israelis. The Ethiopians immigrants were found as the ethnic group with lower living standard in comparison to immigrants of Western countries origin. Similar findings were found in regard to labor market integration where the language factor and level of education are the explanations to their low participation.

In regard to the aspect of social networks, the finding shows that over 50% of the immigrants emphasized that their close friends are Israeli veterans. The factor that explains it is the fact that more than half of the populations in their neighborhoods are Israeli natives. Both ethnic groups gave high importance to keeping their cultural capital components as a mean to their bonding social capital.

As for the satisfaction integration aspect, the majority of new immigrants from both ethnic groups pointed out that they are satisfied from their institutional absorption process in the host community. This evidence is due to the high level of services developed in disadvantaged neighborhoods aiming to supply both quality and variety of services as well as professionals that are equipped with social, cultural and human skills to work closely with the new immigrants.

The question of continuing the program is crucial. Therefore, several suggestions were offered: Firstly, establishing an economic model allowing access to services for the populations of the locality by paying fees; Secondly, building a networking mechanism of tenants activists with Ngo's organizations; Thirdly, connecting with other programs operated in the urban space (community centers, supportive neighborhood); Fourthly, continuing mentoring and guidance by IIDL teams; Fifthly, strengthening the local municipality community work; and Sixthly, developing theoretical and practical guidelines to implement the IIDL program in new localities.

These suggestions are being practiced in the neighborhoods included in the program in order to examine and to analyze their practical implementation. As stated above, these factors should be analyzed everywhere in accordance with the particular context. I believe that ethnic groups of multicultural origin working in line with the model can achieve levels that will enable them to become an integral part of society and equal partners in building their own sustainable communities.

To what extent the challenges of the Ethiopian community integration in Israel succeeded to achieve social resilience, social capital and social inclusion?

Research examined and analyzed the Ethiopian community situation in a multi dimension criteria after 20 years of settlement in Israel was conducted by Brookdale Institution (King, J. et. al., 2012) and covered a population of 26,000 which consisted 22% of the total Ethiopian community. Table 4 summarizes the answer to the above question.

The purpose of the research was to learn about their achievements in the areas of education; employment; army service or civic national service; quality of social absorption and their sense of belonging to Israel; relation to the Ethiopian heritage; involvement in the educational framework of their children; children integration in the education system and in the social area; a retro-prospect self- assessment regarding process of absorption; and how they perceive and cope with the difficulties still exist.

Human capital

Migration researches in the world pointed out the relevant of the seniority variable in the targeted country has positive influence on the integration of the migrant in attaining employment, acquiring the language and on more areas of life (Chiswick & Repetto, 2000).

Education and vocational training are the main tools in which immigrants can integrate into the labor market. 54% of the group in the study reached matriculation certificate. Their majority didn't continue to higher education due to the fact they had to find work in order to help their families but we indicate that 36% continued to academic studies. The frequent faculties are social sciences, business administration, education and teaching certificate, engineering and architecture.

Those who didn't continue to higher education preferred to acquire a vocational training in a short time both because they wanted to help their family's income and because the policy of the absorption understood that education completion to twelve years couldn't be achieved due to their lack of education brought from Ethiopia. Most of the veteran immigrants learnt Hebrew and their level is good enough to manage daily.

Social and cultural absorption

The social mixture of the neighborhood where the migrant lives, and in particular the ratio between the Ethiopian Jews and the veteran population, is one of the background variables where the process of the social and cultural absorption occurs. It is assumed, that in neighborhoods where their numbers are less than the veterans, that process is done in a shorter time. In most Project Renewal neighborhoods this is the situation.

Regarding the social networking, the research found out that over 56% of the Ethiopians' friends are Israelis veterans.

Participation in national and local elections and consumption of news are accepted in the literature as behavioral measurements for social involvement: the first for active involvement and the second for passive involvement. Both expressed sense of belonging to the state and the society. In Israel, the army service and the national civic service are measures to an active engagement. In the national election in 2009 more than 70% reported they elected to the Knesset (the Israeli Parliament) and 67% reported their election to local municipalities. These are higher participation than the Israeli veterans of 65% and 67% respectively.

The personal perception and related identification

The majority of Ethiopians (61%) feel as Jews and Israelis in the first place. With their Jewish identification they immigrated to Israel, but their Israeli identification was adopted. One interviewer said: "I'm Ethiopian, and thus it will be in future generation. From the moment I understood it, I'm a proud person. Parallel to that I'm a Jew and Israeli, in fact, I'm a Jew of the Ethiopian community in Israel" (King et. al. 2012: 52).

Perception of discrimination

During the last few years the media communication has reported on cases of schools and kindergarten resistance to absorb Ethiopian pupils. The research has checked the discrimination in several areas: education, army service, civil service and employment. In addition, it examined their discriminate perception among nine public institutions: army, education system, law court, police, ministries of Absorption, welfare and social services, National Insurance, employment service and communication media in Hebrew.

The rate of those who have experienced personal discrimination was lower than those who complained to a discrimination attitude toward the whole Ethiopian community. These findings are similar to international studies among ethnic minorities (e.g. Taylor et.al. 1990: In King, J. 2012). Taylor suggests three explanations to the differences between the personal and the group discrimination: Denied a personal discrimination; exaggeration in group measurement discrimination, in order to enhance improvement for the minority group; and, diversion in the cognitive system of information elaborating.

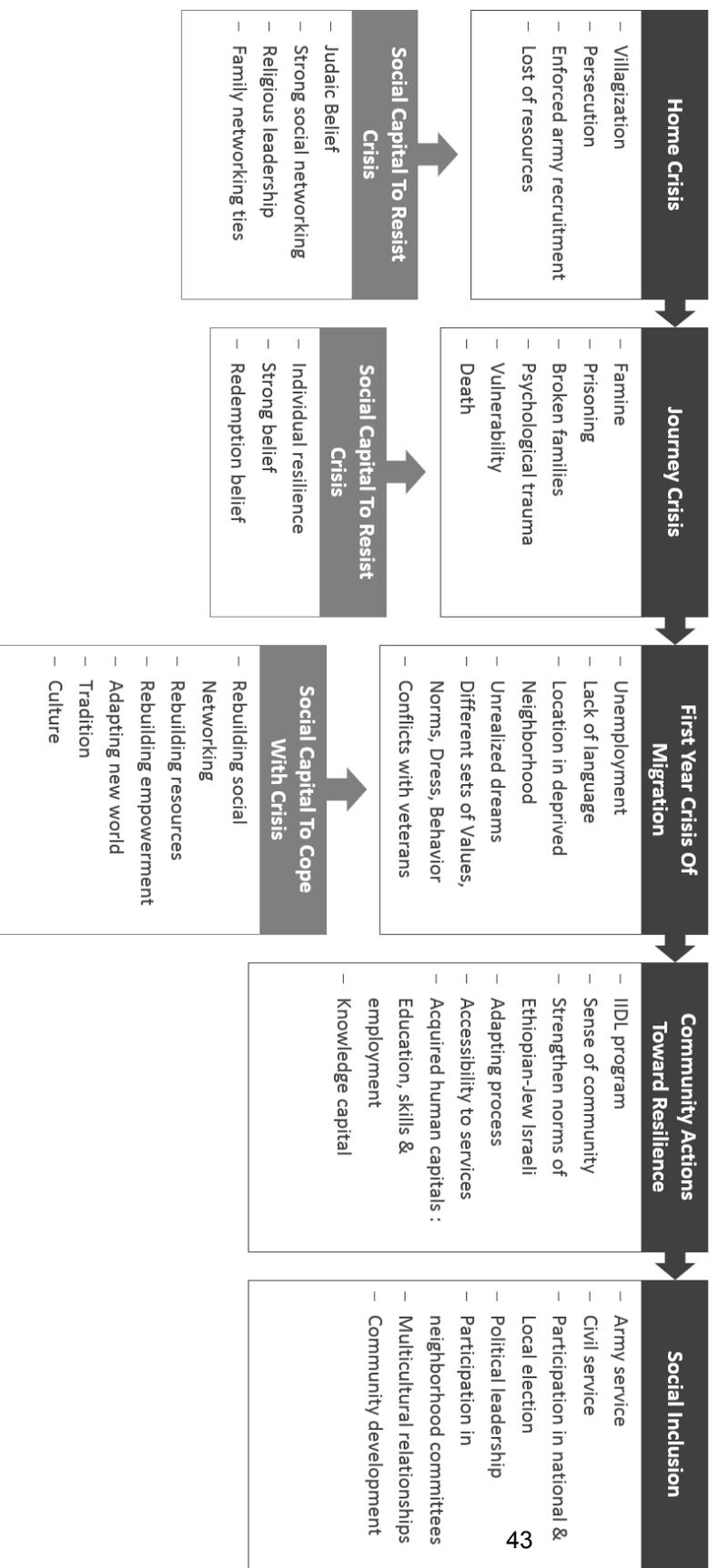
The importance of keeping culture and habits

The research found out that there is unanimously agreement among Ethiopian Jews to keep their culture and heritage at home and their willing that their children will know and keep this culture as well. Consuming communication media in Amharic can be used as behavioral indicator to the extent of the connection with the contemporary Ethiopian culture and with the community. This in addition to the importance related to their tradition and habits. Thus, they watch the Israeli television channel in their language (IETV).

Using welfare services

A majority of the Ethiopian population use welfare services due to their economic problem: 85% reported as using that service; and 38% reported on housing problem. Another area they apply for is finding educational frameworks for their children in schools and kindergartens; 42% apply for getting assistance in health. Most of the Ethiopians population is eligible for welfare benefits from the National Insurance Institute.

Table 4: From adversity to social resilience & inclusion
The Ethiopian immigrant case study



Parents' involvement and children integration in educational and social spheres

The ratio of families with children is over 90%. Most Ethiopian families have between three to five children or more. 73% of the families reported about their participation in parent committees in day care center and kindergarten. Almost all parents (96%) with small children reported on the time they devote to their child (i.e. reading a book, common watching of T.V. and playground).

The research summation

The research points out the problems that still exist: housing (39% of the reporters), heavy debts (35%); employment 9%; cultural differences (22%) and negative attitude from the Israeli veterans (31%). In comparison to the past the percentages decreased. The housing problem remains high and didn't change for many years.

There is a long tendency of limiting the gaps between the Ethiopian and the Israeli veteran in the majority of the fields examined by the research and other studies (Habib et.al, 2010, in King, j. 2012). The main area in which the gaps were limited is the employment. In the area of education the gap of 12 years of secondary school was closed, but in higher education the gap was widened.

There is high rate among the Ethiopian Jews of active involvement in the fields of army serving; participation in election; most of them speak Hebrew; their Jewish identification is a dominant factor; most parents are optimistic regarding their children success from the point of economic and professional views. The young generation became engaged with the Israeli culture and language quicker than their elderly parents and thus, succeeded to reach social inclusion. The findings point out on the efforts still needed to overcome many difficulties and to limit the gaps between the populations.

Social Capital, social Resilience, Social Inclusion and the IIDL Program

Based on the concepts of social capital, social resilience and social inclusion, we can point out on several overlapping features. These three concepts represent a gradual model of building the greater society. Social capital begins with the skills and resources of the individual person in the community/society, while social resilience represents the sum of all individuals in the community/society, and where social inclusion represents the integration and comprehensive framework of different types of individuals' capitals (social-human-cultural-physical) and the relationships between them and the society they belong to, and the big society at the national level.

Both resilience and social capital relates to and deal with the individual within the society. Amit et. al. (2005) defines social resilience as **the extent of commitment and ability of the individuals within the society to act on behalf of mutual social interests, while protecting the rights of the individuals within their society; as well as the extent of their ability to cope with various stressful situations** (ibid. 91).

This definition has both psychological and sociological aspects. Whereas the first part of the definition concerned with the individual's resilience and coping with various intra-social stressful and extra-social ones, the second part is concerned with the individual's sense of social commitment and motivation to contribute to the society while protecting the rights of the individual. The definition deals with the particular individual performance within the society. Consequently, the assessment of it will be measurements of attitudes and behavior.

Proceeding Melnick's (2002:2004) and Amit et.al.(2005) studies, we may consolidate a definition to social resilience represented by many particulars individuals who build a whole community/society as **the level of the society's general performance in the public sphere, which expressed in the area of education, welfare, health, economy, political and civil participation as well as in the society's ability to cope with internal schism and conflicts while protecting its basic structure and goals** (ibid. 92).

According to findings stemming from the Israeli National Security Council (NSD, 2003), individuals in Israel draw their most resilience from their family and their close environment. Studies on the individual level, which examined the individual's resilience in stressful situations, indicate that apart from the personality-oriented resilience, the individual's social support has a moderating effect on anxiety and depression (Pengilly & Dowd, 2000). A study, which examined the issue of resilience on the family level (McCubbin et.al.1997) indicates several main sources for the resilience of the family unit: a sense of commitment to the family, flexibility and adaptation to changes, reliability expressed by conveying sincere information, social support expressed by close relationships between family members and finally, spiritualism and hope.

Similar to social resilience, social capital is also approached on two levels. While researches as Colman (1988) and Portes (1998) examine social capital as another resource on the individual in addition to the individual's human capital, researches such as Putman (1995; 2000) discuss this concept in relation to communities and societies.

Another overlapping feature relates to the components of both social resilience and social capital's concepts. The presence of the trust component is evident in both concepts as being central to their definition. The individuals' trust level is a condition for their readiness to engage themselves for the benefit of the whole society, and thus it is significant component in society resilience. A community or society's social capital is based on the trust in social relationships between individuals, between groups and between the individual and the society's institutions (Fukuyama, 1995). He indicates that trust is a cultural component that has consequences on the performance of the various societies.

There are similar pairs of indicators for examining both social resilience and social capital such as: Responsibility of authorities and trust in the government; social involvement and social rights; political rights and trust in the in the authorities; equality to minorities and social involvement; representation and trust in leadership: gender equality and support equal rights; status of collective rights and willingness to volunteer for the community.

The IIDL program, its policies, principles, activities and the personnel involved in it, represent the formal and practical evidences of establishing a continuation comprehensive and integrated process wrapped with infrastructures for the community's individual social capital followed by community resilience that pave the road for social inclusion at the macro level of a whole nation.

The Immigrants Integration Defined Localities identified mechanisms by which Project Renewal influenced social capital formation. Included were:

- Bringing people together who might not otherwise have interacted with each other. These include: members of local Project Renewal managerial staffs; social and community workers; local municipality professionals from the fields of education, health, environment; physical infrastructures; community center; local services; resident volunteers on community boards; sponsoring community agencies; government officials, and members of the general community. Social networks evoked through community

- mobilizing and participation in priority setting exercises, electing community board members and problem solving.
- Participants improve their social capital by participating in the program. They also saw a potential for enhancing both bonding capital (staying close to home) and bridging capital (access to external assets, skills and information), but also linking capital (cross-class interaction) through the program.
 - Identification the opportunities for utilizing diversity for social innovation and better service delivery.
 - Leverage existing social capital in immigrants defined neighborhoods through the establishment of social services in the community to be a vehicle for better social infrastructure for ethnically groups who wish to take over leadership and engagement for their own community as well as representatives of the community at large.
 - Focusing efforts among young people to achieve access to education, to prevent dropout from schools and to attain skills and abilities for higher education and employment.
 - Schools and community centers are the core for institutional vehicles for building community, and cross-cultural bonds to cope with social exclusion.
 - Building alliances of common vision and common purpose involving local municipality, nonprofit organizations, foundations, business sector and other stakeholders to address strong social networks and thus to benefit the residents of economic capital.

Therefore, we can conclude that high level of social resilience will be achieved in a society in which the individuals have high level of bridging social capital and positive general social characteristics.

Where we are heading from here on?

The answer to the question isn't easy. The paper relied on researches that built the basic infrastructures and developed different interesting conceptualizations used in many studies and themes. The tremendous amount of literature coping with wide spectrum term of resilience (ecologic, social, individual, adaptation, economic, community, migration, urban), the different types of capitals (social, human, cultural, physical, political) should be compiled. It is suggested to use information and tools accumulated among researchers and put them in innovative and creativity way.

An unpublished paper (September, 2008) by Jill Simons of Hunter College of the city university of New York discussing sustainability versus Resilience put forward a resilience model and its three elements: Capacity to absorb (i.e. create opening for the inclusion of new- population, ideas, values); Capacity to change (i.e. create mechanism to allow institutional change to occur more easily); and Capacity to accommodate the unexpected (i.e. planning and policy framework that allow room for the unexpected and that allow regular review in the light of these unexpected factors).

The questions put forward by Simons are: can these elements be actualized in practice? can they be realized through the lens of sustainability? Can sustainability development be 'resilient'? (ibid. 9).

These are the challenges for all those who deal with "resilience" and its relation to the human being factor in our civilization. And I would like to add a third question: can the equation of social capital (as well as other sort of capitals) plus social resilience create sustainability? Resilience and sustainability in their characters are "moving and developing" almost in a non-

stop trajectories due to technological, eco-systems and hazard developments. They change their forms and aren't stable for the long terms except in peaceful times and nature being calm.

The paradigm between resilience and sustainability is in the perceptions of both the individual and the community and their abilities to initiate, to choose participating and influence and not just to response. Building resilience deals with creation of social secured networks, risk decreasing and planned adaptation processes.

My personal insights beyond the amount of literature I have read and my own experiences are strengthening my previous knowledge that to build community resilience one has to take into consideration the following central measurements: community resources; community development; using resources by the community; active agents; collective actions; strategic policy and plans; equity; and influence.

Notes

- (1) 'Meesh-ol': Hebrew word which means a narrow path. When writing it as an abbreviation it is translated - Immigrant Integration in Defined Localities (or areas) in a neighborhood.
- (2) Direct Absorption - A policy the Ministry of Absorption executed in 1990 due to the increasing waves of immigrants from ex-Soviet union. The policy enables immigrants to choose their preferable place of living. The government transfers money for their first immediate expenses and the ministry of Absorption continue to transfer a monthly sum of money according to criteria variables. This policy is called "Basket Absorption"
- (3) Project Renewal - A national project began in 1977 aiming to cope with distressed neighborhoods through comprehensive strategies covering aspects of physical, social, community, employment, health, welfare, education and economic. For further information see Carmon, N., (1996). *Project Renewal in Israel 1979-1994. Annotated bibliography in Hebrew and English*. Jerusalem: Center for Urban and Regional Studies, Faculty of Architecture and town Planning. Technion - Israel Institute of Technology

References

- Adger, N. W. (2000). Social and ecological resilience: are they related? In: *Progress in Human Geography* 24 (3), 347-364.
- Adger, N. K.; Kelly, P. M.; Winkels, A.; Huy, I., Q. and Locke, C. (2002). Migration, Remittances, Livelihood and Trajectories, and Social Resilience. In: *Ambio* 31 (4), 358-366. DOI: 101579/0044-7447
- Almond, G & Verba, S. (1963). *The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Amit, K. (2010). Determinants of life satisfaction among immigrants from Western countries and from the former Soviet Union in Israel. *Sociology Indicators Research*, 96:515-534.
- Amit, K., and N. Fleischer (2005). Between Social Resilience and Social Capital. In: The Concept of Social Resilience. Samuel Newman Institute The forum of National Security The Society & National Security Program (SNS). Haifa. December.
- Amit, K. & Riss I. (2007). The role of social networks in the immigration decision-making process: the case of North American immigration to Israel. *Immigrants & Migration*, Vol. 25, No. 3, November 2007, pp.290-313.
- Angle, E., and Avrahami, O., (2005). The way in IIDL: comprehensive involvement in multi new immigrants' neighborhoods. Ministry of Construction & Housing, Ministry of Welfare, Ministry of Absorption, Ministry of Labor Employment and Commerce, Ministry of Education, Joint Israel. Jerusalem. [In Hebrew].

Australian Government (2009). Building Inclusive and Resilient Communities. Australian Social Inclusion Board. June.

Avrahami, O., Angle, E. (2003). House Maintenance guide for IIDL. JDC, Ministry of construction and Housing, Department of Project Renewal, Ministry of Welfare and Social Services Department of Social work. Jerusalem. [in Hebrew].

Bajek, R. and N. Okada (2007). Examining Definitions of Resilience and Adjusting a Resilience Model to the Japanese cultural Context: a preliminary study. *Annuals of Disas. Prev. Res. Inst.*, Kyoto University, No. 50 B.

Banting, K. & Kymicka, W. (2006). Introduction: Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Setting the context. In *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and distribution in contemporary democracies*, K. Banting & W. Kymicka (Eds.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ben-Ezer, G. (1992). Immigration and Absorption of Ethiopian Jews. Reuven Mass Publication. Israel. [In Hebrew].

Ben Ezer, G. (1999). Cross-Cultural Misunderstanding: The Case of Ethiopian Immigrants in Israel Policy. *International Journal of Adolescent Medicine and Health*. Vol. 11 (1-2), 11-38.

Bodovsky, D., Eran, Y. (1994). *Costumes and habits: Implications to Developing Professional Contacts*, issues in Ethiopian family, No. 2. JDC Israel, Atchin House, Jerusalem. [in Hebrew].

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood Press.

Brooks, N. (2003). *Vulnerability, risk and adaptation: a conceptual framework (Tyndall Centre Working Paper N. 38)*. University of East Anglia.

Caidi, N. & Allard, D. (2005). Social inclusion of Newcomers to Canada: An information Problem? *Policy Matters* (December). Toronto: joint Center for Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement.

Chiswick, B. (1998). Hebrew language usage: Determinants and effects on earning among immigrants in Israel., *Journal of Population Economics*, 11(2), 253-371. doi: 10.1007/s001480050068.

Chiswick, B. (2002). Immigrant earning: Language skills, linguistic concentrations and the business cycle. *Journal of Population Economics*, 15(2), 31-57. doi: 10.1007/pl00003838.

Cheswick, B., and G. Repetto (2000). Immigrants Adjustment in Israel: Literacy and Fluency Hebrew and Earning. *IZA discussion Papers Series 177*.

Collins, (1991). English Dictionary. Glasgow: Harper Collins.

Coleman, J. (1980). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94:95-120.

- Conway, D., J.H. Cohen (1998). Consequences of Migration and Remittances for Mexican Transnational Communities. *Economic Geography*, Vol. 74 (1), 26-44. (January)/
- Cutter, S., Boruff, B., & Shirley, W. L. (2003). Social vulnerability to environmental hazards. *Social Science Quarterly*, 84, 242-261.
- Derouin, J. (2003). *The ethnic diversity survey: social and discrimination. The opportunity and challenge of diversity: A role for social capital*. Ottawa: Canadian Heritage. Multiculturalism, November 23, 2003.
- Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class: and how it's transforming work, leisure and everyday life*. New York. Basic Books.
- Folke, C. (2006). Resilience: The Emergency of a Perspective for Social-Ecological Systems Analysis. *Global environmental change* 16:253-267.
- Fukuyama, F. (1995). *Trust: the social virtues and the creation of prosperity*. Penguin, London.
- Furedi, F. (2007). The changing Meaning of disaster. *AREA*. Vol. 39 (4), 482-489. December.
- Galabuzi, G.E. & Teelucksingh, C. (2010). Social cohesion, social exclusion, social capital. *Region of Peel Immigration discussion Paper*. (December). Region of Peel human Services.
- Ganor, M., & Ben-Lavy, Y. (2003). Community resilience: Lessons derived from Gilo under fire. *Journal of Jewish Communal Service, winter/Spring*, 105-108.
- Gibson-Cline, J. (1996). *Adolescence: From crisis to coping*. London: Butterworth-Heinemann Ltd.
- Grabovetter, M (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties. *The American journal of sociology*, 78, 6: 1360-1380.
- Harty, S. & Murphy, M. (2005). *In defense of multiculturalism citizenship*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Hertzog, E. (1999). *Immigrants, Bureaucrats & Ethiopians in Israel* Absorption Center. Oxford & New York: Berghahn.
- Hofstede, G. (1994). *Culture and organizations*. London: Harper Collins.
- Holling, C. (1973) Resilience and stability of ecological systems. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*, 4, 1-23.
- ICLSI (2012). *Resilient Cities: 3rd global Forum on Urban resilience and Association*. Congress Report. Bonn, Germany, 12-15 May, 2012.
- International Federation of Red Cross. (IFRC) (2012). *Understanding community resilience and program factors that strengthen them. A comprehensive study of Red Cross, Red Crescent Societies tsunami operation*. (June).

- Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1996). The Absorption of Ethiopian Immigrants in Israel. (January).
- Israel National Security council (2003). *National social sustainability: National security council Indices*. Presented at the Herzlia conference [In Hebrew].
- JDC Absorption and Ministry of Welfare and Social Services. (2013). IIDL Program – Residents lead change. Jerusalem. [In Hebrew].
- Katan, Y., and R., Lev-Weisel (Eds.) (2002). Group working in multicultural society. Tel Aviv: Tcherikover. [in Hebrew].
- Keck, M., Sakdapolrak, P. (2013). What are social resilience lessons learned and ways forward. *Erkune*, Vol. 67 No. 1, 5-19.
- King, J., Fishman, N., A. Wallda-Tzdik (2012). After Twenty Years in Israel: survey among Veteran Ethiopian Jews. Brookdale Applied Social Institution. Jerusalem. [In Hebrew].
- Kimhi, S., & Shamai, M. (2004). Community resilience and the impact of stress: Adult response to Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon. *Journal of community psychology*, 32, 439-451.
- Kumar, S. & Qadeer, M (2006). *Immigrants' needs and provision of public services in the Region of Peel*. Report prepared for the Region of Peel.
- Kunz, J.L. (2005). Orienting newcomers to Canadian society: social capital and Settlement. In *Social Capital in Action: Thematic Policy studies*. Policy Research Initiative. Thematic Policy Studies, Ottawa.
- Leibel, R. (2009). Immigration and Absorption of Ethiopian Jews. (<http://www.articles.co.il/article.php?id=48057>) [In Hebrew].
- Levine, J. N., A. Esnard, and A. Sapat. (2007). "Population Displacement and Housing Dilemmas Due to Catastrophic Disasters. *Journal of Planning Literature* 22:3-15.
- Lorenz, D. (2010). The diversity of resilience: contributions from social science perspective. In: Natural hazards. DOI: 10.1007/s11069-010-9654-y
- Maguire, B., and S., Cartwright (2008). Assessing a Community's Capacities to Manage Change: A Resilience Approach to Social Assessment. Australian Government, Bureau of Rural Sciences. (May).
- Marx, E. (1999): Breaking through cultural shock. Cambridge University Press. Pp: 41-49.
- Mayunga, J., S. (2007). Understanding and applying the concept of community disaster resilience: a capital based approach. Working paper for the summer academy for social vulnerability and resilience building, 22-28 July 2007. Munich.
- McCubbin, H.I. & McCubbin, M.A., Thompson, A.I., S., & Allen C.T. (1997). Family under stress: What makes them resilient. *Journal of Family and Consumer Sciences*, 37:247-254.

- Melnick, R. (2002). Business Cycles in Israel, *Economic quarterly*, (2). [In Hebrew].
- Melnick, R. (2004). *Herzlia 2004 Indices – the civilian quantitative Index*. Presented at the Herzlia Conference. [In Hebrew].
- Murphy, B. (2007). Locating Social Capital in Resilient Community-Level Emergency Management. *Natural Hazards* 41:297-315.
- Newham London (2012). Quid pro quo, not status quo. Why we need a welfare state that builds resilience. London Borough of Newham.
- Obrist, B., Pfeiffer, C. and Henely, R. (2010). Multi-layer social resilience a new approach in mitigating research. In: *Progress in Development Studies*. 10 (4), 283-293.
- Oberg, K. (1960). *Cultural Shock: Adjustment to New Cultural Environments*. Practical Anthropology, 7:177-182.
- Norris, F., Stevens, S., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K., and Pfefferbaum, R. (2008). Community Resilience as a Metaphor, Theory, Set of Capabilities and Strategy for Disaster Readiness. *American journal of community Psychology*, 41:127-150.
- Omnidvar, R. & Richmond, T. (2003). *Immigrant settlement and social Inclusion in Canada*. January 2003, Laidlaw Foundation Working Paper Series.
- Onyx, J. & Bullen, P. (1997). *Measuring social capital and public policy in Australia*, 1, Winter (Ed.), pp 105-134. Australian Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.
- Osberg, L. (2003). *The economic implications of social cohesion*. Toronto: university of Toronto.
- Pelling, M. & High, C. (2003). Understanding adaptation: what can social capital offers assessment of adaptive capacity? In: *Global Environment Change* 15 (4), 308-319. DOI: 10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2005.02.001
- Pengilly, J. W., & Dowd, E.T. (2000). Hardiness and social support as moderators of stress. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 56 (6): 813.
- Pettigrew, T.F. (1986). A Meta-Analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and social psychology*,
- Pfefferbaum, B., Reissman, D., Pfefferbaum, R., Klomp, R., & Gurevich, R. (2005). Building resilience to mass trauma events. In L. Doll, S. Bonzo, J. Meroy, & D/ sleet (Eds.), *Handbook on injury and violence prevention interventions*. New York: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Portes, A. (1998). Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of sociology*, 24:1-24.
- Prusak, L. & Cohen, D. (2001). *How social; capital makes organizations work*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Putman, R.D. (1995). Bowling Alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6(1): 65-78.

Putman, R. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

RAND Corporation (2011). Building Community Resilience to Disasters. *Health Quarterly*, Spring 2011; 1(1): 6.

Resilience Alliance. (2007). *Assessing and managing resilience in social-ecological systems: A practitioner's workbook*. www.resilience.org;

Rubin, J.Z., Pruitt, D.G., and Kim, S.H., (1994). Social conflict: Escalation, stalemate and settlement. (2nd Edition) New York: McGraw-Hill.

Ruppin Index (2007). Amit, K., & Chachashvilli (Eds.). Annual index of new immigrants integration in Israel. 2nd Report. Submitted to the Ministry of Absorption. Jerusalem. (December). [In Hebrew].

Semyonov, M. & Lewin-Epstein, N. (2003). Immigration and ethnicity in Israel: Returning Diaspora and nation-building. In Rainer, M. & Rainer, O (Eds.). *Diaspora and ethnic migrants*. London: Frank Cass Publishers. (327-337).

Scheffran, J., et.al. Migration as a contribution to resilience and innovation in climate adaptation: Social networks and co-development in Northwest Africa, *Applied Geography* (2011), DOI: 10.1016/j.apgeog.2011.10.002

Shabtay, M. (2001). Between Reggae and Rap: the challenge of Belonging – Ethiopian Youth in Israel. Cherikover. Tel Aviv. [In Hebrew].

Shabtay, M. (1999). The March of Ethiopian Soldiers, Tcherikover Publishing House. Tel Aviv. [In Hebrew].

Smith, B., Wandel, J. (2006). Adaptation, adaptive and vulnerability. *Global Environmental change*, 16:282-292.

Starkov, V. (2005). Evaluation of IIDL program. JDC - Joint Israel. Jerusalem.[in Hebrew].

Tobin, G. A. and L. M. Whiteford. (2002). Community Resilience and Volcano Hazard: the Eruption of Tungurahua and Evacuation of the Faldas in Ecuador. *Disasters* 26:28-48/

Traerup, S. (2012). Informal networks and resilience to climate change impacts: a collective approach to index insurance. In: *Global Environment Change* 22 (1) 255-267.

United Kingdom Cabinet Office (2011). Strategic National Framework on community Resilience. March. (www.Cabinetoffice.gov.uk/communityresilience)

Voss, M. (2008). The vulnerable cannot speak. An integrative vulnerability approach to disaster and change research. In: *Behemoth* 1 (3), 39-56. DOI: 10.1524/behs.208.0022.

Waldman, M. (1985). Ethiopian Jews: Beta Israel Community. JDC, Israel. Jerusalem.

Weinstein, Z. (1983). *Self - Organization of residents in deprived neighbourhoods*. Thesis for the Degree of Master of Sciences. Submitted to the Senate of the Technion. Israel Institute of Technology. Haifa. [In Hebrew].

Woolcock, M. (2000). Why should we care about social capital? *Canberra Bulletin of Public Administration*. 98:17-19.

World Bank (1998). *The Initiative of Defining, Monitoring and Measuring Social Capital: Overview and program description, social Capital Initiative*. Working Paper No .1, the World Bank, Washington DC. <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/wkrppr/wrkppr.htm>

Young Foundation (2012). *Adapting to change: the role of community resilience*. Commissioned by the Barrow Cadbury Trust. Britain.

Annex 1: examples of community programs performed in IIDL

1. First domain: Physical and Housing:
 - Improving building infrastructures: lighting, sewage, paths, gardening.
 - Renovations of building blocks.
 - Renovation of elderly apartments (solar heating water, kitchen, doors, water pipes).
 - Maintenance guidance to tenants.
 - Establishing tenants committees.
 - Developing public spaces and play grounds.

2. Second domain: Community
 - House maintenance course for Ethiopian males.
 - Women empowerment workshops.
 - Social club for elderly immigrants from ex-Soviet Union.
 - Community events during Holidays.
 - Community advocacy.
 - Empowerment, mediation and conflicts solving.
 - Community policing.

3. Third domain: Personal - Family
 - Individual treatment by the social welfare personnel.
 - Installation of alarm bells for elderly people.
 - Classes for Hebrew language.
 - Vocational training for women and men.
 - Working with one parent families.
 - Workshops aimed to keep environment quality.
 - Health centers.
 - Establishing women and elderly clubs.

4. Fourth domain: Children and Youth
 - Learning centers for elementary and secondary schools.
 - Mentoring parents to improve parent -child relationships.
 - Organizing youth movements.
 - Sport activity.
 - Day care centers for children whose parents are working.
 - Enrichment activities at the community center including use of computers.
 - Vocational training for youth as D.J's.
 - Young girl at risk (coping with adolescence, strengthening the self).
 - Preventing dropping out of school for youth at age 13-18.