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DISCUSSION PAPER

THE GEOGRAPHY OF DWELLING CONDITIONS
OF THE JEWISH ELDERLY IN JERUSALEM

by

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THE GEOGRAPHY OF DWELLING CONDITIONS
OF THE JEWISH ELDERLY IN JERUSALEM

by

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Introduction

In this study we examine the geographical distribution of dwelling conditions of the Jewish elderly in Jerusalem. The dwelling environment is often an important indication of a person's quality of life. In this respect the dwelling environment is of primary importance in describing the well-being of elderly persons, who spend a great deal of time within their residential premises, and are heavily dependent on elements of their immediate environment because of their inadequate mobility (Carp, 1975, 1976). In fact, one way to define an elderly person's vulnerability to distress is by an inventory of this person's dwelling environment (Struyk, 1977).

Dwelling density, for instance, is a reflection of the potential for privacy for an elderly person living in a multigenerational household. Availability of a kitchen within the apartment is a basic condition for proper household maintenance and may also be a factor in an elderly person's nutritional level and health. In modern housing, a bathroom within the residence is a fundamental component, ensuring privacy and ready access. Similarly, the presence of an indoor bathroom has a potential impact on an elderly person's quality of life. Even more important in determining an old person's well-being is the presence of a toilet within the housing premises to ensure comfort and privacy. Heating is another housing facility crucial to elderly persons' comfort and health, especially where cold winters prevail.

The absence of such housing facilities is evidence of unfulfilled needs and in itself is an indicator of substandard dwelling conditions in a modern society. So is the absence of appliances such as a telephone or a television

set, which are used for purposes of communication, or of a refrigerator and washing machine, which contribute to household maintenance. Such absence is often clearly evident and is easily measurable for statistical purposes. Population and housing censuses often include data on housing facilities and thus furnish an important source of data on the dwelling environment of the elderly.

Availability of housing facilities and appliances is often related to a person's socio-economic status, and is itself an indication of such status. Socio-economic status of an urban population often has a meaningful spatial distribution, and is often correlated with the level of dwelling conditions as well as with other variables. This study is focussed on geographical variance in dwelling conditions of the elderly as it relates to the general social geography of the city.

Elderly persons in this study were defined as females of 60 years of age and above and males of 65 years of age and above - the respective retirement ages in Israel. We have limited this study to the elderly Jewish population of Jerusalem which in 1972 was mainly concentrated in the western part of the city, in order to deal with a relatively homogeneous population. In addition, we have emphasized the examination of differences within this population stemming mainly from socio-economic status and to some extent from ethno-cultural differentiation. Adding Arab and other non-Jewish elderly population groups to the study would have entangled us in additional variables. Moreover, we have only a superficial familiarity with the nature of Arab society in Jerusalem, particularly its elderly population.

The source of data used in this study is the 1972 census of population

(Central Bureau of Statistics, 1976). We have also used unpublished tables on a geographical basis, prepared for the present study by the Central Bureau of Statistics. Since the main thrust of the analysis in this study is in the geographical examination of the data, a geographical division of the city into sections has been prepared. The nature of this division is discussed in the following chapter.

The Socio-Geographical Structure of the City

Social status, in conjunction with geographical location, has been utilized as a broad composite criterion for dividing the city into residential sections. This criterion has been applied in the present study in a coarse manner, with no intention of presenting a classification of areas based on a rigorous methodology. We were only interested in broad patterns and ignored refined geographical differences. We have confined ourselves to statistical subquarters as basic units in the geographical classification, and variation within subquarters, on the level of statistical areas (smaller than subquarters), has been ignored. In devising our classification we have utilized information and analysis contained in the limited literature dealing with the social spatial structure of Jerusalem (Amiran, 1973; Buchspan, 1972; Kimhi, 1973; Shinan, 1975; Shuval, 1968).

Map 1 exhibits the general socio-geographical structure of the part of Jerusalem which was inhabited largely by Jews in the early 1970's.¹

1) During the 1970's Jewish residential areas have been developed in the north-eastern and south-eastern periphery. These new sections have not been incorporated within the framework of this study, except for the earliest of these developments - Ramat Eshkol, which has been included in the upper-status outer section in the western part of the city.

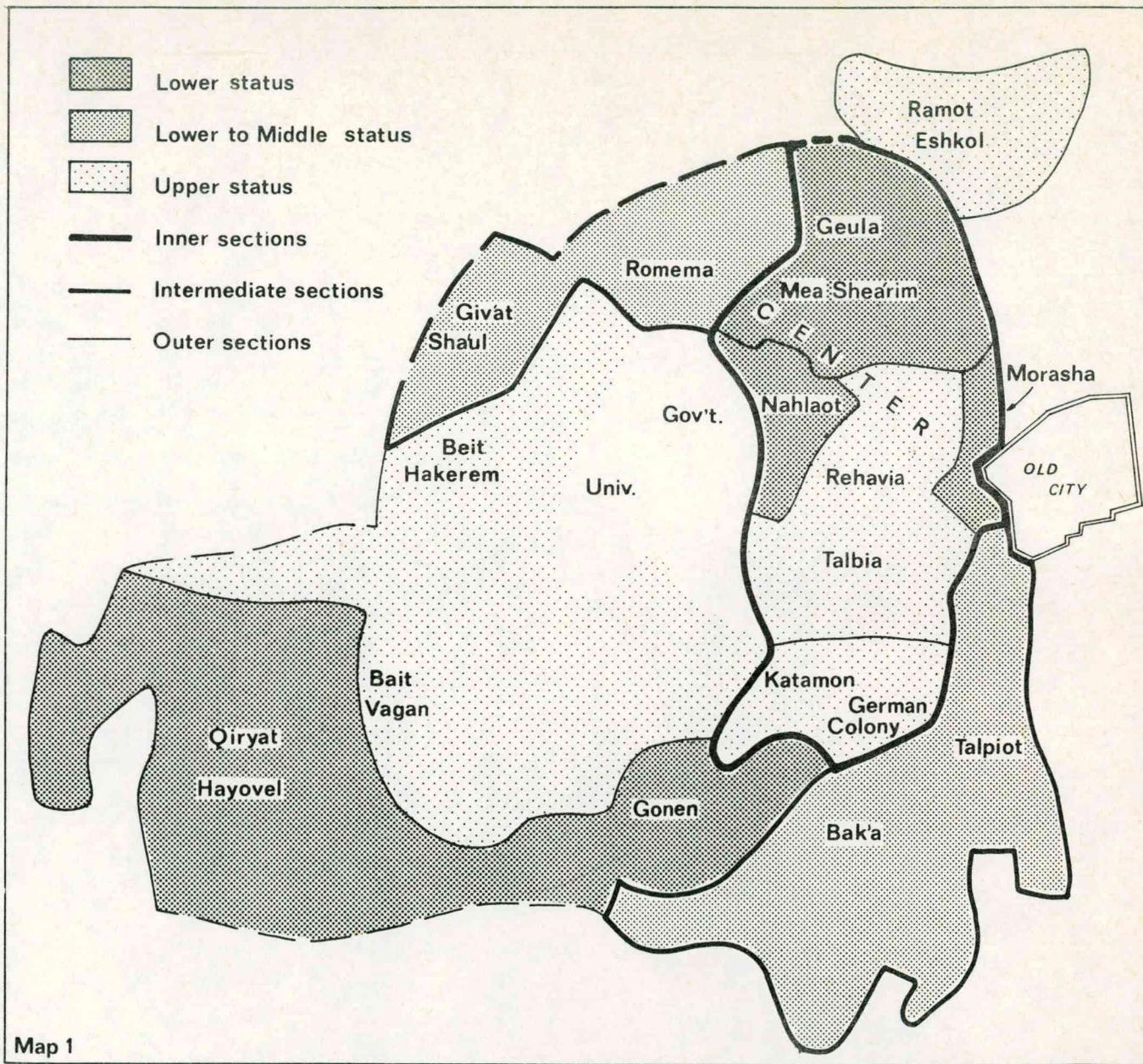
Geographically, the city is divided into three categories of residential sections: inner, intermediate and outer.¹ The inner residential sections of the Jewish population in Jerusalem extend south and north of Jaffa Street, the main commercial artery west of the Old City. The inner sections include the earliest neighborhoods built outside the Old City walls toward the end of the 19th century as well as modern neighborhoods established up to 1948. In fact, the inner residential sections of Jerusalem comprised most of the city's densely built-up area at the end of the 1940's (end of the British Mandate). A stretch of outer residential neighborhoods, built mainly since 1949, lies west of the inner sections. In between the inner and the outer sections two intermediate sections are discernible, one to the northwest of the inner sections and one to the southeast, each one presenting a combination of old neighborhoods and new housing estates.

Three types of status sections have been discerned: upper, lower-to-middle and lower status, in terms of general levels of income, education, housing and ethnicity. Upper and lower status sections are present in the inner and outer parts of the city. Lower to middle status characterized the intermediate sections where social and housing heterogeneity is prevalent.

The Inner Sections

The inner sections are clearly divided between those of lower status in the north and those of upper status in the south. The juxtaposition of upper and lower status neighborhoods is characteristic of the inner part of

1) For the relationship between statistical subquarters and our subdivision into sections see Appendix A.



Map 1

SOCIO-GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION OF AREAS WITH JEWISH POPULATION, JERUSALEM, 1972

Jerusalem and for that matter of the inner parts of the two other large Israeli cities, Tel Aviv and Haifa, and reflects the locational preferences and constraints of these two status groups (Gonen, 1979).

Two inner lower status sections and two inner upper status sections have been discerned. One lower status section lies east and west of the commercial center. On the eastern edge there is a string of neighborhoods running along the former armistice line (near the Old City walls) between Israel and Jordan. These neighborhoods deteriorated as a result of their unfavorable location when they were close to the dangers of the former frontier. They were mainly inhabited by Eastern Jews and characterized by a high incidence of social distress, especially in the Morasha neighborhood. On the western edge of the commercial center, close to the main market (Mahané Yehuda), there is a cluster of small neighborhoods, commonly known as Nahla'ot and built mainly around the turn of the century. These neighborhoods are now inhabited largely by Eastern population groups and much of the housing there lacks modern facilities.

The other lower status section of the inner area is characterized by a predominantly Orthodox Jewish population. It lies immediately north of the city's commercial center (Jaffa Road) and includes a number of neighborhoods, among which the Geula and Mea She'arim neighborhoods were singled out for providing this status section with its name in this study. This lower status section is marked by social and physical heterogeneity, with neighborhoods of Eastern and European Jews existing side by side. Some of these neighborhoods, such as Mea She'arim, were built in the 19th century, utilizing contemporary construction practices. Others, such as the Geula area, were constructed between the First and Second World Wars, employing modern construction standards.

Two inner upper status sections can be found to the south of these lower status sections; the Rehavia - Talbia section and the Katamon - German Colony section, which is further south. The Rehavia - Talbia section is characterized by a higher income level and a larger majority of Western Jewish population than its southern counterpart. It stretches to the city's commercial center, where upper income elderly still form a large proportion of the inhabitants. Most of this section was originally built by Jews, applying modern building standards, while the Katamon - German Colony section contains pockets of old buildings from the 19th century built by Arabs and Germans. Moreover, the Katamon - German Colony section, inhabited by Jewish immigrants and refugees after the 1948 War, still has a relatively higher proportion of poor elderly occupying substandard subdivided flats, a carry-over of the prevalent situation in the 1950's.

The Intermediate Sections

The two intermediate sections lie on the edges of the city's inner part. They are intermediate not only in terms of their location and period of construction, but also in terms of their social status. They are comprised of a socially mixed population and the nature of their housing stock is heterogeneous. Within these sections there is a mixture of old neighborhoods and recently-built public housing estates. Income and ethnicity is of a heterogeneous nature.

One intermediate section is on the north-western edge of the inner sections and is centered around the Romema and Giv'at Sha'ul neighborhoods.

The other is on the south-eastern edge, and includes the Bak'a and Talpiot neighborhoods.

The Outer Sections

The marked social differentiation found in the inner city is repeated in the outer areas to the west. There, immigrant housing estates and other public housing developments have been constructed in close proximity to upper status neighborhoods developed by private contractors.

The outer lower status section stretches to the south and south-west of the city, consisting for the most part of clusters of immigrant housing estates which sprang up in the 1950's during the massive effort to house the large wave of Jewish immigration into the country. One such cluster is the Gonen public housing estates in the south, with a high proportion of low-income population of North African and Middle Eastern origin, and where many elderly live in inter-generational households. Another cluster of public housing estates on the south-western periphery is centered around the Qiryat Hayovel neighborhood. Income levels are slightly higher and the proportion of Eastern ethnic groups is smaller in the Qiryat Hayovel cluster than in the Gonen one, but for the purposes of this study it was considered appropriate to group the two clusters of housing estates in one status section.

The outer upper status section centers around the Beit Hakerem and Bait Vagan neighborhoods in the western part of the city. These neighborhoods started as small low-density suburbs but over the last two decades have been transformed into high-density residential areas of the middle class, with Bait Vagan attracting a largely Orthodox population. In recent years an

additional outer upper status area has developed to the north-east in the new Jewish neighborhoods built after 1967 across the former frontier, such as the Ramat Eshkol neighborhood. In 1972, at the time of the most recent population census, the population in these new neighborhoods was very small and was included in the outer upper status section in the study's data tabulations.

Table 1 summarizes, according to several basic indicators, the socio-economic differences among the status sections presented above. The data relate to income levels, educational attainment and ethnicity. In general, sections of higher income are characterized by higher levels of education and a larger proportion of foreign-born who originated in Europe and America.

Spatial Distribution of the Elderly

As in many other urban situations, the Jewish elderly in Jerusalem tend to concentrate in the inner parts of the city (Cowgill, 1975; Coulson, 1968; Curson, 1967; Golant 1972 and 1975; Johnston, 1971). As indicated by Tables 2 and 3, more than half of the elderly are found in what has been designated as inner sections which contained only 40 per cent of the total Jewish population in 1972. The share that each inner section has of the city's elderly population is consistently higher than its share of the total population (the ratio between the two kinds of a section's share is shown in Column 3 of Table 3). The inner sections are also the older residential areas of Jerusalem and reveal a higher degree of mixing with non-residential uses such as commerce.

Table 1

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA ON THE JEWISH POPULATION BY SECTION, JERUSALEM, 1972

Section	Average annual income per household in IL	% Of households with annual income of IL 20,000 and more	% Persons with 13 years or more of schooling	% Persons foreign born from Europe and America
Total	17,904	30.7	34.4	51.3
<u>Inner Sections</u>				
<u>Lower Status</u>				
Geula - Mea She'arim	12,578	12.5	14.1	37.0
Nahla'ot - Morasha	12,820	14.7	7.4	15.4
<u>Upper Status</u>				
Rehavia - Talbia	21,912	45.6	38.4	82.1
Katamon - German Colony	20,096	41.5	26.7	61.3
<u>Intermediate Sections</u>				
<u>Lower-to-Middle Status</u>				
Romema - Giv'at Sha'ul	15,497	24.5	19.8	49.0
Bak'a - Talpiot	15,925	23.0	17.3	36.7
<u>Outer Sections</u>				
<u>Lower Status</u>				
Gonen - Hayovel	13,925	21.5	18.3	39.9
<u>Upper Status</u>				
Beit Hakerem - Bait Vagan	21,001	48.6	43.2	75.9

Source: 1972 Census of Population and Housing.

Table 2

THE JEWISH ELDERLY IN JERUSALEM, 1972
PERSONS AND HOUSEHOLDS, BY SECTIONS

ABSOLUTE NUMBERS

<u>Section</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Households</u>
Total	19,530	11,440
<u>Inner Sections</u>	10,995	6,820
<u>Lower Status</u>		
Geula - Mea She'arim	3,350	2,020
Nahla'ot - Morasha	2,400	1,550
<u>Upper Status</u>		
Rehavia - Talbia	4,095	2,570
Katamon - German Colony	1,150	680
<u>Intermediate Sections</u>	1,875	990
<u>Lower-to-Middle Status</u>		
Romema - Giv'at Sha'ul	695	350
Bak'a - Talpiot	1,180	640
<u>Outer Sections</u>	6,660	3,630
<u>Lower Status</u>		
Gonen - Hayovel	3,965	2,155
<u>Upper Status</u>		
Beit Hakerem - Bait Vagan	2,695	1,475

Source: 1972 Census of Population and Housing.

Table 3

THE JEWISH POPULATION IN JERUSALEM, 1972
TOTAL AND ELDERLY POPULATION BY SECTIONS

PERCENT OF TOTAL IN THE CITY

<u>Section</u>	<u>P e r s o n s</u>			<u>H o u s e h o l d s</u>		
	<u>All Ages</u>	<u>Elderly</u>	<u>(Ratio)*</u>	<u>All Ages</u>	<u>Elderly</u>	<u>(Ratio)*</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	(1.0)	100.0	100.0	(1.0)
<u>Inner Sections</u>	39.9	56.3	(1.4)	42.5	59.5	(1.4)
<u>Lower Status</u>						
Geula - Mea She'arim	14.5	17.1	(1.2)	13.7	17.6	(1.3)
Nahla'ot - Morasha	9.4	12.3	(1.3)	9.0	13.5	(1.5)
<u>Upper Status</u>						
Rehavia - Talbia	10.5	21.0	(2.0)	14.0	22.5	(1.6)
Katamon - German Colony	5.7	5.9	(1.0)	5.8	5.9	(1.0)
<u>Intermediate Sections</u>	14.1	9.6	(0.7)	12.4	8.7	(0.7)
<u>Lower-to-Middle Status</u>						
Romema - Giv'at Sha'ul	5.4	3.6	(0.7)	4.9	3.1	(0.6)
Bak'a - Talpiot	8.7	6.0	(0.7)	7.5	5.6	(0.7)
<u>Outer Sections</u>	45.7	34.1	(0.7)	45.1	31.7	(0.7)
<u>Lower Status</u>						
Gonen - Hayovel	26.7	20.3	(0.8)	24.7	18.8	(0.8)
<u>Upper Status</u>						
Beit Hakerem - Bait Vagan	19.0	13.8	(0.7)	20.4	12.9	(0.6)

*) Ratio = Per cent elderly/per cent all ages.

Source: 1972 Census of Population and Housing.

Nevertheless, the concentration in the older inner sections of the city does not necessarily imply that the elderly are more concentrated in lower status sections than the total population. The elderly population of the inner sections was almost equally divided between upper and lower status sections in 1972. The substantial representation of upper status elderly in the inner city is due to the general tendency among the upper status Jewish urban population to hold on to inner residential areas in many Israeli cities (Gonen, 1979). Thus, elderly searching for centrally-located residential areas, with access to concentrations of services, can find them in the inner city within upper status as well as lower status sections (also see Har-Paz, 1978). Thus, the Jewish elderly in central Jerusalem are divided among lower and upper status neighborhoods. The two neighboring inner sections with the highest proportion of elderly are the lower status section of Nahla'ot - Morasha and the upper status section of Rehavia - Talbia. Here, side by side, are concentrations of elderly of different socio-economic status (see Table 1 and Table 4).

Altogether, the spatial distribution of the Jewish elderly in Jerusalem does not indicate that they are relatively concentrated in lower status sections. On the contrary, while all upper status sections contained 36 per cent of the total Jewish population, they held 40 per cent of the elderly. This does not imply that all elderly in upper status sections are themselves of the same status, but it is an indication of the kind of residential environment they live in.

Table 4 emphasizes, in terms of proportion of elderly within sections, the relative concentration of the elderly in the inner sections, as does Map 2

Table 4

THE JEWISH ELDERLY IN JERUSALEM, 1972
 PERCENT OF TOTAL JEWISH POPULATION BY SECTION

<u>Section</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Households</u>
Total	9.4	20.0
<u>Inner Sections</u>	13.2	28.0
<u>Lower Status</u>		
Geula - Mea She'arim	11.2	25.7
Nahla'ot - Morasha	12.3	30.1
<u>Upper Status</u>		
Rehavia - Talbia	18.7	32.1
Katamon - German Colony	9.6	20.6
<u>Intermediate Sections</u>	6.4	13.8
<u>Lower-to-Middle Status</u>		
Romema - Giv'at Sha'ul	6.1	12.4
Bak'a - Talpiot	6.5	14.8
<u>Outer Sections</u>	7.0	14.1
<u>Lower Status</u>		
Gonen - Hayovel	7.1	15.3
<u>Upper Status</u>		
Beit Hakerem - Bait Vagan	6.8	12.7

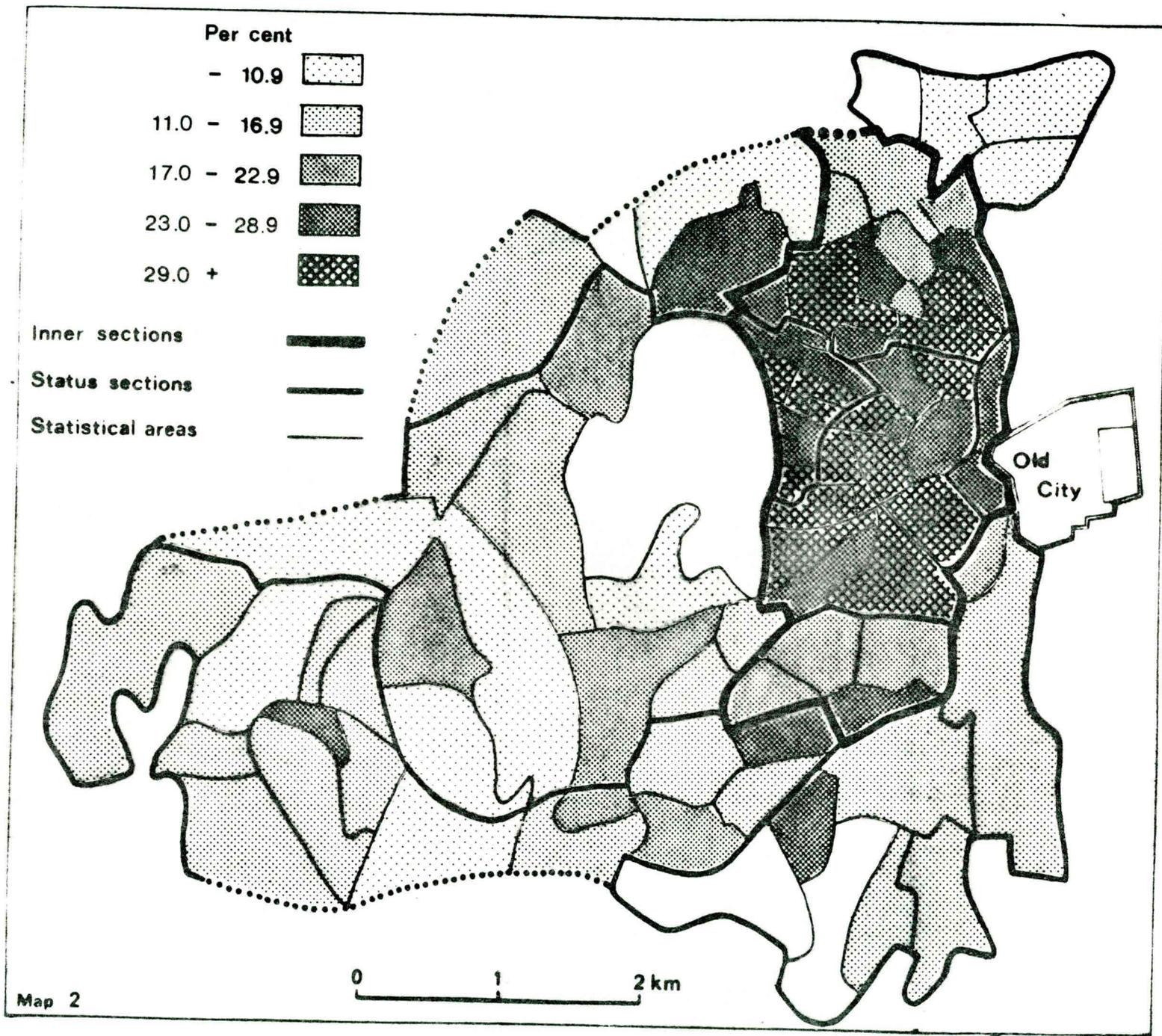
Source: 1972 Census of Population and Housing.

which shows in detail the spatial distribution of the elderly in terms of per cent elderly households within statistical areas. The inner sections close to the commercial center of the city are conspicuous in their high proportion of elderly households (29.0 per cent and more), well above the city's average of 20.0 per cent. In general, the proportion of elderly households declines towards the periphery. Variations in the proportion can often be accounted for by the period of neighborhood development. Recently developed neighborhoods have low percentages of elderly.

Indicators of Dwelling Conditions

On the basis of the socio-geographical division of the city and with the patterns of the spatial distribution of the elderly as background, we proceed to examine the geography of dwelling conditions of this population. The statistical unit for analysis used in this study is the elderly household and not the individual. Within the framework of dwelling conditions, the household is often a more meaningful unit than the person. The former is in many respects the decision-making unit with regard to where and how people live.

Three sets of indicators describing the residential conditions of the elderly households in Jerusalem were available from the 1972 census: (1) housing facilities (heating, kitchen, bathroom and toilet); (2) appliances (telephone, television and washing machine); and (3) dwelling density (number of persons per room). A measure of dwelling conditions in this study is the percentage of households not having a particular facility or appliance or being above a certain level of dwelling density. Table 5 shows these percentages for all the households in the study area.



PROPORTION OF JEWISH ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS, JERUSALEM, 1972

PER CENT ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS, BY STATISTICAL AREA

Table 5

DWELLING CONDITIONS OF JEWISH ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS IN JERUSALEM, 1972
(PER CENT OF ALL JEWISH ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS)

<u>Facilities</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Outdoor toilet	11.6
No bathroom	11.2
No kitchen	5.2
No heating	12.5
<u>Appliances</u>	
No telephone	51.2
No television	50.6
No washing machine	71.6
<u>Dwelling Density</u>	
2 and more persons per room	13.8
3 and more persons per room	3.6

When ranking dwelling indicators according to the absence of various items, the absence of a kitchen occurs least frequently while the absence of a washing machine is most frequent. In general, the absence of housing facilities ranges between 5 to 12 per cent and is much lower than the absence of appliances, which is around 50 per cent for telephone and television and 72 per cent for washing machines. Housing facilities are more essential to

residential life than the appliances under consideration and therefore have a much higher priority than the latter, which are still considered a luxury to many low income elderly, especially with the very high prices of appliances in Israel. There is also a historical difference: telephones, televisions and washing machines were introduced much more recently than kitchen, toilets, bathrooms and heating.

The absence of a washing machine was particularly high, reaching about 72 per cent of Jewish elderly households in 1972 in Jerusalem. This high rate might imply a lower priority given by the elderly to washing machines than to communication facilities. It is also possible to relate the low incidence of washing machines to the smaller size of households and to the rather sophisticated operation of this device, in contrast to the simple operation of a telephone and a television set. Moreover, many of the elderly persons grew up without washing machines and are used to manual washing of laundry or often prefer the use of commercial establishments.

Dwelling density is not an important source of distress among the elderly. In 1972, only 13.8 per cent of the elderly households lived in a dwelling density of 2 persons and more per room and 3.6 per cent in that of 3 and more persons per room. In Israel, a dwelling density of 3 and more persons per room is considered overcrowding by the governmental housing agencies. Allowance is made for the presence of elderly persons in the household, because of the need for privacy and because the elderly spend a great deal of time within the apartment. An elderly person in a household is counted as 2 persons when calculating dwelling density for households seeking government housing assistance. In this study a dwelling density of

2 persons and more per room was considered a suitable measure of overcrowded conditions among elderly households.

Absence of Housing Facilities

The circumstances of neighborhood development are reflected in the spatial distribution of absence of housing facilities among the Jewish elderly of the city (Har-Paz, 1978). The absence of housing facilities is particularly high in older neighborhoods built late in the 19th and early in the 20th century and where a sizeable proportion of the housing stock lacks basic facilities. Nowadays, these neighborhoods correlate with the lower and lower-to-middle status sections of the inner city, as is indicated in Table 6. On the other hand, the upper status neighborhoods were built with modern housing standards where a kitchen, bathroom and toilet are an integral part of the house plan. Central heating was first introduced to Jerusalem there and remained exclusively in these neighborhoods for a long time.

The lower and upper status sections in the inner city are adjacent, yet are characterized by marked differences with regard to residential indicators. These two types of neighborhoods are situated at the outer limits of the spectrum of dwelling conditions of the elderly in Jerusalem. While the absence of housing facilities is negligible in the upper status sections (2 to 3 per cent), the absence of the basic facilities in the adjacent lower status neighborhoods is quite severe. Forty per cent of the elderly households in these lower status neighborhoods lack an interior toilet, over a third lack a bathroom, a quarter lack permanent heating and in one out of every eight elderly households there is no kitchen within the

Table 6

JEWISH ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS IN JERUSALEM, 1972

ABSENCE OF HOUSING FACILITIES BY SECTION

PERCENTAGES

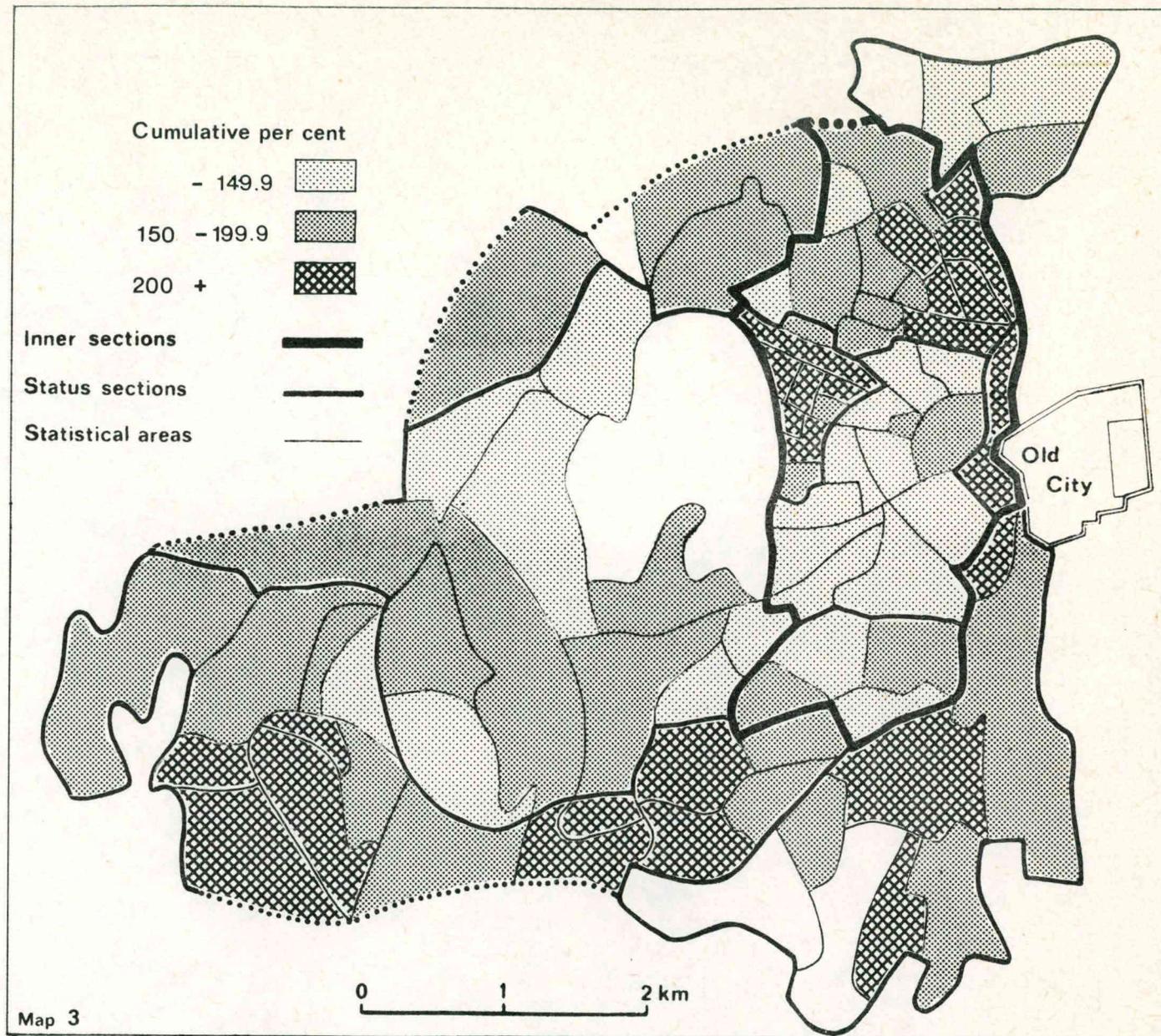
<u>Section</u>	<u>F a c i l i t i e s</u>			
	<u>Toilet</u>	<u>Bathroom</u>	<u>Kitchen</u>	<u>Heating</u>
Total	11.6	11.2	5.2	12.5
<u>Inner Sections</u>				
<u>Lower Status</u>				
Geula - Mea She'arim	20.2	18.7	6.8	34.1
Nahla'ot - Morasha	40.8	36.2	12.3	25.6
<u>Upper Status</u>				
Rehavia - Talbia	3.3	2.0	2.0	2.5
Katamon - German Colony	7.5	5.4	7.3	7.2
<u>Intermediate Sections</u>				
<u>Lower-to-Middle Status</u>				
Romema - Giv'at Sha'ul	27.6	25.4	9.5	12.7
Bak'a - Talpiot	8.0	15.2	7.1	11.8
<u>Outer Sections</u>				
<u>Lower Status</u>				
Gonen - Hayovel	1.3	3.9	4.2	18.9
<u>Upper Status</u>				
Beit Hakerem - Bait Vagan	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.8

Source: 1972 Census of Population and Housing.

apartment. The worst problems are with respect to toilets and bathrooms. Many elderly households do not possess this elementary facility, essential for privacy and convenience, of which the elderly are particularly sensitive. A public bath was in the past, and to some extent still is, commonly utilized in these neighborhoods. The sharing of an outside toilet by a number of families in the same building or even in the same residential compound is not rare in these neighborhoods.

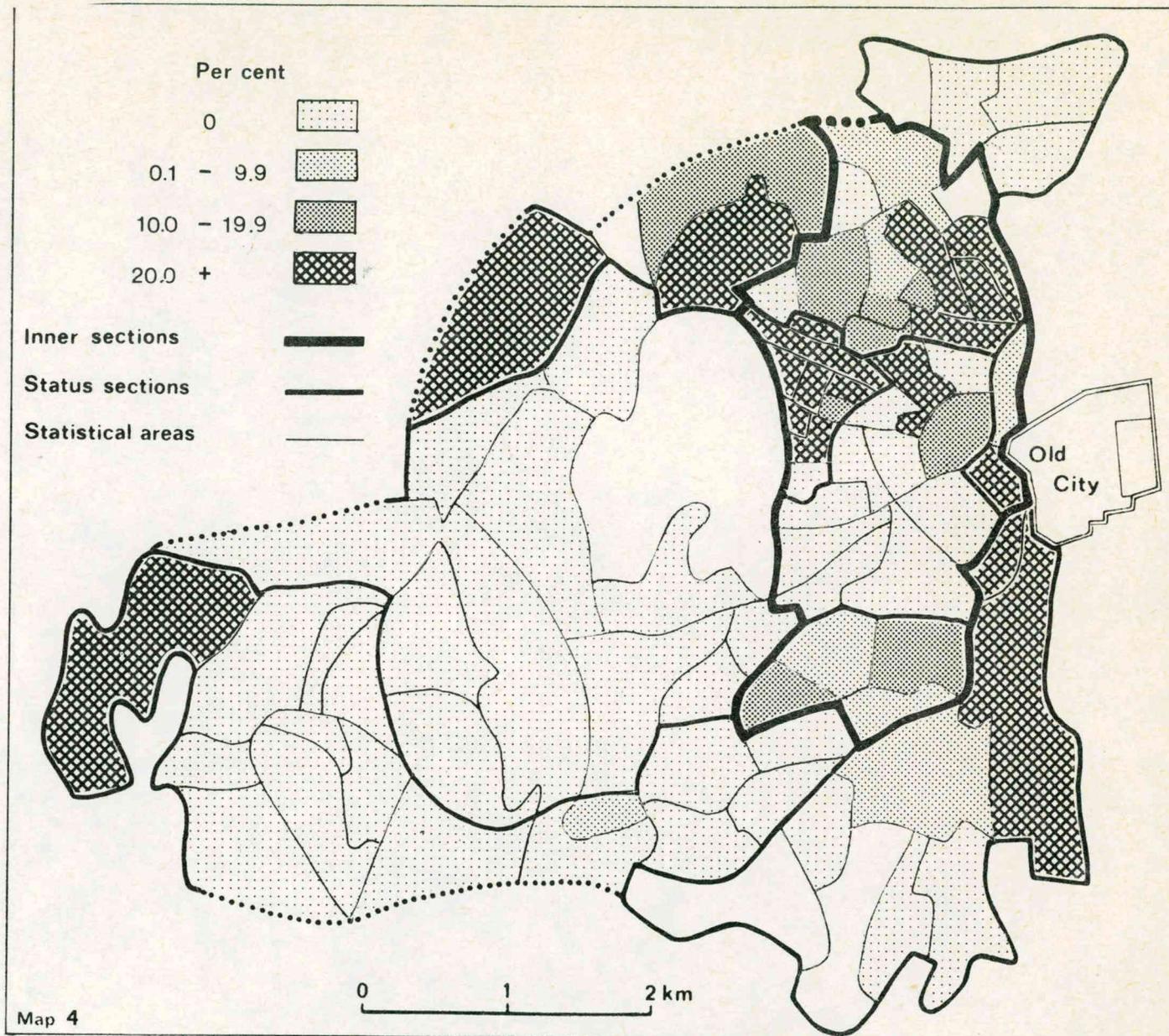
It is interesting to note that in the outer lower status areas, absence of the basic housing facilities is minimal. Very few elderly households have no toilet in the apartment and only about 4 per cent have no kitchen or no bathroom. This marked difference between inner and outer residential areas of lower status is explained by the role of public housing, which in Jerusalem, as in other Israeli cities, is usually found on the urban periphery (Gonen, 1975). In public housing estates built by the state or by public organizations for lower income groups, especially for recent immigrants, a kitchen or toilet and a bathroom are a standard component of every apartment. Heating, on the other hand, is not universal.

The detailed spatial differentiation of housing facilities is depicted in Map 3. The map represents a cumulative index of facility absence, which is calculated by simply adding the percentages of absence of each of the four facilities under consideration. Thus, for example, in a statistical area where the respective percentages of absence are 28.6 for heating, 9.8 for kitchen, 42.9 for bathroom and 47.5 for toilet, the cumulative index of facility absence is 128.8. Map 3 shows that most inner and outer upper status sections, as well as some of the outer lower status sections, exhibit a very



ABSENCE OF HOUSING FACILITIES AMONG JEWISH ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS IN JERUSALEM, 1972

CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF ABSENCE OF KITCHEN, BATHROOM
INDOOR TOILET AND HEATING, BY STATISTICAL AREA



ABSENCE OF TOILET AMONG JEWISH ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS IN JERUSALEM, 1972

PER CENT HOUSEHOLDS WITH OUTDOOR TOILET BY STATISTICAL AREA

low cumulative index of less than 20, as compared to 40.5 for the total elderly households. The newer housing estates on the northern edge of the city have a very low absence index, while the older neighborhoods, originally built utilizing non-modern housing technology, exhibit some very high levels of facility absence. One such cluster of older neighborhoods centers around the Beit-Israel and Mea She'arim area. Another cluster is found in the neighborhoods immediately south of the Mahané Yehuda market. The spatial pattern of facility absence, portrayed in Map 3, again suggests that it is closely related to the geographical circumstances of residential development in Jerusalem.

Map 4 shows in detail the distribution of absence of indoor toilet, a source of great distress to the elderly, and a clear indicator of the geography of substandard housing in Jerusalem. Map 4 is also a map of old poverty-stricken neighborhoods.

Absence of Appliances

The differential spatial pattern emerging from the data on appliances is not much different from that of housing facilities, except for the much higher levels of absence of appliances, as discussed above. The lower status sections are the most deprived ones, followed by the low-to-middle status sections (see Table 7), with the exception of the outer lower status section. Unlike the pattern exhibited in the case of housing facilities, the rate of absence of appliances in this section is as high as those of the inner sections of similar status. The absence of housing appliances is more sensitive to spatial income differentials than the absence of housing



Table 7

JEWISH ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS IN JERUSALEM, 1972

ABSENCE OF APPLIANCES BY SECTIONS

PERCENTAGES

<u>Section</u>	<u>Telephone</u>	<u>Television</u>	<u>Washing Machine</u>
Total	51.2	50.6	71.6
<u>Inner Sections</u>			
<u>Lower Status</u>			
Geula - Mea She'arim	65.7	60.8	71.3
Nahla'ot - Morasha	70.2	64.8	78.8
<u>Upper Status</u>			
Rehavia - Talbia	15.6	35.0	72.5
Katamon - German Colony	36.0	41.8	60.9
<u>Intermediate Sections</u>			
<u>Lower-to-Middle Status</u>			
Romema - Giv'at Sha'ul	58.7	61.3	66.6
Bak'a - Talpiot	69.5	55.8	75.0
<u>Outer Sections</u>			
<u>Lower Status</u>			
Gonen - Hayovel	74.9	59.9	79.7
<u>Upper Status</u>			
Beit Hakerem - Bait Vagan	28.3	35.6	55.6

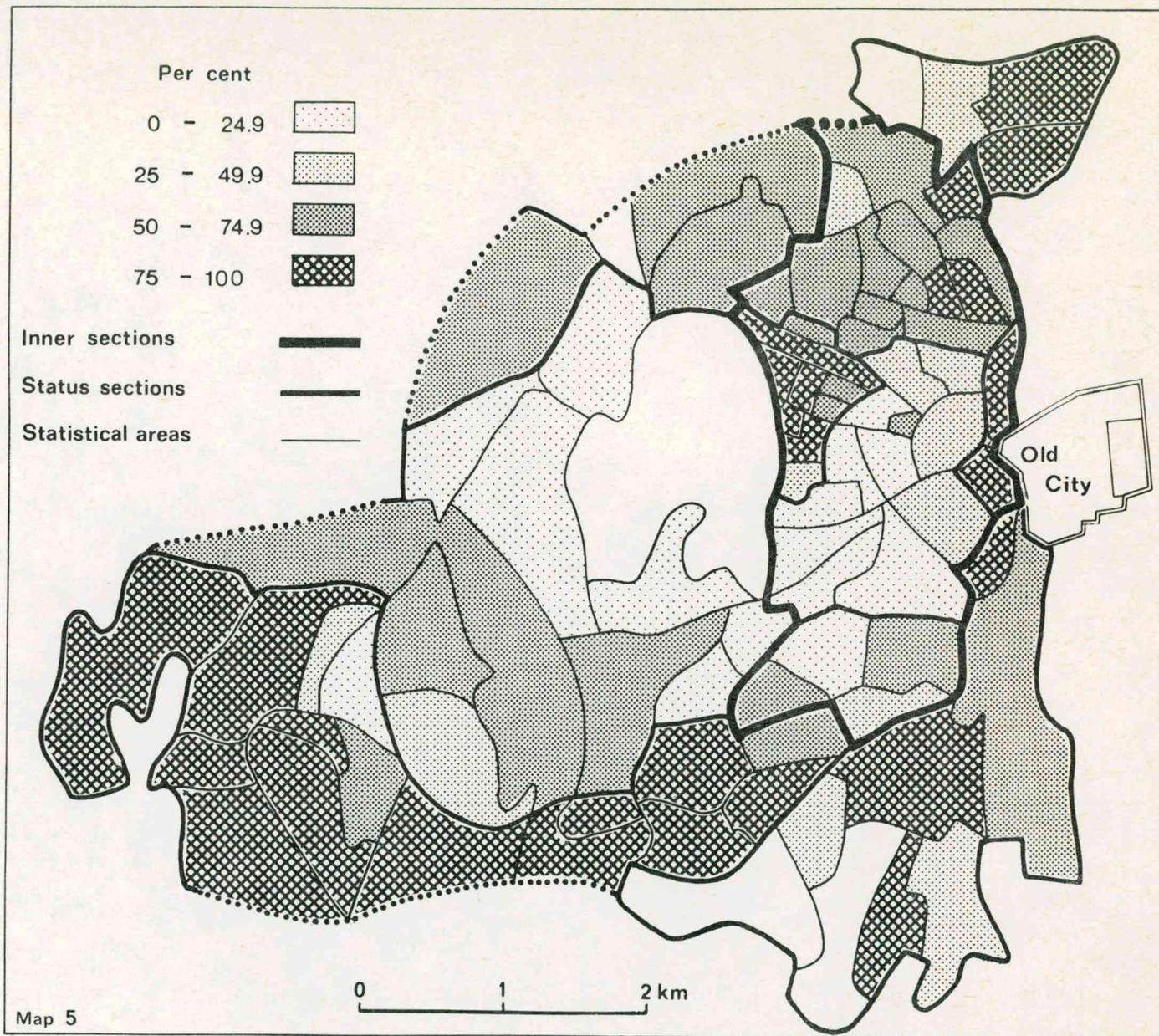
Source: 1972 Census of Population and Housing.

facilities. The involvement of public agencies in the provision of housing through planning and subsidies counteracts the effect of income on the availability of housing facilities especially in the public housing estates for the low income population. However, in the case of appliances, their purchase is only dependent on the households' income levels and preferences. It should be noted that levels of absence of a telephone are influenced to some degree by the insufficient network capacity in relation to demand, even in upper status areas.

The differences between the status sections stand out mainly with regard to the absence of telephone, a critical appliance for the elderly (see Map 5). In the upper status section of Rehavia - Talbia only 15 per cent of the elderly households did not have a telephone in 1972, but at the same time the rate of absence in the adjacent Nahla'ot - Morasha lower status section was 79 per cent (Table 7).

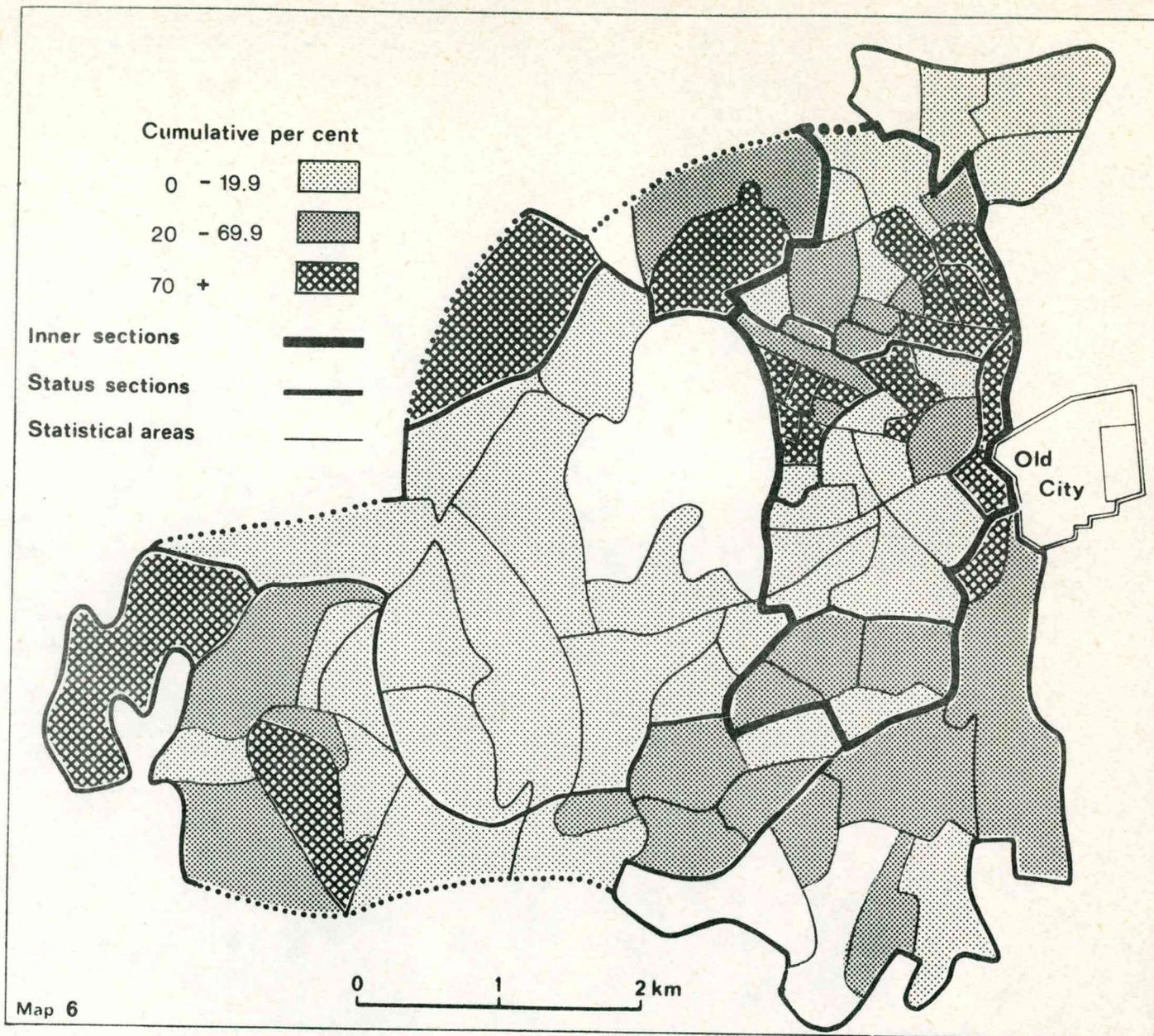
The general pattern of marked differences between lower and upper status sections with regard to the absence of appliances is disrupted in the case of absence of a washing machine. In the Rehavia - Talbia upper status section the rate of absence of a washing machine is relatively high. It appears that the more affluent elderly prefer employing the services of commercial laundries. Their higher income does not lead them to purchase washing machines, and their rates of absence are similar to those of the lower-income elderly, though the lower-income are probably much less dependent on commercial laundries.

A detailed spatial pattern of the absence of appliances is exhibited in Map 6 which was constructed in a similar fashion (cumulative percentages) to Map 3, which showed the absence of housing facilities. Map 6 indicates the



ABSENCE OF TELEPHONE AMONG JEWISH ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS IN JERUSALEM, 1972

PER CENT HOUSEHOLDS WITHOUT TELEPHONE, BY STATISTICAL AREA



ABSENCE OF HOUSING APPLIANCES AMONG JEWISH ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS IN JERUSALEM, 1972

CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE OF ABSENCE OF TELEPHONE, TELEVISION

AND WASHING MACHINE, BY STATISTICAL AREA

relationship between status and absence of appliances very clearly. The difference between lower and upper status sections is particularly striking.

Dwelling Density

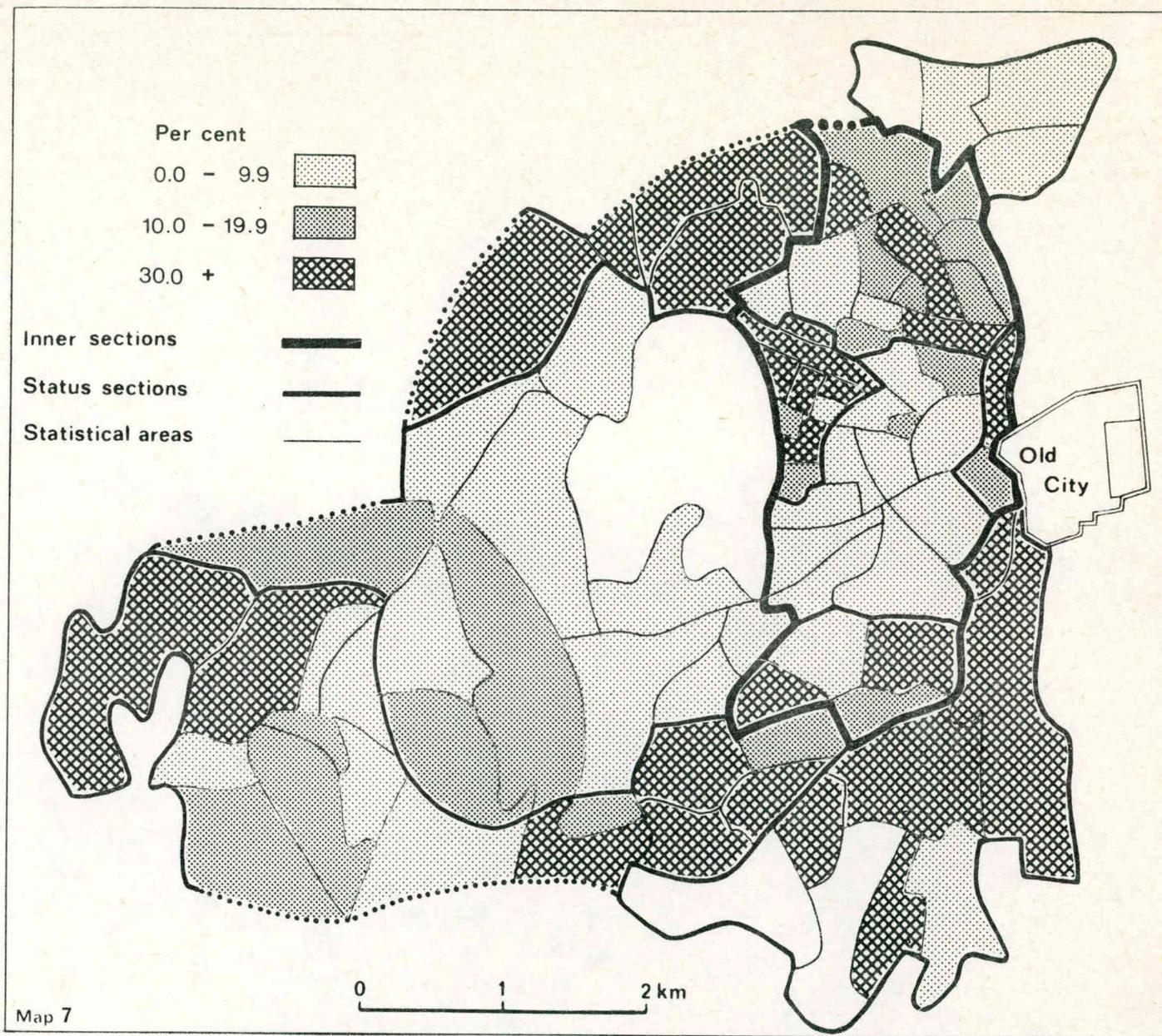
Dwelling density, an important measure of residential welfare, varies appreciably among the status sections. The familiar pattern is generally repeated. The inner upper status section of Rehavia - Talbia and the outer section of the same status have extremely low densities (see Table 8). Only 2 to 3 per cent of elderly households in these sections were of a dwelling density of 2 persons and more per room. On the other end of the density scale are the lower and lower-to-middle status section of the inner city, with more than a quarter of elderly households living in crowded conditions (2 persons and more per room).

One notable exception to the familiar spatial pattern is in the lower status section of Geula - Mea She'arim, with only 16.5 per cent of elderly households living in crowded conditions. However, there are areas within this section with very high levels of crowding, while others exhibit only moderate-to-low levels of density, as shown in Map 7. These differences could be attributed to variation in the proportion of uni-generational elderly households left behind while their children have moved to newer residential areas.

Table 8
 JEWISH ELDERLY IN JERUSALEM, 1972
 DWELLING DENSITY (NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM) BY SECTION
 PERCENTAGES

<u>Section</u>	<u>Persons Per Room</u>	
	2+	3+
Total	13.8	3.6
<u>Inner Sections</u>		
<u>Lower Status</u>		
Geula - Mea She'arim	16.5	4.2
Nahla'ot - Morasha	27.1	9.2
<u>Upper Status</u>		
Rehavia - Talbia	3.1	0.2
Katamon - German Colony	13.5	4.5
<u>Intermediate Sections</u>		
<u>Lower-to-Middle Status</u>		
Romema - Giv'at Sha'ul	26.9	7.9
Bak'a - Talpiot	26.3	2.7
<u>Outer Sections</u>		
<u>Lower Status</u>		
Gonen - Hayovel	16.9	4.2
<u>Upper Status</u>		
Beit Hakerem - Bait Vagan	2.3	1.2

Source: 1972 Census of Population and Housing.



DWELLING DENSITY AMONG JEWISH ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS IN JERUSALEM, 1972

PER CENT HOUSEHOLDS WITH 2 PERSONS AND MORE PER ROOM

The Geography of the Dwelling Gap

Except for dwelling density, the elderly, as a group, live in dwelling conditions inferior to those of the rest of the population. This overall pattern is repeated when such differences are examined geographically in Table 9, through the "dwelling gap". This gap is the ratio of the absence rate for the elderly to the absence rate for the rest of the Jewish households. For instance, in the Geula - Mea She'arim section the absence rate of a kitchen among elderly households was 6.8 per cent, while among other households it was only 2.8 per cent. The ratio between the two rates makes for a dwelling gap of 2.4.

The dwelling gap for housing facilities is much more varied geographically than it is for appliances. The lack of housing facilities reflects the effect of an old and inadequate housing stock, especially in the inner parts of the city, which, as has been pointed out above, is not easy to correct. On the other hand, appliances are within easier economic reach than facilities, for the old residents of sub-standard housing in old neighborhoods. This geographical difference between facilities and appliances is shown in Table 9. For instance, the gap between the elderly and the rest of the households, in terms of absence of telephone, is much more evenly distributed over the city's statistical areas than in the case of absence of indoor toilet.

In general, in sections of lower status there is a larger dwelling gap than in sections of upper status. The highest levels of the dwelling gap are concentrated in the intermediate sections of Romema - Giv'at Sha'ul and Bak'a - Talpiot, as well as in the inner section of Katamon - German

Table 9
 JEWISH ELDERLY HOUSEHOLDS IN JERUSALEM, 1972
 RELATIVE ABSENCE OF INCIDENCE OF DWELLING CONDITIONS BY SECTION

<u>Section</u>	<u>Facilities</u>				<u>Appliances</u>			<u>Density</u> 2+ Persons per Room
	Toilet	Bathroom	Kitchen	Heating	Telephone	Television	Washing Machine	
<u>Total</u>	2.5	3.2	2.4	2.2	1.2	1.6	2.1	0.4
<u>Inner Sections</u>								
<u>Lower Status</u>								
Geula - Mea She'arim	2.0	2.5	2.4	3.8	1.1	1.4	2.1	0.3
Nahla'ot - Morasha	1.4	1.9	2.0	2.2	1.1	1.6	1.7	0.4
<u>Upper Status</u>								
Rehavia - Talbia	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1	0.6	1.1	1.7	0.2
Katamon - German Colony	5.4	4.1	2.2	4.0	1.2	1.6	2.2	0.5
<u>Intermediate Sections</u>								
<u>Lower-to-Middle Status</u>								
Romema - Giv'at Sha'ul	13.1	15.0	9.5	2.4	1.3	1.7	2.1	0.7
Bak'a - Talpiot	1.8	3.9	5.1	2.8	1.3	2.1	2.4	0.7
<u>Outer Sections</u>								
<u>Lower Status</u>								
Gonen - Hayovel	1.6	2.8	1.5	2.0	1.3	2.1	2.3	0.4
<u>Upper Status</u>								
Beit Hakerem - Bait Vagan	1.0	1.0	0.8	1.0	1.3	1.3	2.1	0.2

Source: 1972 Census of Population and Housing.

Colony. These three sections are all characterized by housing heterogeneity. Being relatively far from the core of the city, they were only partially developed up to 1948. Later, mainly during the 1960's, new housing was constructed in open spaces within these sections and occupied by younger, upwardly mobile households. The older households tended to remain in the old buildings where facilities are often absent or inadequate.

In the southern sections of Katamon - German Colony and Bak'a - Talpiot a specific process of change has taken place, contributing to a growing residential differentiation between the elderly and other households. These two sections were formerly inhabited mainly by Arab and other non-Jewish population groups. As a result of the 1948 war, the population in Jerusalem has changed, and Jewish refugees and immigrants have settled in these sections but in much more crowded conditions than the former middle-to-upper income inhabitants. Houses and apartments were shared by several families, with many families often occupying just one room. Many of the persons who settled in these sections in 1948-50 are now included in the elderly population, and the less upwardly mobile among them still experience inferior dwelling conditions. Younger families, with a higher socio-economic and geographical mobility, have managed to achieve adequate housing. These two sections have recently experienced a rapid upward mobility as a result of an influx of upper and middle income households, and this process accentuates the difference between the elderly and the rest of the households, at least in the short run.

In the upper status section of Rehavia - Talbia the dwelling gap is relatively small (except in the case of washing machines, which has been discussed above). This indicates that in terms of material resources the

upper and upper-middle income elderly manage to sustain a level similar to that of other age groups. Interestingly, the elderly in Rehavia - Talbia fare better than the other age groups with regard to telephone (the index of dwelling gap of telephone for this section is 0.60). There are two factors which could explain it. One is the emphasis which upper income elderly place on telephone communication. The other is the relative advantage of the elderly as long-time residents in their densely-inhabited section, where nowadays it is difficult to obtain a telephone line because of the large demand and limited capacity. Newcomers to the section have to wait several months or years in order to be connected to the telephone network. The elderly benefit from having obtained a telephone at a time when the level of demand was much lower.

Conclusion

Examination of the dwelling conditions of the Jewish elderly households indicates that in general, except for dwelling density, the elderly are relatively worse off than non-elderly households. This relative disadvantage is found in both upper and lower status neighborhoods. Difference in the absolute and relative absence of housing facilities and appliances closely correspond to differences in socio-economic status and historical circumstances of neighborhood development. High incidences of absence are characteristic of the older neighborhoods of lower status in the inner city, where much of the residential distress of the elderly is concentrated. Like many other urban situations, the Jewish elderly in Jerusalem tend to cluster in centrally-located neighborhoods in or close to the commercial core of the

city. Part of the elderly population in the inner-city resides in low status neighborhoods, some of which were originally built according to low housing standards. Thus, it is the association of original low quality housing, a low income population and clustering of the elderly which underly the concentration of residential distress among the elderly in the inner urban areas.

However, not all the inner-city elderly are characterized by a high incidence of residential distress. The inner upper status section, where the elderly form a large proportion of the population, lies side by side with the low status neighborhoods. The original housing quality as well as the original status of the residents have combined to form a cluster of neighborhoods with a relatively low level of residential distress. The proximity of two different types of clusters of elderly provide a dichotomous urban setting in the inner-city. This dichotomy, though it exists in other large cities in Israel, and in many other cities outside Israel, is often obscured by the common stereotypic notion of an inner-city filled with old people living in dilapidated housing in the midst of poverty and urban deterioration.

Public housing has been instrumental in alleviating residential distress among the low income elderly. In the lower status housing estates, recently built in the outer sections of the city, residential conditions of the elderly are better than those of comparable status close to the center of the city. However, these estates are relatively inferior in terms of overall urban accessibility. Policy-makers have been challenged by the need to find ways whereby the residential conditions of the inner-city elderly could be improved without resorting to the common practice of relocation to peripheral public housing estates. It seems that the recently growing emphasis on neighborhood

rehabilitation provides an opportunity for improving residential conditions of lower status elderly who comprise a relatively large part of the population of such neighborhoods in Jerusalem, as well as in other large cities in Israel. Rehabilitation of old inner-city neighborhoods could thus mean rehabilitating dwelling conditions of the old.

Appendix A

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATISTICAL SUBQUARTERS
AND STATUS SECTIONS

<u>Section</u>	<u>Statistical Subquarters</u>
<u>Inner Sections</u>	
<u>Lower Status</u>	
Geula - Mea She'arim	12, 17
Nahla'ot - Morasha	13, 16
<u>Upper Status</u>	
Rehavia - Talbia	14, 15, 52
Katamon - German Colony	51
<u>Intermediate Sections</u>	
<u>Lower-to-Middle Status</u>	
Romema - Giv'at Sha'ul	21
Bak'a - Talpiot	53
<u>Outer Sections</u>	
<u>Lower Status</u>	
Gonen - Hayovel	31, 32, 41
<u>Upper Status</u>	
Beit Hakerem - Bait Vagan	22, 23, 42, 11*

*) The Ramot Eshkol Area was added to this section for purposes of tabulation, due to the negligible size of its population in 1972.

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