Between Friends and Strangers: Micro-Segregation in a Haredi Neighborhood in Jerusalem

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Sanhedria, an inner-city neighborhood in Jerusalem, is populated mostly by members of several sects belonging to the Haredi (Jewish ultra-Orthodox) community. The Sanhedria case offers an opportunity to examine noneconomic processes of segregation. The paper examines residential relations between sects as reflected in their residential choices and the observed residential distribution. Sanhedria residents are close in economic status and share similar preferences regarding their way of life, yet powerful mechanisms of residential preferences acting at the level of the apartment and building result in "micro-segregation" patterns. Taken together, these mechanisms provide insight into processes typical of dense inner-city neighborhoods with multi-family housing and shared by differing religious or ethnic groups.

INTRODUCTION

The city of Jerusalem, Israel's capital and its largest municipality, is subject to fundamental social and political conflicts. The city, being sacred to the three main monotheistic religions, inevitably invites global tensions. Jerusalem has been a microcosm of many of the major cleavages in Israeli society: those between Sephardim (Jews from Arab countries) and Ashkenazim (Jews of European origin), between secular, National-Religious, and Haredi (ultra-Orthodox) Jews, and between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs (Kellerman 1993; Sharkansky 1996; Gazit 2010). The literature usually focuses on relations between the three major segments that form the bulk of Jerusalem's population—secular Jews, Haredi Jews, and Arabs (Amirav 1992; Hasson and Gonen 1997; Klein 1999)—whereas subgroup inter-relations within these main groups are rarely explored.

The Haredi Jews, the subjects of this article, define themselves by their commitment to *Halacha*, the collective body of Jewish religious law that guides religious practice as well as behavior in the numerous situations encountered in day-to-day life. In Jerusalem, the

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Haredi population is generally limited in its economic capacities and resources, the result of extremely low participation in the labor market, young age of marriage, and high fertility (Berman 2000; Blumen 2007; Dahan 1998, 1999). Most Haredi men dedicate their lives to religious studies, do not participate in the work force and live on governmental stipends and donations from the community (Blumen 2007; Chakak 2004). Thus, despite the considerable economic power of the Haredi community as a whole, the economic status of most of the Haredi individuals tends to be very low (Friedman 1991; Shilhav and Friedman 1985). According to Shilhav (1993), most of the wealth associated with the Haredi community in Israel comes from contributions of donors located abroad as well as from transfer payments distributed by the Israeli state. Lifestyle characteristics that prevent the economic advancement of most Haredi households in Jerusalem create an internal Haredi market, free from general economic and geopolitical dynamics (Berman 2000; Waterman and Kosmin 1986).

While the Haredi population appears homogeneous to the untrained eye, a closer look reveals a complex communal structure of sects and sub-sects, governed by precise rules and conventions. Haredi adherents are usually born, raised, educated, and married within the community; their identification with sub-sect leaders and institutions is intense and overt (Waterman and Kosmin 1988). The individual Haredis are intensely aware of their self-identity as well as that of others, both Haredi and non-Haredi people they encounter in the city. This awareness motivates them to maintain a highly observant religious community, engaged in practices and rituals expressing values and lifestyles (Valins 2003).

The profound role of religious rituals in the daily life of Haredi people together with the inherent conflict of religious lifestyle with modernity has motivated voluntary territorial separation of the Haredi population into a ghetto of sorts characterized by clear boundaries and strict division from the outer, secular world (Friedman 1991; Chakak 2004). The spatial division allows religiously based lives to remain cut off from external influences and safeguards the younger generation from the perceived threats of secular culture. Expression of the Haredi communal self-awareness is found in the clear tendency to avoid the larger society and form sizeable enclaves in major cities around the globe, including New York and London (Chakak 2004; Shilhav 1993; Valins 2003).

Distinctive conditions in Israel bring together needy communities with well-off leaderships, thus providing an insight into the spatial effect of intra- and inter-group relations. We name the residential process exposed in this research "micro-segregation," and show that this process is typical of Jerusalem's Haredi neighborhoods. We further claim that micro-segregation processes and the resulting residential patterns as exposed in Jerusalem could be characteristic of other culturally-mixed urban areas, where people of various social groups live in close proximity and share apartment buildings, streets, and city blocks. The driving force behind micro-segregation is high awareness of particularities of social affiliation, and it could thus be specifically relevant for the residential patterns of tightly bonded religious groups and national/ideological minorities.

Our study focuses on Sanhedria, an attractive Haredi neighborhood in Jerusalem's core. Similar to most Haredi neighborhoods in Israel and around the world, Sanhedria developed gradually into a spatially segregated enclave. It is populated mainly by families belonging to four Haredi sects—Hassidim, Lithuanians[1], Sephardim, and those referred to as "Foreigners," most of them American with some of West-European origin belonging

172

to the Lithuanian sect. These definitions are used by the Haredim (plural of Haredi) themselves, and represent the community's classification of the major internal subgroups. The four aforementioned sects are quite similar in their wish to live in a strict religious environment. However, they differ in terms of their self-identity, status within Haredi society, and political capital (Dahan 1999; Lupo 2004; Shilhav and Friedman 1985). As part of the tension between the sects and the struggle to create specific ways of life, the Haredi people wish to live among "friends"—that is, among other members of the same sub-sect to which they belong—thus safeguarding the younger generation from becoming acquainted with different values and lifestyles.

The paper begins with the theoretical frame (Section 2), describing the effects of social affiliation and especially religious identity on residential choice and spatial segregation and presenting the Schelling Model, which provides the context for this research. Section 3 presents the details of Sanhedria dwelling and population dynamics during the last 50 years. Section 4 presents the methodology of the study and Section 5 presents the results of the spatio-temporal analysis of Sanhedria residential dynamics. Section 6 discusses the findings and their relevance to theories of residential dynamics.

RESIDENTIAL CHOICES: BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY

Within price constraints, residential patterns tend to result from free individual choices and householder migration (Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi 2002; Wahlstrom 2005), usually influenced by individuals' views of their own identity and that of their neighbors (Dougherty and Huyser 2008). According to social identity theory (Tajfel 1972) and its updated version (Turner et al. 1987; Abrams and Hogg 1990), individuals' behavior reflects identification with larger societal units. Individuals define themselves in terms of their belonging to a social category, adopt its norms and lifestyle, and eventually create a group (Hogg and Abrams 1988). Individuals may be driven into segregating themselves from influences of unwelcomed groups and concentrating in what they perceive as friendly social environments (Johnston, Poulsen, and Forrest 2007). Researches show that such voluntary congregations may create "nested" places at various urban scales: buildings, street blocks, neighborhoods, and larger enclaves, with the smaller scales having more intense social interactions (Kusenbach 2008). The degree to which these concentrations form communities depends on the presence of a shared territory, significant social ties, and meaningful social interactions (Guest et al. 2006; Hogg, Terry, and White 1995). Voluntary congregations of "friends" —members of the same or close sects—can preserve community identities, culture, language, and customs (Boal, 1996, 2008; Taylor et al. 1994, Knox and Pinch 2000).

Urban ecologists of the early 20th century suggested that spatial segregation reflects individuals' preference to cooperate with others as a means of promoting their welfare (Wirth 1928/1998). One of the contributions of the Chicago School was the invasion-succession model, explaining how various levels of cooperation emerge between relatively free urban individuals that ultimately affect the city structure.

Current models, however, claim that the tendency to cooperate is more complicated (Davis 1996; Bastian et al. 2011). Modern, urban individuals are driven by the constant assessments of risks embedded in other people. As individuals carefully select those to

be trusted, they actually engage in building of self-identity. In Giddens' (1984) words, "Self identity is not a distinctive trait, or even a collection of traits [...] possessed by the individual. It is the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography" (Giddens 1984, 53). The person's biography is, inevitably, connected to the urban sphere—again, in a complicated manner. Giddens theorizes a *time-space distanci-ation* which is typical of modern, post-traditional identities that do not derive from the particularities of localized spaces. Accordingly, post-traditional social relations highlight the role of social institutions at the expense of the *place*.

This viewpoint, in effect, has a precursor in Greer's (1962) distinction between types of metropolitan communities: *communities of space* are local, usually suburban, for which the political reference is defined by people residing in a specific geographic area, whereas *communities of interest* have a larger metropolitan scope and are virtually a-spatial. From a similar point of view, Schnell and Benjamini (2001, 2004, 2005) refer to the con-struction of "socially constituted spaces" reflecting the decreasing impact of residential segregation on the creation of current identities and the growing sensitivity to societal units of various types and scales. Urban segregation is therefore viewed as a multidi-mensional phenomenon where a person can reside among "others" but remain segre-gated in terms of her or his identity as well as meaningful daily activities and interactions (Britton, 2011).

Researchers who examined intergroup relations among Mormons, Catholics, and Protestants (Tausch et al., 2011; Finke 1992, 1997) raise doubt regarding the degree to which a-spatial segregation of post-traditional society is relevant for understanding the social life of ultra-religious groups residing in current multi-cultural cities. The *parochial realm*—a term coined by Hunter (1985) and developed by Lofland (2009)—is especially meaningful in the case of religious communities. While modern, post-traditional iden-tities are individual, biography-oriented, and institution-oriented products, communal identity provides a central pillar for the ultra religious person and an important source of one's self-identity. Moreover, belonging to the ultra religious community is the main source of strength and vitality—of minimizing the risk to the self of interacting with others, in Giddens' terms—and the stronger it gets, the more impact it has on the in-dividual's norms and lifestyle (Dudley and Roozen 2001; Friedman 1991). The intense awareness of ultra-Orthodox people of religious identity motivates them to congregate in defined areas in order to tightly maintain their community and exclusively encounter people of the same values and affiliations (Boal 1978; Cimino 2011). People belonging to Haredi groups tend to limit their social contacts to people belonging to the same sects and sub-sects, preferably inside the defined enclave. Each sub-sect cooperates in its own religious and educational institutions and exclusive social networks, and tends to compete with "others" over spatio-cultural dominance, emphasizing the strategic influence played by spatial homogeneity (Shilhav and Friedman 1985; Valins 2003). The emergence of "nested" places—smaller communal areas inside the Haredi neighborhood—is therefore likely to occur.

APPROACHES TO SPATIAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Research on residential segregation often blurs the specific mechanisms, whether socio-cultural motives or economic, that generate spatial patterns. Many researchers study

residential relationships based on empirical observation (Krivo, et al. 1998; Britton 2011), while others explain residential choices using deductive assumptions regarding economic and socio-cultural factors (Clark and Withers 1999; Gottdiener 1997; Telles 1995). In both cases, the role of ethnic relationships, family lifestyle, and life-cycle characteristics usually overlap—whether conceptually or empirically—with economic factors (Johnston, Poulsen, and Forrest, 2007). Although these approaches help interpret the spatial manifestation of intergroup differences, they are limited in distinguishing between the roles of economic and noneconomic factors in actual residential dynamics (Krivo et al., 1998; Massey and Denton 1985).

In the mid-1970s, Speare propounded a classification identifying the socio-economic characteristics of individuals and households, on the one hand, with the socio-economic status of their building and neighborhood, on the other, as the main factors affecting residential choice (Kasarda 1978; Speare, Goldstein, and Frey 1975). Further inquiries into these factors revealed the necessity to distinguish between *stated preferences*—individuals' declared attitudes and intentions, and *revealed behavior*—the actual household conduct (Giffinger 1998; Iceland 2004). As many studies show, a comparison between stated and revealed preferences lays the foundation for understanding residential dynamics as an outcome of individuals' choices (Benenson 2004). Particularly the comparison of the two may reflect the roles of socio-cultural motives for segregation, expressed in revealed preferences, and the economic constraints, affecting the revealed behavior.

The Haredi family is exceptional in its awareness of its own and neighbors' biography. Neighbors' identity and an apartment's genealogy are important components of the stated preferences upon making residential choices. Based on an independent field survey, this research compares between stated and revealed preferences of a Haredi community in Jerusalem. Relatively similar economic status of the majority of Haredi families in Jerusalem (Fenster 2004; Liebman and Cohen 1998) enables us to minimize economic variables in our high resolution examination of Haredi residential dynamics and to focus on the role of identity and the importance of living among friends in the creation of residential patterns. The role of economic considerations is not completely absent, though. A gradually growing group of Sanhedria residents belongs to a wealthier community, and we will be able to trace the impact of economic resources on the spatial pattern of residence.

SCHELLING MODEL OF NON-ECONOMIC RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Formally, the consequences of noneconomic local interaction are part of the famous Schelling model of ethnic residential segregation. Thomas Schelling and James Sakoda (Schelling 1971, 1974; Sakoda 1971) considered householders' view of their spatially close neighbors as differentiating between "friends"—that is, neighbors belonging to the same group—and "strangers"—neighbors belonging to other groups. Schelling's view reduces the noneconomic factors influencing an individual's residential decision to a single variable: the fraction F of "friends" within the neighborhood. Householders prefer to reside in a neighborhood providing a sufficiently high fraction of friends or, as formally stated, in a neighborhood where F is above a certain "tipping point" or threshold F_0. According to Schelling (1974), a resident continuously estimates the fraction F of friends

in the neighborhood and, when it falls below F_0, attempts to relocate in another neighborhood, where $F > F_0$.

Investigating residential dynamics in an abstract model of rectangular grid of cells, one resident per cell, with a 3×3 cell block around the central cell treated as a neighborhood, Schelling arrived at the conclusion that a minimal threshold value of $F_0 = 1/3$ eventually gives rise to a segregated residential pattern. The typical segregation pattern that emerges with the Schelling model consists of large homogeneous areas populated by members of one of two groups, separated by an unpopulated "frontier." Alternatively, for $F_0 < 1/3$, the pattern converges to a random mix of members of two groups. He then concluded that a relatively weak tendency to congregate (i.e., the tendency to relocate to the neighborhood with one third of friends only) is, in the long term, sufficient to create full segregation between members of two groups within the urban space and the exclusion of "others" (Speare, Goldstein, and Frey 1975).

The Schelling model considers only one of the motives that underlie segregation behavior, namely, people's desire to live among friends. Although Schelling labels these spatial dynamics as "segregation," he speaks only of people's need to congregate rather than the desire to segregate oneself from strangers (Varady 2005; Waterman and Kosmin 1986, 1988). Regarding the importance of communal identity to the individuals, the distinction between the will to congregate with "friends" and the desire to segregate from "others" may be particularly relevant for the research of religious groups.

The Schelling Model is an abstract and deductive representation of *Micromotives and Macrobehavior,* the title of Schelling's 1978 book. Our aim here is to verify the same idea in the real world, encompassing multiple-family houses, populated by many interacting groups of different social status.

SANHEDRIA: FROM FRONTIER SETTLEMENT TO A METROPOLITAN CENTER

For the Haredi communities, living in Jerusalem is of great value due to the city's religious significance. Sanhedria (Figure 1) is one of the oldest of contemporary Jerusalem's Haredi enclaves. Before 1967, Sanhedria was a frontier area of agricultural plots under private Jewish ownership lying adjacent to the Jordanian border. After the 1967 War, Sanhedria was rapidly urbanized as part of the expanding Haredi area, encompassing large parts of Jerusalem's center and northern quarters (see Shlay and Rosen 2010). Sanhedria's attractiveness for the Haredim reflects its desirable central location, 2 km northwest of the Western Wall, the wide range of religious institutions and rabbinical courts active in the neighborhood,[2] and the population's high status.

At the urban level, Sanhedria is an extremely segregated neighborhood. It is occupied almost solely by Haredi inhabitants, with negligible numbers of National-Religious and secular inhabitants whose presence continuously declines. There are absolutely no Arab residents there, despite the fact that Arabs represent a quarter of Jerusalem's residents. Sanhedria is populated by several Haredi sects, each having its own social structure and norms. Although individuals are free to live anywhere in this densely populated neighborhood, households must comply with the sect's social directives.

Until the 1980s, Sanhedria had equal shares of National-Religious and secular families, in addition to the Haredi population. Although the National-Religious and the
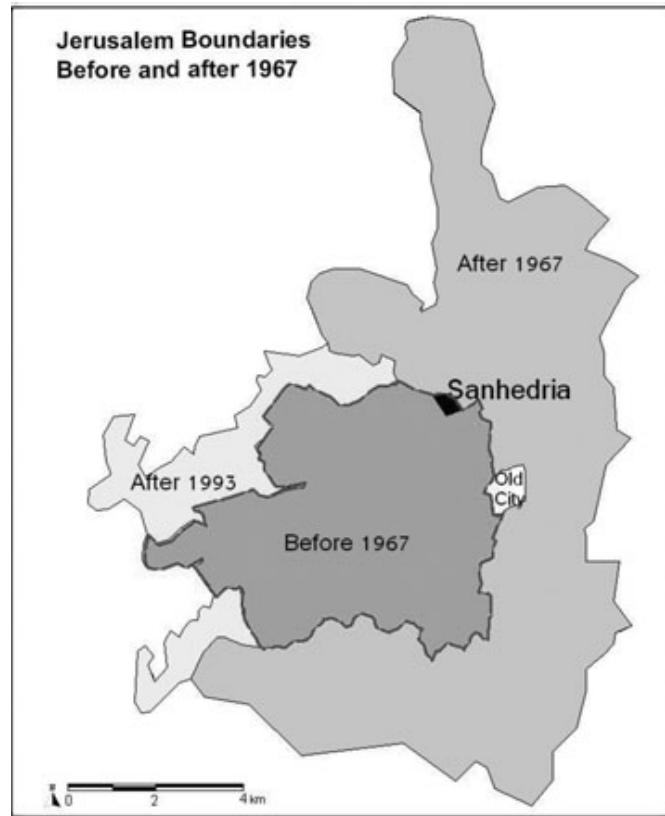
FIG. 1. Jerusalem before and after 1967, with Sanhedria marked.

Haredi share similar religious background, the two groups strongly disagree on the interpretation of Judaism: Haredi see Judaism fundamentally as a religion whereas National-Religious adherents identify Judaism with the nation as well as the religion. The Zionist idea is, therefore, a springboard of a continuous conflict between the Haredi people on one side, and the National Religious and, of course, the secular Jewish society on the other. Nowadays there are only a few non-Haredi families in Sanhedria. In what follows, we introduce the different sects living in Sanhedria, characterize their residential interactions, and analyze their residential behavior for the period 1967–2008.

SANHEDRIA'S POPULATION GROUPS

Sanhedria is populated by members of four Haredi sects: Lithuanians, Foreign-Lithuanians, Hassidim, and Sephardim. Definitions of the sects reflect the internal Haredi discourse, derived from the substantial self-identity of each sect, also expressed in lifestyle and appearance. As mentioned, by 2008, very few families belonging to National-Religious and Secular Jews remained in the neighborhood.

Hassidim

The various Hassidic groups profess an emotive religion and devotion based on awe. The lives of the Hassidim focus on their religious leader—the rabbi and his court; in addition to his spiritual role, the rabbi has a central position in the organization of the

community's daily life (Peikarz 1999). Rabbinical leadership is hereditary, usually passed on from father to son. Hassidim speak Yiddish; they marry and conduct most of their social relations within the Hassidic courtyard (Green 2001). There are no messianic Lubavitcher Hassidim (Chabad) in Sanhedria.

Lithuanians

The Lithuanians represent the elite sect that sets the behavioral norms for Haredi society (Shtampfer 1995). Their ascetic lifestyles conform to the spirit of the Bible, with uninterrupted learning comprising the center of men's lives (Gonen 2006). Great importance is placed on the individual's genealogy; the longer one's family has been part of the Haredi community, the higher one's social status. Religious scholars are greatly esteemed. The Lithuanians focus their lives around the yeshivas (religious institutions of higher learning), wear modern black suits, and speak Hebrew, the language of the Torah (Etkes and Tikochinski 2004).

Foreign-Lithuanians

As their title indicates, members of this sect are based overseas, primarily the United States and Western Europe. Although the Foreign-Lithuanians share their faith and religious practices with the Lithuanians, we assume that their socioeconomic status is somewhat higher thanks to the support of their families from abroad. The Foreign-Lithuanians use their home country's language in daily conversation and preserve their foreign, though religious, lifestyles, thus remaining distinct from their Israeli-born Lithuanian neighbors (Waterman and Kosmin 1988; Ehrlich 2006). Members of this sect entered Sanhedria in the mid-1980s. The entrance of Foreign-Lithuanians to Sanhedria enables us to spot the impact of additional more affluent residents on residential patterns.

Sephardim

This paper calls "Sephardim" those descendants of the Jewish community that lived in Israel prior to the onset of Zionist immigration and were the descendents of Jews expelled from Spain in the late 15th century. Their ethnic backgrounds clearly differentiate Sephardim from the Eastern European Haredi groups (Lupo 2004). The Sephardic community officially became part of the Haredi community upon establishment of the State of Israel. However, as they do not have Haredi genealogical credentials, Sephardi applicants are usually rejected by Orthodox educational institutions run by the other sects.

National-Religious Jews

Like the Haredim, National-Religious Jews see themselves as committed to *Halacha*. Yet, contrary to that group, National-Religious Jews participate in modern society, thus combining Jewish religious values with a Zionist-nationalist political ideology (Ravizky 2001). Members of this group are more open to the socio-economic environment and are greatly involved in Israeli civil society (Shilhav and Friedman 1985). National-Religious Jews consider Haredi separatism as too radical an interpretation of *Halacha* and disagree with the Haredi insulation of their community by means of sustained tension with the non-Orthodox segments of Israeli society.

178

Secular Jews

This label covers a broad range of cultural groups adhering to attitudes encompassing anything from Jewish Secularism to Universal Secularism (Liebman and Cohen 1998). Jewish Secularism maintains positive ties with Jewish tradition and its religious heritage as a source of cultural identification and spiritual inspiration while ignoring any commitment to *Halacha*. Universal Secularism is characterized by strong adherence to universal values—liberal, humanistic, and democratic philosophies—together with somewhat antagonistic attitudes toward religious orthodoxy (Malkin 2005).

CONSTRUCTION OF SANHEDRIA'S SPATIO-TEMPORAL POPULATION GIS

To investigate the residential relationships among Sanhedria's population groups, we constructed a detailed spatio-temporal database that contains exact geo-referenced data on Sanhedria families' religious affiliation. The field research was conducted in 2008 at the level of individual families and apartments. Three interviewers, young Haredi males, canvassed the neighborhood and conducted a door-to-door survey. They asked all of Sanhedria's occupants to identify their Haredi sect as well as the apartment's former dwellers, going back to the year of the building's construction or at least 1966. Several researchers stress that the identity of the previous residents is important for Haredi families (Waterman and Kosmin 1986), a conclusion confirmed by our research. Identification of past residents allowed us to understand which sect's members had occupied each apartment for the past 40 years. All other questions asked related to the present occupants in order to ascertain their socio-spatial behavior. The interviewers collected data about the location of the synagogues the families attended, whether the apartment was owned or rented, and the source of information about the apartment prior to buying or renting it. In cases when the householder refused to cooperate, the interviewer obtained information about the occupant's sect by questioning neighbors. Despite early apprehensions regarding cooperation, the response rate reached 97 percent. Upon collecting data, householders were also questioned about their motives for choosing the apartment and asked to rank the relative importance of the apartment's price, their neighbors' identity, and institutional proximity.

The characteristics of all Sanhedria apartments and households were organized as a GIS layer, in which every record in the table is related to the corresponding building. The layer was then included into the area's high-resolution GIS. Sanhedria GIS contains additional layers pertaining to topography, roads, land parcels, and buildings, the latter characterized by use, year of construction (if after 1966), and number of floors. Construction of the Sanhedria GIS was based on the layers updated for the year 2004, which were provided by the Municipality of Jerusalem. Comparing the 2004 layers to aerial photos of Sanhedria in 1968, 1973, 1982, 1988, 1995, 2001, 2006, and 2008, we determined the year of construction for every building in the neighborhood.

Today, Sanhedria contains 976 apartments in 98 buildings, with another 17 buildings occupied by institutions. Households occupy 869 apartments; another 67 are used by institutions and the remaining 40 are shared by households and institutions (such as kindergartens operated within dwellings). Taken as a whole, the survey's spatio-temporal
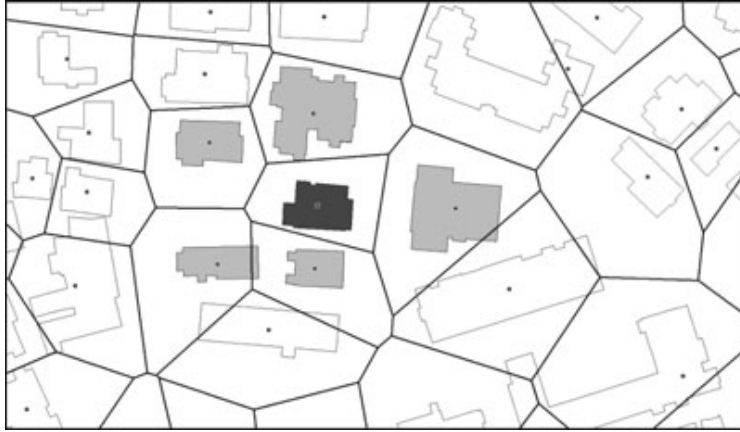
FIG. 2. Sanhedria buildings (with centroids marked) and the coverage of Voronoi polygons constructed based of buildings' centroids. Voronoi-based neighbors of the selected building (in Black) are shown in Gray.

GIS enables evaluation of residential patterns at the resolution of apartments, buildings, and neighborhood; it thus makes investigation of the residential micro-dynamics in this limited environment empirically possible.

ESTIMATION OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Given the exhaustive survey and high response rate, the micro-segregation residential pattern in Sanhedria is available at the highest possible resolution of households and buildings. Disaggregated data enable direct estimation of the relationships between households and neighbors in the same and neighboring buildings. Standard measures of segregation, such as the Dissimilarity Index (Rey and Folch 2011; Sharma 2012), employ data that are aggregated over the units of a predefined, usually administrative, partition of the area. That aggregated view of space does not allow us, however, to account for the *spatial* adjacency of the householders of different sects at the resolution of buildings or apartments. The high-resolution data we collected enable direct estimation of the relation between characteristics of the household and its neighbors. Moran's I index of spatial autocorrelation perfectly fits this purpose (Anselin 1995; Brown and Chung 2006). Moran's I estimates the correlation between the fraction D_i of sect D in building i and the average fraction of sect D over the buildings within the neighborhood $U(i)$ of building i:

$$\frac{N \sum_i \sum_{j \in U(i)} w_{ij} (D_i - \bar{D})(D_j - \bar{D})}{(\sum_i \sum_{j \in U(i)} w_{ij}) \sum_i (D_i - \bar{D})^2}$$

where N is the number of buildings, $\bar{D}$ is the average fraction of sect D in Sanhedria, and w_{ij} expresses the influence of the building j within $U(i)$ on the building i.

In what follows we define building's neighborhood based on a Voronoi partition of the neighborhood, constructed on the basis of the buildings' centroids (Figure 2). Namely, we consider two buildings as neighbors if their Voronoi polygons have a common boundary. Buildings whose Voronoi polygons have common boundary with Voronoi polygon of building i are marked as the $U(i)$. Below we call $U(i)$ "near neighborhood" of i and assume that the influence of all buildings within $U(i)$ is equal, that is $w_{ij} = 1/N_{U(i)}$, where $N_{U(i)}$
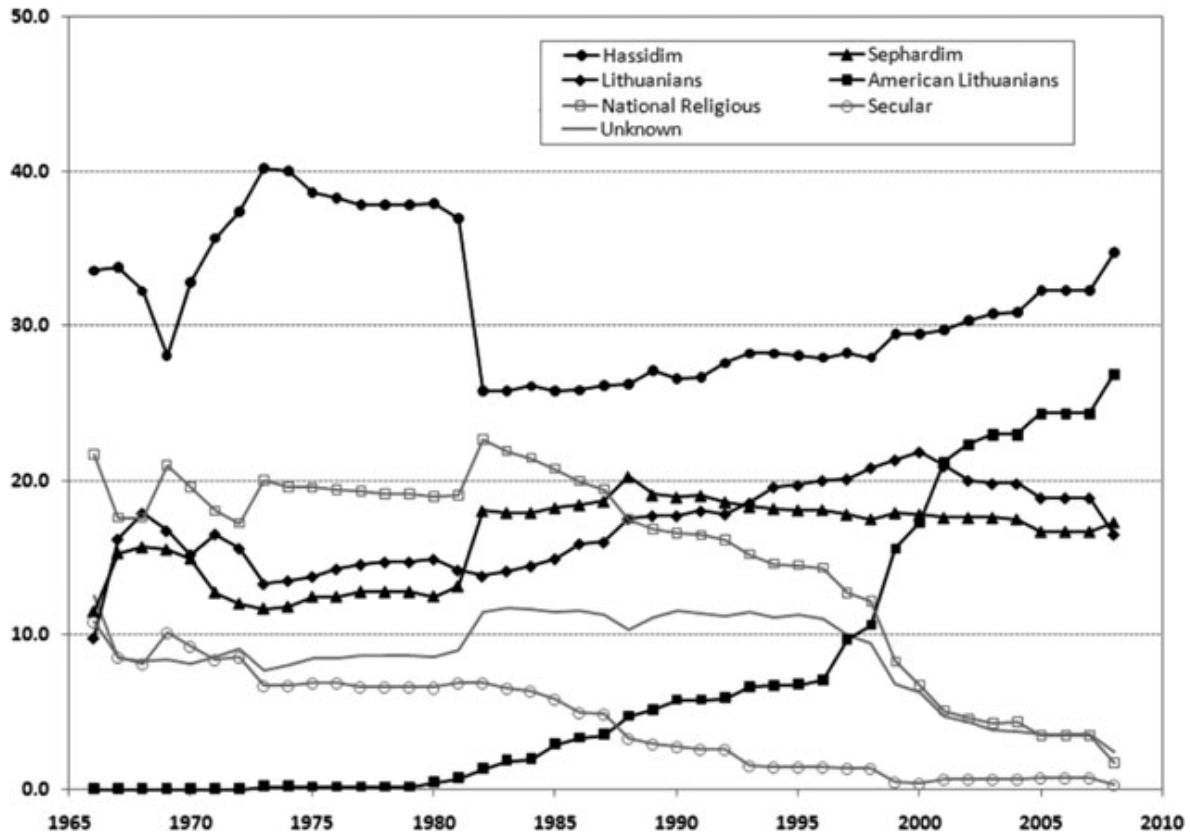
FIG. 3. Population dynamics in Sanhedria: (percentages).

is the number of buildings in *U(i)*. Note that according to our definition the building itself is *not* included into its neighborhood.

THE STUDY OF SANHEDRIA'S RESIDENTIAL DYNAMICS

According to the collected data, Sanhedria's population grew until the 1980s, parallel with the construction of new apartment buildings, and stabilized in the mid-1990s. The area was initially populated by Hassidim, Sephardim, National-Religious, Lithuanian, and secular groups, with Foreign-Lithuanians steadily substituting for National-Religious and secular residents during the 1980s and 1990s (Figure 3). Sanhedria is currently regarded as an exclusively Haredi neighborhood.

Despite the tight organization of the ultra-Orthodox sector, Sanhedria's housing market is formally free, with people buying or renting apartments in accordance with their personal preferences and constraints. Close intra-group relations are responsible for the efficient information network that helps Haredi householders learn about vacancies from members of their own group. According to our survey data, 73 percent of Sanhedria's population either bought or rented their current apartment after receiving information through family and friends, whereas only 25 percent learned about it from agents and advertising (Table 1). Note that the distribution of information sources does not depend on affiliation to sects (chi-square test, $p \sim 0.4$).

TABLE 1. Sources of Real Estate Information: How Dwellers Learned of Vacant Apartments Prior to Their Purchase or Rental

Source of information	N	Percent
Public advertisement	68	7.5
Real estate agents	155	17.1
Family	488	53.7
Friends	151	16.6
Other	17	1.9
Inheritance	30	3.3
Total	909	

TABLE 2. Importance of Apartment's Price, Neighbors' Identity, and Institutional Proximity in Apartment Choice, by Sect

Sect Factor	Lithuanians	Hassidim	Sephardim	Foreign Lithuanians	National Religious	Secular
Price	23%	28%	21%	32%	24%	Insufficient data
Neighbors	59%	57%	61%	50%	76%	
Institutions	14%	12%	14%	13%	0%	

Table 2 shows that Haredi sects in Sanhedria share similar concerns (chi-square test, $p\sim0.5$). Less than 15 percent of Sanhedria dwellers chose the location of Haredi institutions as their main concern. Sanhedria's location close to the city center ensures the proximity of such institutions. Contrary to economic theory, only 20 percent–30 percent of each group indicated that price was a critical issue for them. Most important rather is the fact that, despite the neighborhood's reputation as a Haredi neighborhood, more than 50 percent of Sanhedria dwellers from all sects reported that the identity of their *immediate neighbors* is their principal concern. As this stated preference appears to be shared by members of all sects, we can safely assume that the Schelling-like mechanism of actively distinguishing between "friends" and "others" remains relevant within the Haredi haven of Sanhedria. Apparently, most of the neighborhoods' dwellers feel the need for at least a few "friends" in order to feel at home in their apartment building. We thus turned to investigate the impact of these declared preferences on the revealed preferences of Sanhedria's dwellers.

INTER-BUILDING AND INTRA-BUILDING SEGREGATION

The survey data enabled reconstruction of Sanhedria's residential patterns for the entire period between 1966 and 2008 (Figure 4). Despite the stated preference for living in a "friendly" environment, our maps indicate a high level of spatial integration, with members of several sub-sects sharing apartment buildings and near neighborhoods. Moran's I index appears relatively high for some sects (Figure 5). The dynamics of Moran's I index show that the Hassidim are the most highly segregated sect in Sanhedria, although the residential segregation of the other three Haredi sects has been steadily growing over the years. This growth is especially strong among the Sephardim, who, by 2008, had reached a segregation l level comparable to that of the Hassidim.

A high resolution look into the dynamics reveals the relation between the stated (Table 2) and the revealed residential preferences of Sanhedria's Haredim. To estimate the latter, for each sect D we calculated the fraction of D-families in each building that
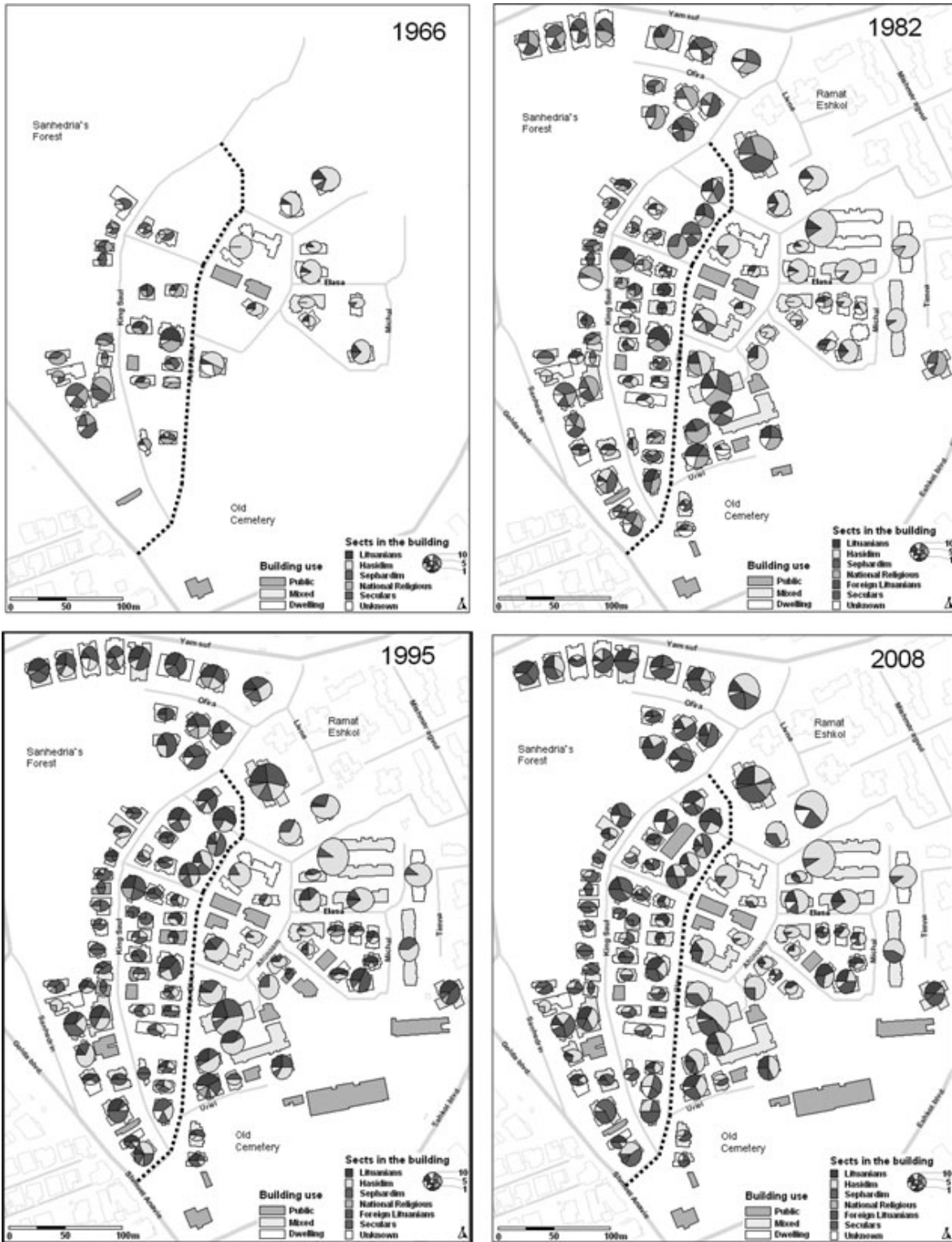
FIG. 4. Spatial distribution of Lithuanians, Hassidim, Sephardim, Foreign-Lithuanians, National-Religious, and Secular in apartment buildings, Sanhedria 1966–2008.
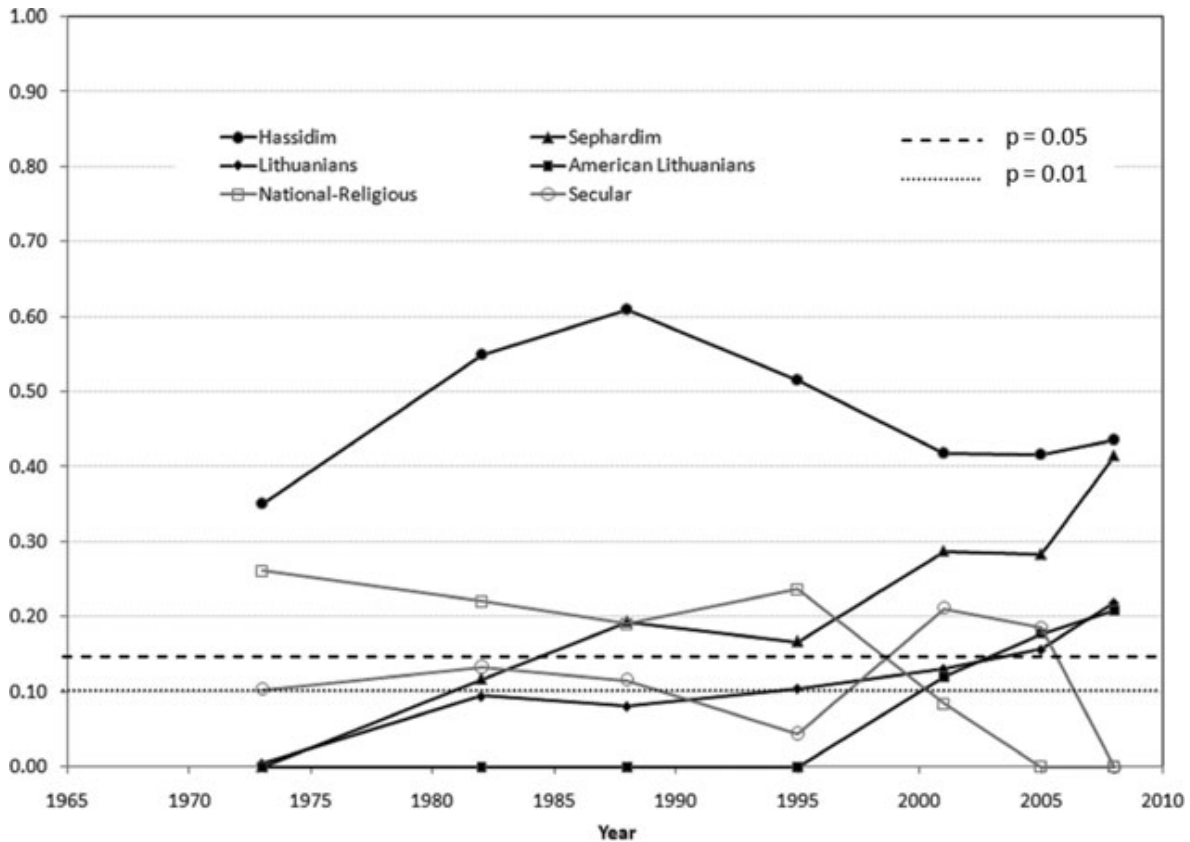
FIG. 5. Segregation of Sanhedria sects as expressed by the Moran's I index of spatial autocorrelation. Calculations apply to 1973 on, when the number of buildings in Sanhedria increased to above 50. To be significant at the 5 percent or 1 percent levels, the value of the Moran's I should be above 0.1 and 0.15, respectively.

had a vacant apartment. Then, for each sect D, we compared the average fraction of D-families in buildings the vacant apartment of which was chosen by new D-families, to the fraction of D-families in the rest of the buildings. For each sect D, the average fractions of friendly families in the buildings chosen and not chosen by D-families are presented in Table 3. The buildings chosen by D-families show percentages of "friends" is up to two times higher than the buildings with vacant apartments ignored by D-families. This fundamental pattern of residential behavior is consistent for all religious sects in Sanhedria, although weakening at the near neighborhood level (Table 4). Sanhedria householders effectively implement their stated preferences by residing in buildings occupied by "friends." We name this mechanism of consolidation with members of the same sect in specific buildings "micro-segregation." As these preferences appear to weaken at the near neighborhood level (Table 4), we conclude that they form a fundamental mechanism, providing people with a sufficiently strong sense of home and belonging. Micro-segregation is a powerful generative process, organizing Sanhedria's residential patterns throughout the years.

The central role of the parochial realm (Hunter 1985; Lofland 2009) in this religious neighborhood is thus revealed: the highly organized nature of Haredi communities and the intensive daily contacts between members of the same sect result in enhanced

TABLE 3. Mean Percentage of "Friends" in Building "Chosen," and "Not Chosen" by Sect (1983–2008)

| | The apartment in the building was ... | | | | | | |
| | Chosen by members of D | | | Not chosen by members of D | | | |
Sect D	N	Mean	STD	N	Mean	STD	P
Hassidim	333	40.5	31.4	1,407	21.1	25.7	<0.001
Sephardim	255	24.8	15.7	1,485	17.8	16.3	<0.001
Lithuanians	563	25.9	16.3	1,177	18.0	14.9	<0.001
Foreign Lithuanians	480	16.8	14.8	1,260	9.7	12.0	<0.001
National-Religious	54	27.9	17.2	1,686	12.2	14.9	<0.001
Secular	3	0.0	0.0	1,737	2.5	7.4	Not relevant

TABLE 4. Mean Percentage of 'Friends' in the Near Neighborhood Surrounding the Buildings the Apartment in Which was "Chosen" and "Not Chosen," by Sect (1983–2008)

| | Apartment within the neighborhood was ... | | | | | | |
| | Chosen by members of D | | | Not chosen by members of D | | | |
Sect D	N	Mean	STD	N	Mean	STD	p
Hassidim	315	34.6	23.3	1394	25.5	19.1	<0.001
Sephardim	253	23.2	8.6	1456	18.2	9.6	<0.001
Lithuanians	558	20.2	7.4	1151	18.5	7.9	<0.001
Foreign Lithuanians	475	17.8	10.6	1234	12.7	9.7	<0.001
National-Religious	54	18.4	9.4	1655	10.6	9.6	<0.001
Secular	3	0.0	0.0	1706	1.5	3.1	Not relevant

TABLE 5. The Fraction of Members of a Given Sect Who Occupied an Apartment Vacated by a Member of Their Own Sect (1983–2008)

Sect	Hassidim	Sephardim	Lithuanians	Foreign Lithuanians
Fraction	0.74	0.54	0.72	0.96
N	250	264	552	241

information flows between individuals. The intra-sect information flow freezes established residential patterns: a high percentage of Haredi families reside in apartments vacated by householders of their own sect (Table 5). The high probability of an empty apartment being transferred to members of the same sect becomes a parallel, individual-based mechanism supporting micro-congregation. Families can thus be assured that the level of "friendliness" in their building will not decrease.

INTER-SECT RELATIONS

The Schelling-like tendency to reside in buildings and neighborhoods with a sufficiently high fraction of friends explains the evolution of residential patterns in populations consisting of two groups. This model, however, is insufficient to explain the case of Sanhedria, where householders from several groups compete for the same residential space. Moreover, in contradiction to Schelling's symmetric view of residential relationships, relations between Haredi sects are hierarchical. It is well-known, for instance, that Hassidim consider proximity—physical and familial—to Sephardim to be embarrassing and debasing (Ben Sasson 1987; Friedman 1991). One can thus assume that Hassidic

householders would avoid residing in a building with one or more Sephardic families, although Sephardic householders may be tolerant toward Hassidic neighbors and even prefer them. Which, if any, of the relationships between Sanhedria sects are significant? Are they relevant for explaining residential patterns in Sanhedria?

To estimate the residential attitudes of members of sect D toward members of other sects, we compared the residential structure in buildings with vacancies that were/were not selected by householders belonging to D. Our approach is as follows: If two buildings have the same fraction of families belonging to sect D but different fractions of families of other sects, and D-newcomers prefer/avoid residence in one of those buildings, a comparison of the fractions of the other sects residing in these two buildings should reveal D's preferences in regards to the other sects in the building.

We applied this procedure when analyzing the data for the years 1983–2008. We reduced the period's length for three reasons. First, towards the 1980s, the majority of Sanhedria residential buildings were already standing; second, in this period, the steady out-migration of National-Religious and secular householders from Sanhedria was almost completed (Figure 3); third, the numbers of Hassidic, Sephardic, and Lithuanian householders were sufficiently high. We first compared buildings in which D-families did not reside at all at the moment of residential choice; we call these buildings "buildings of others."

The analysis (for details, see on-line Supplemental Appendix) demonstrates that Hassidim and Foreign-Lithuanian families are indifferent to the identity of others in the building. This is not so for Sephardic and Lithuanian householders. Sephardic families avoid or are dissuaded from "buildings of others," that is, those with high fractions of Hassidim, and prefer or are steered to buildings with high fractions of National-Religious and Lithuanian families. Lithuanians, if forced to choose apartments in "buildings of others," surprisingly choose houses with high fractions of National-Religious and Secular families. Here, for first time, we see the indirect impact of economic considerations: As the Foreign-Lithuanian presence spread in Sanhedria during this period, their economic resources provided them the power to select the most desirable locations. Lithuanians, as the prototypes of a severe religious lifestyle and indifference to material standards of living, appear to prefer buildings with less competition, although the residents in those buildings belong to sects below them in the neighborhood social hierarchy.

We can thus conclude that individuals and households are sensitive to the identity of others in the buildings, and when they cannot find "friends" as close neighbors, they choose their residents according to the social hierarchy. Individuals from marginalized sects associate with households of other marginalized sects, whereas individuals located at the top of the social hierarchy are in effect free to choose their neighbors from all other sects. In the case of the Lithuanians, they are able to express their high social status by choosing cheaper apartments, located in buildings with marginalized, non-Haredi, households.

Do relations between the different sects affect householders' choices when choosing between buildings that are, at some degree, inhabited by "friendly" families? To explore this issue, we examined groups of buildings with vacant apartments in which exactly one, two, and three D-sect families reside. As above, we then calculated the average percentages of sects for each group of buildings and compared buildings where vacant apartments were chosen by D-families to those in which the vacant apartments where not chosen by D-families.

When "friends" reside in the building, all besides Sephardic newcomers become indifferent to the proportions of others. Sephardim newcomers remain sensitive to the building's population structure and avoid/are deterred from buildings with more Hassidim, but are attracted by more National-Religious families (for details on Sephardim newcomers' reaction to the presence of other sects in the building, see Supplemental Appendix). This is another manifestation of the important role played by the social hierarchy in the formation of residential structure: Individuals belonging to higher status sects (both Lithuanian sects and Hassidim) are in effect less concerned by the identity of others in the building, as long as there is at least one family of "friends." However, households with lower social status (Sephardim) are much more limited in residential choices and end up with a greater presence of "friends" in an apartment house.

The last issue concerns the near neighborhood (excluding the building itself). Could it happen that a householder's view of the neighbors extends beyond the building to include the near neighborhood? To test this question, we applied our methodology of comparing chosen and not-chosen buildings but instead compared sect percentages within the near neighborhoods of buildings that had a vacant apartment. Not surprisingly, only the Sephardim were found to be sensitive to the sect distribution of the near neighborhood in addition to the building, and tend to avoid/are steered away from Hassidim and locate with National-Religious (see details on Sephardim newcomers' reaction to the presence of other sects in the neighborhood in Supplemental Appendix).

Taken together, the need to live close to someone known and friendly, who shares the same faith, worldview, and lifestyle is shared by all the sects examined, whereas the urge to avoid those who are "not friendly" is partial and weak. This finding may be related to the emergence of familiar "nested" places (Kusenbach 2008) that take on varied significance and distinction. For example, the importance of having few significant "friends" could coincide with little interest in cultivating relationships with other neighbors and lessening the need to move from the apartment. Altogether, these tendencies form a generative order shaping Sanhedria's residential structure. On the neighborhood level, Sanhedria's inhabitants' urge to congregate with sect members is much more powerful than their need to segregate themselves from other sects.

Another interesting finding concerns the asymmetric nature of segregation attitudes. Hassidic-Sephardic relations, for example, are one-way: Sephardim avoid buildings where the percentage of Hassidim is high, yet Hassidim are insensitive to the percentage of Sephardim; Lithuanians are insensitive to the fraction of Sephardic families in the building while Sephardim prefer buildings with a higher percentage of Lithuanians (see more details of asymmetric interactions in Appendix). Resulting from the lack of symmetry, different sects face different limitations when choosing a new building. While individuals from higher in the social hierarchy (both Lithuanians and Hassidim sects) focus on the building and tend to neglect the near neighborhood, households of lower social status (Sephardim) are more sensitive to the distribution of their sect in the near neighborhood, as a compensation to the relative absence of a "friend" in the building, and are usually forced to choose apartments with a higher fraction of non-Haredi households.

The currents described above are coupled with other tendencies that have shaped the spatial configuration of Sanhedria throughout the years. For decades, Sephardic families have concentrated mainly along King Soul Street, a major commercial strip, considered less attractive than the neighborhood's interior areas. Thus, although Hassidim invaded that part of the neighborhood, west to Bloy Street, in the last decade Sephardim have
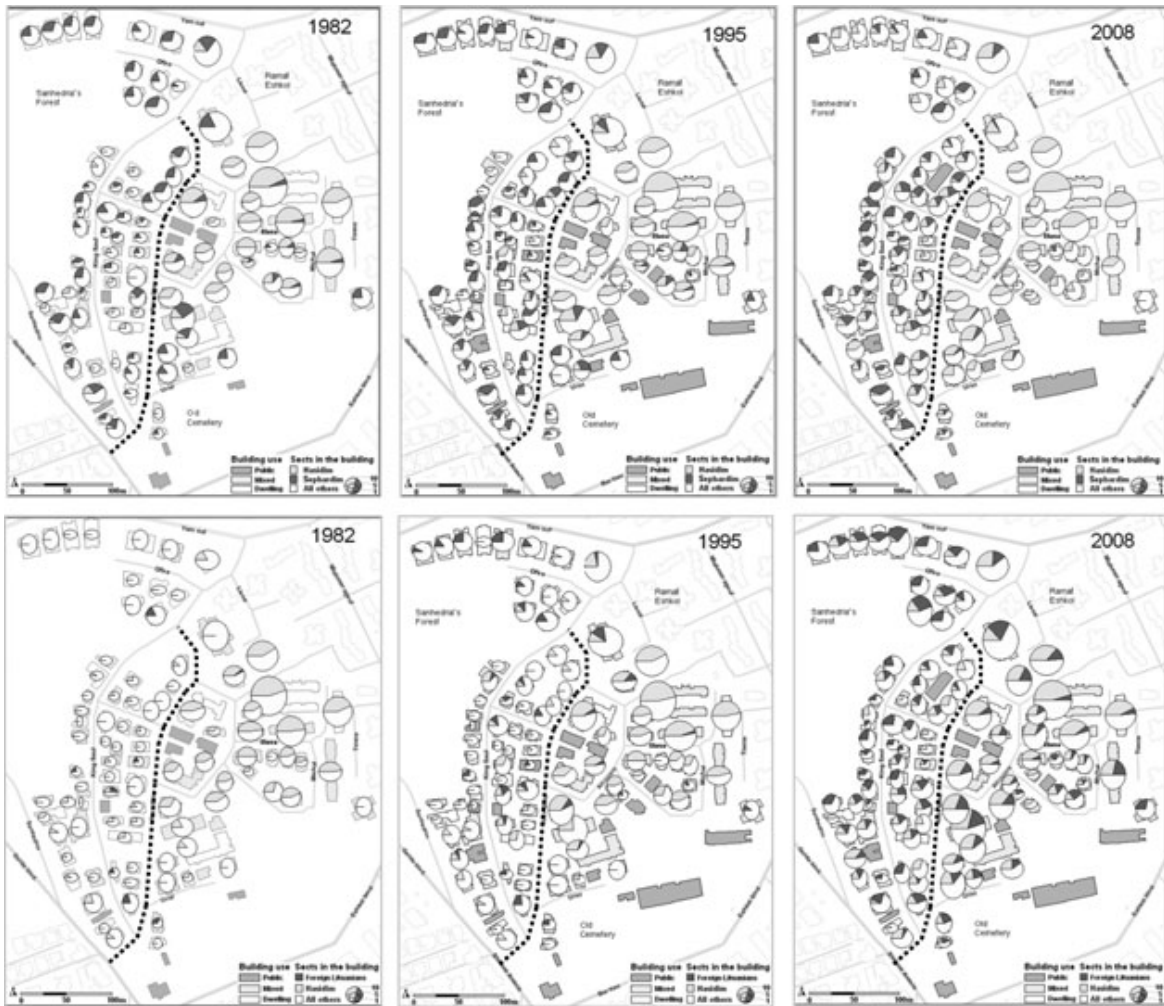
FIG. 6. Dynamics of spatial distribution of the Sephardim and Foreign Lithuanians versus Hassidim, the patterns for 1982, 1995, and 2008.

avoided entering the Hassidic hill (see Figure 6 top row). All this leads us to assume that the residential preferences of Sephardic families manifest feelings of social exclusion rather than free choice between market alternatives. As proximity to Sephardim upsets the Hassidim (Ben Sasson 1987; Friedman 1991), we can thus assume that Sephardic families are not accepted in buildings where Hassidim form a majority and eschew the possibility of residing there.

Exclusion of Sephardim from buildings is especially striking when compared with the entrance of Foreign-Lithuanians into Sanhedria during the mid-1980s. From the mid-1990s, together with their increasing presence in the western part of the neighborhood (Figure 6, bottom row), Foreign-Lithuanians began to make themselves felt in the Hassidic stronghold on the hill. While they rarely managed to purchase flats in the area, Hassidim were willing to rent them apartments. By 2008, 62 percent of Foreign-Lithuanians on the hill continue to rent their apartments, rather than purchase them from the Hassidic owners. Foreign-Lithuanians become the largest group on the hill after the Hassidim. By 2008, 19.3 percent of the Hassidic hill was populated by Foreign-Lithuanians, including buildings at the hub of the Hassidic enclave. The facts

that Foreign-Lithuanians are respected in the Haredi world and form a community of temporary residents in Sanhedria have apparently reduced their perceived threat to the Hassidic way of life. Further investigation of this trend is however warranted.

Taking advantage of their position on the top of the Haredi hierarchy, Lithuanian householders are the first owners and renters of the apartments vacated by Secular and National-Religious families. As mentioned previously and shown in Figure 3, Secular and National-Religious families have gradually left Sanhedria. Their apartments, especially those of Secular families, are considered less attractive by Haredi families when compared to apartments left by other Haredim. In these circumstances, Lithuanians become the first Haredi tenants. Regarding the apartments vacated by National-Religious families, the Lithuanians' competitors are the Sephardim. The fraction of National-Religious families in the "buildings of others" chosen by both sects is essentially higher than the respective percentages in buildings not chosen. However, we assume that the occupation of these buildings by Lithuanians expresses their superior status and freedom of choice, whereas Sephardim reside there as an expression of their social exclusion and lack of choice.

In conclusion, our intra-sect and inter-sect analysis has revealed mechanisms of spatial differentiation through congregation with "friends" whilst selectively ignoring unwelcome "others." Since these mechanisms operate more strongly on the building than on the near neighborhood level, it is appropriate to refer to the aggregate results under the heading "micro-segregation."

SUMMARY: RESIDENTIAL DYNAMICS IN A HAREDI NEIGHBORHOOD

This paper examined the role of social relations and social identities in the residential dynamics of a dense, inner-city neighborhood, Sanhedria. Different urban levels tell different tales. At the municipal level of Jerusalem, Sanhedria is an extremely segregated neighborhood. Its inhabitants are almost exclusively Haredi, with negligible numbers of National-Religious and secular residents. Yet, from the internal neighborhood point of view, Sanhedria is highly integrated, with various Haredi sects spread throughout the area. However, a closer look exposes further micro-segregation at the building-level.

The Sanhedria case study offers a relevant example of interactions between population groups similar in many respects, but each guarding its unique cultural identity. Generally, similar economic status and relatively intense devotion to lifestyle lead the Haredi population to focus on sect affiliation and enforce residential homogeneity despite turnover in the buildings and neighborhoods. Sanhedria householders direct their attention to inter- and intra-sect relations when choosing a residence. An in-depth door-to-door survey made it possible to compare stated and revealed preferences at the household level and to recognize residential micro-dynamics over three decades. Intra-group differentiation through self-identification and residential dynamics—"micro-segregation" —enables individuals of various sects to live side-by-side in apartment buildings. Their sense of home and community is rooted in the presence of neighbors belonging to the same sub-sect in the same building. The apartment building in Sanhedria is, in consequence, the main locus, with members of all Haredi groups choosing buildings having a majority of "friends." Intra-building segregation is further reinforced by intra-sectarian exchange of real estate information and the revealed tendency to buy and rent from "friends."

Non-Orthodox people living in Sanhedria are disappearing because Haredim from the two poles of the local social spectrum—the high-ranked Lithuanians and low-ranked Sephardim—quickly occupy their vacated apartments. The Hassidic group plays the role of the most highly segregated sect, most anxious to congregate with one another. The Hassidim avoid *specific* others, such as the Sephardim and the National-Religious, and are the only group paying almost the same amount of attention to the number of "friends" in a nearby building as in their own. In contrast, the Sephardim are socially excluded from Hassidic-dominated areas. Whether the Sephardim tend to avoid Hassidim or feel unwelcomed by them, they are nevertheless more likely to move in with the marginal National-Religious and Seculars.

The importance that the Haredi population attaches to communal living space should be combined with current theories. Urban scholars underestimate the role of space in contemporary cities for retaining self-identities and reproducing social segregation. For example, Schnell and Benjamini's (2001, 2004, 2005) "socially constituted spaces" concept is, actually, non-spatial; it overlooks the interaction within residential buildings and local neighborhoods that we found particularly relevant to religious and other cohesive communities. As the dwellers of Sanhedria demonstrate, spatial patterns do reflect urban identities and meaningful social relations in other urban communities and religious groups have active and meaningful parochial realms too.

LESSONS FOR RELATIONS WITHIN NEIGHBORHOODS

The Haredi population investigated in this paper provides a unique case for studying intra-neighborhood residential dynamics. The exceptionalism of this case stems from the Haredi's extreme sensitivity to detailed aspects of religious identity, expressed in the genealogy and biography of the self, the affiliation to a specific Rabbi, and the division into sects. Israeli circumstances bring together Haredim with similar socio-economic backgrounds yet different—sometimes reciprocally aloof—sects. The result is an extraordinary example of non-economic inner-neighborhood micro-segregation. Sanhedria discloses micro-dynamics that provide inhabitants with "friendly" residential environments in a fairly integrated neighborhood. Sanhedria is thus a laboratory for studying micro-segregation, and offers lessons to the literature on segregation and to the broad field of inner-city dynamics and invasion-succession processes.

Religious identity appears to be the driving force behind the micro-dynamics in Sanhedria. Following Giddens' (1984) time-space distanciation, urban scholars focus on a-spatial networks and far-flung communities. However, it appears that religious groups in large cities manage to reproduce their physical proximity in space and maintain their community. In Greer's (1962) terms, the religious community is a *community of space* not less than it is a *community of interest*. In addition, unlike the homogeneous communities of rural and suburban localities, urban religious communities often encompass various under-currents and sects, each having a distinct title, heritage, and lifestyle characteristics. Sanhedria-like spatial dynamics are therefore expected to emerge in other religious enclaves.

The "simplicity" and directness of Haredi residential behavior lay bare some fundamental theories of residential dynamics. To begin with, our findings extend Schelling's theory regarding the symmetric relations between two groups by adding two essential

points. First, instead of Schelling's (1978) "white" and "black" dualism, we looked at several groups residing in the same urban neighborhood. Our research shows that beside the basic urge to live among "friends," individuals' decisions are affected by the relations to each of the other groups. Thus, individuals belonging to high-status groups are mainly sensitive to the fraction of people of their own sect. As assumed by Schelling (1978), those individuals are satisfied with a sufficient number of "friends" in a building and remain insensitive to the proximity of specific "others." Conversely, individuals belonging to marginal and low-status groups are selectively sensitive to the presence of others: in addition to preferring buildings hosting a sufficient number of "friends," they acquire micro-environments with low fractions of individuals belonging to inhospitable and high-status groups.

A second contrast with Schelling's model moves closer to the real world. There is a need to study multi-family buildings. Theoreticians avoid studying multi-parametric situations of this kind because of the multiplicity of "clues" demanded from the field. Our study supplies these clues. We have managed to explore how the hierarchical position of each group affects the revealed behavior of individuals.

The micro-segregation pattern could be relevant to non-religious situations, enabling strangers to live together in dense urban areas. Gentrifying, fashionable inner-city residential buildings bring about proximate living of families and individuals of various social groups and lifestyles. Building on Kusenbach's (2008) idea of nested places, comprised of layers of meanings and maintained by daily interactions, we suggest that seemingly homogeneous inner-city neighborhoods actually include sub-areas created by social relations. More specifically, we could expect Schelling-like mechanisms to operate in multi-cultural urban hubs as a result of people's urges to feel comfortable in their residential surroundings. It appears that residential decisions are primarily directed toward living with a sufficiently large circle of "friends" who match the person's self-identity. The very existence of few neighbors belonging to the same actual or anticipated social group has the ability to create a satisfactory living environment and minimize the sense of unfamiliarity related to living among "others."

Such micro-segregation dynamics are likely to emerge in the city hub, where relatively mixed dwellings host a wide variety of people. The micro-segregation dynamics operate at the level of the household, while the neighborhood as a whole may appear to be socially mixed and highly integrated. Deeper investigation could reveal the typical footprint of the micro-segregation, including the socially nested information in regard to apartment vacancies, the tendency to buy/rent apartments from members of the same social group, and the importance of few "friendly" neighbors in close proximity at the level of the building. These dynamics have the power to affect the neighborhood as well as the entire urban matrix. Further research may reveal the degree to which micro-segregation is a more general mechanism.

Notes

[1] Traditionally, the Haredi world was divided into Hassidim and non-Hassidim (Mitnagdim, or Lithuanians—as labeled in this paper). Today, other distinct sects exist that have influence on the definition of Hassidic people.

[2] Our research revealed more than 100 institutions in Sanhedria, including small synagogues, yeshivas (learning centers), and kindergartens, mostly located in apartment dwellings and basements.

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192

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APPENDIX

Reaction of newcomers of sect D to the population structure of the building where D is not present: Table A-1 presents sects' fractions in buildings where sect D is not present and the vacant apartment was/was not chosen by the newcomer of sect D, years 1983–2008. According to the table, Hassidim and Foreign-Lithuanians are indifferent to the group identity of others in the building—the percentages of other sects in buildings chosen and not chosen by Hassidim (columns 2–3) and Foreign-Lithuanians (columns 8–9) are quite similar. Sephardim and Lithuanians, however, do react to "strangers." Sephardic householders (columns 4, 5) avoid buildings with high fractions of Hassidim (row 4), and prefer buildings with high fractions of National-Religious and Lithuanian families (rows 6 and 8). Lithuanians choose houses with high fractions of National-Religious and Secular families (rows 8, 9).

Reaction of Sephardic newcomers to the other sects in the building depending on the number of Sephardic residents in it: Table A-2 presents residential preferences of Sephardic newcomers in regards to sects' fraction in the near neighborhood of the buildings with vacant apartment where one, two, and three Sephardic families reside. Unlike other groups, which become insensitive to the building's population structure as far as one "friendly" family is residing in the building, Sephardic householders remain responsive to the building's population structure. Sephardic newcomers avoid Hassidim (row 4) and are attracted by National-Religious neighbors in the building (row 8), although only one or even two Sephardic families are living there (columns 2–5). The effect fades when three or more Sephardic families reside in a building (columns 6, 7) and, thus, the presence of "friends" becomes dominant.

Reaction of Sephardic newcomers to the other sects in the neighborhood (excluding the building itself) depending on the number of Sephardic residents in the neighborhood: Table A-3 present residential preferences of the Sephardic newcomers in regards to the sects' fraction in the near neighborhood of the buildings where none, one, two, and three Sephardic families reside. One can easily see that Sephardic newcomers avoid Hassidim (row 4) unless the number of friendly households in the neighborhood is three or higher and National-Religious families make it essentially easy for Sephardim to enter the strange neighborhood (row 8, columns 2, 3).

Asymmetric relationships between the sects: Residential relations between the householders of different sects are often one-way: For example, Sephardim avoid buildings where the percentage of Hassidim is high (Table A-1, "Hassidim" row, columns 4, 5), yet Hassidim are insensitive to the percentage of Sephardim (Table A-1, row 4, columns 2, 3). The same is true regarding Lithuanian-Sephardic relationships: Lithuanians are insensitive to the fraction of Sephardic families in the building (Table A-1, row 4, columns 6, 7), while Sephardim prefer buildings with a higher percentage of Lithuanians (Table A-1, row 6, columns 4, 5). Another significant effect is found in the Lithuanians' choice of buildings with a high fraction of National-Religious and, especially, secular householders (rows 8, 9, columns 6, 7).

TABLE A-1. The Sects' Fractions in the Buildings where the Sect D is not Present and the Vacant Apartment was/was not chosen by the Newcomer of a Sect D, Years 1983–2008

Sect in the building	Newcomer's sect D							
	Hassid		Sephardic		Lithuanian		Foreign Lithuanian	
	Chosen	Not chosen	Chosen	Not chosen	Chosen	Not chosen	Chosen	Not chosen
Hassidim	Not relevant		**30.4**	**56.7**	16.3	30.3	25.7	25.6
Sephardim	32.7	30.5	Not relevant		27.5	28.4	24.5	22.9
Lithuanians	26.3	24.6	**35.3**	**22.1**	Not relevant		24.0	25.6
Foreign Lithuanians	11.3	14.5	11.2	12.9	4.0	15.5	Not relevant	
National-Religious	25.4	25.6	**20.4**	**7.2**	**33.8**	**20.5**	21.9	20.7
Secular	4.3	4.8	2.6	1.2	**18.3**	**5.3**	3.9	5.2
Number of cases	51	559	39	425	36	218	129	609

Bold marks the differences significant at $p = 0.01$.

TABLE A-2. The Sects' Fraction in Three Groups of Buildings Where One, Two, and Three Sephardic Families Reside and the Vacant Apartment was/was not Chosen by the Sephardic Newcomer, Years 1993–2008

Sect in the building	The sects' fraction in the buildings where N Sephardic families reside					
	$N = 1$		$N = 2$		$N = 3$	
	Chosen	Not chosen	Chosen	Not chosen	Chosen	Not chosen
Hassidim	24.5	32.4	**8.9**	**19.6**	7.3	7.5
Sephardim	Not relevant					
Lithuanians	27.3	29.4	18.0	21.9	18.5	22.0
Foreign Lithuanians	11.8	15.5	7.3	12.7	12.1	13.6
National-Religious	**15.4**	**7.9**	**33.1**	**17.5**	19.5	17.0
Secular	3.6	2.0	3.6	4.1	8.1	3.3
Number of cases	37	240	39	267	57	204

Bold marks the differences significant at $p = 0.01$.

TABLE A-3. The Sects' Fraction in the Near Neighborhood of the Buildings where None, One, Two, and Three Sephardic Families Reside and the vacant apartment was/was not chosen by the Sephardic newcomer, years 1993–2008

Sect in the building	The sects' fraction in the near neighborhood of the buildings. N denotes the number of the Sephardic families residing in the neighborhood (excluding the building itself)							
	$N = 0$		$N = 1$		$N = 2$		$N = 3$	
	Chosen	Not chosen	Chosen	Not chosen	Chosen	Not chosen	Chosen	Not chosen
Hassidim	**21.2**	**42.9**	**25.8**	**34.5**	**17.2**	**25.8**	14.1	17.7
Sephardim	**26.6**	**14.7**	24.4	17.0	28.0	22.1	30.3	29.1
Lithuanians	21.0	18.0	20.3	22.0	21.0	21.4	19.9	22.7
Foreign Lithuanians	17.1	13.4	15.9	17.4	14.1	14.5	17.3	16.5
National-Religious	**13.4**	**8.7**	12.0	8.0	17.0	12.9	16.7	12.5
Secular	0.6	0.9	1.7	1.1	2.7	2.1	1.7	1.5
Number of cases	37	339	37	240	39	264	57	204

Bold marks the differences significant at $p = 0.01$.

Entre Amigos y Extraños: Micro-Segregación en un Barrio Heredi de Jerusalén (Shlomit Flint, Itzhak Benenson and Nurit Alfasi)

Resumen

Sanhedria, un barrio del centro de Jerusalén, está habitado principalmente por miembros de varias sectas pertenecientes a la comunidad Haredi (judíos ultra-ortodoxos). El caso de Sanhedria brinda una oportunidad para examinar procesos extra-económicos de segregación. Este artículo estudia relaciones residenciales entre sectas las cuales se reflejan en sus elecciones de residencia y en la distribución residencial observable. Los habitantes de Sanhedria son similares en status económico y comparten preferencias respecto a su forma de vida en tanto que mecanismos poderosos de preferencias residenciales operan al nivel del apartamento y edificio que resultan en patrones de "micro-segregación". Estos mecanismos nos brindan un acercamiento a procesos típicos de barrios de alta densidad del centro de la ciudad, con viviendas multifamiliares compartidas por distintos grupos religiosos o étnicos.