Between the Individual and the Community: Residential Patterns of the Haredi Population in Jerusalem

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Abstract

This article examines how different levels of internal organization are reflected in the residential patterns of different population groups. In this case, the Haredi community comprises sects and sub-sects, whose communal identity plays a central role in everyday life and spatial organization. The residential preferences of Haredi individuals are strongly influenced by the need to live among 'friends' — that is, other members of the same sub-sect. This article explores the dynamics of residential patterns in two of Jerusalem's Haredi neighbourhoods: Ramat Shlomo, a new neighbourhood on the urban periphery, and Sanhedria, an old yet attractive inner-city neighbourhood. We reveal two segregation mechanisms: the first is top-down determination of residence, found in relatively new neighbourhoods that are planned, built and populated with the intense involvement of community leaders; the second is the bottom-up emergence of residential patterns typical of inner-city neighbourhoods that have gradually developed over time.

Introduction

Social and ethno-religious enclaves, which form part of the urban landscape throughout the world today, are a central theme of urban studies. The creation and impact of urban enclaves was empirically studied and theoretically investigated from various points of view, with studies including a focus on the hosting or charter population and on minority groups (Marcuse, 1997). The inner processes of self-segregation and external forces of exclusion and discrimination that are shaping the enclaves have been attracting scholarly attention (Peach, 2003; Pamuk, 2004; Walks and Bourne, 2006). Yet the spatial dynamics of social enclaves in an ethno-religious enclave and the role of individuals' preferences and social relations — versus community leadership and government directives — in shaping minority groups' spaces still await deeper insight (Waterman and Kosmin, 1988; Valins, 2003; Varady, 2005).

In this article we highlight the synergetic impact of various organizational levels on the spatial structure of the urban enclave. The article focuses specifically on the internal dynamics of ethno-religious enclaves that emerge from three levels of action: (1) individuals' relationships with their own and other groups; (2) the community leadership's powers inside the group and in respect of other groups; and (3) government directives and tools. We investigate the residential dynamics of two Haredi (ultra-orthodox Jewish) enclaves in Jerusalem, representing differing social organizational through communal leadership and local-government directives.

Religious minority groups are typified by strong solidarity bonds and an intense sense of belonging (Finke, 1992; 1997). Similar to other religion-based segregated

neighbourhoods (Phillips, 2006; Tausch *et al.*, 2011), Haredi enclaves are characterized by the obvious dominance of members of the Haredi sects in the public space and clear territorial boundaries. Although it appears unified to outsiders, the Haredi population displays internal, nuanced distinctions among its sects and sub-sects, each interested in guarding its unique cultural identity. Different values, interpretations of religious rituals and normative behaviour motivate individuals to concentrate on other members of the same sub-sect to create friendly social environments. The need to concentrate on neighbours who share the same faith, world view and lifestyle directs them towards living within a self-sufficient circle of what we term 'friends' who match the person's self-identity and way of life.[1] In the same way, relationships between Haredi sects are expressed through the residential preferences of members (Shilhav, 1993; Berman, 2000; Zelkin, 2005). It is advantageous to sect members to live within the group's territory in terms of access to community services, mutual assistance and support. It also promotes socialization of the younger generation, keeping youngsters isolated from external influences. Territorial concentration of sect members facilitates the leadership's control of members' lives, thus preventing deviation from accepted norms (Shilhav and Friedman, 1985).

In Israel, long-term arrangements between the state and the Haredi sects has created the unique phenomenon of 'a learning society', in which most Haredi men continue their studies and do not work (Gonen, 2006). This distinctive Israeli phenomenon increases the poverty of Haredi people and reinforces their solidarity with the community's values and needs (Friedman, 1991). However, some are well off: many Haredi communities control an array of financial resources and services provided by the state and receive donations from community members throughout the world. These funds finance an extensive system of service provision that is attuned to individual and family needs in the areas of education, marriage (including apartment purchases for newlyweds) and welfare (Dahan, 1998; 1999; Berman, 2000; Choshen and Korach, 2005; Blumen, 2007). This support system, created in Israel, emphasizes the individual's dependence on the community and its leaders (Shilhav and Friedman, 1985). Moreover, it is claimed that the state of Israel supports spatial segregation, as state involvement enhances the isolation of Haredi communities and facilitates leadership supervision of community members (Yiftachel and Roded, 2010). These unique terms of leadership supervision may vary from one Haredi enclave to the other, and we are thus able to compare the impact of the group's leadership on the spatial organization of the Haredi communities in two different organizational circumstances.

Haredi enclaves have expanded as part of Jerusalem's urban processes; nowadays they are home to very few secular and non-Jewish residents (Choshen *et al.*, 2002). It may come as a surprise that apartment prices in Haredi neighbourhoods are significantly higher than in similar areas for the general population (Shilhav, 1993; Berman and Klinov, 1997). This phenomenon can be attributed to the special importance of housing to this sector (Dahan, 1998; 1999; Berman, 2000; Blumen, 2007) and the fact that apartments are purchased with the help of community funds. In an attempt to minimize conflicts between the Haredi community and other social groups, central and local governments in Israel are sometimes involved in the construction and management of Haredi residential areas. Thus, since the 1990s, Israel's Ministry of Housing has allocated land for building several Haredi neighbourhoods throughout Israel. In addition, local governments often enact the necessary regulations for maintaining Haredi public space. This includes setting Eruv pillars, which encircle the community's territory and define it, thus enabling Haredi residents to carry objects such as prayer books or children's pushchairs outdoors on the Jewish Sabbath (something which would otherwise be forbidden by Torah law), to close streets off to traffic on Saturdays and to allocate buildings for holding religious services.

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1 After the Hebrew word 'Haver', we use the term 'friends' for people of the same sub-sect, though not necessarily acquainted or having close relationships with each other.

As state and municipal involvement in Haredi areas varies over time and space, we were able to examine its impact on the inner structures of the enclaves.

This study explores the impact of intra-communal, inter-sect and community–government relations on the spatial organization of Ramat Shlomo and Sanhedria, two of Jerusalem's Haredi neighbourhoods. In particular, it examines the residential dynamics in these two different urban settings. The first, Ramat Shlomo, is a new, peripheral neighbourhood that was planned and built for the Haredi community in the mid-1990s with intense state involvement. Ramat Shlomo's population was selected in a coordinated manner by Haredi housing committees, whose decisions reflected the relative share of each community in the city. By contrast, the second neighbourhood, Sanhedria, an old neighbourhood in the inner city, developed gradually into an attractive Haredi enclave through individual-level residential decisions. The two neighbourhoods house members of the same major sects, but their communal and organizational frameworks differ vastly. Our research analyses the residential patterns in these two neighbourhoods over their lengthy development periods, traces the links between social norms and urban environment, evaluates the role of individual preferences versus community needs and government directives, and reveals the major mechanisms that determine segregation between the Haredi sects within them.

Methodology

Our research data contain two types of information: the first type entails detailed residential patterns constructed in the research areas; the second encompasses spatial preferences and tools of individuals and the various leaderships, in addition to government policies.

We conducted extensive field surveys in Ramat Shlomo and Sanhedria throughout 2008 in order to identify the residential patterns of Haredi households. Six Haredi interviewers, acquainted with Haredi communal structure, went from door to door to conduct structured interviews. Almost all households in both neighbourhoods (97%) cooperated with the interviewers. The survey data revealed the sub-sect of every household in Ramat Shlomo and Sanhedria, and made it possible to trace back ownership or rental history of the vast majority of apartments over a long period. Previous research (Waterman and Kosmin, 1986; Friedman, 1991) revealed that the high level of consciousness as to neighbours' identity in the Haredi world allows residents to remember their neighbours from years back, and the identity of their apartment's previous owners. In Ramat Shlomo we were able to reconstruct residential dynamics since 1995, the year of initial settlement, while in Sanhedria we managed to reconstruct a detailed database from 1966. In addition, the survey enabled us to trace individuals' residential preferences and considerations.

In addition to the field survey, in-depth interviews were conducted with key figures both within and outside these two communities. Several rabbis and community leaders living in Ramat Shlomo and Sanhedria provided information on residential-choice mechanisms and community life. We also interviewed neighbourhood planners, who provided information on the planning and establishment of Ramat Shlomo, as well as on planning and residential dynamics in Sanhedria. Additional information on these topics was from interviews with Jerusalem's municipal engineer for the years 1989 to 1993. Finally, we spoke to representatives of real estate agencies to verify the information on residential mechanisms obtained in Ramat Shlomo.

Altogether, Ramat Shlomo comprises 263 buildings housing 2,259 apartments and 180 institutions. Of these, 63 institutions are housed in specially allocated buildings and 117 operate from residential buildings. Sanhedria comprises 115 buildings, of which 17 house institutions. The remaining buildings host a further 67 institutions, 869 residential apartments and 40 are mixed-use structures (that is, residences combined with a day-care facility). Most residents own their apartments (96% in Ramat Shlomo and 68% in Sanhedria). Data from the surveys were merged with data from aerial photographs and

a geographic database provided by the Jerusalem municipality (updated as at 2004). Based on these data we evaluated spatial congregation at single-apartment level, building level and neighbourhood level, while keeping track of resident identity and turnover.

The salience of identity was reflected by residents' explicit responses on the religious identity (sect and sub-sect) of their neighbours and their apartment's previous occupants. The high level of cooperation in both neighbourhoods enabled us to produce high-resolution maps of the residential distribution, to compare residents' stated and revealed preferences and to construct a comprehensive picture of internal segregation processes. By combining the entire spatio-temporal dynamics of residential patterns in both neighbourhoods with information on individuals' preferences and organizational tools, we were able to evaluate the role of the respective leaderships in forming the inner structure of the enclaves.

Theoretical remarks

Urban studies usually regard residential patterns as the result of free individual choices and householder migration (Schelling, 1971; MacIntyre, 1984; 1988; Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002; Wahlstrom, 2005) and understand it as being influenced by individual residents' views of their own identity and that of their neighbours (Semyonov and Tyree, 1981; Dougherty and Huyser, 2008). Much of the geographic literature deals with segregation resulting from either inner forces (encouraging people to congregate as a means to preserve the group's culture, language and customs — see Kosmin *et al.*, 1979; Larmore, 1990; Rawls, 1993; Macedo, 1995; Boal, 1996; Chivallon, 2001; Wahlstrom, 2005; Boal, 2008) or from external forces (through the spatial exclusion of unwanted groups from the majority group's space — see Lee, 1977; Boal, 1978; Kosmin and de Lange, 1980; Knox, 1982). In addition, urban residential dynamics are often explained by referring to economic factors (Kasarda, 1972; 1978; Speare, 1974; Fossett and Waren, 2005) or to a mixture of economic and non-economic factors (Gottdiener, 1997; Borjas, 1998; Clark and Withers, 1999; Fossett 2006a; 2006b). In the case of the latter, ethnic relationships, family lifestyle or lifecycle features are usually added to the basic set of economic factors (Feitelson, 1993; Johnston *et al.*, 2007); the economic factors blur the impact of the non-economic factors, especially of self-identity, on spatial organization.

As Schnell and Benjamini (2001; 2004; 2005) and Montgomery (2011) have shown, urban segregation is a multidimensional phenomenon that stretches beyond residential patterns. In particular, a person can have professional ties with 'others' but remain segregated in his or her residential space (Ellis *et al.*, 2004), or the person can reside among strangers, yet remain segregated in his or her daily activities and interactions. Schnell and Benjamini (2004) see this as the construction of 'socially constituted spaces', in which people participate in selected social networks that stretch beyond the spatiality of the city. However, religious minorities who require spatial congregation for maintaining their lifestyle and rituals, and whose meaningful social contacts are usually limited to their own community, tend to combine spatial and social segregation. This study focuses on the spatial segregation of Haredi enclaves, while taking into account social relations at an inter- and intra-sect level.

Recent research shows that the socio-spatial reality of cities is based on a self-organization paradigm: residential choices and spatial activities are determined by socio-cultural-economic interactions and vice versa (MacIntyre, 1988; Möbius and Rosenblat, 2002; Schnell and Benjamini, 2005). The literature also assumes that different levels of social organization play an important role in shaping segregated residential spaces (Telles, 1995; Knox and Pinch, 2000; Möbius and Rosenblat, 2002; Iceland, 2003; Christensen and Hogen-Esch, 2006; McNair, 2006). In this research we deal with this self-organizing system in one direction. Specifically, we are interested in the way the tight social relationships of Haredi religious groups and the various levels of organizational involvement affect the spatial arrangement of residential areas.

Control and supervision in Jerusalem's Haredi sector

Haredi Jews define themselves in terms of their commitment to *Halacha*, the collective body of Jewish religious law that guides religious rituals as well as practices in numerous aspects of day-to-day life (Shilhav, 1993). Social and economic control mechanisms lead to the socialization process of the individual and to deep solidarity with the community's values and needs (Caplan and Stadler, 2009). Individuals are similar in their desire to live in a strictly observant religious environment and to distance themselves from external values and lifestyles (Waterman and Kosmin, 1986; 1987). But how does identification with the group and obedience to the leadership turn into a communal mechanism that affects the construction of inner Haredi space?

Haredi sub-sects vary from one another in terms of clothing, language and attitudes towards work versus full-time Torah (Bible) study, attitudes that express theological stances and historical tradition. Adherents of the Haredi way of life are usually born, raised, educated and married within the same sub-sect. Their identification with the sub-sect's leaders and institutions is intense and overt. The individual's social status is linked to community values and affects all aspects of life, from livelihood to marriage to the level of financial support received from the community (Sivan and Caplan, 2003). This status is also expressed in the spatial location of the individual's family — that is, the closer the person's spatial location is to institutions, the principal rabbi and 'friends', the higher is this person's position in the social hierarchy. Residential space is therefore an important aspect of Haredi communal life.

Haredi Jews attach a high value to living in Jerusalem. With the end of British mandate in 1948 and the establishment of the state of Israel, Jerusalem was divided into an eastern Jordanian part, which includes the Old City, and a western Israeli part, which was soon populated by secular Jewish as well as Haredi groups (Kellerman, 1993). The homogeneous Haredi neighbourhoods that were established during the first years of the Israeli state, such as Kiryat Sanz, Belz and Ezrat Torah, were each populated by a single sub-sect. This was also true for the first Jewish neighbourhoods built outside the walls of the Old City of Jerusalem during the nineteenth century, for example, Mea Shearim and Mishkenot Sha'ananim (Romann and Weingrod, 1991). These neighbourhoods' long-term homogeneity made them especially attractive to the Haredi population. After the 1967 war and Israel's annexation of the eastern part of the city, Jerusalem experienced massive development. Actively encouraged by the state, West Jerusalem expanded three-fold (*ibid.*). Since then, Jerusalem's Haredi population has grown considerably, with Haredi enclaves extending from the city centre towards the north (Hasson, 1996; 2001; Hasson and Gonen, 1997; Choshen and Korach, 2005). Importantly, in contrast to the older neighbourhoods, several Haredi sects and sub-sects inhabit the newer neighbourhoods.

The Haredi populations in Ramat Shlomo and Sanhedria

The basic lifestyle and ritual orientation of each sect is determined by its association to one of three main Haredi streams, named after their communal or geographic origin: the Lithuanians, the Hasidim and the Sephardim (Levy, 1988; Shilhav, 1993), as described below. The sects' names reflect internally generated distinctions. While theological distinctions are beyond the scope of this article, we nonetheless provide some distinguishing features to support our findings in the areas of the sub-sects' socio-spatial behavior and interactions.

The majority of the Haredi residents of Ramat Shlomo and Sanhedria belong to the sects that traditionally populated Jerusalem: Lithuanians, Hasidim and Sephardim, as well as foreign Lithuanian newcomers. Ramat Shlomo also includes Neturei Karta, Chabad and Sephardic Lithuanians. Both neighbourhoods house a minority group that

identifies with the National Religious movement, individuals who practise a non-Haredi, modern and pro-Zionist religiosity.

Lithuanians

Lithuanians represent the Haredi elite. They set the norms for Haredi society, aspiring to rule adherents' minds rather than their emotions and regarding religious studies as the core value of an individual's life (Etkes and Tikochinski, 2004). The Haredim of Jerusalem commonly distinguish between foreign and Israeli Lithuanians under the broad umbrella of the Lithuanian sect, which is spread throughout the world. Lithuanian sub-sects are further differentiated by their connection to a specific rabbi (religious leader) or yeshiva (institution of higher religious learning):

- *Israeli Lithuanians*: Israeli Lithuanians deem Holy Studies a central cultural component of everyday life (Gonen, 2006). Men's lives are therefore centred on the yeshiva, a higher religious-studies institution. Israeli Lithuanians nonetheless wear modern black suits and use Hebrew as their daily language (Etkes and Tikochinski, 2004; Zelkin, 2005).

- *Foreign Lithuanians:* This group includes American and Western European Lithuanians. Most foreign Lithuanians in Sanhedria come to Israel for several years in order to study at a yeshiva. Despite sharing the faith of the local Lithuanians, foreign Lithuanians continue to speak their native languages and maintain their original cultures (Gonen, 2006).

Hasidim

The various Hasidic groups emphasize emotional religious fervour based on their awe of God. Their lives focus on the court of the *Admor* (the religious leader), which fulfils both religious and active leadership functions in the daily life of the community (Piekarz, 1999; Green, 2001). Hasidim maintain social relationships, including marriage, mainly within a specific Hasidic court (Ben Sasson, 1987; Piekarz, 1999; Green, 2001):

- *Chabad*: Hasidic courts need to be differentiated from the Hasidim of Chabad (Elior, 1987). The Chabad, a Hasidic sub-sect, adhere to a theology inspired by the Kabbalah (Jewish mystical writings). The sub-sect's openness to modernity is a sign of its compartmentalization (Elior, 1992). Its distinct missionary vision is reflected in its demography: more than 30% of its members were not born into the community but joined it at some point in their lives (Elior, 1987; 1992).[2]

- *Neturei Karta*: Ramat Shlomo also houses another Hasidic sub-sect, that of the Neturei Karta, members of which maintain a strictly orthodox lifestyle involving almost absolute isolation from modern lifestyles. Members of this sub-sect are known for their ideological resistance to Zionism and their rejection of the state of Israel, which they believe may not be established prior to the coming of the Messiah (Rabkin, 2006). This community is often hostile to and isolated from other Haredi groups, whom they denounce for having reconciled themselves with the state's existence.[3]

2 This information was obtained during an interview on 22 February 2009 with a rabbi of the Chabad Haredi sect and municipal council member during the construction period of Ramat Shlomo.

3 This information stems from interviews with a municipal architect for the Ramat Shlomo area (14 February 2005; 18 March 2006) and an interview (24 March 2006) with the municipal architect for the Sanhedria area from 1990 to 2001. A member of the Lithuanian Haredi sect, he has been a resident of Sanhedria since 1980.

Sephardim

The definition of 'Sephardim' commonly refers to a broad religious continuum that ranges from traditional to Haredim Judaism and includes descendants of Jews from Islamic countries as well as those of the Old City of Jerusalem and the speakers of Ladino. Ashkenazi Haredim (Haredim of European origin) consider the Sephardim inferior because their orthodox genealogy is relatively short.

As a social category, the broad term includes secular to observant to Haredi Judaism. In this study, the term *Sephardi* (singular) or *Sephardim* (plural) refers only to Haredim. Secular and conservative Sephardim often belong to the National Religious movement:

- *Sephardic Lithuanians*: The Sephardic segment of the Haredi community includes an increasing number of Sephardic Lithuanians. This relatively new sect was created after the Holocaust, when most of the European Lithuanian yeshivas were emptied of their students. In an attempt to repopulate the yeshivas, Lithuanian leaders invited students from Arabic countries to join their institutions. Here they were educated in European religious traditions (Lupo, 2004). Many Sephardim thus came to adopt the Lithuanians' culture and made the study of the Torah their central occupation (Horowitz, 2000; Leon, 2007).

Case study neighbourhoods: Ramat Shlomo and Sanhedria

Ramat Shlomo and Sanhedria (see Figure 1) are located within a greater Haredi enclave in north-eastern Jerusalem. Whereas Sanhedria was established and populated over a long period as a result of many individual decisions, Ramat Shlomo was designed for and populated by the Haredi community in one fell swoop during the mid-1990s. In a similar way to other suburban locations, Ramat Shlomo offered people an opportunity to move from small, expensive apartments in the inner city to relatively larger living spaces from where the city centre was, however, less accessible.
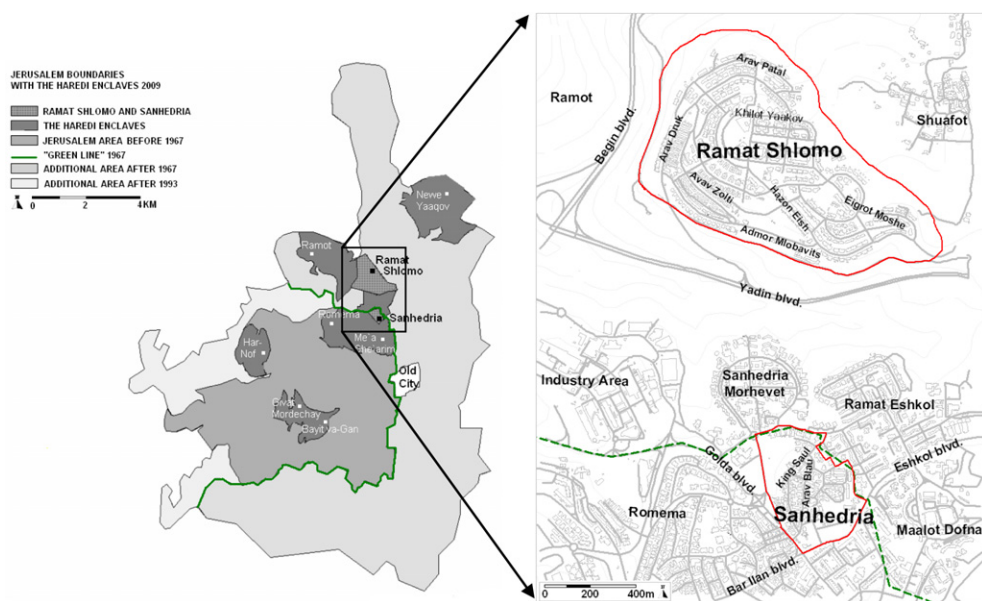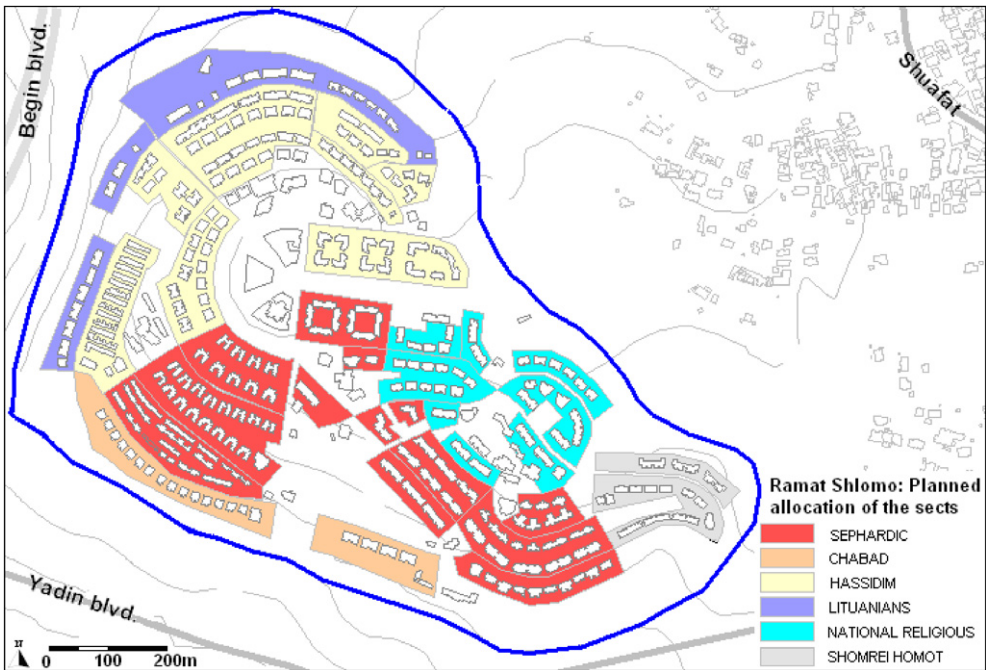

Figure 1 Development of Jerusalem before and after the 1967 war; showing the location of Ramat Shlomo and Sanhedria, and a closer view of Ramat Shlomo and Sanhedria

Note: Remaining buildings (non-coloured/shaded areas) represent public institutions

Figure 2 Initial sect allocation plan for Ramat Shlomo, early 1990s (*source:* courtesy of rabbi and municipal council member during Ramat Shlomo's construction, Municipality of Jerusalem)

Ramat Shlomo, the first of a series of neighbourhoods allocated to the Haredi population by local and central government, was established on land that was expropriated from the adjacent Arab village of Shuafat, according to Elbaz.[4] It was planned for young families, taking into account the large average household size of nine persons (Hershkovitch, 2001).

Today, 15 years later, Ramat Shlomo has approximately 22,000 residents (around 2,400 families). The neighbourhood remains divided into several extremely segregated areas, as originally planned, each populated by a different Haredi sub-sect (see Figure 2). Strict segregation is maintained by inter-sect arrangements, which maintain a divided apartment market (see Figure 3).

Organized segregation in Ramat Shlomo contrasts with the common model operating in other Haredi neighbourhoods such as Sanhedria, which are characterized by different histories and residential dynamics. Before the 1967 war, Sanhedria lay on the Jordanian border. After the war its relative location changed from frontier settlement to inner-city neighbourhood. From 1995, Sanhedria gradually changed from a mixed neighbourhood housing secular, religious and ultra-orthodox residents to a pure ultra-orthodox neighbourhood, and from an area that used to be populated by native-born residents to one that housed 25% foreign-born residents. On the surface, the neighbourhood represents a unified housing market in which all sub-sects are free to buy or rent apartments as they wish. Not bound by communal directives, Sanhedria inhabitants' residential choices seem to reflect the state of the housing market and individual preferences, thus creating an overtly integrated residential pattern (Figure 4).

4 Interview with the municipal architect for the Ramat Shlomo area (18 March 2006).
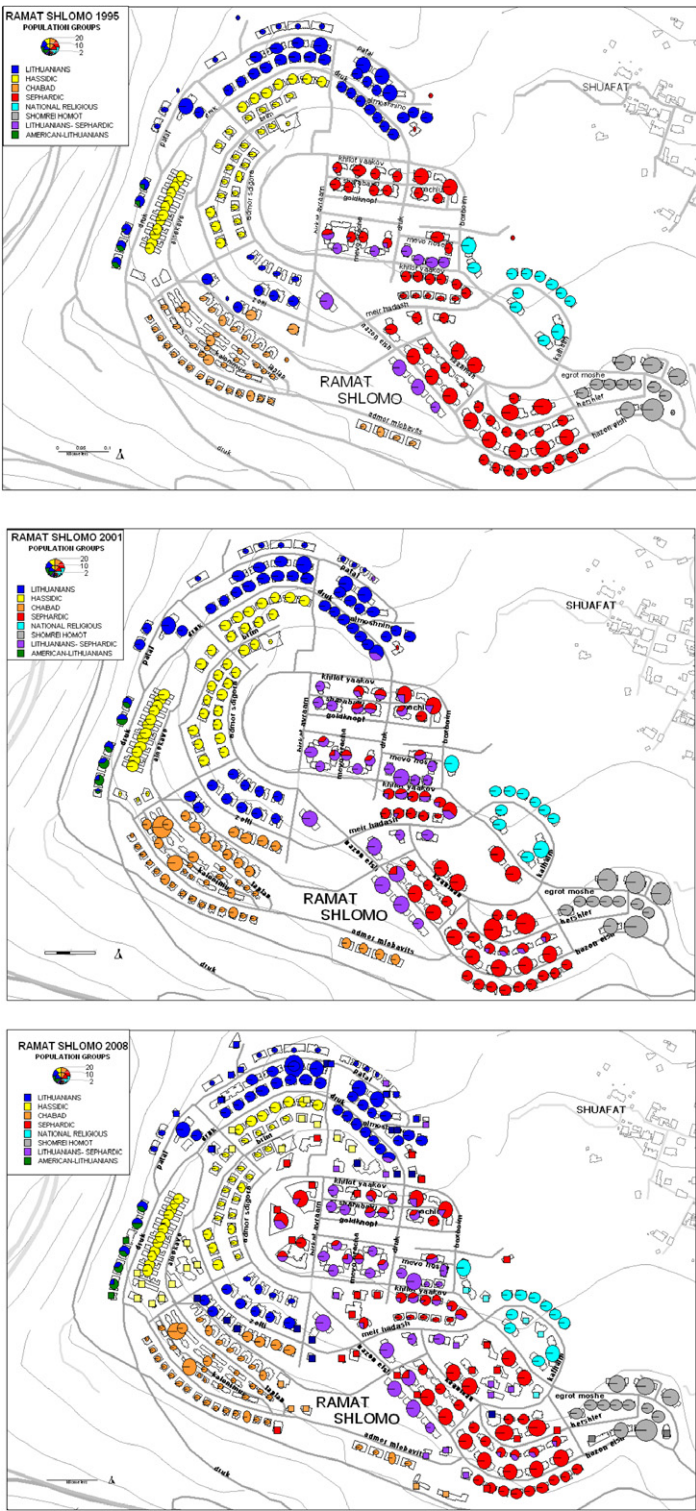
Figure 3 Residential patterns by sect (Lithuanians, Hasidim, Sephardim, Chabad, Sephardic Lithuanian, Foreign Lithuanian, Neturei Karta and National Religious) and building, Ramat Shlomo, 1995, 2001 and 2008
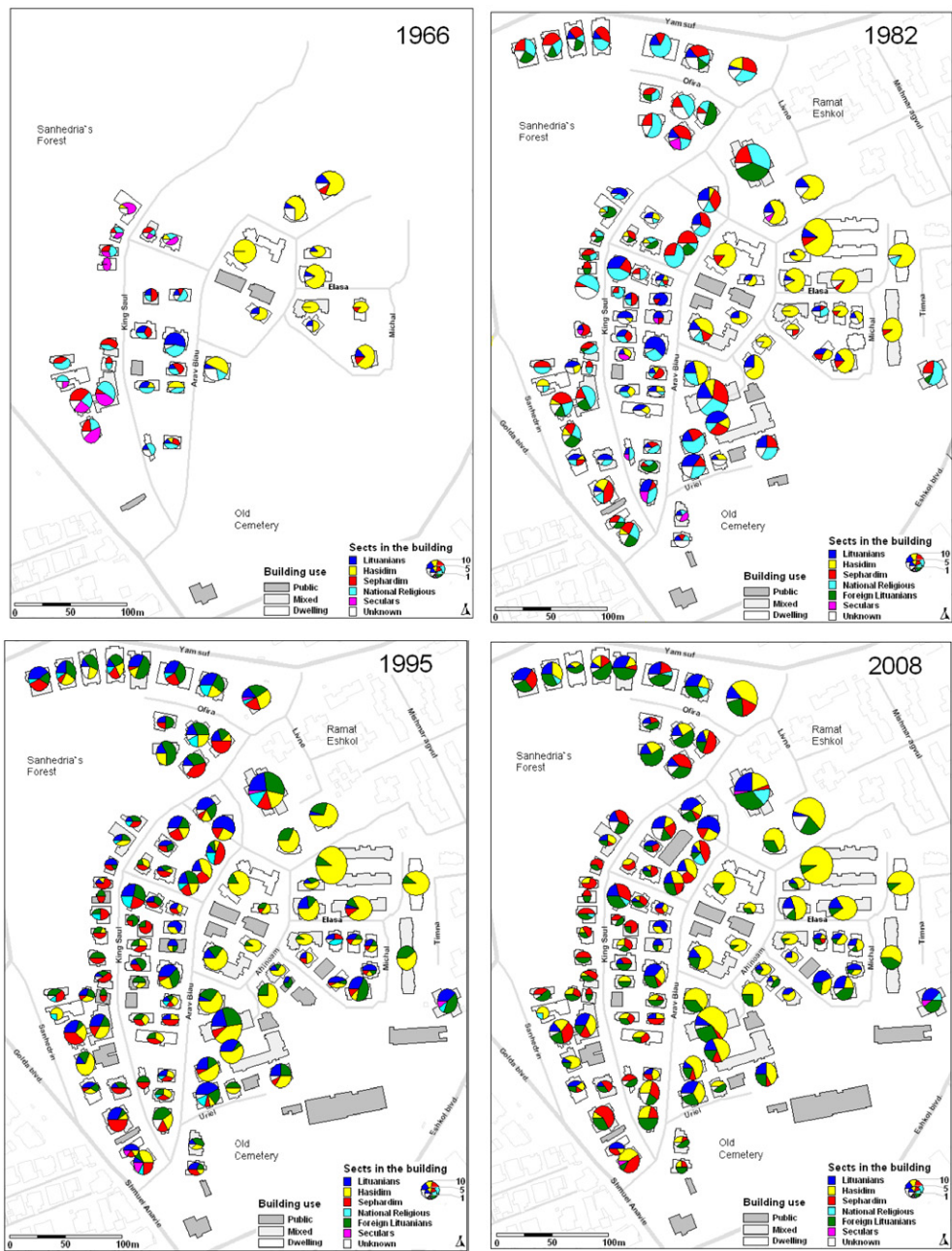
Figure 4 Residential patterns by sect (Lithuanian, Hasidim, Sephardim, Foreign Lithuanian, National Religious and Secular) and building, Sanhedria, 1966, 1982, 1995 and 2008

Sanhedria's high rental and purchase prices reflect its desirable central location, the wide range of institutions active in the neighbourhood and the population's high status.

Sanhedria and Ramat Shlomo provide empirical evidence that the same population groups, practising the same lifestyle and values, can exhibit and sustain qualitatively different residential patterns. The differences between organized enclaves, represented by Ramat Shlomo, and spontaneous enclaves, represented by Sanhedria, give rise to two

fundamental questions. First, regarding Ramat Shlomo, what kind of day-to-day residential mechanism sustains the initial structure of the organized enclave? When asking this question, we assume that individual decisions can neither create nor sustain such strict segregation; hence, what higher-level instrument is in use? Secondly, in respect of Sanhedria, have residents of this apparently integrated neighbourhood relinquished — or surrendered — their desire to live among 'friends'? That is, does living in a self-organizing enclave mean that specific individual preferences must be ignored? The next section of this article deals with these questions and reveals the social apparatus that drives the observed order.

The spatial impact of social relations and control mechanisms

Haredim prefer to live among 'friends'. Nevertheless, we wanted to confirm this 'common knowledge' empirically for Ramat Shlomo and for Sanhedria. Residents of both neighbourhoods were therefore asked to rate the relative importance of the following considerations when choosing their apartments: (1) proximity to educational and religious institutions; (2) apartment cost; and (3) neighbours' identity in terms of their specific sect. In both areas, very few participants listed the location of institutions and apartment cost as factors determining their choice of an apartment (see Table 1), whereas the majority of respondents did point out neighbours' identity as a crucial parameter affecting choice.

Most members of all sub-sects attributed great importance to their neighbours' identity, revealing their support of segregation practices. In their responses they also commented on the close correspondence between individual preferences and the residential policy of the community leadership. What was noticeable was that, despite the fact that they were already living among Haredi Jews, the vast majority of Ramat Shlomo's residents (96%) and most of Sanhedria's residents (almost 76%) reported that the sub-sect of their neighbours was the most important factor when choosing an apartment. Having confirmed this trend, we attempted to determine other socio-spatial mechanisms that lead to differences in the residential characteristics of these two neighbourhoods.

Table 1 Importance of apartment cost, neighbours' identity and proximity to institutions in apartment choice, Ramat Shlomo and Sanhedria (2008)

	L	H	S	FL	NR	SL	NK	Ch
Ramat Shlomo								
N	529	322	307	few	146	587	221	263
Neighbours' identity	69%	81%	66%	–	72%	67%	100%	72%
Price	23%	16%	16%	–	25%	19%	0%	17%
Institute	8%	3%	18%	–	3%	14%	0%	11%
Sanhedria								
N	161	339	169	262	17	–	–	–
Neighbours' identity	62%	59%	64%	54%	76%	–	–	–
Price	23%	28%	21%	32%	24%	–	–	–
Institute	14%	12%	14%	13%	0%	–	–	–

Note: **L** = Lithuanian,   **H** = Hasidim,   **S** = Sephardim,   **FL** = Foreign Lithuanian,   **NR** = National Religious, **SL** = Sephardim Lithuanian, **NK** = Neturei Karta, **Ch** = Chabad

Ramat Shlomo: community segregation and extreme spatial segregation

In contrast to Sanhedria, one of the unique mechanisms that operated in Ramat Shlomo and enabled the maintenance of the organized enclave, were the housing committees. These committees were set up to coordinate entry into the neighbourhood and linked new residents and municipal authorities; this allowed them to divide the neighbourhood into autonomous areas, each assigned to one sub-sect.[5] Once this allocation had been completed, the committees dispersed. The municipal authorities replaced the committees with a local community council, which consisted of community leaders. The council's aim was to 'consolidate all sects and ideas and constitute an integrated local structure'. Respect for the sects' autonomy within their assigned territories formed the basis of the council's mandate.[6] Under the council's umbrella, informal community arrangements were instituted which, through compliance of individual residents, shaped the neighbourhood's structure. Most sub-sects used powerful yet unofficial 'admission commissions' to ensure that their sub-neighbourhoods were populated exclusively by members of their specific sub-sects. A municipal council member during Ramat Shlomo's construction stated that:

> When we were populating the neighbourhood, we developed strict definitions regarding the identity of our inhabitants. Nowadays, there is no formal control of newcomers' identity. The initial order could be disrupted in theory. Nevertheless, it is upheld by the unwritten arrangements instituted by the various sects.[7]

Thus, despite the Haredi rabbis' declared tolerance and overt cooperation, most community leaders chose to reinforce their sub-sect's identity by establishing an internal exclusionary mechanism to maintain each sub-sect's spatial isolation and preserve the neighbourhood's original structure.[8] One rabbi made reference to an agreement within his own sub-sect, the Kumrana Hasidim: 'Our community members would not sell to a member of a different sect. This practice is stronger than any law'.[9] Apparently, this norm is so powerful that members of the National Religious movement, the non-Haredi sub-sect living in Ramat Shlomo, have been driven to apply for a similar policy to safeguard their territory. One of the community's leaders expressed this as follows: 'In Ramat Shlomo, we operate a strong admissions commission . . . Our residents are forbidden from selling their apartments to just anyone, unless it is "one of our own". People won't sell to outsiders'.[10]

Spatial organization among Ramat Shlomo's Haredim therefore does not rely on individual preferences; it is the product of extreme forced segregation, upheld at the level of individual buildings and at neighbourhood level. Despite internal differences between the sources of power within each sect, the arrangements themselves are common to most sub-sects. As a result, the movement of individuals into and out of apartments in Ramat Shlomo is heavily controlled, with sub-neighbourhoods effectively closed to 'others', including other Haredi sub-sects. The relationship between the individual and the community are clearly articulated and the resulting strict segregation is therefore kept stable.

5 Interviews with the municipal architect for the Ramat Shlomo area (18 March 2006) and a rabbi of the Chabad Haredi sect and municipal council member during Ramat Shlomo's construction (22 February 2009)
6 *Ibid.*
7 Interview 22 February, 2009.
8 Interviews with the municipal architect for the Ramat Shlomo area (18 March 2006) and a municipal council member during its construction (22 February 2009).
9 From an interview with a rabbi and leader of the Kumrana Hasidim in Ramat Shlomo (23 February 2009).
10 From an interview with the leader of the National Religious community and head of the Civil Guard in Ramat Shlomo (23 February 2009).

Sanhedria: a free market with a clear behavioural code

The organized segregation of Ramat Shlomo contrasts strongly with the model of micro-congregation observed in Sanhedria. Although 60% of Sanhedria's residents declared that they preferred to live among 'friends', our research revealed that, in practice, a mix of two to six different sects (3.16 ± 0.99 sects per building on average) could be found throughout the neighbourhood (see Figure 4).

This means that, despite their stated preference to reside among 'friends', the different sub-sects in Sanhedria live in an environment that has been consistently heterogeneous for over 40 years. It therefore appears that the local residential structure of the majority of households differs significantly from their individual needs and desires. These findings are controversial and make it difficult to understand how Sanhedria and other 'unplanned' Haredi residential neighbourhoods, such as Romema and Bayit ve-Gan, which exhibit similar internal organization, have sustained their heterogeneity. As noted, Sanhedria is a central and attractive residential neighbourhood, a fact that is reflected in high housing prices.[11] Does the attractiveness of the neighbourhood outbalance unrealized residential preferences? Would the residential space maintain its heterogeneity over the years, or is a segregated future inevitable? To find answers to these questions, we looked at the way in which individuals and the community implemented their housing preferences in the absence of a central community organization, and then compared our findings to those from Ramat Shlomo.

An earlier study on Sanhedria (Flint *et al.*, 2010) revealed the mechanisms that bridge the gap between individual preferences and urban constraints. The loose residential organization characterizing inner-city neighbourhoods and forcing Haredim to share a building with families from other sub-sects while sustaining a sense of segregated community, forms the backdrop of this study. This *micro-segregation* mechanism consists of two parts: the first concerns choosing an apartment while taking into consideration the building's and neighbourhood's population mix, whereas the second includes a spatial-behavioural code that enables residents to feel as if they are living among 'friends' (members of their own sub-sect) even if a minimal number — sometimes only one family — lives in the same building. It is worth noting that this mechanism emerged spontaneously, without leadership involvement or control, and was never articulated by sect leaders. Micro-segregation is a bottom-up behavioural code allowing individuals to institute the level of separateness they need in order to feel relatively comfortable in an environment that is antithetical to their preferences or needs.

Haredi awareness of the existence of 'friends' in their building is reflected in Table 2. To test whether families achieve their stated preferences, we calculated the percentage of families of the same sub-sect that currently lived in that building for each family moving into a building by purchasing or renting an apartment. The average of these data for each sub-sect provided some insight into the outcome of families' residential choice. As shown in Table 2, people prefer to enter (buy or rent) an apartment in a building in which the residence rate of their sub-sect is significantly higher than the percentage of their group within the population; for Hassidim and Sephardim these differences are highly significant at the level of the building. These two groups are, indeed, segregated in Sanhedria. As can be seen from Figure 5, Hassidim were segregated for the entire Sanhedria history (see the eastern side of Sanhedria in Figure 4), while the segregation of Sephardim has increased over the past 15 years. The segregation tendencies of both Israeli and foreign-born Lithuanians in terms of residential behavior are essentially weaker (see Table 2; Figure 5); the vast majority of Lithuanians, and a substantial part of the Hassidim and Sephardim groups, do not live according to their own stated

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11 From interviews with the municipal architect for the Sanhedria area (24 March 2006) and the deputy manager of the Department of Information and Mapping, Municipality of Jerusalem (24 February 2006).

Table 2 Percentage of sect population and mean percentage of 'friends' in the neighbourhood of chosen building in Sanhedria, 1983–2008

Sect	No. of Families who Chose to Enter Buildings in Sanhedria	Average % of Families from the Same Sect in Sanhedria	Average % of Families from the Same Sect in Chosen Building	Average % of Families from the Same Sect in the Neighbourhood of Chosen Building
Hasidim	333	29.0%	34.6%***	40.5%***
Sephardim	255	18.3%	23.2%**	24.8%**
Lithuanian	563	18.5%	20.2%	25.9%***
Foreign Lithuanian	480	14.3%	17.8%*	16.8%*

Note: Significance of difference between the given value and population average: * $-p < 0.1$; ** $-0.05 < p < 0.10$; *** $-0.01 < p < 0.05$
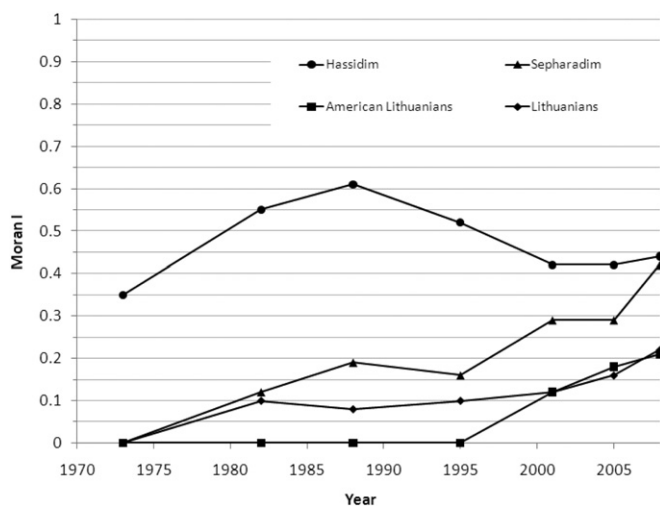
Note: Calculations apply from 1973 onwards, when the number of buildings in Sanhedria increased to above 50. To be significant at the 5% or 1% levels, the values of the Moran I index should be above 0.1 and 0.15, respectively

Figure 5 Segregation of Sanhedria sects as expressed in the Moran I index of spatial autocorrelation

preferences. Lithuanians weakly follow their stated residential preferences at the level of the building and, as a result, their segregation in Sanhedria is growing slowly and remains low.

The mechanism of micro-segregation reveals the emergence of a residential behavioural code relating to the purchase and rental decisions of Sanhedria's residents. This creates confidence among residents — when newcomers purchase or rent an apartment from people of their own sub-sect, they can relax and feel confident about their neighbours in the building. As a result of intra-community relations, the sub-sect yeshivas function as mortgage banks, 'rolling over' apartments from vacating to incoming dwellers.[12] As a result, most apartment transactions in Sanhedria occur between members of the same sub-sect. Table 3, calculated on the basis of historical data,

12 From an interview with Professor of Geography at Bar-Ilan University and an expert on power dynamics in the Haredi community (21 June 2009).

Table 3 Percentage of members of a selected sect who occupy an apartment vacated by a member of the same sect

Year	Hasidim	Sephardim	Lithuanian	Foreign Lithuanian
1983–1995	68%	2%	67%	11%
1996–2008	47%	64%	72%	50%

indicates the high likelihood of an empty apartment being transferred to new residents belonging to the same sect. This practice creates a residential continuum in the respective buildings: safe, convenient apartments are thus inhabited by safe, suitable residents, meaning that both current and new occupants can feel at home. As all parties are interested in maintaining this condition, a minimal presence of 'friends' of the same sect suffices.

Micro-segregation in Sanhedria is thus preserved at the critical turnover stage of housing choice. The behavioural code all sub-sects living in Sanhedria adopt ensures a relatively high level of certainty at the individual and the communal level, while sufficiently maintaining the segregation of Hassidim over the entire history of the area, increasing the segregation of the Sephardim and leading to a decrease in possible tension between different sub-sects that share the same residential buildings. The two complementary features are: (1) people's tendency to prefer occupying an apartment that has been vacated by a member of their own sect; and (2) Hassidic and Sephardic households, much more than Lithuanians, prefer living in buildings and areas in which there are a relatively large number of 'friendly' households. Same-sect substitution helps individuals develop a sense of security and belonging in a mixed neighbourhood, reinforces Haredi confidence in the future affiliation of residents and strengthens neighbours' confidence in new occupants. It also reassures Hassidic and Sephardic families that 'friends' will continue to reside nearby over time. Thus, although Sanhedria as an urban space seems mixed and disorderly at first glance, an organized residential system is in place, providing clear codes for the individual and the community.

The impact of sub-sect relationships on spatial organization

A uniform hierarchy, stemming from different lifestyles, prayer rituals and genealogy, exists in most Haredi communities in Israel and abroad, which grade sub-sects according to their level of acceptance and superiority (Elior, 1987). At the upper end of the scale we find the Lithuanians, who view themselves and are viewed by other sub-sects as the Haredi elite. At the opposite end of the spectrum are the Sephardim, whose orthodoxy is relatively recent. In the Haredi world, gaps in ritual orthodoxy have social implications. The legitimacy and the desire to maintain social interactions with individuals belonging to other sects are affected by inter-communal relations. Along with restrictions on social ties between members of different sects, intra-sect relations affect the residential preferences of individual members.

The Sephardic population in Sanhedria

During the twentieth century, many religious Sephardim sought to discard their cultural identity and emulate the Lithuanian elite's culture. Jews from the Islamic world who retained their cultural assets were left in an inferior position (Lupo, 2004). However, the new Sephardic Lithuanians were never fully accepted by the Ashkenazi Lithuanians and have become stigmatized (Lupo, 2004; Leon, 2007). Chetrit (2004) claims that the tendency to marry within the sub-sect has left the Sephardic Lithuanians 'partially
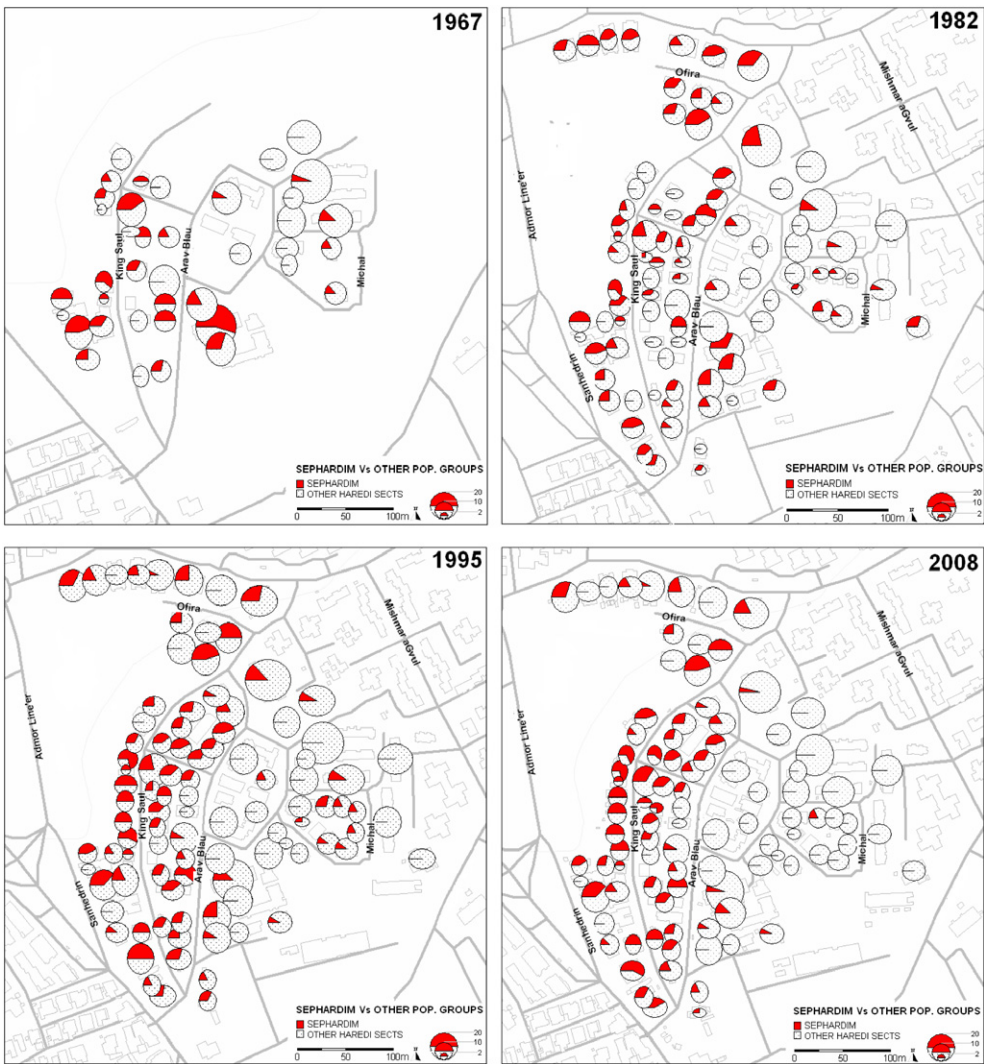
Figure 6 Residential patterns of Sephardim by building, Sanhedria, 1967, 1982, 1995 and 2008

cancelled out in terms of identity on the one hand, and rejected by the Western European hegemony on the other' (*ibid.*: 47). Their consequent isolation in a Sephardic ghetto was fed by the sectarian rifts characterizing Haredi society. The population distribution in Ramat Shlomo reflects their sensitive status: although Sephardic Lithuanians live according to the Lithuanian lifestyle, they are isolated in a socially and geographically distinct enclave, which they share with other Sephardic sects, and are practically rejected by Lithuanian institutions (Friedman, 1991).

Hence, Sephardic families who have lived throughout Sanhedria for decades now tend to cluster mainly along King Saul Street, a noisy commercial area that is less attractive for residential purposes. While the Sephardim live there together with other Haredi sub-sects, they are markedly absent from other parts of the neighbourhood. There has been a considerable reduction of their presence in the eastern part of the neighbourhood in particular, which was previously dominated by the Hasidim (1995–2008; see Figure 6). This separation is apparently a result of the micro-segregation process operating at the building level.

The Sephardic area in Ramat Shlomo exemplifies the different dynamics occurring once communal power slackens off. In the mid-1990s the Sephardic sub-neighbourhood was populated by 768 Sephardic families (86%) and 127 Sephardic Lithuanian families (14%). Despite their shared ethnic background, the separation between these sub-sects is now obvious (Figure 7).

The dynamics of Sephardic residence in Ramat Shlomo point to sectoral changes that have taken place in the sub-neighbourhood as a result of internal conflict that divides the traditional Sephardim from the newer Sephardic Lithuanians. In the past decade, with the rise of asset values, approximately 60% of Sephardic families sold their apartments to Sephardic Lithuanian families who were seeking to reside close to Lithuanian communities. Gradually, the Sephardic Lithuanian minority in Ramat Shlomo began outnumbering the Sephardim in the sub-neighbourhood. A mechanism that is quite similar to the micro-segregation observed in Sanhedria developed too, as residents began to transfer apartments to 'friends': we found 82 transactions between Sephardic Lithuanian families between 1998 and 2008, as opposed to seven transactions between Sephardic Lithuanians and Sephardim over the same period. Thus, while Ramat Shlomo community rules adhered to the borders of the Sephardic sub-neighbourhood, the inner structure of these neighbourhoods was converted by individual actions. Today, 307 families belong to the Sephardic sects (34%) and 587 families are Sephardic Lithuanians (66%). Owing to the segregated structure of Ramat Shlomo, the Sephardic population cannot settle elsewhere in the neighbourhood and is thus effectively being driven out. It is worth noting that in Ramat Shlomo, as in Sanhedria, the Sephardim belong to the single sect that does not favour trading with 'friends' over others, a trend that has caused their marginalization within the Haredi neighbourhoods.
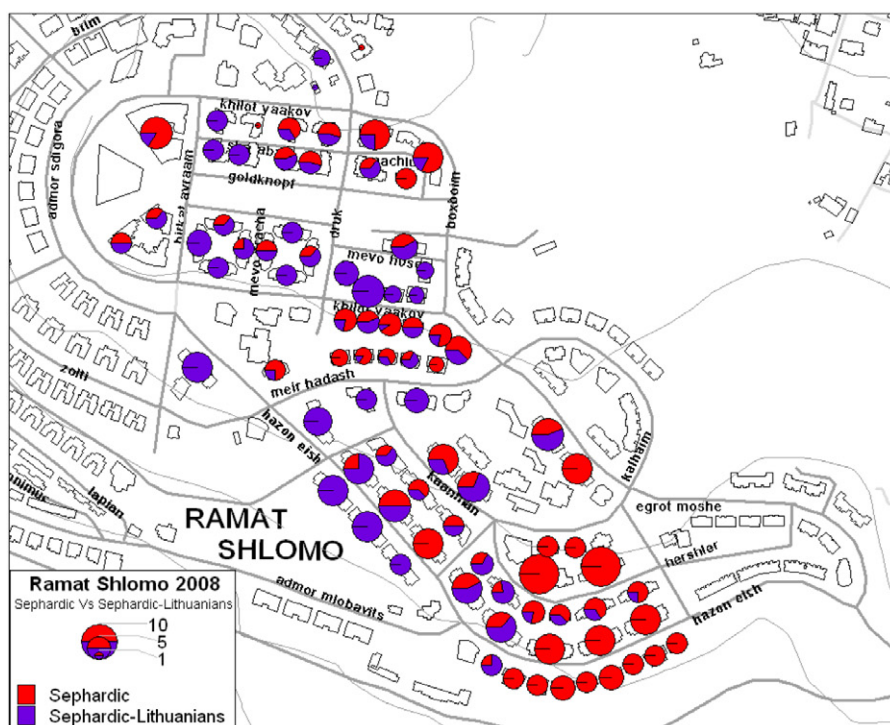
The Lithuanian population

Despite their association with different rabbinical courts and yeshivas, and irrespective of their many sub-sects, the Lithuanians set the norms for the Haredi community (Ravizky, 2001; Etkes and Tikochinski, 2004). This imposition of leadership and way of life on other Haredi sects, including the Sephardim, is a twentieth-century phenomenon (Lupo, 2004). Lithuanians' elite status in the Haredi world is expressed in their spatial distribution in Haredi neighbourhoods.

However, the Lithuanian sect's indifference to the identity of their neighbours in their own buildings and areas close by is expressed in the heterogeneity of Ramat Shlomo's Lithuanian sub-neighbourhoods. When Ramat Shlomo was established, the Lithuanian sub-neighbourhood was organized in a top-down manner, divided between the different rabbinical courts and yeshivas. The community council's regulations did not enforce this segregated order.[13] Over time, the initial arrangements were upturned, with people from different Lithuanian sub-sects spreading freely throughout the sub-neighbourhood. The Lithuanian leader explained this movement as follows: 'The community is strong and unified; internal residential arrangements are unnecessary. I do not have to live with the Elioshive [a specific Lithuanian sub-sect] in order to feel at home'.[14] As Figure 8 shows, several Lithuanian sub-sects share buildings in the sub-neighbourhood.

In Sanhedria, other sects consider Lithuanians desirable neighbours. While we did not examine their residential distribution according to their yeshivas, we found Lithuanian residents in almost every building in the neighbourhood, and thus it is safe to assume that Lithuanians from different yeshivas are spread throughout the area (see Figure 9).

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13 From an interview with the chief Lithuanian rabbi and leader of the general Israeli-Lithuanian community in Ramat Shlomo (13 March 2007).

14 From an interview with the aforementioned rabbi (3 February 2006).

Figure 7 Residential patterns of Sephardim and Sephardic Lithuanians by building, Ramat Shlomo, 1995 and 2008
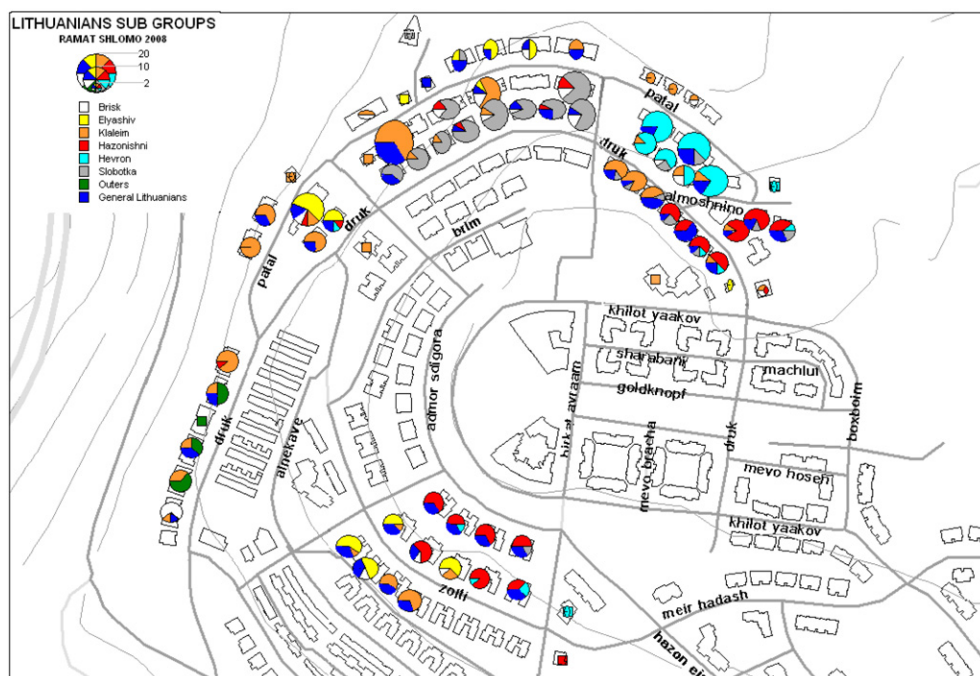
Figure 8 Residential pattern of Lithuanian sects by building, Ramat Shlomo 2008

Conclusions

This article has revealed new, interesting aspects of the relationship between the social structure and spatial patterns of urban enclaves. The neighbourhoods studied offer a relevant example of spatial interactions between population groups that are similar in many respects, while each is interested in preserving its unique cultural identity. The research highlighted the impact of relationships between individuals and the community and the influence of the intra-communal hierarchy on the dynamics of segregation in the residential space. From the perspective of urban dynamics, the Haredi population's behaviour exemplifies the influence of social relations within a microcosm of small communities with bold leadership, and government involvement in the spatial organization of a densely populated urban area.

Haredi Jews tend to maintain their identity as a highly observant religious community, a focus that motivates them to form sizeable enclaves in major cities around the globe, including New York and London (Shilhav, 1993; Valins, 2003) While the social structure of the Haredi population appears unified to outsiders, it shapes the internal spatial organization of neighbourhoods. In line with this theory, our research confirms that social organization can have a dramatic impact on the segregation pattern of residential spaces.

The research is based on the fragmentation of Haredi society into sects and sub-sects, which is widely acknowledged among Haredim. They classify individuals accordingly, and individuals express their pro-segregation attitudes. Specifically, the majority of Haredim living in the research area stated that they preferred to live among people of their own sect, emphasizing the importance they attach to intra- and inter-sect relations when choosing a residence. People's acknowledgement of divisions between sects and articulation of pro-segregation attitudes suggest active social organization within the groups in the form of strong relationships between sect members and an involved leadership. While this is a unique case study, it may be indicative of other, less organized urban groups.
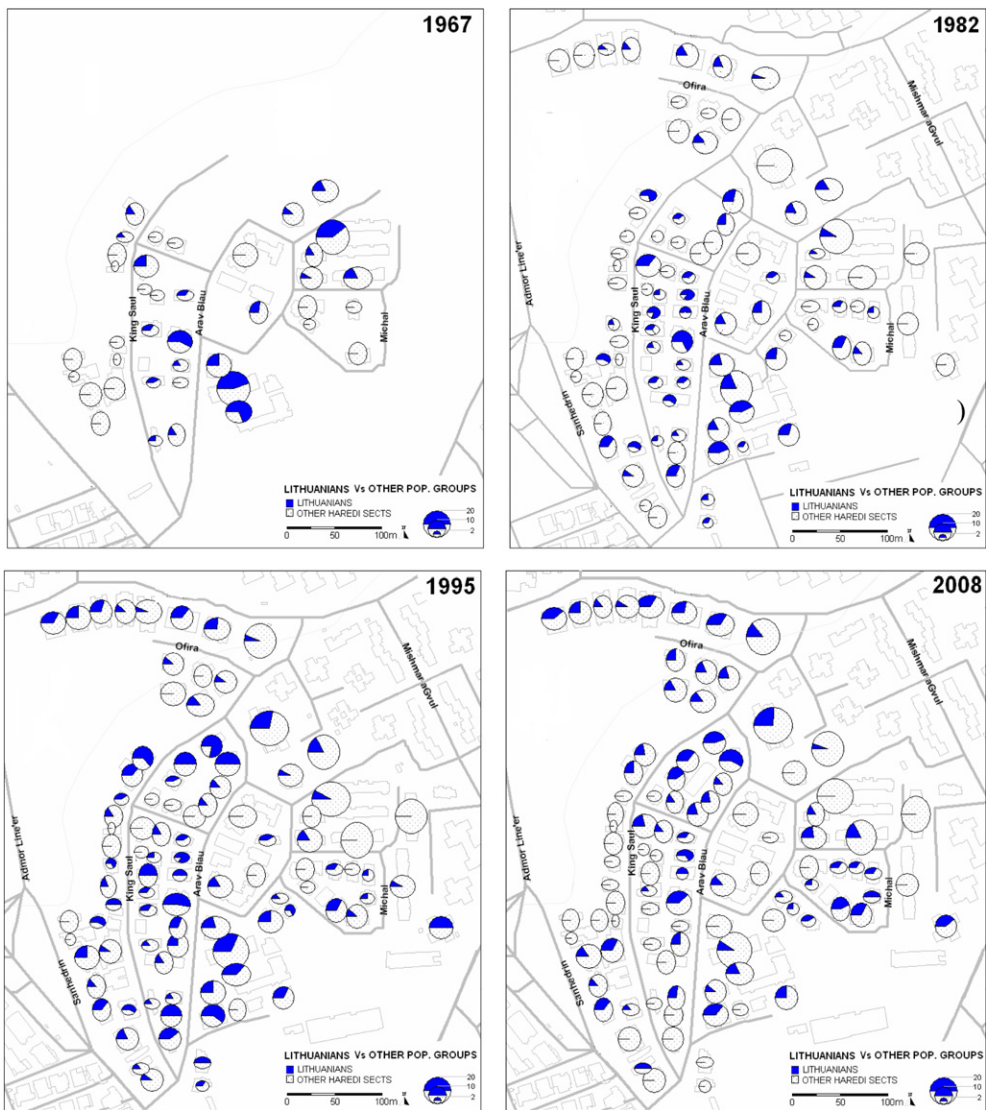
Figure 9 Residential patterns of Lithuanians by building, Sanhedria, 1967, 1982, 1995 and 2008

Our research revealed different residential mechanisms and resultant spatial organizations that exemplify the spatial dynamics in the two different neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods display specific relationships between individuals and community leaders and differing involvement of government bodies. Ramat Shlomo represents the *organized enclave*, in which the initially established spatial structure and residential dynamics have been continually supported since. The self-organizing *spontaneous enclave* of Sanhedria is typified by individual community relationships and micro-segregation.

The organized social enclave of Ramat Shlomo, with its stable inner segregation into sub-neighbourhoods, raises questions regarding the social mechanisms that created and continue to maintain this segregation. A specific type of relationship between individuals and the community is needed for constructing as well as maintaining such a spatial order.

Our research shows that the social conditions producing this spatial arrangement include the direct involvement of community leaders in the residential dynamics and the full obedience of individuals. Our research shows that sect leaders were involved in planning the initial segregated structure of the neighbourhood, providing each sub-group (sub-sect) with a separate territory that had clear borders. In addition, community leaders supervised residential dynamics over time. The division of the enclave into sub-areas demanded the cooperation of several community leaders, each with the power to direct individuals towards obedient behavior. It also required the support of central government to allocate land for this neighbourhood and the collaboration of the municipal authorities, which appointed the housing committees prior to the initial settlement stage. In Ramat Shlomo we found minor differences between the residential dynamics of the various sects, but as a whole the spatial order was kept over time. The complementary condition is that individuals consent to seeking housing and living in the specific areas designated by their leaders. An extreme social structure is required to produce and maintain such extreme spatial organization.

Interestingly, the same pattern of social relations may lead to a different spatial structure under different urban conditions and control mechanisms. Our comparison gave rise to a twofold conclusion.

First, in contrast to the organized enclave, the spontaneous enclave lacks the ability to create complete segregation, despite individual residents stating similar attitudes towards segregation. In the absence of central planning and authoritative leadership, the spatial structure of the spontaneous enclave is created by individuals. This exposes the social currents within the community, to which the relatively high concentrations of various sects in certain parts of the enclave can be attributed. This nuanced social organization resulted in a completely different spatial structure.

Secondly, despite the powerful social mechanisms operating within Haredi society, the existence of even a few neighbours belonging to the same social group mitigates people's sense of unfamiliarity when living among 'others'. We found that the micro-segregation mechanism was, in fact, helping residents to bridge the gap between their stated preferences and real-life residential situations; members of all sub-sects preferred to live in a building that already housed members of their own sub-sect. Instead of the top-down arrangement that operates in Ramat Shlomo, Sanhedria utilizes a self-regulating mechanism that provides inhabitants with a similar sense of belonging and protection.

In Israel, the unique character of the Haredi enclaves can also be traced back to state and local governments allowing Haredi leaders a free hand in planning and populating urban areas such as Ramat Shlomo, which may not happen elsewhere. Nevertheless, our comparison of two extreme case studies reveals aspects of spatial organization that are relevant to ethno-religious groups throughout the world. Like the Haredi community, other religious groups are characterized by intense community-individual relationships and the active involvement of the leadership in individual members' decision making. As a result, organized enclaves are divided into distinct parts, while structures in spontaneous enclaves are likely to be maintained through micro-segregation dynamics in other religious communities too. Moreover, micro spaces also appear in neighbourhoods that are not at all religious. For example, Kusenbach (2008) speaks of 'nested places' and hierarchical spatiality that follows social hierarchy in urban communities. These nested places, comprising layers and meanings, and maintained by daily interactions, emerge in non-religious urban areas. These places indicate that having a few significant 'friends' may coincide with the observation that people have little interest in cultivating relationships with 'others'. We could therefore expect micro-segregation processes to emerge in multicultural neighbourhoods in which there is no significant community leadership. More research on this is needed in other social enclaves to examine different residential and behavioural codes that help people overcome the gap between their stated preferences and their urban reality. It is safe to assume that the contents of these codes will affect the structure of the urban enclave.

Residential patterns in urban spaces express the compromises individuals make in terms of urban constraints and personal abilities. The urban reality often creates a gap between individual and group preferences and impedes their implementation within and outside urban enclaves. A heterogeneous urban space in which members of different sects live together in the same buildings and on the same streets may therefore hide micro-segregation mechanisms. However, further research is needed to assess the existence of micro-segregation mechanisms in non-Haredi populations and to shed light on their impact on seemingly heterogeneous urban spaces.

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