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ABSTRACT

This report is one of a series on the results of studies conducted with the aim of understanding and assisting culturally disadvantaged pupils in the Israeli school system. A brief educational history of the country and the theoretical basis of the research introduces this report. A detailed description of the socioeconomic background of students is given through data analysis, as well as is an analysis of student success in secondary schools. Findings indicate that the State of Israel has remained consistent in striving toward defined goals by absorbing a "culturally disadvantaged" population, using the criteria of ethnic origin and social characteristics. (Author/DM)

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SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOLS
FOR GIFTED STUDENTS FROM
CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED STRATA

A Follow-up Study

Technical Report No. 2

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE STUDENTS
AND THEIR SUCCESS IN SECONDARY SCHOOL

by

Prof. M. SMILANSKY and D. NEVO

with

E. Segal

and an Appendix by S. Marbach

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April 1971

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P R E F A C E

The first follow-up report on Course I of the fostering project for gifted youth from culturally disadvantaged strata was dedicated to the memory of the late Deputy Minister of Education and Culture, Ami Assaf. He identified with the idea of boarding-school fostering, when the suggestion was raised, despite the lack of understanding and the opposition of various parties, and he aided in several ways in the implementation of the experimental stage.

We wish to dedicate the present report to the memory of the late Minister of Education and Culture, Zalman Aranne. In our first report we noted that from the time he took up his appointment (in 1957) he revealed interest, deep understanding and readiness to strive for the advancement of culturally disadvantaged pupils in the educational system.

During the period of his service he led the Ministry of Education from the role of social "gatekeeper" and "legacy bearer", acting on principles of "formal equality", to innovation for the improvement of the chances of the culturally deprived, by means of active and directed compensatory programs. During his service educational research progressed from the stage of recording diagnoses by means of surveys and critical reports, to that of experiments aimed at examining the possibilities of alternative measures. During his service, and with his active support, our project also grew from a limited experiment with a restricted number of pupils to a network of boarding-schools, variegated

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in its aims and curricula, giving a better chance to hundreds of graduates every year. This project can teach psychologists and educators new lessons concerning the possibilities for the enrichment of human life and its advancement towards a better prospect in the process of the modernization of society.

This report is one of a series (published in the past or to be published next year) on the results of studies and experiments that we conducted, initially in the framework of the Szold Institute, and currently in the framework of Tel-Aviv University, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Culture, with the aim of understanding and alleviating the problem of culturally disadvantaged pupils in the Israeli school system. In this work we enjoyed the benefits of the opinions, advice and concrete assistance of hundreds of people. As the list of those deserving thanks is long, we can only content ourselves with a general and anonymous expression of thanks. We are sure that our teachers and colleagues will understand our position and accept this as a personal expression of our appreciation and gratitude.

We wish to thank the Principals of the schools and boarding-schools who took part in the study. They helped us, first in planning the follow-up in order to ensure its meaningfulness, and later in the implementation of the study and the accumulation of data. We cannot in this context mention the names of those concerned, in view of the decision not to identify publicly the names of the schools that participated in the study.

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At various stages in the process of the follow-up, research workers and educators contributed advice and comments as to the design of the study and its instruments. In this matter we wish to thank especially Professor Ross L. Mooney of Ohio State University, Professor B.S. Bloom of the University of Chicago, Professor W. D. Wall of London University, Professor Henry Hausdorff of the University of Pittsburgh, Dr. Joseph Levin and Dr. Joseph Peri of Tel-Aviv University.

Special thanks are due to Mr. Yaacov Sarid (Director-General of the Ministry of Education and Culture), to Mr. Eliezer Shmueli (Deputy-Director General and Chief Administrator for Secondary Education), to Mr. Shmuel Marbach (Supervisor of the fostering projects for culturally disadvantaged gifted children) and to Mr. Joseph Schochat (Deputy Director-General and Chairman of the Pedagogic Board of Secondary Education), who in their responsibility and daily efforts have contributed to the strengthening and promotion of this project.

Similarly, we thank Mrs. Esther Segal, who co-ordinated the field-work and the processing of data in the last stage of the follow-up, Miss Mira Kopf and the staff of the Research & Development Laboratory for the Study of the Disadvantaged, who worked on the coding of data, and Mrs. Yael Avni, the administrative co-ordinator of our Laboratory, for her great help in all the stages of preparation of the report. We also thank Mrs. Hazel Arieli and Mrs. Haya Colodner for their efforts in preparing the report and Mrs. Ruth Goralí for typing it.

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The responsibility for any shortcomings and faults found by the reader in the report, lies, of course, with its authors. We should be grateful for remarks and suggestions that may help us to improve and rectify matters in the concluding report of the follow-up study.

CHAPTER I

THE FOSTERING PROJECT

BACKGROUND, BASIC ASSUMPTIONS, OBJECTIVES AND OPERATION

1. GENERAL BACKGROUND

This project was first conceived and organized on an experimental basis, as part of a comprehensive program to advance culturally disadvantaged youth in the school system.* It was established in an attempt to improve the prospects of culturally disadvantaged children within the educational framework of the State of Israel during the second decade of mass immigration.

As we have explained previously,** the significance of certain fostering projects can best be understood when considering the stages and patterns of modernization in a particular society. The present project was organized during the second of the developmental stages and as a part of the Ministry of Education's program to advance culturally disadvantaged pupils.

We have attempted to describe the development of efforts to advance these pupils in the Israeli educational system since the establishment of the State of Israel, by the following three theoretical stages:

* See: Smilansky M., "The Social Implications of the Educational Structure in Israel", Megamot, Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1957 (in Hebrew).

** See: Smilansky M., Lecture before congress of American Association for the Advancement of Science, December 1964, and Smilansky M., Smilansky S., "Intellectual Advancement of Culturally Disadvantaged Children", International Review of Education, Vol XIII, No. 4, 1967.

A) "Formal Equality" Stage

This stage began with Israel's gaining independence in 1948 and with the organization of the Ministry of Education in 1949. Its main points are found in the "Compulsory Education Law" of 1949 and the "State Education Law" of 1953. The basic assumption at this stage was that in a developing democratic state which absorbs thousands of immigrants with different ethnic and social background, from all corners of the globe, it was important to stress the fact that despite differing orientations the State endows all its citizens, new and veteran, with equal rights and responsibilities.

At this stage a national educational system was organized. Attendance in school was made compulsory from age five (kindergarten) through age fourteen (eighth grade common elementary school). Curricula and syllabi were set up for the subject matter in each grade and expected achievement norms were proposed. As socialization through the educational system was viewed as a national responsibility, teachers were government employees, hired on the basis of unified, nationally determined standards, independent of the social and economic situation of the local authorities.

This stage was an important contribution to the expansion of the educational system. The foundations were laid for the absorption of children from Israeli families of low social strata, and immigrant children from all social strata. A deeper basic awareness of the value of a national education system for society was instilled. Despite the achievements, however, certain basic limitations to the principle

of "formal equality" became apparent. Teachers and researchers began to realize that "formal equality of opportunity" did not assure realization of the potential offered by the educational system; because of different home cultural patterns, different ability levels and different early experiences of the children it was difficult for individuals and groups to take advantage of what the schools could offer-- and this made it difficult to attain the proposed norms. Accordingly, a demand arose to seek compensatory programs, specially suited to the needs and readiness of socially and scholastically deprived children of different cultural backgrounds.

B) The "Compensatory Education" Stage

This stage too continued for about ten years, until the end of the second decade of the Independence of the State of Israel. Its aim was to strive toward fostering more opportunity for equality of all ethnic groups - of different strata and in different geographic areas - and not be satisfied with the state of "formal equality". The assumption was that offering special privileges and compensatory programs would help the culturally disadvantaged children overcome the primary deprivation gaps and enable them to meet the expectations of society and the demands of the educational system representing it.

At this stage several special frameworks for the care of the culturally disadvantaged groups were established, such as the Special Authority for the Culturally Disadvantaged in the Ministry of Education, pre-school enrichment centers, boarding schools. Special

programs, such as the long-day program, were created, special conditions for caring for the culturally disadvantaged were set up. These included smaller classes, grouping, special sessions, special-care classes and guidance. Lower achievement norms were determined, (repeating classes was restricted, and a lower norm (norm B) was set up, for acceptance to secondary education with graded tuition fees, etc.). Special teaching aids such as new reading methods, new readers, were developed for use in schools where most of the pupils were from culturally disadvantaged strata. Special help was given to assist the teachers in coping with problems, including guidance instruction, new teaching manuals, in-service training.

The activities developed at this stage undoubtedly contributed towards improving the educational achievements of the culturally disadvantaged. This is evident from the improved progress in schooling and knowledge acquisition. But despite the advantages, certain limitations were found. In general there were three main factors which made it impossible to be satisfied with the achievements already attained, and those which could be attained through the compensatory approach stressed at this stage in Israel, as well as in other countries.

First, the increasing tempo of the modernization process made greater demands in cognitive areas, where the cultural deprivation was most outstanding; second, as in the ancient adage, "Unto everyone that hath shall be given ..." - the primary superiority of the dominant group enabled them to adjust to the demands of modernization. Not only did the gap between them and the culturally disadvantaged not narrow

significantly, but in certain areas, increased. Third, the adaptation of the culturally disadvantaged to the expectations of democratization was followed by a rise in their expectations for social and occupational mobility. The schools were to be the major source for socialization of abilities, knowledge and motivation toward the new reference group.

The combination of these three factors, and others which have not been discussed here, created pressure to question the future role of the school in the modernization process and to adapt the entire system for helping the culturally disadvantaged, instead of making minor alterations and marginal additions to adjust to the existing situation. This is what led us to demand a more challenging stage toward the end of the third decade.

C) The "Reform" Stage

This stage began with the third decade of the Independence of Israel. It aims towards a complete reorientation of the educational system, by reforming the school structure, the curriculum, teacher training and teaching methods. For reasons which we shall not discuss here, the public's attention focused on the argument with the teachers' unions on the structure of the schools and blurred the fact that the demand for change in the school structure, in this case, was only a lever to force implementation of drastic changes in the aforementioned areas.

The project we are reporting on is one of the experiments which were organized in the frame of assumptions and programs of the second stage, "Compensatory Education". Elsewhere * we plan to discuss, in further detail, the meaning of this developmental process for school systems. In this report we want only to give the reader an adequate general frame of reference before presenting the special assumptions of this project.

2. GENERAL BACKGROUND ASSUMPTIONS FOR THE FOSTERING PROJECT

Our proposed fostering project and its organizational design were founded on five basic assumptions:

The first assumption was that when observing the present condition of children from Middle-Eastern ethnic groups in general, and the lower strata in particular, we find that only a small percentage of them attain the appropriate achievement norms for secondary education. This reflects past experience, but should not be interpreted as indicative of limited potential ability. This assumption claims that the educational system can and should set up a process of resocialization toward change and reorientation which will offer new promise to the individual and to society.

* See: Smilansky M., "Development in Education and the Culturally Disadvantaged Child", (in preparation).

The second assumption was that to ensure the raising of potential ability it is important to begin the fostering efforts in early childhood, when the foundations of environmental influences on personality are being laid through the interaction of inherited potential and the influence of primary experience in the learning processes of the home and the active forces in the community. But, except in extreme cases of deprivation, there is no proof among humans of the existence of "imprinting" and a destructive deprivation which causes irreversibility in potential growth and development of ability, knowledge and motivation. We assumed that at every age it is possible to foster and to bring about change and promote advancement. One has only to define in what areas and at what cost it is desirable to influence a child's actions.

The third assumption was that after continuous negative experience and deprivation and cumulative deficits in intellectual areas from early childhood, a significant prospect for reorientation and reversibility can be attained by moving the person from his socio-cultural and personal equilibrium. Or, in other words, to place him in a situation of "tension" and "crisis", regarding himself and his environment. In order to heighten and intensify the "crisis" our fostering project recommended removing the youth from his environment - either partially or completely (for several hours each week, or for a prologed period of several years). This would place him in a systemic position of sharp confrontation with a new environment, would provide him with a new "reference group" and new models to imitate and learn from. He would

be forced to form his identity through new insights and confrontations- to seek a new equilibrium, first through a process of differentiation and then through a new integration of active forces in the process of social change and modernization.

The fourth assumption claimed that adolescence is particularly suited to this reorientation by experiencing this "crisis", since in our society all the essential elements exist potentially for seeking a way of experiencing a degree of social and human "marginality" and then for rising to a new status. In a situation of rapid social change the school's central role for adolescents in general, and culturally disadvantaged adolescents in particular, is to help them experience this resocialization process of the "adolescent crisis" and find their identity in the emerging socio-cultural system.

The fifth assumption closed the cycle by claiming that if every project for resocialization (and this to our mind is the correct definition of a fostering project) needs impetus for its rapid and efficient effectuation, then the more able of the culturally disadvantaged should receive preferential fostering based on criteria detailed in that assumption. There may be different models for their fostering; this experiment is concerned with one of these. In another experiment, conducted parallel to this one, we attempted to develop another model. Theoretically and practically, alternative or supplementary models may be proposed, where each one responds to specific needs of a particular society at a certain stage and pattern of the modernization

process.

After presenting the assumptions briefly and generally, we shall now attempt to describe them in greater detail.

A. THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED ETHNIC GROUPS
SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS INDICATIVE OF A LIMITED POTENTIAL "POOL OF ABILITY"

Detailed analysis of results on the Eighth Grade National Scholastic Survey Test, given at the end of elementary school studies, showed that the majority of the Jewish population of Middle-Eastern origin in Israel still do not show an ability to continue their academic studies. In the same survey we found, for example, that from among all those of Middle-Eastern ethnic backgrounds only 8.6% of the grade reached the percentile of 80 (which is the regular norm for entrance to academic secondary schools), as opposed to 39% of European ethnic background. Only 80 out of 14,245 children of Middle-Eastern origin who participated in the survey (0.6%) reached the higher degree (90+) which in general parallels "superior ability" in other countries, while from among the European-origin children 1291 out of 20,180 (6%) attained this mark. If we consider the dominant group in the Middle-Eastern ethnic population, where the father has only an "elementary education" and there are many children in the family, we find that 7% attained the 80+ norm in a family with 4.5 children, and 5% when there are 6 - 7 children, and only 3% in a family with 8 children or more. When the father is "uneducated", only 2% of the children attained this norm, regardless of the number of children in the family. (In the European

group, too, there is a definite scale of background factors which influence achievement in the Survey Test. However, when the father has only an "elementary education" and there are 4 - 5 children in the family, 19% attained the 80+ norm). Another way to observe the problem is to compare the mean score in the Survey Test. Children of Middle-Eastern descent, whose parents have an "elementary" or lower educational level (76% of their group) attained a mean of 4.4, whereas those of European descent with similar educational backgrounds (only 37% of their group) had a mean of 6.2%. Not only did a small percentage of the culturally disadvantaged attain a promising level of achievement at the end of elementary school, but in the follow-up studies conducted by the Szold Institute it was found that among those who attained the higher level there was a major difference between them and children from other ethnic and social backgrounds - in application to academic secondary schools and perseverance there. The follow-up of the 1957 graduates of elementary school showed that, of those of European extraction who completed the Survey Test in the 80+ percentile, 73.5% entered academic secondary schools, 60% graduated, and 55% received matriculation certificates granting entrance to higher education. Of those of Middle-Eastern extraction 60.5% of those who achieved this norm applied to academic secondary schools, 37% graduated and only 27.5% received matriculation certificates. Of those of European descent who completed the Survey Test in the 70-79 percentile and who were therefore not eligible for graded tuition fees, and were not encouraged by the State of Israel to attend academic secondary schools, 52% applied to academic secondary schools, 29% graduated, and 20% received matriculation certificates.

As opposed to this, of those of Middle Eastern descent who received similar marks and to whom the Ministry of Education granted graded tuition fees and individual permission to enter academic secondary schools, only 38% entered, 15% graduated and 8% received matriculation certificates.

We found this picture at all levels of the educational system in our first analysis in 1955/6, and it led us to propose different programs for special fostering from pre-school through secondary education, including setting up boarding-schools for gifted pupils among the culturally disadvantaged levels and groups.*

Our assumption was that the concept ability, is, to a large measure, a social product (without contradicting the existence of a hereditary factor in individual or group differences in certain abilities) based on the availability to the individual or to the group of certain experiences and the significance of these experiences for them.

* See: Smilansky M., "The Social Implications of the Educational Structure in Israel", Megamot, Vol. VIII, No.3, 1957 (in Hebrew).
The first general memorandum about this can be found (see p. 7) Subsequently, 6 specific memoranda followed which outlined experiments in kindergarten, elementary school and at adolescence. The memorandum for this project was submitted in August 1959.

B. SPECIAL IMPORTANCE SHOULD BE GIVEN TO DIRECTED FOSTERING FROM EARLY CHILDHOOD, BUT THIS DOES NOT IMPLY THAT CHANGE IS NOT POSSIBLE AT A LATER AGE.

According to theoretical propositions prevalent in modern education until recently, early childhood was considered most important, particularly because of its emotional and social influence. Therefore, it was thought that educational activities at this stage must center mainly on aspects of mental hygiene and social adjustment, while intellectual fostering and directive teaching should be left for the school when the child reaches a certain maturity level. In pedagogical experiments conducted during the past decade by Sara Smilansky in the intellectual fostering of culturally disadvantaged pupils from the age of three years and up, the hypothesis that in pre-school rapid and significant realization of a higher human potential is possible, was proposed and demonstrated.*

In spite of this, we do not accept the proposition of irreversibility which denies rehabilitation, fostering and advancing towards different behavioural norms and greater achievement to those who spent their early years in disadvantaged social and cultural environments. We see the problem in clear goal and role terms; a continuous experiment with alternating models aimed at helping children with different potentialities

* Detailed listing of reasons for the importance of intellectual fostering at this age can be found in Smilansky, M., and Smilansky, S., "Intellectual Advancement of Culturally Disadvantaged Children", International Review of Education, Vol. XIII, No. 4, 1967.

to experience a successful mastery, develop appropriate motivations and find a proper place in the differentiation and integration processes of modernization. The project this report deals with is one of the experiments from which it can be learned what prospects a Ministry of Education has to foster and achieve significant change in the state of a particular group of adolescents. The changes and progress must be expressed in learning rate, in the ability to meet the accepted normative demand of academic secondary schools, and in socialization roles in the family and society.

C. A PARTICULAR "EMOTIONAL CRISIS" MAY BE A POSITIVE FACTOR; THEREFORE
IT MAY BE INTENSIFIED AND USED AS A PEDAGOGIC-THERAPEUTIC TOOL

Intellectual advancement of members of social and ethnic groups whose cultural patterns differ from those dominant in our society demands re-socialization - based on a deep psychological change. The change seems more difficult the higher the chronological age - in other words the longer the experience under the home and group cultural pattern influence.

Generally two conditions are stressed as being essential for generating change: the individual's awareness of the need for change and his commitment to work towards the change. These two depend upon a feeling of dissatisfaction with the existing situation, or what may be defined as "crisis". If we accept this assumption, then it is clear that only when a feeling of "crisis" is created, intense enough when compared with the existing situation, a process of reorientation and change is possible. A "crisis" can be "natural" - the result of reaching a

saturation point and feeling a need to reorganize for the next stage; or "cultural", the result of a need to adjust and find a suitable identity to fulfil the desirable role among the opportunities presented by society at a particular time; or "institutional" - resulting from new demands made by the general social system or one of its representatives, whose function it is to safeguard the dominant norm by means of "readiness" or "matriculation" tests. "Tension" and "crisis" are a necessary stage in the process of building new awareness, as part of self-resocialization. By bringing the adolescents to the new environment we force them into confrontation with a new reality. The psychological shock of the separation from home and community base-line; and the accompanying support of a new reference group and new guidance; are aimed at widening their perception, supporting a relaxation of rigidity in perception and promotion of readiness toward confrontation with their problems. Through the "crisis" we force a process of differentiation - disintegration - and support - foster the building of new integrations in perception, value-orientations and behavior. In this way the four years of adolescent secondary education should really give meaning to the concept Secondary Education - that it is a resocialization process toward modernization, for those who experienced their early socialization in a home and elementary community school anchored in the past, while our responsibility is to prepare them to face the demands of the present and the future. Therefore, we can use the "crisis", direct its influence in a way which appears to be positive and desirable. Our claim is that when a need for "crisis" and "tension" for reorientation by modernizing leadership is apparent, but there are no signs which indicate its existence in the group,

or when a development seems to be in process whose direction is not positive according to our values, the educator's role is to become active in the developmental process, to communicate to the pupil a feeling of dissatisfaction with the present situation and heighten his deliberations until he reaches a stage where he feels a crisis - and subsequently to support him in the resocialization process.

Here we must caution about over-intensification of the "tension" - "crisis" - for fear of "breakdown". Clearly this type of development can have negative manifestations, such as future psychological shock and social "paralysis", i.e., an inability to perform because of the feeling of total weakness in face of the real or imaginary difficulties which appear or are expected to appear on the horizon; or avoidance or "withdrawal" strategy, i.e., performance on a lower level than that revealed until now, or even "escape" in positions where one can bypass the "crisis". These potential reactions can explain, to a great extent, the development of pedagogic approaches which, because of the concern for mental health, directed the school's activities away from programs which demand intellectual and emotional efforts to overcome barriers, to "adjustment" programs expressed in terms of Modern-School or Life Adjustment Education.

Our approach is based upon two parallel assumptions:

(a) In the change process the fear of breakdown must be considered. Therefore, the necessary support toward equilibrium must be guaranteed at every stage where there may be too large a gap between "tension" and "marginality" and the path towards greater security and integration.

However, in a society which places greater and greater emphasis on cognitive ability and offers the promise of success to those who are socialized in certain abilities, knowledge and motivations, mental health depends on the ability to succeed in a framework based on these types of expectations. Therefore, "mental health" can come by breaking the identification with socio-cultural patterns which are foreign to intellectual demands and by learning through successful experience in frameworks suited to their values. Assistance in creating "tension", "crisis" with the past, and guidance in how to live through this crisis during the transitional period in order to overcome it are what create sound emotional immunization against future shock and psychological attrition. Analogous in the field of physical health are vaccinations - giving a person a dose of a disease in mild form in order to immunize him to withstand its effects in the future.

A project based on removing boys and girls from their homes and their communities at age 14, presenting them with intellectual missions in schools with high academic requirements, and placing them in competition with children of middle-class European extraction (in a comprehensive school framework and in heterogeneous classes) and supporting them to take roles of "gifted" and not disadvantaged, is a directed experiment in using the assumption of "crisis" as a positive factor, making optimal use of the potential meaning of this.

b) An alternative to creating the directed "crisis" and intensifying it is to admit that social discrimination against disadvantaged social

and ethnic groups exists and will continue to be a "natural" experience.

Our approach is to communicate to the youth and his parents through the appropriate channels and codes that because of certain conditions (child-rearing patterns prevalent in his environment, socio-cultural condition of the family, attitude towards study in the school and in the neighborhood, etc.) he does not yet perform according to the expected norms. His prospects for success in the future depend upon basic and sharp re-orientation. This, in our opinion, is a positive pedagogic-therapeutic approach. On the other hand, if, for political, social or temporary pedagogic expediency, the gap is overlooked and avoided - or if we minimize its importance by turning our attention to temporary possibilities for adjustment in areas which do not cause a crisis, we may maintain quiet and stability for a particular transition period. However, gradually frustration and a sense of rebellion will be revealed on an ethnic or social basis. These feelings will be nurtured by the contention that if in fact there is no difference in ability and knowledge based on group belonging, and no change is needed, then members of these groups should be able to attain more respected positions in higher education and other professions. If they are unable to, they must conclude that this is the result of ethnic discrimination.

D. ADOLESCENCE IS PARTICULARLY SUITABLE FOR FOSTERING RESOCIALIZATION ACTIVITIES BECAUSE IT IS A PERIOD OF "CRISIS". ITS DIRECTED INTENSIFICATION AND EXPLOITATION MAY OFFER THE PROSPECT OF MEANINGFUL CHANGE.

In our culture adolescence, just as early childhood, may be regarded as a potentially critical period. This is a time of marked physical and emotional change. The youth emerges from his state of relative equilibrium and static feelings - and he is expected to react. Our society has designated this as the time to plan for the future (to choose a career, to choose a school, to determine relationships toward the family, the community and to the general society, to identify with the peer group, and to set attitudes towards the opposite sex, etc.). Therefore, there exists a prospect of readiness for reorientation, using the "adolescent crisis" as a key to meeting new demands. Adolescence has the added advantage of being a time when we can enlist the youth's new sense of awareness and more mature will to understand his prospects and the developing stages of ability for formal operations - and by experiencing a series of "ultimate crises" he can become part of the directed effort to change his destiny and opportunities. During this developmental stage he is not only potentially ready for reorientation, but he can be an active participant in realizing this new positive reorganization of his personality in the "crisis" process and afterwards. Since adolescence is a "crisis period", acknowledged by society, the majority of adolescents pass through it with relative success and find their new identity following it - which seems suitable for them. If we want adolescents from disadvantaged ethnic groups and social strata to progress, we must

assist them in overcoming this "childhood disease" common to those who determine the norm - even if it is not considered a time of "crisis" in their home culture. Artificial means may be necessary to cause the appearance of the "disease", as is common in immunization for other childhood diseases. A directed and artificial "adolescent crisis" of this sort would serve as an "initiation rite" - necessary to reach a more mature level.

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

E. PREFERENCE SHOULD BE GIVEN TO FOSTERING THE MORE ABLE OF THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

Every society, even the most wealthy, faces the problem of priorities in planning and implementing activities to hasten modernization; within this planning are activities to advance the culturally disadvantaged.

We assumed that in light of the criteria discussed hereafter priority should be given to advancing the more gifted rather than the weaker of certain groups. This contention is based on the following points:

1. The more gifted experience success in their community elementary schools. Accordingly, they develop a degree of basic security, and autonomy necessary for readiness to enter new situations, and achievement motivation-all of which are necessary for success in schools of an achievement oriented society.
2. They are relatively nearer the required norm in abilities, knowledge, and motivations. With the proper fostering conditions they will be more able to realize their potential and will rise to the level of the group expectation norms.
3. With the proper support their rapid progress and success will prove to the disadvantaged ethnic and social groups that the society is willing to absorb them and that their group can realize its aspirations for mobility toward social status on the basis of individual achievement. They will find too, that it is not necessary to demand positions in the system and status rights on the basis of group ascription.
4. This is a national project. Regardless of its size, it has the immediate effect of a beacon radiating confidence - on the socio-cultural system in general and on all its sub-systems wherever they may be. On the one hand, maintenance of the project and the outstanding success of one of its pupils can be made known throughout the country. On the other hand, every youth who comes from a particular place can become the source of local pride and the focus of interest, inspiring confidence in the local children that they have a real means and true hope of realizing their potential.

5. The way from separation to integration can be approached through differentiation. The potentially "gifted" adolescents from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds are the best candidates for this differentiation process. They are in a position to take roles of "gifted", "motivated" and "able"; to achieve success in mastering new demands; to progress toward social and occupational mobility and so lay the firm foundations toward social integration. The ultimate criterion and test of a policy of social integration is in developing an awareness in all sections of the population who will become part of this partnership that the advantages of this method surpass its limitations and problems. A prior social condition for this is idea-intellectual and psychological-social development in the non-disadvantaged of an awareness of the equality of human value of the members of other social and ethnic groups. Parallel to this, the culturally disadvantaged must be given the feeling of belonging and of equality in ability to become part of the broad society based upon their achievements, and not because of belonging to a group.

One way to assure this development is to make contact between the more gifted of the culturally disadvantaged and members of the non-culturally disadvantaged who are potentially similar in ability and achievement. This activity can prove valuable if the more potentially gifted pupils from the culturally disadvantaged are in the same schools and same classes with the other members of the general population, based on "formal equality".

However, in addition to this they must enjoy the fostering framework of after-school hours with preferential conditions for achievement motivation. They must have constant guidance, and new learning methods to help in preparing homework, and for immediate rehabilitation of existing or developing disabilities.

Bringing the more gifted youth of the culturally disadvantaged families into the boarding-school framework, where the learning conditions are more like those which the non-culturally disadvantaged enjoy in their homes, with the additional benefit of guidance, will enable them to progress and achieve in their studies in schools where most of the pupils are from well-off families, culturally and socially.

We can assume that in the design proposed, both sides of the integration experiment will learn things which seem necessary and positive.

The non-culturally disadvantaged pupils will learn:

- a) that among the culturally disadvantaged there are those no less intellectually able than their own group and that the source of the existing overlap between belonging to an ethnic group and intellectual inferiority is the result of lack of opportunity for suitable experiences.
- b) that among the culturally disadvantaged there are individual differences in ability even when they are fostered, just as these differences exist among other levels. Therefore, we should grant all groups in the population legitimate expression of these differences by differentiation in teaching programs and methods according to

their ability and aptitude, and not on an ethnic-social basis.

- c) that learning to develop motivations, knowing how to learn and persevere in specific areas are important factors in individual and group achievement. Even at adolescence, where the starting point seems so far distant and different from the dominant norm, it is not too late to change achievement opportunity. This awareness will come from the relatively rapid progress and change which will be revealed among a sizable portion of the culturally disadvantaged pupils - something which is not seen so markedly among the more well-off of the population, where their progress more suits their potential.

The culturally disadvantaged will learn:

- a) that in spite of what is commonly believed, members of their ethnic and social groups can compete with the established groups - even in light of the demands of existing norms-despite the cultural, psychological, and institutional deprivation of their early years - provided they are prepared to make the effort needed for change - and if they have the proper support in the process.
- b) that even with the fostering conditions present in the well-off homes, there are differences in ability, aptitude and achievements.
- c) that with their potential ability, achievement motivation and proper assistance they can assume a suitable place in the broad society,

based on achievement, and they do not have to aspire to a place based on group belonging.

3. ASSUMPTIONS FOR ORGANIZATION OF THE FOSTERING PROJECT FOR THE GIFTED AMONG THE CULTURALLY DISADVANTAGED

If it is to fulfil its expectations, based upon the assumptions described in the previous section, the fostering project must be planned, organized and function according to defined assumptions. These will serve as a basis for determining evaluation criteria.

In our first memorandum to the Minister of Education in August 1959, we outlined specific initial assumptions. Others were added during the discussions held at the Ministry of Education - in the Executive and Pedagogical Boards for Secondary School Education - where the principal parties were asked to give their approbation and support; additional criteria were crystallized during the organization stage and at the start of implementation, in consideration of the problems which arose during the actual experiments.

In this section, we will discuss only those assumptions crystallized in the preparatory stage and the start of fostering in the first groups, when the one responsible for this report was in charge of the project's planning and organization. Later developments, related to acceptance conditions of the pupils in the boarding-schools, registration and organization of the 6th graduating class, which the follow-up in this report deals with, and present groups, will be described in a special

section to be written by Mr. S. Marbach - Supervisor for this project in the Ministry of Education *. All these will be evaluated in the summary of our reports, next year.

1. Because of social, psychological and economic reasons, fostering the potentially gifted among the culturally disadvantaged must begin with a broad-based identification and initial fostering on a local and regional basis in the upper grades of the elementary school. Only afterwards should it focus on defined groups in secondary education. In view of this assumption, we began two parallel experimental projects - an experiment to enrich the upper third in grades 6 - 8 in culturally disadvantaged elementary schools, and experimental fostering of gifted secondary school pupils from a culturally disadvantaged background in boarding-schools and fostering groups in the afternoon hours. The present follow-up report partially treats this second project; the intermediary report of the first project was prepared separately ** and a final report will be submitted upon completion of the follow-up of continuation studies of the pupils in the second group - those who were in the enrichment program and the parallel control group.

* See Appendix no. III.

** Smilansky M., Burg B., Krieger T., "Regional Enrichment Centers for Disadvantaged Children in the Upper Grades of Elementary School", Megamot, Vol. XIV, No. 1-3, 1966 (in Hebrew).

2. In an "open" and developing society, such as the Israeli society, it is permissible to raise the level of aspiration of culturally disadvantaged youth intentionally.

This may be achieved by first identifying these youth as "gifted", thereby suggesting that they perform the social role of potentially gifted and not of "disadvantaged". It is then recommended that they be led to aspire for social and occupational mobility by striving for "matriculation" in academic trends and by continuing in higher education. They are then placed in socially heterogeneous institutions where the reference group is composed of the normative group. Teachers and peers become the desirable models for imitating.

3. To ensure the required flexibility in organization of the project - in selection of instructors and pupils - in determining and evaluating its programs - it must be organized as a "public project", and not as an administrative unit of the government educational system. This assumption was made despite the awareness of the need for almost full financial funding by the Ministry of Education.

4. In order to assure the project high social and academic status in its initial stage, and the opportunity for optimal development from a social and pedagogical standpoint, it seemed desirable to place the first groups in Jerusalem, where the Ministry of Education and the only university in the State of Israel (at that time) were situated. (During the last decade six additional colleges and universities have been established).

5. The pupils in this project (defined as a Fostering Project for "Gifted" Pupils in Secondary Education) should be channeled into the various types of institution existing during this stage - (academic secondary school, vocational-technical secondary schools, and rural agricultural secondary schools). The assumption was that this was a positive step both from the standpoint of the educational system's need to maintain a parallel fostering status in various institutions, and because of the potential difference in the ability of youth from varying backgrounds - in varying stages of personal and social readiness - to reach self-actualization. This assumption was made despite the fact that it was clear from the very beginning that the majority of parents and the youth defined as "gifted" would demand the right to attend academic high schools.

6. The prospects for success of youth from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds depend upon the creation of fostering frameworks and programs based upon the combination of motivating powers which promise achievement. Only a strong configuration of several factors (and not just one factor) which arouse motivation to progress and prevent failure can guarantee to youth who grew up in a cumulatively depriving environment successful progress towards the experience of a high level of achievement. The variables necessary for such a configuration will be further elaborated.

7. The fostering project in boarding-schools must limit the number of pupils, both because of the relatively high cost of maintaining a pupil in a boarding-school for four consecutive years and because it is not desirable to remove too large a percentage of the brighter children from

their communities. Therefore, definite limitations must be set - that beyond identification of a specific ability level, preference in acceptance should be given based on ethnic group, sex, geographical region, educational and social situation of the family - as described below.

8. During the identification and diagnostic stage both psychological and pedagogic means should be used to allow optimal prediction of the prospects for success of those to whom preference was given. However, since we are discussing a fostering project whose approach should set an example to the educational system in general, we must assure care, assistance and personal advancement for each pupil during his four years of secondary education. No pupils should be dismissed^{*} from the boarding schools, except under the most extremely serious circumstances. The significance of this assumption should be understood in consideration of the high percentage of dismissals prevalent in the secondary schools in the period under discussion - and in many places, even today.

9. In choosing the schools and the classrooms for pupils in the project, ethnic and socially heterogeneous grouping should be assured. However, in order for them to have a chance for success, it is desirable to organize them flexibly so that the gap between the youth's ability and the average ability of the class is not greater than that which one

* We use the term dismissal and not drop-out, because most drop-out cases are based on previous communications to the child and/or parent that the school is not suitable for the child.

might expect to be able to close by means of the "fostering".

10. It is necessary to obtain parental support during their children's adjustment process to the new reference group, since in this project we are concerned with the youth leaving their parents' home for a long period.

11. Despite the fact that most of the project's pupils will be divided among varying institutions, one school will be organized under the sponsorship and responsibility of the project itself. The background for this was the need to establish an experimental framework, adapted from the outset to the project designer's assumptions; where it would be possible to experiment in a systematic and directed manner with opportunities for advancing and hastening the fostering process. For this type of institution, the Boyar School in Jerusalem had to be developed.

We shall now describe in more detail each of the 11 basic assumptions for the organization of the fostering project.

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

These children grew up influenced by environmental background factors of the home's cultural patterns and social situation, the image of the culturally disadvantaged elementary school and the effect of the impoverished community in the workers' settlement or in a development town. The majority were raised in economic poverty (at least relative to the society's expectations), cultural deprivation (relative to the cultural

norm in secondary schools and higher education) and with a lack of suitable encouragement for intellectual activity. The average low standard of the school in the outlying urban slum schools and in the immigrant settlements, immigrant towns, development towns and settlements does not enable most children, even with a higher potential, to rise above the environmental average, and they had to adapt their expectations to the accepted achievement level there. They do not have any intellectual challenge to exploit their potential.

Even the "good" teacher gives lessons geared to the lower class average, and builds her own expectations accordingly. Since the children do not bring to class many experiences or knowledge that will seem challenging to the teacher - she usually does not feel any intellectual stimulation (not enough idea-provoking search or enrichment is available in the class). Thus a field configuration is made up of a poor family and communal environment, which does not encourage intellectual activity - and a school, influenced by this image and acting upon it. Pupils and teachers come to regard the static picture as the potential; tests and surveys (by teachers and researchers) affirm the observation and thereby maintain the impression; testologists, posing as theorists which give the picture a pseudo-scientific validity reinforce prejudiced beliefs by telling the teachers and the public about the "normal curve" and the percentage of those who are fit to take the matriculation examinations - which cannot be changed except through developmental processes which will take generations, etc. Consequently, activity is adapted to the expectations and apparently substantiates the limited chances. Our assumption

was that in order to break this cycle as rapidly and as meaningfully as possible, we must find a stimulus model suited to the activities in the configuration discussed. We thought that in addition to the general fostering programs from nursery age and up - geared to all pupils (such as experiments in adapting teaching programs and curricula, long-day programs, teacher guidance) a special program should be developed from early adolescence for the more gifted among the culturally disadvantaged - using them as a lever to break the cycle of intellectual poverty which lowers the motivation for intellectual effort and does not allow optimal development of ability and knowledge.

As we stated in the separate report * which discusses the basic broad fostering program, it is necessary to identify the upper third in every culturally disadvantaged elementary school. This is accomplished on the basis of teacher evaluation, and intelligence and achievement tests. From grades 6 - 8 these children should be offered a cultural enrichment program adapted to their needs during the afternoon hours and the school vacations. By relating to a new "reference group", by acquiring skills, knowledge and motivation they will resocialize toward new goals, develop a sense of security and belief in their ability. On returning each day to their community schools they will serve as a pioneering force and models in forming the new social climate in their school, together with their teachers. During the three years of enrichment in the regional centers, a local nucleus of broader potential ability will be formed. The later fostering and identification process in secondary education will be based upon this nucleus. The assumption was that these programs

* Ibid.

would be directed to two groups of pupils from among the more able of the culturally disadvantaged population. One group would comprise most of the population, who could continue in a secondary school in their own area, after early enrichment in the upper grades of the elementary school. Their scholastic success would be assured through a day-fostering program adapted to their circumstances and the demands of the school. The other group, smaller in number, but more problematic because of its composition, would include those who, because of their special ability or difficult social situation, could not benefit significantly from the proposed program in their area. For these the special fostering project in the boarding-schools would be established and developed.

B. In a developing country and in an open society where there is an opportunity for social and occupational mobility, it is permissible to raise the level of aspiration and foster new motivations of able pupils.

In the general assumptions in the previous section we claimed that when the possibilities to enter areas or branches of employment having high status are closed to certain ethnic groups or lower status groups, perhaps the claim could be made that the school must not disturb the stability. However, Israel claims to be an "open" society, developing and changing, interested in achievement motivation and encouraging social and occupational mobility. During one decade an awareness of this proposition is what led to the feeling of most parents, even in depressed areas, that education is the key to advancement and that the school is the means for progress.

The call to strive beyond present conditions has special significance since it is directed to the more able in the culturally disadvantaged schools. On the one hand this group had limited opportunity to get ahead because they were in schools where the social climate and instruction level did not encourage intellectual success. On the other hand it has good potential because its members were the best in their classes, experienced success, and are therefore prepared to believe in their ability and to show achievement motivation. In order to translate potential readiness to actual readiness of the child and parents to make special efforts, the project was given the name - "gifted fostering project". We thought that if the child, the parents and teachers were told that, based on his intelligence tests and judge's evaluation he is "gifted" in relation to his group and he is certain to succeed in his endeavors, a firm motivational basis could be available for readiness to meet the expected crises in the fostering process. Even after this acceptance of a role of fostering "gifted" a combination of factors should be assured to nurture the achievement motivation, as will be described in the sixth assumption.

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

For national authorities in a bureaucratic system there are defined standards for organization and implementation of financing, hiring and other processes. At this time in the democratization process,

defined expectancy norms for a welfare state developed concerning political, ethnic, and communal pressure group influence regarding the rights of non-successful members, communication means existing between the ruling power, representatives of the pressure groups and the related population.

We assumed that to examine the potential significance of this project, as in other experimental projects for advancing a specific population toward specific goals, it is desirable to free it in its first developmental stage from the above limitations - thereby allowing it greater flexibility to act. At the same time members of the Ministry of Education thought that the regular research project approach should not be followed, since often actual field conditions are not considered and artificial laboratories are created. Experience in many researches showed that even when the findings in such a laboratory were positive it was difficult to transfer the activities to conditions in the general society.

In order to ensure a balance between the two demands, it was decided that a special public organization, with defined objectives, be established. Rules for assuring representation of specific factors, finding means and supervisory conditions were set up in the by-laws of the organization.

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

With the positive decision about the organization of a limited-scope experimental fostering project, the question of where it should be situated arose *. The Prime Minister and the Minister of Defense suggested at that time that the boarding-school be housed in one of the army camps, so that the pupils would be influenced by the Israel Defense Forces' positive values, and would serve as a cadre of future officers. The acting Minister of Education suggested an agricultural school, or as an alternative a group of buildings in a rural area, so that the pupils would be influenced by the positive values of pioneering cooperative settlements, and would be removed from the negative influences of the city.

We claimed that the experiment should be carried out in a city, and under the existing circumstances, it should be in Jerusalem.

The reasons for this were mainly:

First - since an experiment in intellectual fostering in secondary education of "gifted" culturally disadvantaged was being considered, it was desirable to locate it near an academic center, where the social climate, opportunity to provide local instructors and lecturers and a model secondary school would assure academic and social status to the fostering project, as well as optimal assistance to the socialization of the youth and teachers. Since the only university in the country, at

* The first budget allotted was IL 60,000 per annum for a boarding-school of 60 students. With this budget 78 pupils were accepted, because of the heavy pressure of interested candidates who met the criteria.

that time, was located in Jerusalem, * we thought it would be possible to interest university students and teachers in the project, and even enlist them into active participation, either completely or partially, in designing the fostering programs or putting them into effect.

Second - we thought that when we reach the next stage in the development of differential fostering projects, based on the differences in the adolescents' abilities, aptitudes and desires, we could assign them to instructors and laboratory assistants in the university for their research projects.

Third - we assumed that if we wanted to prepare culturally disadvantaged youth to adjust to modernization processes, we should place them in an urban center - with a middle-high reference group of European extraction, and under conditions of pressure to achieve - as is prevalent in the general social system.

Fourth - we thought that locating the first boarding school near those responsible for the project at the Szold Institute ** and at the Ministry of Education, would permit daily contact to facilitate offering assistance and criticism of the programs.

* Now there are six universities.

** At the time, this investigator was Director of the Szold Institute and Pedagogical Advisor to the Minister of Education.

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

In the previous assumption the basic issue was how to assure status to the project - whereas in this assumption the primary problem is how the expected status of the "gifted" will be transferred not only to academic secondary schools but to technical and agricultural schools as well. In Israel, as in all European countries, academic secondary schools enjoy a higher status than technical or agricultural schools, both among parents and children. The Ministry of Education in Israel invested great efforts, financially, organizationally, and in public relations to raise the status of these schools. Now, when a project to foster "gifted" culturally disadvantaged pupils is established, and in the first group of recruits all pupils are sent to academic high schools, one may ask if this decision does not contradict the effort to give equal status to other types of institutions (technical, agricultural, etc.). Furthermore, the assumption was raised that in a varied population which appears under the sociological title of "culturally disadvantaged", there are youth from different circumstances, with different needs, who can enjoy many programs in secondary education. The technical school has the distinct advantage of providing an opportunity to its candidates to adapt and adjust for the following reasons:

- a) It includes a practical work program - where the youth can see the relationship between the theoretical hypotheses and assumptions, and their applicability in the field. Therefore, those who do not come from an intellectually stimulating environment and have not reached the stage of "formal operational thinking", will enjoy learning and will progress more with this type of learning system.
- b) The program is directed at defined occupations. Therefore, those who do not come from the middle class and are not ready to postpone immediate gratification for more distant and general aims will be able to see a reason for learning in this framework and will pursue their studies.
- c) The program is varied and has many rewarding opportunities - at least during part of the day - even for those who do not show readiness to attend and persevere.
- d) The program is graded, and can offer the pupil a constant feeling of his adjustment and progress. It provides him with immediate reinforcement - so vital to the adolescent, particularly if he is the first generation being educated.
- e) The program is differential for occupations and levels. Therefore, it allows immediate application and advanced channeling according to the different levels of achievement, ability and aptitudes, without harming the feeling of achievement and giving the opportunity to everyone to attain a certain degree of success.

- f) Since the average ability of most of the pupils is lower, it is possible to maintain within this framework the feeling of achievement and progress, even in the initial stages of adjustment, for very average pupils who only in their low standard community schools were considered "gifted".
- g) The program socializes towards an occupation and does not only lead to another stage of learning, as academic high schools do. This is very important for those who come from poor families where often the head of the family ages early and stops working. During a family crisis a youth who has completed a technical high school program can support the family either partially or totally.

Although there are many advantages to the technical high school, there are also limitations. We must be wary of the following developments:

- a) The technical school might lower the aspiration level of the pupils and their parents by enabling the youth to complete his studies and learn an occupation in a shorter or easier trend, with less intellectual effort and in a limited time. For example: a pupil in a technical school who does not progress as he should in electronics is directed to an easier and shorter trend, while he knows that if he were in an academic school, without intellectual effort he would be suspended from school.
- b) Attending a technical school might bar entry into certain occupations. By early specialization, the youth has limited his horizons - at a stage before reaching formal thinking and the ability to see things in broader perspective.

- c) The technical school's practical work is time-consuming. Therefore, it does not allow its pupils full opportunity for intellectual and social motivation.
- d) The technical high school will accustom its pupils to a social climate where the value patterns and behavior are like those of technical workers or technicians - while at least some of the pupils are potentially capable of striving for further academic studies to perform on a higher intellectual level.

These possibilities indicate the need to create learning opportunities in various types of institutions, to determine carefully criteria for student selection among the available opportunities, and to establish further opportunities beyond those in the individual institutions by providing free communication between pupils and teachers, by diagnosing their condition and by providing constant counselling and guidance.

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

The experiment to enrich and prepare pupils for secondary education* proved that most (about 85%) of the pupils in the upper 30% of culturally disadvantaged schools were prepared and willing to participate in enrichment programs after school and during the summer vacations - and to persevere in them for three consecutive years, despite the fact that teachers, psychologists and sociologists, for a variety of reasons, expected irregular attendance and a high dropout percentage.

* Smilansky, M., Burg, G., Krieger, T., Ibid.

In the experiment to foster the more able pupils it was suggested that these enter boarding-schools or participate in daily fostering programs, after they had matured more. It was assumed that the pupils and the parents would accept this proposal and would follow through in this fostering framework in secondary education for four years and would even continue the effort into higher education. This was based upon the assumption that just as in the enrichment programs, so too in the boarding program we are building upon a combination of motivational forces, sufficiently strong to overcome anticipated obstacles. These motivating forces are:

1. Selection Principle: The teacher, who knows the child, the results obtained on intelligence tests which appear to be reliable, scientific indicators, and a selection committee representing society and the secondary educational system, assure the youth and his parents that he is more gifted than his friends and is capable of attaining the achievement level required for secondary and higher education.
2. Destiny Principle: Society's representatives continually and systematically suggest to the youth and his family that his success can prove to the Israeli society in general and to his neighborhood, teachers and friends, that first generation urbanites (or those of minority cultures, or lower classes) are capable of overcoming the stigma of backwardness assigned to their group.

3. Achievement - Motivation: The pupils selected succeeded in the past in the elementary school; they believe in their ability. Now there are other, qualified opinions to reinforce this self-appraisal, which claim that further success is possible not only by local standards but by national ones. This appraisal is guaranteed by the promise of appropriate assistance.

4. Fear of Failure: Together with the stress on selection, destiny, and the prospect of success, the youth are repeatedly forewarned of the risk of failure. They are told clearly that they are indeed the most able in their schools. However, if they do not complete their secondary and higher education, their status in the future will be lowered and there can then be no serious prospect of succeeding in joining the upper classes without the additional effort demanded of them.

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

6. Mutual Cooperation Between the Parents and the School to Support the Child's Progress: A pedagogic and sociological direction is being discussed which parents are capable of accepting, despite their "different"

cultural patterns. This is different from the case of educational programs whose principles and means are contrary to home values (such as joining a Kibbutz).

7. Counselling and Guidance: The project framework provides for counsellors, instructors, psychological consultants and a social worker whose function is to offer personal aid and to provide contact between the home and the school - and to open new paths for progress.

8. The School as a Supportive and Promotive Agent: An effort such as this to advance pupils can succeed only if the secondary schools are willing to accept these pupils and are prepared to see their progress as their responsibility and to make the necessary arrangements for this purpose. The type of school best suited to this purpose must be determined, and new partnerships must be tried until a group of suitable secondary schools is formed to serve as supportive agents to the boarding-school project.

G. The number of those eligible for fostering in the boarding program must remain limited; clear criteria must be determined for acceptance preference.

Even if the project proves absolutely necessary, it will always remain limited in its ability to absorb pupils. The first reason for this is general. Experience in similar frameworks, and the estimated budget indicated that the annual cost of maintaining a pupil in a boarding-school and in secondary school classes will be about two to two-and-a-

half times greater than the tuition in a regular high school or than the expense for fostering on a daily basis only.

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

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

Sociological, expressed by giving preference to "Middle-Eastern" ethnic groups, males, and those living in development areas;

Psychological-educational (expressed by barring entrance to youth who were emotionally unstable and by giving preference to youth whose ability and aptitude could not be realized in their own homes);

and Social (expressed by giving preference to youth whose families were uneducated and whose parents had low-level occupations and low incomes - with many children).

The first criterion was sociological. First it was decided that preference would be given to youths of Middle Eastern ethnic origin since they are considered by society to be culturally disadvantaged and deserving of privileged care by the government to help them reach their potential and gain standing in the social, economic and military system of the country. It was decided that each year about 80% of the places in boarding-schools would be reserved for members of this ethnic group. As for the remaining 20%, it was decided to give preference to new immigrants who arrived in Israel from Eastern Europe during the last 2 - 3 years, and whose family circumstances or family composition made it desirable. It is desirable for a child who arrives in a new cultural environment at the beginning of his adolescence to be provided with a special framework which offers better prospects for his secondary education. This contention has a further explanation. Since members of both these groups are culturally disadvantaged from a certain point of view, they may find a good basis for cooperation and mutual relationships during the adjustment process in the boarding-school, where the dominant group will be children of old-timers of European extraction. Second, 65-70 percent of the places were reserved for boys. The assumption was that although we are interested in co-education and advancing culturally disadvantaged youth of both sexes, because of the special aims of this project and the large expenditure for each pupil, preference should be given to boys. The explanation is that because of home cultural patterns, boys will be more likely to persevere in their secondary and higher studies, to reach academic studies, and in particular, to reach positions of leadership in the army and in civilian life.

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

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

The third criterion was social. For "gifted" pupils in the above groups preference was given when it appeared that considering existing family circumstances (as determined by the local community index, parents' education, parents' occupation and employment, number of children, number of rooms, and the school and social service recommendation) it would be better for the child to leave home and go to a boarding-school. According to this criterion, many pupils were accepted from disturbed and broken homes, homes with many children or homes that were particularly primitive - where it could be assumed that in the existing home situation optimal opportunity to continue studies and develop socially and intellectually was impossible, even if assistance in lesson preparation could be found.

H. The test of a fostering project is in its ability to socialize pupils toward defined goals.

The accepted pattern in academic secondary schools in Israel, as in Western European countries, is early entrance selection and subsequent drop-out over the years of those who do not seem to meet the expected norms of the school or the required level for success in the matriculation examinations. This negative manner of selection is reinforced in Israel by the fact that the Department of Secondary Education gives the reward of an "accredited" school (acceptance of internal school grades as "protection" - parallel to the external matriculation examinations) to those schools where a high percentage of their pupils pass the external matriculation examinations. In other words, a school which originally rejected pupils of a weaker intellectual background and ability level,

thereby easing the job of fostering in advance, and subsequently suspended anyone who appeared unable to pass the external tests, is defined as a "good" educational institution, worthy of having its internal evaluation scale recognized.

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

It was clear from the first year of fostering, however, that the first test of the project would be in its ability to lead an optimal number of its pupils to the defined goals of completing high school and passing the matriculation examinations. Static observation raised doubts among the teachers, counsellors and pupils about their ability to adjust and the chances of success of one youth or another. But a more dynamic outlook, taking into account the pupil's origin and the value of the experience for him, the efforts invested in the progress, indicated the human, social and economic value of investing additional efforts.

We believed that only three criteria would induce us to forego further effort; a serious family crisis necessitating the youth's return home; repeated signs of non-adjustment to the demands of the boarding-school; a shared feeling among all concerned (the boarding-school

administration, the school administration, and the fostering project supervisor) that the youth has very limited ability, and that the original diagnosis in accepting him was an error.

I. When assigning youth to schools and classes each one must be placed in a reference group which will guarantee his adjustment and success.

When assigning youth to schools we must be guided by the following five criteria:

1. A school where the administration and the teachers want to integrate the boarding-school pupils and where there is reasonable ground to assume that despite their present limitations they will be able and willing to create a social climate suited to the integration of these youth.
2. A secondary school recognized for its teaching level and care - where there is a definite prospect for its pupils to reach the standard required for the matriculation examinations - the key to higher education.
3. A socially and ethnically heterogeneous school where an appropriate percentage of the pupils can serve as a reference group and model for imitation for intellectual development and adjustment to the desired behavior norms of our society.

4. In the case of a vocational secondary school there should be training available in suitable occupations and on levels fitting the pupils' needs.
 5. Schools and classes with various levels of students' averages should be available so that it is possible to send the brightest pupils to high-level classes, the middle ones to less high-level ones and the weaker pupils to middle-level classes. In other words, in order to assure the prospect for success, we must guarantee the possibility to place pupils so that the gap between the youth's ability and the ability curve in the class will not be so great that no fostering program could ever help to close it.
- J. The parents are partners in the fostering project, although there is a clear distinction between the home and the school's socialization roles; they both share, however, in supporting the adjustment and advancement of the youth.

In all the pedagogic experiments organized (first at the Szold Institute and then at the Tel Aviv University) to foster culturally disadvantaged pupils from kindergarten until adolescence, there was agreement about the parents' position. We contended that except in pathological cases, which are exceptional, the parents are interested in their children's progress - are prepared to believe in the school's importance in advancing them, and are even able to help in the adjustment efforts of the children as pupils. They are willing to help despite their being "different" in their cultural background and in many cases even intellectually and socially limited - and despite the fact that the fostering

project directs and guides the children to learn roles suited to the school and the modernization process - thereby to acquire different values and behavior from their parents.

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

First, that the representatives of the two worlds get to know each other and communicate.

Second that each understands the role, aims, plans and behavior of the other, and constantly communicates this to the youth.

Third, that they help the youth to fulfil his different roles successfully in both places.

Practically, in this project we felt that the parents could give emotional support to their children to pass over the "crisis", to meet the adjustment demands of the boarding-school and the classes and to persist in trying to reach their aims. The administration, instructors and teachers on their part would fulfil four conditions:

Understanding the youths' situation, believing in their prospects for success and helping in assuring their adjustment and progress;

Communicating regularly with the parents about the youths' status and problems;

Guiding the parents to understand their child's circumstances and recognizing their role in reinforcing his motivation to learn and supporting him in his efforts to change and adjust without attempting to demand what they do not have and cannot give;

Guiding the youth to understand the condition of the parents - to respect differences and accept the parents as they are.

K. An experimental project which aims to examine the significance of ambitious assumptions in new areas in the educational system must have a school for experimentation, established, organized, and operating according to its needs.

As we remarked above, we assumed from the outset that the difference in the make-up of the population being discussed on the one hand, and the needs of the different institutions of the educational system on the other, necessitated the establishment of many small boarding-schools, in different places, after the foundations were laid in the first boarding-school, which was organized as a test case. However, at the beginning of the implementation, when we encountered difficulties in locating places suited to our expectations, even for a small group of boys in the first Course, it was thought desirable to establish one experimental model school.

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

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

2. School planning, acquisition of equipment and its operation would be determined in advance and during its operation, based upon the project's changing needs.
3. The make-up of the pupil population and their assignment to classes would be determined annually according to the fostering project's needs.
4. Curricula, educational equipment and treatment approaches - In the morning, afternoon and evening hours there would be a constant experimental effort to create a proper climate to ensure suitable materialization of the fostering project and its expectations.
5. Apportioning the existing budget and gathering of additional funds would be directed at materializing the needs emanating from the above points.

In other words, we thought that while using existing institutions and trying to adjust them to the project's needs, we may try to make the first effort to create something more like what we imagined for an experimental model suited to the fostering needs of culturally disadvantaged adolescents.

In the summary evaluation - concluding all partial reports-we shall again discuss ways of implementing this assumption and relate it to the other assumptions, based upon both the empirical material which will be collected during the project's implementation and upon our subjective judgement influenced by our norms and behavior as crystallized during the project's operation.

CHAPTER II

STUDY PROCEDURE

After the follow-up on the first two Courses of this project was finished and the first report published *, it was decided to begin a further stage of follow-up on another Course of boarding-school pupils. This stage was designed for two main aims:

- a) to base the findings of the first stage on a broader sample, and to examine their significance now that the project has virtually passed into the charge of the Ministry of Education and moved out of the stage of activity in special experimental conditions.
- b) to deepen the study on questions that were not sufficiently investigated in the previous stage. For this purpose we chose the Sixth Course, which began its studies in Grade 9 in one year (1965-66). We decided to follow up this Course during the four years of secondary school studies. In this Course there were 224 pupils, who were absorbed into five boarding-schools in the same year. In addition, we chose several comparison groups of pupils in various secondary schools, representing a broad spectrum of institutions absorbing pupils of differing levels of ability and varied backgrounds - from comprehensive schools in development townships to selective "academic" schools in

* M. Smilansky, D. Nevo, S. Marbach: Gifted Pupils from Culturally Disadvantaged Schools - Their Identification and Fostering in Secondary Education, Szold Institute, Jerusalem, 1966.

large towns. Altogether some 2,500 pupils were included in the comparison groups. The description of the schools that were included in the study, and the definition of the various comparison groups can be found in Appendix I and Appendix II. Although these comparison groups do not form a representative sample of all the pupils in Israel in secondary education, they make it possible to compare the pupils of the fostering project with the groups of pupils from various educational institutions in Israel in a manner that will show more clearly the significance of the fostering project as regards the type of pupils absorbed and the possibilities it presents to its pupils. The instruments of the study which were used in the follow-up were administered to the pupils in Grade 9 and in Grade 12; also various data were collected over the four years of the follow-up. The following are the research instruments that were used and the data that were collected.

- A) Background Data - were collected by means of an informative questionnaire that was distributed to the pupils in all the groups of the study in Grade 9 and Grade 12.
- B) Intelligence Test - The "Miltha" intelligence group test * was administered to all the groups in Grade 9 and repeated in Grade 12. This is a standard Israeli group intelligence test constructed by Dr. G. Ortar on the basis of the verbal part of the American Lorge Thorndike test.

* G. Ortar: "Miltha" Intelligence Group Tests for Grades 4 - 12",
School of Education of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1966.

- C) Grade 8, "Seker" * scores - were collected from the lists of the Ministry of Education.
- D) Questionnaire on Vocational Inclinations - This is a questionnaire on attitudes, mainly concerning choice of profession and aspirations for the future, especially constructed for this study and tried in its first stage.
- E) Sociometric Questionnaire - was used in the boarding-schools and in the schools, in classes where pupils of the boarding-schools of the fostering project studied.
- F) Questionnaire for Evaluating Adjustment - was filled in concerning the boarding-school wards by the class-masters of the classes where they studied, and by the group instructors in the boarding-schools. The questionnaire was specially constructed for this study, and tried in its first stages.
- G) Questionnaire for Evaluation of the Boarding-School - was administered to the boarding-school wards in Grade 12 and also included questions concerning the planning of their future and their attitudes towards various social problems.
- H) Interview with the Parents - About half of the parents of the boarding-school pupils were interviewed when their children were in Grade 9. Parallel with them a control group of parents from the other groups in the study were interviewed.

* "Seker" - National Scholastic Survey .

- I) Follow-up on Graduates - Parallel with the follow-up on Course 6, the follow-up on the Course 1 graduates was continued. At this stage information was collected concerning their further studies and their work after "matriculation" and military service. This information will be completed with a personal interview with each graduate.

The data collected were processed by the computer of Tel-Aviv University. In the present report the data concerning socio-economic background and scholastic success are published. The other findings will be published in four additional reports, which are now in the preparatory stage:

- 1) Attitudes and vocational inclinations.
- 2) Social adjustment in the boarding-school and in the classes.
(according to sociometric questionnaires and evaluation questionnaires of teachers and group instructors).
- 3) The attitude of the parents to the fostering project.
- 4) Follow-up on the project's graduates.

When the separate technical reports have been completed an inclusive and comprehensive report will be prepared, designed for the general public.

CHAPTER III

WHO ARE THE PUPILS INCLUDED IN THE PROGRAM ?

In the chapter defining the aims of the project and the hypotheses behind its organization and development, clear criteria were established about the student population it was meant to serve and the desired form of its teaching frameworks. In this chapter we intend to examine the make-up of the project population at its present stage of development, on the basis of these same criteria. In the present follow-up study we have attempted to discover whether the group surveyed meets the set criteria in terms of countries of origin, cultural background, social conditions, residential background, level of ability and so on. In addition we have tried to compare this group with various groups in the secondary school populations, in order to find out what distinguishes this project.

The detailed description of the schools included in this study * can be found in Appendix I, and the characteristics of the comparison groups in Appendix II.

1. ORIGIN

The findings show that most of the pupils in the various comparison groups were born in Israel, so we can get a better idea of their origin by examining the countries of birth of their parents. 55% of the students

* For obvious reasons this report does not give the names of the schools taking part in the study.

in the fostering program were born in Israel; some 80% began their schooling in Grade 1 in Israel, and about 90% started Grades 1 - 4 in Israel. From 90 - 96% of the children in the comparison groups were born in Israel.

As for the parents' origin, in Table I we see that about 82% of the parents of the fostering project pupils were born in Middle-Eastern and North African countries, and only some 15% originate from Europe and America. A similar high ratio of Middle-Easterners can be found only in the "day-fostering" group (77%), which is also part of the fostering project, except that these children live at home with their parents, and not in a boarding-school framework. On the other hand, we see that in the group of comprehensive schools in development townships only 50% of the parents are of Middle-Eastern origin. In the regional secondary school included in our sample, we find only 38% of Middle-Eastern origin. In the secondary school in the immigrant town, there are only 27% Middle-Easterns. On the other hand, it is shown that in the group of selective schools chosen for the sample, comprising 638 pupils, only 5.8% of the parents come from the Middle East. And in the "academic" secondary school of average level (31) which we chose on the assumption that it absorbs many pupils of Middle-Eastern origin (of relatively high socio-economic standing) there are only about 22% of this origin. It is interesting to note that even in the "special" boarding-schools, financed by the government, we found only 11% of Middle-Eastern extraction.

Table I : Groups by Father's Country of Origin (in percentages)

Group	Country of origin of father	Israel	Middle East and North Africa	Balkan * Countries	Europe America	Total	
						No.	%
A.	Fostering boarding-schools	1.7	81.9	1.3	15.1	224	100.0
B.	Classmates of fostering wards	23.3	36.4	3.0	37.2	188	100.0
C.	Day-fostering	4.6	77.0	1.5	16.9	62	100.0
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	1.0	50.0	2.7	46.3	293	100.0
E.	Regional secondary school (23)	7.0	38.0	1.0	54.0	100	100.0
F.	School in immigrant town (32)	3.4	27.1	11.1	58.5	238	100.1
G.	Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	6.8	21.8	3.4	68.0	245	100.0
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	12.7	5.8	6.0	75.5	620	100.0
I.	Special boarding-schools **	17.0	11.0	1.5	70.4	130	100.0

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

** "Special" boarding-schools. These boarding-schools do not belong to the fostering project, and are the responsibility of one of the Government Ministries, which finances them.

The pupils in the sixth Course of the project attend various schools whose population is of mixed origin. We find that only 36% of the classmates of the fostering project pupils are of Middle-Eastern descent: 37% are of European descent and another 23% are children of parents born in Israel, some of Middle Eastern and some of European origin.

On this point, therefore, we can sum up by saying that the boarding-schools absorbed a high ratio of pupils of Middle Eastern descent, and the fostering project does, in fact, meet with the first criterion which was determined in the definition of its role, that is - to absorb within this framework approximately 80% pupils of Middle Eastern origin and 20% of European origin.

2. NUMBER OF YEARS IN ISRAEL

Table II concerns the number of years the parents of the pupils in the various groups have been in Israel. Most of those in the project (56%) are children of parents who reached Israel with the mass waves of immigration in 1949-56, and some (19%) arrived in 1957-61, while only about 15% came to Israel before the emergence of the State.

In this Table we see that the children who live in the boarding-schools attend classes where more than 50% of the pupils have parents who were born in Israel or arrived here before the emergence of the State.

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

Group	Year of father's immigration	Born in Israel	Before 1948	1949	1957	1962	1966 +	Total	
				1956	1961	1965		No.*	%
A. Fostering boarding-schools		1.8	14.4	56.3	19.2	8.3	0.0	224	100.0
B. Classmates of fostering wards		21.3	33.3	29.3	8.8	5.7	1.5	188	99.9
C. Day-fostering		3.6	25.5	47.3	5.5	18.2	0.0	62	100.1
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships		0.7	18.2	43.8	23.5	13.5	0.3	274	100.1
E. Regional secondary school (23)		8.0	46.0	38.0	8.0	0.0	0.0	87	100.0
F. School in immigrant town (32)		3.8	47.6	28.1	9.5	11.0	0.0	210	100.0
G. Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)		10.0	43.1	39.4	6.3	1.3	0.0	245	100.1
H. Selective "academic" secondary schools		18.6	58.5	13.7	5.4	3.6	0.2	600	100.0
I. "Special" boarding-schools		20.6	55.9	6.8	13.7	2.9	0.0	125	99.9

* In this Table the number of cases is not identical with the full number of those studied in each institution, because some of the pupils did not know the exact year of their parents' immigration. This note also applies to other cases in some of the other Tables.

With respect to the number of years in Israel, the project pupils are comparable to the comprehensive school pupils in development townships, where only 19% of the students come from the long-established community. The point that stands out here is that even in the secondary school in the immigrant town (group F) some half of the pupils are children of parents who arrived in Israel before the rise of the State.

As for the selective "academic" secondary schools, not only do they not absorb Middle Eastern children (5.8% - see Table I) but also the number of all immigrants in them is fairly low. 77% of the pupils in these schools are children of parents who were born in Israel or immigrated before Independence (1948). A similar situation exists in the "special" boarding-schools.

Thus the fostering project not only absorbs pupils who are mainly of Middle Eastern origin, but also as regards length of time in the country its pupils come into the category of "new immigrants". The fact that they study at schools where about half of their classmates are from settled families and only a third are of Middle Eastern origin, permits us to make a second generalization. That is - that the project has kept to the criteria of social and ethnic integration, although the situation varies from one institution to another and the possibilities for a reference group and model for imitation were better in the early years of the project.

3. FATHER'S EDUCATION

In Table III we see that roughly 75% of the fathers in the project had only elementary schooling or less * - only 17.5% had secondary or higher education.

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

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

In the selective "academic" secondary schools (group H) only 13% of the pupils' fathers were of this low level of education. In the average-level "academic" secondary school (group G) 23% of the fathers were of this standard.

It is interesting to observe the level of education of fathers of the "special" boarding-school wards, and particularly the ratio of children of "intellectual" fathers (higher education), which is low (14%)

* 27% of the fathers in this group had no more than 4 years' schooling, that is, what is generally defined as "functional illiteracy".

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

Father's education Group	Partial elementary	Elementary	Partial second- ary	Second- ary	Post second- ary	Higher educa- tion	Total	
							No.	%
A. Fostering boarding-schools	45.6	29.1	8.7	11.2	3.4	1.9	224	99.9
B. Classmates of fostering wards	22.4	18.4	17.9	21.6	9.8	9.8	188	99.9
C. Day-fostering	18.8	34.0	13.2	30.2	1.9	1.9	62	100.0
D. Comprehensive schools in deve- lopment townships	21.5	28.9	16.9	23.2	5.0	4.5	293	100.0
E. Regional second- ary school (23)	14.0	25.0	17.0	33.0	9.0	2.0	100	100.0
F. School in immi- grant town (32)	22.7	27.5	19.4	18.0	7.1	5.2	238	99.9
G. Average-level "academic" second- ary school (31)	7.2	15.4	17.4	41.9	9.1	9.0	245	100.0
H. Selective "aca- demic" second- ary schools	4.7	8.2	9.6	32.0	15.7	29.8	612	100.0
I. "Special" board- ing schools	4.0	23.4	12.1	46.0	8.9	5.6	124	100.0

compared to the selective schools (45%) where the wards of these boarding-schools study.

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

4. FATHER'S OCCUPATION

From Table IV we can see that roughly 70% of the pupils in the project are sons of laborers or of unemployed people *, and only about 3% have above-average employment status (technicians, teachers, managers, academicians). The occupational status of the fathers is low also in comparison with that of fathers of pupils from development townships (57% labourers, 13% above-average status) and immigrant towns (48% laborers, 17% above-average occupational status). As opposed to this, half the pupils in the selective schools are sons of fathers of high occupational status, and only about 15% are children of laborers **.

* Including 6.1% orphans.

** It is interesting to note the comparatively low rate of "academicians" among the parents in the "special" boarding-schools (7.5%) compared with the parents of pupils in the selective schools (25% "academicians") where the wards of the "special" boarding-schools study. This difference stood out also in our discussion of the fathers' education.

Table IV :Groups by Father's Occupation (in percentages)

Group	Father's Occupation	Dead or unemployed	Unskilled Laborer	Skilled or semi-skilled Laborer	Small-scale independent businessman *	Clerk	Technician or elementary school teacher	Manager - Businessman	Academic Profession	Total	
										No.	%
A.	Fostering boarding- schools	14.8	27.0	28.7	14.8	11.3	0.9	1.7	0.9	223	100.0
B.	Classmates of fos- tering wards	6.3	5.2	21.6	18.9	22.4	5.9	9.2	10.4	185	99.9
C.	Day-fostering	7.7	10.8	43.1	4.6	16.9	6.2	9.2	1.5	62	100.0
D.	Comprehensive schools in deve- lopment townships	5.8	18.8	32.2	17.1	13.4	3.7	4.1	4.8	290	99.9
E.	Regional second- ary school (23)	4.0	7.0	16.0	36.0	1.0	0.0	14.0	3.0	100	100.0
F.	School in immi- grant town (32)	5.2	9.2	34.1	19.7	14.0	5.7	8.7	3.0	221	100.0
G.	Average-level "academic" second- ary school (31)	5.2	5.0	19.7	15.8	20.9	5.5	22.4	7.5	244	100.0
H.	Selective "acade- mic" secondary schools	4.2	1.2	9.2	16.2	18.7	4.4	20.6	25.4	630	99.9
I.	"Special" boarding- schools	4.5	3.0	13.4	17.2	19.4	11.9	23.1	7.5	130	100.0

* including farm-owners in "Moshav".

The data on the father's occupation contribute to the general picture of the project pupils as children from low social strata.

5. NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN FAMILY...

In Table V it stands out that a high ratio of the project pupils come from large families. 77% of them come from families with 4 or more children, 43% from families with 6 children or more. Only 23% come from small families (up to 3 children); this ratio is low even in comparison with pupils in comprehensive schools in development townships (53% from small families) or in regional schools (about 58% from small families).

Over 90% of the pupils in the selective schools (group II) come from small families. As regards the number of children in the family, the project pupils differ also from their classmates, of whom 50% come from small families (as opposed to 23% of the project wards) and only 21% come from families with 6 children or more (compared with 43% of the project pupils). In effect, their classmates come from families similar in size to those of the pupils in development townships.

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

Table V : Groups by Number of Children in Family (in percentages)

Group	Number of children in family	1 - 3	4 - 5	6 - 7	8 or more	Total	
		children	children	children		N.o.	%
A.	Fostering boarding-schools	22.8	33.8	22.3	21.1	224	100.0
B.	Classmates of fostering wards	51.6	26.9	13.0	8.5	188	100.0
C.	Day-fostering	53.8	29.3	4.5	12.4	62	100.0
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	52.7	20.4	14.6	12.2	293	99.9
E.	Regional secondary school (23)	58.0	20.0	15.0	7.0	100	100.0
F.	School in immigrant town (32)	77.2	15.0	5.6	2.2	233	100.0
G.	Average level "academic" secondary school (31)	90.1	6.4	2.4	1.2	242	100.1
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	91.7	8.0	0.3	0.0	618	100.0
I.	"Special" boarding-schools	88.6	7.5	3.0	0.8	130	100.0

6. TYPE OF RESIDENTIAL SETTLEMENT

The residential settlements in the study were classified according to the standard classification of the Central Bureau of Statistics. * This classification is based mainly on three criteria: urban and rural settlement, number of years of residence in the country and number of inhabitants.

In Table VI we see that about half of the project pupils (49%) come from immigrant settlements (urban or rural), while the other half come from large towns (46.8%) or from rural settlements where most of the population is well established. It should be noted that although this Table refers in general terms to large towns (such as Tel Aviv, Petach Tikva, Netanya) our investigation shows that the parents of the project wards live mostly in the immigrant neighborhoods and in slum areas of these towns, and not in the residential areas of the established population. However, it is important to bear in mind the fact that they live in urban areas with organized educational services, providing many varieties of secondary education**. The official definition of "development townships" does not entirely fit any of the categories of types of residential settlements as they appear in Table VI; on investigation we found that only 17.3% of the parents in the project live in development townships.

* Central Bureau of Statistics, List of Settlements, their Population and Codes, 1966.

** Although many of the secondary schools, particularly those of a higher standard, do not, in fact, absorb large numbers from disadvantaged families, as we have seen in previous sections of this report.

Table VI : Groups by Type of Residential Settlement of Parents (in percentages)

Group	Type of residential settlement	Large towns	Established "Moshavim" and rural settlements	New urban settlements	New "Moshavim" and rural settlements	Total	
						No.	%
A.	Fostering boarding-schools	46.8	4.2	30.0	19.0	223	100.0
B.	Classmates of fostering wards	79.3	3.0	7.3	10.3	185	99.9
C.	Day-fostering	69.2	0.0	30.8	0.0	62	100.0
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	0.7	2.7	93.6	3.0	293	100.0
E.	Regional secondary school (23)	1.0	32.0	13.0	53.0	100	100.0
F.	School in immigrant town (32)	2.5	0.4	85.9	11.1	234	99.9
G.	Average level "academic" secondary school (31)	98.0	0.4	1.5	---	245	99.9
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	98.4	---	1.5	---	638	99.9
I.	"Special" boarding-schools	70.7	3.8	18.8	6.8	133	100.1

It would be meaningless to compare the types of residential settlement with most of the comparison groups, since they attend local schools, which absorb pupils from the area where they are sited. At the same time, it is interesting to note that the regional school referred to in group F consists of approximately one third of pupils from established "moshavim" *, half of pupils from immigrant "moshavim" and another 13% pupils from a new urban settlement, which is in effect a development township neighboring on the area. In the "special" boarding-schools we find only 7% pupils from immigrant "moshavim", and another 19% from urban settlements in which most of the population came to Israel after the rise of the State. In the day-fostering group we find 31% pupils coming from urban immigrant settlements neighboring on the town where they study, half of these (15%) from development townships.

7. REGULARITY OF FAMILY : ORPHANS AND CHILDREN OF DIVORCED PARENTS

In Table VII we see that 9.8% of the project wards are orphans (of one parent or both). This percentage is higher than in the other groups studied and is probably explained by the existence of the boarding-school. A similar proportion of orphans is found among the classmates of the project pupils (8.1%) and in the day-fostering group (7.7%). In the other comparison groups the percentage of orphans ranges between 2.9% and 5.4%.

* "Moshav" - smallholders' cooperative settlement. By "established" - we mean established before the rise of the State in 1948.

Table VII - Groups by Regularity of Family (in percentages)

Group	Regularity of family	Orphaned of both parents	Orphaned of father	Orphaned of mother	Parents divorced	Regular family	Total	
							No.	%
A.	Fostering boarding-schools	0.4	6.8	2.6	3.4	86.8	224	100.0
B.	Classmates of fostering wards	0.3	4.8	3.0	0.3	91.6	185	100.0
C.	Day-fostering	0.0	7.7	0.0	3.1	89.2	62	100.0
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	0.0	3.7	1.7	2.0	92.5	293	99.9
E.	Regional secondary school (23)	0.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	96.0	100	100.0
F.	School in immigrant town (32)	0.0	2.6	0.9	0.4	96.1	233	100.0
G.	Average-level "academic" secondary schools (31)	0.0	2.7	0.8	1.2	95.3	245	100.0
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	0.0	4.4	0.6	1.2	93.7	638	99.9
I.	"Special" boarding schools	0.0	2.9	0.0	4.4	92.7	130	100.0

3.4% of the wards are children of divorced parents, a similar proportion (3.1%) being found also in the day-fostering group. Among the "special" boarding-school group we find 4.4% children of divorcees, a situation which appears to reflect the tendency of divorced parents to send their children to boarding-schools, and not the special result of a criterion of the fostering project. In the other groups the number of divorced parents is no more than 2%.

Some 13% of the project children come from families that have been broken by the death of a parent or by divorce. 11% of the day-fostering group come from such families, while in the other groups, the proportion of such cases veers between 4 - 9%.

It can be said, therefore, that while the fostering project absorbs more children from broken families than do other frameworks, the "problematic" nature of the project children is more clearly expressed by ethnic, socio-economic criteria.

8. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF SIBLINGS

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

Table VIII - Percentage of Those Studied who Have at Least one Sibling at a Given Educational Level, from among Those who Have Siblings of Appropriate Age.

Group \ Type of education	Incomplete secondary education and more (at least 11 yrs)	Matriculation and more	Higher Education
A. Fostering boarding-schools	85.1	46.3	9.5
B. Classmates of fostering wards	98.4	82.2	38.9
C. Day-fostering	88.6	65.5	36.0
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	84.5	59.2	13.3
E. Regional secondary school (23)	81.6	64.3	8.0
F. School in immigrant town (32)	86.1	46.3	36.4
G. Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	97.6	80.8	45.1
H. Selective "academic" secondary schools	98.1	88.7	57.8
I. "Special" boarding-schools	93.4	90.9	25.7

We have tried to determine what is the proportion of families whose children have already received secondary education or more, provided that there are children of appropriate age in these families.

In Table VIII we see that from among the project pupils who have at least one sibling of 17 years or over, 85% have at least one sibling who has received at least partial secondary education. A similar ratio is found among those investigated in the development townships (group D), in the immigrant town (group F), and a slightly lower rate in the regional school (group E). In the selective schools and in the average-level "academic" secondary school we find that almost 100% of those studied have at least one sibling at this level of education *.

In the second column of the Table we find that of all the project wards who have siblings aged 18 and over, 46% have at least one sibling who has matriculated. A similar proportion of siblings with matriculation certificates is found in the immigrant town school (46%), and a slightly higher rate in the development townships (59%) and in the regional school (64%). The proportion is, naturally, much higher in the selective schools (89%), in the "special boarding-schools" (91%) and in the "academic" secondary school of average level (81%).

* It should be observed that the method of comparison that we have used here is likely to reduce differences between large families (such as those of the project wards) and families with a small number of children. Since the question is "at least one sibling" at each educational level, a pupil with, for example, 5 siblings aged 17 and over, of whom only one has received education, will be classified with an other pupil who has only one sibling of this age, he being educated. This remark applies to all the data in Table VIII.

In column 3 of Table VIII we find data on the percentage of pupils who have at least one sibling who has received higher education, from among those who have siblings of appropriate age. Here the gap between the groups is much bigger than at the previous level of education. Among the project pupils there are 9.5% whose siblings have received higher education. A similar proportion is found in the regional school (8%) and in comprehensive schools in development townships (13%). Much higher ratios are found in the selective schools (58%) and in the average-level "academic" secondary school (45%). It is interesting to see the relatively large number of children who have siblings with higher education among the pupils in the immigrant town (36%). Perhaps this fact can be explained by the comparatively high percentage of European immigrants in the school concerned (see Table I).

Another interesting point is that among the pupils of the "special" boarding-schools the ratio of children who have siblings with higher education is fairly low (76%) although the proportion of siblings with matriculation is extremely high (91%). This situation matches the findings concerning the father's occupation and education (see Tables III and IV).

It may be said that the educational level of the families of the project wards is similar to that of the families of pupils in the development townships, immigrant town and the regional school, who all generally represent a similar population, from the point of view of socio-economic background. The educational level of the siblings of the project pupils is very low in comparison with the selective schools, the

average-level "academic" secondary school and the "special" boarding-schools*, with whom they are expected to compete.

There is, therefore, no support for the hypothesis that although the project wards come from disadvantaged strata, their families have tried to acquire education for their children; and it is more feasible to assume that in general they can be regarded as "the first generation to be educated". **

9. SUMMING UP

The data that we have presented on the background of the project pupils point to the fact that these children are from Culturally Disadvantaged social strata, according to the following criteria:

- a) 82% are of Middle Eastern and North African origin .
- b) 84% of the fathers are new immigrants who came to Israel after the emergence of the State in 1948.
- c) 75% of the fathers have only elementary education, or less.
- d) 85% of the fathers are of low occupational status (laborers, members of small rural settlements, ("MoShav"), shop-keepers, peddlers or unemployed.
- e) 77% come from families with 4 children or more; 43% from families with 6 children or more ***.

* And this despite the methodological reservation noted previously.

** It should also be remembered that this group is already the sixth in the fostering project, and many of the "learned" brothers received their education in the framework of this project.

*** Only 12% of Jewish families in Israel had 4 or more children in the parallel period, and only 4.5% had 6 children and more.

We have compared these statistics with parallel data on comparison groups from varied types of secondary schools.

The comparison stressed even more strongly the significance of the project's special contribution. At the same time, this approach enabled us to see how parallels may be found, according to certain criteria, for similar pupils in local schools.

CHAPTER IV

THE LEVEL OF ABILITY OF THE PUPILS IN THE FOSTERING PROJECT

In this chapter we shall discuss the intellectual ability of the pupils in the project, having surveyed their socio-economic background in the previous chapter. Our discussion will be based mainly on data that we have accumulated concerning the marks in the Grade 8 "Seker" * and on the results of the verbal intelligence group-test known as "Miltha". We shall show the position of the project pupils both in relation to the national norms in these tests and in comparison with the groups detailed in the previous chapter.

1. SUCCESS IN THE GRADE 8 "SEKER"

The "Seker" test is held in all the Grade 8 classes in Israel, and serves as a criterion for evaluation and classification of pupils for admission to secondary education, and a basis for eligibility for graded tuition fees, according to the social circumstances of the pupil's parents. The "Seker" test is prepared each year, and it includes elements of intelligence tests and achievements tests. The final score in the "Seker" ("the pupil's score" in the "Seker") on which the measure of the pupil's suitability for secondary education is determined, is a combined score,

* "Seker" - National Scholastic Survey Test of Overall Achievements in Primary Schools.

with a weight of 40% being given to the "Seker" test and 60% to the teacher's marks in specified subjects, these being scaled according to the class average in the "Seker" test. Usually the score around a percentile of 80 is set as the minimum standard, granting the pupil success at the regular norm ("norm A"). But with intent to encourage pupils of Middle Eastern origin, the Ministry of Education decided that children whose parents originate from Middle East and North Africa would automatically be considered as "passing" the "Seker", and eligible for graded tuition fees in accordance with their social situation, with a score of 10 points lower than the norm described as "norm A". That is to say: pupils of this regional - ethnic background are given a "pass" mark at a lower norm (known as "norm B") irrespective of the educational background and social circumstances of their parents, in order to raise the proportion of eligible pupils from these ethnic groups. The pupil, his parents and the school are not informed as to whether his eligibility in the "Seker" was determined on the basis of "norm A" or "norm B".

In Table IX we see that two out of every three pupils who were accepted for the fostering project passed the "Seker" at "norm A"; an additional 30% had scores at the "norm B" level, and about 3% fell even below the minimum norm for eligibility. 80% of those with scores at the level of 70-79 are of Middle Eastern Origin, that is to say, they "passed" the "Seker" test at "norm B", and received affirmative replies concerning the "Seker" (according to the special norm for Middle Easterns).

Table IX : Groups by "Pupils Mark" in the "Seker" (percentages)

Pupil's mark in the Seker		to 69	70 - 79	80 +	Total	
Group					No.	%
A.	Fostering boarding-schools	3.3	30.1	66.5	209	99.9
B.	Classmates of fostering wards	3.5	23.6	72.9	140*	100.0
C.	Day-fostering	2.2	20.4	77.4	48	100.0
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	50.2	24.6	25.2	239	100.0
E.	Regional scondary school (23)					
F.	School in immigrant town (32)	8.1	33.3	58.6	186	100.0
G.	Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	4.4	46.9	48.7	226	100.0
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	1.3	14.3	84.4	579	100.0
I.	"Special" boarding-schools	0.9	10.1	88.8	108	99.8

* No statistics are available concerning the classmates of the fostering boarding-school wards in schools 11, 12, 13.

The data concerning the "Seker" scores of the classmates of the project pupils are not complete *, but even if we deduct from the group of project pupils those of whom we do not have their classmates' scores, the picture does not change significantly **. Thus it is clear that the pupils of the fostering project are of a smimilar level of ability (as reflected in the "Seker" scores) to their classmates. Their level of ability is much higher than that of the pupils in the development townships (50% below "norm B", and only 25% at "norm A") and appreciably higher than the pupils in the average-level "academic" secondary school (group G) and the school in the immigrant town (Group F). The level of their scores in the "Seker" test is lower than that of the selective school pupils (84% at "norm A") although these schools also accept 15% of pupils who did not pass the "Seker" test at "norm A" ***. It is interesting to note that the level of the pupils in the day-fostering group is relatively high (77% at norm A), especially if we consider the fact that the group in question are pupils who study at a selective technical school.

It must be remembered that Table IX refers to the average of all the pupils in the fostering project, but in the process of identification and assigning to schools, the pupils are intentionally distributed

* See previous footnote.

** Of the remainder: 68.2% - "norm A", 27.9% - "norm B".

*** In these schools there are only about 6% pupils of Middle Eastern origin.

among many institutions of varying standards. Particularly outstanding are the pupils who were accepted by the boarding-school affiliated to school no. 10 (see Appendix 1). Of these, 87% passed the "Seker" test at "norm A", a similar proportion to that in the selective schools (84%) and the "special" boarding-schools (89%). In the other boarding-schools of the fostering project there are 60% with marks of 80+ ("norm A"); the difference from one institution to another is not great *, although some of them are "academic" boarding-schools and others are technical boarding-schools.

In summing up; we can say that, according to the "Seker" test, which expresses the national norm of suitability for secondary education, the pupils of the fostering project are of a higher standard than the pupils in schools populated by children from similar backgrounds (schools in development townships and immigrant towns), but their standard is lower than that of the pupils in the selective schools. There is a distribution of pupils within the project, and the group studying at school no.10. has a level of achievements in the "Seker" test not lower than that of the pupils in the selective schools, in spite of the fact that their socio-economic background is radically different, as we saw in the previous chapter. From the data we see that the project includes also one-third of pupils of "mediocre" level of ability (that defined as "norm B"),

* The percentages range between 59% in school no. 14 and 63% in school no. 15.

pupils such as whom there are many in the schools, these being chosen for fostering because they were the best in their classes in culturally disadvantaged communities and seemed deserving of the special investment, of finance and treatment, of the State.

2. LEVEL OF ABILITY ACCORDING TO THE "MILTHA"-INTELLIGENCE GROUP-TESTS

The "Miltha" * test is a group intelligence test reflecting Israeli norms, which was constructed on the basis of the verbal part of the American Lorge-Thorndike Test. It is a verbal test, consisting of five sub-tests: - vocabulary, completing of sentences, discovering of parallels, finding of exceptions and arithmetic problems. The final score received in the test is an intelligence quotient, based on deviation (deviation IQ) with 100 as the mean and a standard deviation of 15 at each grade-level. The test was standardized according to a representative sample of pupils in various classes throughout the Israeli educational system, and it does not represent children who do not study at any school. Likewise, the sample excluded pupils who were new immigrants and pupils whose age did not match that of their class. The "intelligence quotient" that a candidate receives in this test is relative to the population of the class in which he studies, and not to his age-group in the general population. Owing to the fact that as early as Grade 9 only some

* Ortar G. and Murieli A., "Miltha Intelligence Group-Tests for Grades 4-12", School of Education, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1966.

80% of the age-group are still at school, and by Grade 12 more than half have dropped out, it is clear that this "I.Q." must be lower than the I.Q. of the pupil according to norms relating to the whole population of a given age, and is a function of the percentage of pupils who continued their studies and were included in the normative sample of the various age-groups. This point requires special attention in order to understand the significance of the scores in the "Miltha" test, and care must be taken in comparing these scores with the intelligence quotients received in the individual intelligence tests used in Israel (such as the Wechsler Test) that were standardized according to samples of age-groups, and not of classes. Whereas according to a test standardized by age-group samples, one would hardly expect to find secondary-school pupils with an I.Q. lower than 80, according to the "Miltha" norms it may be expected that 9% of all the pupils in each secondary school grade will have such I.Q.'s. Further problems arise at every attempt to compare the I.Q. of pupils in various grades of secondary school, because the percentage of pupils falls with the rise in age. This fact adds a special difficulty to our study, because, to the extent that a certain institution in the fostering project is less selective, holding pupils who would otherwise have been "dropped", there will be a relative fall in the I.Q. of the fostering groups from Grades 9 to 12.

In spite of these reservations, we used the "Miltha" test in our study, because in the Israeli reality it was the only standardized group intelligence test at our disposal, and we did not want to forego an

intelligence test, despite its acknowledged limitations. For a more meaningful understanding of the results of the test, we also used a sample of the comparison groups included in the study, who represent varying types of secondary schools in the Israeli educational system.

From Table X it can be seen that the mean "Miltha" score of the pupils in the fostering project in Grade 9 is 102.1, which is even a little higher than the general norm for this grade (average 100). A further expression of this phenomenon is found in the fact that the average-level "academic" secondary school (mean 100.7) and the school in the immigrant town (mean 98.7) demonstrate the secondary school average. The distribution of scores of the project pupils differs from the distribution in the norm population mainly in the extreme scores: 1.9% below 80 (compared with 9% in the norm) : 9.8% with a score of 80 - 89 (as opposed to 16% in the norm) and 5.1% with a score of 120 and above (9% in the norm). Most of the population of the fostering project (83%) is concentrated around the scores of 90 to 119. Obviously the project pupils, who are selected from amongst their schoolmates, are of much higher standard than pupils in comprehensive schools in development townships, where the mean score is 87.9, and 55.8% of the pupils have a score below 90. They are also higher than the pupils in the regional secondary school, where 41% have a score lower than 90, and the mean is 92.6. The level of the project pupils is well below that of the pupils in the selective schools (mean 110.6) and in the "special" boarding-schools (mean 112.5). In these two selective groups we find

Table X : ^{*} Groups by I.Q. in the "Miltha" Test for Grade 9 (percentages)

I. Q. Group		to 79	80 - 89	90 - 99	100- 109	110- 119	120+	Total		Mean score
								No.	%	
A.	Fostering board- ing schools	1.9	9.8	28.5	36.5	18.2	5.1	211	100.0	102.1
B.	Classmates of fostering wards	-	9.3	17.8	37.9	27.9	7.1	** 152	100.0	104.3
C.	Day-fostering	3.5	10.7	17.9	39.3	23.2	5.4	56	100.0	102.5
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	32.5	23.3	15.8	18.9	8.7	0.8	253	100.0	87.9
E.	Regional second- ary school (23)	22.0	19.0	23.0	22.0	9.0	5.0	100	100.0	92.6
F.	School in immig- rant town (32)	4.3	18.4	24.6	33.3	16.9	2.4	207	99.9	98.7
G.	Average-level "academic" second ary school (31)	2.6	8.1	31.1	42.0	15.3	0.9	235	100.0	100.7
H.	Selective "acade- mic" secondary schools	0.7	1.0	10.8	33.0	36.4	18.1	594	100.0	110.6
I.	"Special" board- ing schools		0.8	7.8	27.3	44.6	20.3	128	100.0	112.5
Distribution accord- ing to test norms		9	16	25	25	16	9		100.0	100

* Does not include pupils who have been in Israel less than two years.

** Does not include the classmates of the project pupils in the tech-
nical boarding-school.

that some 20% of the pupils have an I.Q. of 120 and over, and there are almost no pupils with an I.Q. below 90 (1.7% - 0.8%).

Again it must be remembered that in the above description what is referred to is the average ability of all the pupils, but through differential selection to the various institutions there are differences in the level of ability of the pupils in the various boarding-schools of the project, as is shown in Table X.

In Table XI we see that the level of ability of the pupils in the academic boarding-school (school no. 10) is noticeably high. The mean "Miltha" score in this boarding-school is 110.4; none of the pupils here has an I.Q. lower than 90, and 21.3% have a "Miltha" score of 120 and over. The level of ability of the pupils in this boarding-school is similar to that of the pupils in the selective schools and the "special" boarding-schools as regards both mean score and the distribution of scores (see Table XI). The other boarding-schools absorb pupils with a mean score of around 100; none of their pupils has a "Miltha" score of 120 or over.

According to the "Miltha" rating there is a small gap between the project pupils and their classmates, but in fact this gap is smaller than it would appear from Table XI, where the classmates of the pupils in the technical boarding-school are not included. If we deduct from the group of project pupils those in the technical boarding-school, their mean score rises to 102.8 (against 104.3 among their classmates) and the distribution of scores changes equivalently, but still there

remains a small gap in favour of the classmates.

It is worth noting that the day-fostering group does not fall below the boarding-school wards in level of ability, and is of a higher level than those in the technical boarding-school. In the day-fostering group we find twice the percentage (28.6%) with an I.Q. of 110 and above than in the technical boarding-school (13.8%) and also a higher mean (102.5 as opposed to 99.9).

TABLE XI : Boarding-Schools of the Fostering Project by I.Q. in "Miltha" Test (percentages)

Boarding-school \ I. Q.	to 79	80 - 89	90 - 99	100 - 109	110 - 119	120+	Total		Mean score
							No.**	%	
Academic boarding-school (school no.10)	-	-	12.8	68.2	27.7	21.3	48	100.0	110.4
Technical boarding-schools (nos, 11-12-13)	3.4	8.6	39.7	34.5	13.8	-	58	100.0	99.4
Rural boarding-school (16)	4.7	16.3	27.9	37.1	14.0	-	44	100.0	97.8
Religious boarding-school for boys (15)	-	18.5	25.9	40.8	14.8	-	27	100.0	101.5
Religious boarding-school for girls (14)	-	10.5	34.2	34.2	18.4	2.6	34	99.9	101.3
All the fostering boarding-schools	1.9	9.8	28.5	36.5	18.2	5.1	211	99.9	102.1

* See Appendix I concerning school codes.

** Does not include pupils who have been in Israel less than two years.

To sum-up - the pupils in the fostering project are a population of pupils with above-average ability-level compared to national standards. Their ability is higher than that of the comprehensive school pupils in development townships, the pupils in the regional school and the immigrant town secondary school included in our study. They are, therefore, a population of pupils whose ability is high relative to their socio-economic background. But if we regard the selective school pupils (group H) as of high ability-level, then only some of the pupils in the project boarding-schools are of a similar level. These are concentrated mainly in boarding-school no. 10, where the standard of the pupils is no lower than the standard in the selective schools.

The picture received from the analysis of level of ability according to the "Miltha" test is similar to that shown by the analysis of "Seker" results. By both these criteria it is clear that the pupils in the fostering project are "gifted" only in relation to the ethnic social group from which they come, and only some of them are "gifted" according to general standards which do not take into consideration the family background. The fact also stands out that about a third of them belong to the ability group defined in the "Seker" by the concept "norm B". It follows from this that the term "gifted" used by the project, should not be seen as expressing the absolute level of ability of the pupils in the fostering project, but rather as a concept used to express the wish to encourage pupils from disadvantaged strata by placing them as a selected group, gifted in relation to their socio-economic background.

CHAPTER V

CONSISTENCY AND SUCCESS IN STUDIES

1) DROPPING-OUT OF SCHOOL

In Table XII we see that 73.7% of all the pupils of the fostering boarding-schools who began their studies in Grade 9 in the framework of the fostering project reached Grade 12 and completed their secondary studies, that is to say - 26.3% dropped out on the way from Grade 9 to Grade 12.

This drop-out rate is low compared to the usual rate for youth of culturally disadvantaged background in secondary schools in Israel and other countries, as we shall present and analyze in the final report, and is similar to the drop-out rate in the selective schools in our sample (21.3%).

From the comparisons in Table XII we see that over half of the pupils did not complete 12 Grades in the comprehensive schools in development townships (54.1%), in the average-level "academic" school (group G - 54.9%) and in the "special" boarding-schools (50.7%). We find a similar rate of drop-outs (51.9%) among the classmates of the boarding-school pupils; while in the regional school (group E) we see that 67% do not reach Grade 12. It is interesting that the drop-out rate in the day-fostering group is 37.9% - higher than that in the group of boarding-school wards, but lower than in schools where no organized and direct effort for fostering is made from outside.

Table XII : Groups by Consistency in Studies (in percentages)

Group	Consistency in studies	Drop-outs*	Completed 12 Grades	Total Grade 9 beginners	
				No.	%
A.	Fostering boarding-schools	26.3	73.7	224	100.0
B.	Classmates of fostering pupils	51.9	48.1	188**	100.0
C.	Day-fostering	37.9	62.1	62	100.0
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	54.1	45.9	293	100.0
E.	Regional secondary school (23)	67.0	33.0	100	100.0
F.	Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	42.1	57.9	238	100.0
G.	Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	54.9	45.1	245	100.0
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	21.3	78.8	638	100.0
I.	"Special" boarding-schools	50.7	49.3	130	100.0

* By this we mean pupils who did not complete the 12th Grade in the institution where they began their studies in Grade 9. Some of them may have transferred to another school and this we shall clarify during the coming year in our follow-up of the drop-outs.

** Does not include the classmates in the rural boarding-school (16) who also live in the boarding-school and receive the same treatment as the wards of the fostering boarding-schools. Because of it the number mentioned here is different than in previous Tables.

It is important to note that the above drop-out rate refers to pupils who left the institution where they began to study in Grade 9, and, of course, includes also pupils who completed their secondary studies in another institution. As for the question - what is the rate of pupils who completed their studies in spite of dropping-out from the institution where they began their secondary studies? We shall answer this in a later report, on completion of the follow-up on the drop-outs. At this stage the rate of dropping-out or consistency can be taken to reflect the "holding power" of the various institutions to hold the pupils they absorb and to bring them to the completion of their secondary education. In some institutions the drop-outs include also pupils who were defined as "completing two-year or three-year streams".

In some of the cases the pupils were directed to these streams at the early stage of grouping of the pupils in the school, and in other cases they were transferred to them after failing to keep up with the demands of the school. For certain purposes a distinction can be made between pupils who dropped out after Grade 10 and those who "completed a two-year stream", but for the purpose of examining the "holding power" of various educational institutions the fact remains that a high rate of pupils does not reach the completion of secondary education at the institution where it began.

In Table XIII we see that there are differences in the drop-out rates at the various institutions. We find the lowest drop-out rate in the academic boarding-school of the project (10) - 20.4% dropped out from Grade 9 through Grade 12, a very similar percentage to that found in our first

Table XIII : Percentages of Dropping-Out of Pupils in the Fostering Group and of their Classmates by Boarding-Schools

Name of Institution	Group	
	Fostering groups	Their classmates
Academic boarding-school (no. 10)	20.4	34.9
Religious boarding-school for boys (15)	29.0	37.5
Religious boarding-school for girls (14)	26.5	25.0 *
Technical boarding-school (11, 12, 13)	27.9	59.6
Rural boarding-school (no. 16)	28.6	28.5 **
Total	26.3	46.7

* Less than 5 cases .

** These pupils share the same fostering conditions (including boarding-school) as the wards of the fostering project, and only their upkeep is financed by other sources. This is another support for the proposition that the boarding institutions of this type have a relatively high holding power for children of certain categories from the culturally disadvantaged groups.

follow-up at this institution *.

There are no outstanding differences in the drop-out rates at the other boarding-schools. Comparison of the fostering groups with their classmates shows that their drop-out rates are generally lower than their classmates. This stands out particularly in the case of the technical boarding-school: some 60% of the classmates of this group dropped out of school or completed two-year or three-year streams, in spite of the fact that they studied together in the same classes in Grade 9.

Before we turn to the analysis of the drop-out rates according to the background and the ability of the pupils, it is worth noting that the findings point to an important achievement of the fostering project.

This project succeeds in bringing a high proportion of pupils to the completion of their secondary studies in spite of its absorbing a culturally disadvantaged population, as we saw in the two previous chapters. Whereas the wards of the project are similar in background to the pupils in the schools in development townships, the regional school and the immigrant town secondary school, in drop-out rates they are similar to the pupils in the selective schools.

This advantage of the fostering boarding-schools also stands out when we compare their pupils with pupils of a similar level of ability who study at other institutions. In Table XIV it can be seen that at all levels of ability the drop-out rates in the fostering boarding-school are

* See: Smilansky M., Nevo D., Marbach S., 1966, *ibid.*

Table XIV : Percentages of Dropping-Out by Groups and "Miltha" Test I.Q. in Grade 9

Group	I. Q.					
		to 89	90-99	100-109	110-119	120+
A. Fostering boarding-schools		45.8	23.2	26.0	10.8	9.1
B. Classmates of fostering pupils		50.0	44.0	38.9	22.2	22.2 *
C. Day-fostering		62.5*	46.2	37.5	21.4	0.0 *
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships		74.6	25.6	36.3	27.2	0.0 *
E. Regional secondary school (23)		95.1	65.2	40.9	22.2*	40.0*
F. Secondary school in immigrant town (32)		65.9	45.8	28.1	14.7	0.0*
G. Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)		64.0	67.5	49.1	41.6	50.0*
H. Selective "academic" secondary schools		30.0**	29.3	26.2	16.3	12.5
I. "Special" boarding-schools		100.0*	50.0	64.7	43.4	50.0

* Less than 10 cases.

** Only 10 cases, and they form 1.7% of all the pupils in this group.

the lowest *. At the same time it is important to note that the picture changes in a number of groups when the dropping-out is presented according to level of ability. The most outstanding difference is in the comprehensive schools in development townships; in this group 74.6% of those with a "Miltha" score below 90 do not complete 12 grades, but the drop-out rates at the other levels of ability are much lower and range from 26% to 36%. These drop-out rates in the development townships are relatively low although they refer to only 44%** of the Grade 9 pupils in the development township group. We shall see the full significance of these drop-out rates later, parallel with the data on success in the matriculation examinations.

The "Miltha" score of 90 forms a dividing-line with regard to drop-out rates in most of the groups in the study. Thus we find, for example, that in the regional secondary school 95% with below 90 "Miltha" scores drop out from the secondary school, while in other frameworks some 2/3 of the pupils drop out. In the group of project pupils too we find that only half of the pupils with this level of ability reach the 12th Grade, while at other levels of ability some 80% manage to complete their secondary studies. Perhaps those responsible for the boarding-school project in the

* Except for the selective schools, where the drop-out rate of pupils with an I.Q. of no more than 90 is lower than in the fostering boarding-schools, but in these schools there are only 10 pupils with this level of ability, and they form 1.7% of all the pupils. It may be assumed that their admission to the school and their remaining there were made possible because of some special family background.

** This is the percentage with a "Miltha" score above 90 in this group. See Table X .

Ministry of Education can regard this dividing line as one of the important criteria in selecting candidates from the standpoint of the profitability of financial investment in a group ~~of~~ pupils of whom, in the present circumstances, only half will complete their secondary education.

In Table XV we see that in the fostering boarding-schools there is no difference between the drop-out rates of pupils of Middle Eastern origin and those of European origin, although in most of the other schools these differences are substantial. In the comprehensive schools in development townships the drop-out rates of pupils of Middle Eastern origin are almost double those of pupils originating from Europe. In the regional secondary school 91% of the pupils of Middle Eastern origin who began to study at this institution dropped out. And in the selective schools, where the pupils of Middle Eastern origin are few and generally do not come from a low social class, their drop-out rates are almost double the drop-out rates of pupils of European origin. In the "special" boarding-schools the drop-out rate of pupils of Middle Eastern origin is much lower than the drop-out rate of those originating from Europe, but in these boarding-schools with their special character the drop-out rates are generally "problematic" and correlated apparently with other variables than those of socio-economic background and ability.

If we look at the drop-out rates of pupils only of Middle Eastern origin we will see that in the boarding-schools of the fostering project these rates are much lower than in other institutions. While in these boarding-schools only 24% of such pupils drop out, in the comprehensive schools almost two-thirds of them drop out; in the regional school more than 90% of them drop-out, in the immigrant town secondary school almost 60% of them drop out, and so forth. We see, therefore, that if we isolate the variable of ethnic origin the achievement of the fostering project in low drop-out rates of pupils stands out even more.

Table XV : Percentages of Dropping-Out by Groups and Father's Country of Birth

Father's country of birth		Israel	Middle-East and North Africa	Balkan Countries	Europe
Group					
A.	Fostering boarding-schools	33.3 *	24.1	33.3*	24.2
B.	Classmates of fostering pupils				
C.	Day - fostering	50.0*	42.5	-	11.7
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	0.0*	65.1	57.1	38.2
E.	Regional secondary school (23)	16.6	90.9	0.0*	56.3
F.	Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	37.5 *	50.8	20.8	39.3
G.	Average-level "academic" secondary school	66.6	56.5	37.5	52.1
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	26.3	37.5	12.1	19.4
I.	"Special" boarding-schools	55.0	23.0	0.0 *	52.5

* Less than 10 cases.

Table XVI shows the drop-out rates by the father's occupation. According to our data there doesn't seem at first glance to be a clear correlation between the father's occupation and the degree of consistency in studies. Perhaps this stems, on the one hand, from the material support that the educational system of a welfare state gives to pupils whose parents' financial situation is poor, and on the other hand, from the many possibilities for children of more established classes to move from one school to another in the educational system, which matter does not find expression in our data at this stage *.

On further observation, it seems possible to raise several hypotheses:

1) The most consistent pupils in the boarding-school project are those who come from "problematic" homes (father dead or unemployed) or from areas where there are no other possibilities for secondary school studies of a suitable level (children from immigrant villages). After these come children from low social classes (children of laborers and low-ranking clerks). This was to some extent confirmed in talks that we held with Principals and youths in a number of institutions, where the fact was mentioned that in the boarding-school the youth often feels dissatisfied with his standing, with the attitude of his friends, or the youth-leaders,

* At this stage we do not possess data on the pupils who dropped out of the school where they began their studies in Grade 9, but completed their studies in another institution. In the follow-up on the drop-outs we hope to provide an answer to this question.

Table XVI: Percentages of Dropping-Out by Type of Institution and Father's Occupation

Father's Occupation Group									
	Academician and free professions	Manager or merchant	Technician or elementary school teacher	Low rank clerk	Small scale businessman or small-holder	Skilled or semi-skilled laborer	Unskilled laborer	Dead or unemployed	
A. Fostering boarding-schools	0.0*	0.0*	50.0*	28.0	16.7	23.9	32.8	16.2	
B. Classmates of fostering pupils									
C. Day-fostering	0.0*	42.9*	25.0*	33.4*	33.4*	60.0	28.6 *	20.0*	
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	30.0	45.5	33.4*	44.8	37.8	53.9	13.4	68.8	
E. Regional secondary school (23)	50.0	25.0		0.0*	63.7	100.0	100.0*	33.4*	
F. Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	16.7	25.0	46.2	23.4	30.8	54.5	54.9	50.0	
G. Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	61.2	46.7	50.0	62.5	39.5	67.4	62.5*	33.4*	
H. Selective "academic" secondary schools	18.8	16.2	46.5	18.2	19.8	38.5	0.0*	10.7	
I. "Special" boarding-schools	44.5	29.1	50.0	65.3	60.0	50.0	50.0*	50.0*	

* Less than 10 cases.

with the curriculum and so on. But, feeling that they have no alternative, they overcome this dissatisfaction and remain, as opposed to others, who seek alternative possibilities.

2) In the urban frameworks four phenomena seem to stand out:

a) In the selective schools the drop-out rate is very low among those who have no choice - either children from villages where there is no suitable secondary school, and since they have been admitted to the selective school they are both suited to the studies there and they have a strong motivation to persist; or children of managers, merchants and members of the free professions. Both they and their parents accept the necessity for persistence at secondary school and make the efforts needed to maintain this undertaking (private teachers, pressure to achieve on the part of the parents and so on - as we have found in other studies). On the other hand, the children of the intermediate group of skilled laborers and technicians (those known as "blue collar workers" in other countries) - almost half of these do not find their place in the secondary school and drop out - some to transfer to technical schools and some to start work.

b) In the average-level school - in an ordinary town - the general drop-out rate is very high, and two groups stand out: the children of laborers, of whom two-thirds dropped out, because the school was not interested in them and they found no motivation to persist in this framework; and the children of middle-class merchants, to whose

needs this type of institution would seem suited - but nevertheless 40%- 47% of them dropped out.

c) The immigrant town secondary school revealed the classical picture from literature on educational sociology of direct correlation between the father's occupation and the child's persevering until graduation at secondary school. Here we see that of the three low-ranking occupational groups, half or more of the children dropped-out of school; of the children of small clerks and businessmen some 25% to 30% dropped out; while only about 17% of those with fathers in the free professions dropped out.

d) The decisive factor in the regional school was not the father's occupation, but other background variables - particularly the ethnic variables in a certain combination with the I.Q. In this institution children who were not considered by the administration worth fostering were sent from the start to dead-end two-year streams and the results were as might be expected.

In Table XVII we see the drop-out rates by father's educational level. From this Table we get the impression that the correlation between the father's educational level and the child's consistency in school is not a linear one, as we find relatively low drop-out rates in the group of incomplete secondary education, and high drop-out rates at both higher and lower educational levels. For our purposes it should be noted that the superiority of the fostering boarding-schools is particularly outstanding with regard to those pupils whose fathers have no more than elementary education.

Table XVII : Percentages of Dropping-Out by Groups and Fathers' Educational Level

Group	Father's Education	Partial elementary	Elementary	Partial secondary	Secondary	Partial post-secondary	Post-secondary
A.	Fostering boarding-schools	9.6	26.4	22.3	40.9	33.4*	25.0*
B.	Classmates of fostering pupils						
C.	Day-fostering	11.2*	61.2	9.1	21.4	--	0.0*
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	29.5	57.4	15.2	64.9	25.0	28.6*
E.	Regional secondary school (23)	85.8*	65.0	30.8	60.0	37.5*	0.0
F.	Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	16.3	58.2	31.5	48.7	13.4	20.0
G.	Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	12.5	70.6	27.3	65.6	35.3	65.0
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	5.3	27.8	6.3	22.9	18.1	17.8
I.	"Special" boarding-schools	60.0*	46.2	25.0	54.4	50.0	28.6*

* Less than 10 cases .

On further analysis it seems that on this point, too, a number of hypotheses can be raised for further examination:

- 1) The boarding-schools of the fostering project are particularly suitable for children of uneducated parents. Both in the early Courses and in the present Course a substantial proportion of pupils in this category was admitted. Being beyond a certain "threshold" of level of ability, they are potentially capable of completing 12 years of study, and the fostering framework of the boarding-school furnishes them with the required conditions. The admitted limitations of the boarding-school do not hinder the children of this group because firstly, these conditions are, nevertheless, better than those usually existing in their homes, and, secondly, it is only the advantages of the boarding-school that permit them to make the stride towards social mobility. As opposed to these, the relatively small number of pupils whose parents have had secondary education and are able to help their children is not bound to the fostering project to the same extent. When they come up against difficulties in the boarding-school or in class, they seek, and usually find, other possibilities.
- 2) In the day-fostering program the picture is reversed and strengthens the above hypothesis. Here more than 60% of the large group of children of parents with only elementary education dropped out, while among the children of parents with secondary education only about 10% to 20% dropped out. This matter calls for serious examination of the reasons for dropping-out.

3) In the selective secondary schools the general drop-out rates are low, and there is no clear correlation between the father's educational level and the child's consistency in school. A similar phenomenon is found in studies in other countries, as we shall present in the final report on this follow-up. Since these schools are selective, the pupils admitted have passed the "threshold" of ability, and the same factors in the family that "helped" the child to enter the selective school are there to help him in the continuation of his studies.

Table XVIII shows the drop-out rates by sex. In the fostering boarding-schools the drop-out rates of boys are lower than those of girls. On the other hand, in all the other institutions the drop-out rates of boys are higher than those of girls. In order to deal with this difference between the fostering boarding-schools and other institutions, we shall first look at the drop-out rates by sex in each school type separately.

Table XVIII : Drop-Out Rates by Groups and Sex

Group		Sex	Male	Female
A.	Fostering boarding-schools		21.5	32.0
B.	Classmates of fostering pupils			
C.	Day - fostering		36.1	20.0 *
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships		68.7	41.2
E.	Regional secondary school (23)		67.7	46.5
F.	Secondary school in immigrant town (32)		44.9	40.0
G.	Average level "academic" secondary school (31)		56.7	46.1
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools		24.5	16.9
I.	"Special" boarding-schools		50.7	-- **

* Less than 10 cases.

** There are no girls in these boarding-schools.

In Table XIX we can see that the biggest gap between the drop-out rates of boys and of girls is in the technical boarding-school and in the academic boarding-school. These two boarding-schools differ in their aims and in the average level of ability of their pupils, but in both of them the girls' level of ability is below that of the boys', and in both of them the girls form a minority of the pupils. The two religious boarding-schools are not co-educational and in the rural boarding-school the girls form the majority (some two-thirds of all the pupils) and their level of ability is higher than that of the boys.

Table XIX : Percentages of Dropping-out in the Boarding-Schools of the Fostering Project by Sex

Boarding-School	Sex	
	Male	Female
Academic boarding-school (no. 10)	15.6	29.4
Religious boarding-school for boys (no.15)	29.0	--
Religious boarding school for girls (no. 14)	--	26.5
Technical boarding-school (schools 11, 12, 13)	18.6	50.0
Rural boarding-school (no. 16)	26.7	29.4

In Table XX we can see that the gap between the drop-out rates of the two sexes is specially large at the low level of ability of a below 90 "Miltha" score. This gap exists in all the boarding-schools that absorbed pupils of this level. It can, therefore, be assumed that the fostering project has not yet found the right way to treat the girls it absorbs, both as regards directing them to suitable frameworks and in giving them the special help they need as a result of being outside the family home. This stands out particularly in the case of girls with a low level of ability.

Table XX : Drop-out Rate in the Boarding-Schools of the Fostering Project by Level of Ability in the "Miltha" Test

"Miltha" Score	Sex	
	Male	Female
To 89	38.4	69.2
90 - 99	24.1	22.2
100 - 109	23.1	33.3
110 - 119	8.6	0.0 *

* Two cases only.

The reason for this may be that generally at this level of ability it is hard to find interest in secondary academic studies, especially for girls, when both they and their parents lack the motivation to persist and are interested in the girls' going out early to work training and immediate employment.

As for girls with the level of ability of 100 -109, particularly in boarding-school no. 10, it seems that here it is not a question of inability to study, but of problems of adjustment to a certain social framework, or to living away from home.

These facts are of great importance because, in accordance with the aims of the project and its assumptions, the number of girls accepted has already been reduced, in the fear that because of the influence of ethnic and family cultural patterns, the girls will not persist in their studies to the same extent as the boys, and on finishing their studies, will not fulfil the same social roles as the boys. The follow-up data at this stage confirm at least part of these doubts, and therefore a more thorough examination of the problem of girls in the fostering project is called for. Among other things, the question must be asked - is there justification for investing in keeping girls in the type of training given them in the technical boarding-school ?

2) SUCCESS IN THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS *

Looking at Table XXI, we must pay attention not only to the proportion of pupils who qualify for the certificate of matriculation, but also to those pupils who need to pass only in one more subject in order to qualify for the certificate, since it may be assumed that these pupils will take this examination during or after their military service, and they may be regarded as actual or potential matriculants. In other words, for certain purposes, there is some distortion in statistics which define as success in matriculation only success in all subjects, and which do not consider the pupils who lack only one subject in order to qualify for the certificate.

A clear example of such possible distortion can be seen in the data concerning the comprehensive schools in development townships (group D).

The differences between the groups stand out more if we compare the rate of actual matriculants; these differences decrease if we compare the rate of potential matriculants (including those who lack only one subject). It stands out that over 80% of the pupils in the selective schools who reached the 12th Grade qualify for certificates of matriculation, and if we add those who lack only one subject, and estimate the rate of success among those whose results are still being queried, we will find that nearly 95% of the candidates in these schools will

* Including academic matriculation, technical matriculation and government school-leaving examination.

Table XXI : Groups by Success in Matriculation Examinations* (in percentages)

Group	Success in examinations	Qualifies for matriculation certificate	Lacks one subject	Lacks two subjects or more	Not ** yet clarified	Total	
						No.	%
A.	Fostering boarding-schools	71.3	15.7	12.9	--	165	99.9
B.	Classmates of fostering pupils	60.6	17.1	16.1	6.1	91	99.9
C.	Day-fostering	76.2	16.7	7.1	--	40	100.0
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	41.4	33.3	20.6	4.7	135	100.0
E.	Regional secondary school (23)	74.3	8.6	17.1	--	33	100.0
F.	Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	50.0	17.3	8.2	24.5	138	100.0
G.	Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	66.4	16.0	13.2	4.5	110	100.1
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	81.5	4.9	5.6	7.9	504	99.9
I.	"Special" boarding-schools	66.2	8.8	13.2	11.8	--	100.0

* Including academic matriculation, technical matriculation and government school-leaving examination.

** While the data were being collected the scores of some 5% of the candidates were being queried and had not yet been finally clarified.

matriculate. At the other extreme of the scale of success in the matriculation examinations we find the comprehensive schools in development townships. There only 41.4% matriculated, although if we add those who lack only one subject, we find that some 75% are potential matriculants. The range of success in the matriculation examinations from among those who lasted to the 12th Grade is, therefore, between 40% and 85% if we speak of immediate success in the examinations, and between 75% and 95% if we refer to "potential success", which includes those who lack one subject, which they will complete, probably at a later stage.

Out of the group of pupils of the boarding-school project who sat for the examinations, 71.3% matriculated and some 16% more lack only one subject, that is to say, about 87% can be regarded as potential matriculants and holders of "admission tickets" for further studies in institutions of higher education. This is a high rate of success, only slightly below the rates of success in the selective schools, although about 80% of the project graduates came from culturally and socially disadvantaged backgrounds. If we look only at boarding-school no. 10 we will see that the rate of success is even higher than that found in the selective schools (see Table XXII).

Another outstanding fact in Table XXI is the rates of success of the various comparison groups. For example, 74% of the candidates in the regional school matriculated, and another 8.6% lack only one subject. In the average-level "academic" school (Group G) 66% matriculated and another 16% lack one subject. It may be assumed that a similar rate of

success will be found in the immigrant town school (group F) on clarification of the results of the 24.5% whose scores are still being queried. However, these data are not surprising if we add to them the data on drop-out rates in these schools. In Table XII we saw that virtually half the pupils who enter these schools at Grade 9 do not reach Grade 12, so that the population which arrives at these examinations is a selective one whose success in matriculation should be assured.

The data on the success of the fostering project pupils in the matriculation examinations should, therefore, be considered together with the data on their lower drop-out rates. Approximately 87% of those who sat for the examinations will matriculate now or in the near future, in spite of the fact that only about 26% of the pupils in the project dropped out of secondary school and did not reach the matriculation stage. Only such observation of the data reflects the significance of the prospect that the fostering project gives to its wards. We will give a deeper analysis of the differential prospect given to the pupils in the other groups of the study in the last section of this chapter. Before we turn to a discussion of the success rates by background variables and ability, we will first examine the matriculation success rates in the various boarding-schools of the fostering project.

In Table XXII it can be seen that there are substantial differences between the various boarding-schools of the fostering project with regard to success-rates in the matriculation examinations. Particularly outstanding is the high percentage (89.5%) of success in the academic

Table XXII : Boarding-Schools of the Fostering Project by Success
in Matriculation Examinations (in percentages)

Success in Examinations Boarding-school	Qualifies for mat- riculation certificate	Lacks one subject	Lacks two subjects or more	Total %
Academic boarding-school* (no. 10)	89.5	10.5	--	100.0
Technical boarding-school** (schools nos. 11, 12, 13)	61.7	17.0	21.2	99.9
Rural boarding-school (no. 16)	61.1	19.4	19.4	99.9
Religious boarding-school for boys (no. 15)	64.5	19.4	16.1	100.0
Religious boarding-school for girls (no. 14)	84.6	11.5	3.8	99.9
All the boarding-schools	71.3	15.7	12.9	99.9

boarding-school, which is also the boarding-school that absorbs the pupils with the highest level of ability (see Table XI, Chapter 4).

In this boarding-school some 80% of the pupils reached the end of their secondary academic studies, and all of them will qualify for matriculation. Since we conducted a follow-up on the first Course in this boarding-school and the results then were similar, it seems that we can reach a broader

* See Appendix I.

** The pupils in this boarding-school sat for the technical matriculation.

generalization concerning the prospects of fostering of children from disadvantaged backgrounds at a higher starting-level of ability. The high success-rates in the religious boarding-school for girls are interesting. These rates are similar to the success rates in the academic boarding-school, in spite of the gap in ability-level between these two boarding-schools.

We will now turn to a discussion of the success rates by level of ability of the pupils, as measured by the "Miltha" test in Grade 9. In Table XXIII we can see that there are considerable differences in success rates at the different levels of ability.

In general the matriculation success rates rise with the rise in ability level. In the boarding-schools of the fostering project we see a clear dividing-line between the success rates of those with a "Miltha" score below 100 and those whose score is over 100. It is interesting to note this dividing-line in conjunction with the dividing-line for dropping-out that we saw in the previous section (Table XIV) as the "Miltha" score of 90. This fact should be borne in mind by those responsible for the fostering project.

In spite of the fact that we found in our discussion on dropping-out, that the drop-out rates in the boarding-schools of the fostering project are low compared with those in the other groups studied, while their social background is poorer, we find that the success rates of the boarding-school pupils do not fall below the success rates of pupils

Table XXIII : Groups by Percentages of Success in Matriculation Examinations and Level of Ability ("Miltha")

Group	Success in ** matriculation examinations	"Miltha" Scores				
		to 89	90-99	100-109	110-119	120+
A. Fostering - boarding - schools	Qualifies for certificate	46.1	59.6	78.6	81.8	100.0
	Lacks one subject	23.1	19.1	12.5	9.1	-
B. Classmates of fostering pupils	Qualifies for certificate	37.5 *	38.5	71.0	88.9	100.0
	Lacks one subject	37.5	30.7	16.1	7.4	-
C. Day - fostering	Qualifies for certificate	100.0*	75.0*	71.4	81.8	33.3*
	Lacks one subject	-	--	28.6	18.2	50.0*
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	Qualifies for certificate	26.3	44.0	48.1	81.3	50.0
	Lacks one subject	63.2	40.0	33.3	12.5	-
E. Regional secondary school (23)	Qualifies for certificate	50.0*	57.1*	76.9	85.7	100.0
	Lacks one subject	-	28.6	7.7	-	-
F. Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	Qualifies for certificate	50.0	87.5	64.8	66.7	50.0*
	Lacks one subject	41.6	6.2	27.0	14.2	-
G. Average-level "academic" secondary schools (31)	Qualifies for certificate	62.5 *	73.9	72.0	85.0	100.0
	Lacks one subject	12.5	4.3	18.0	10.0	-
H. Selective "academic" secondary schools	Qualifies for certificate	50.0*	75.0	91.7	29.2	100.0
	Lacks one subject	16.7	7.5	4.5	4.3	-
I. "Special" boarding - schools	Qualifies for certificate	100.0*	75.0*	66.7	77.8	80.0
	Lacks one subject	-	-	16.7	3.7	20.0

* Less than 10 cases.

** The cases in which the results are still being clarified were not taken into account in this Table.

of similar ability in other institutions. At the same time it should be noted that the differences are not large, and sometimes the position of the boarding-school wards is worse in the case of pupils with a low level of ability. Only 46% of the boarding-school pupils at the below -90 "Miltha" level qualified for matriculation certificates, with another 23% lacking one subject, that is, 69% of them are potential matriculants. In the development townships only 26% of the pupils at this level of ability qualified for matriculation, but another 63% lack only one subject; in other words, 89% are potential matriculants. In the immigrant town secondary school 50% matriculated, with another 42% lacking one subject. It is impossible to compare this datum with the other groups, because in those hardly any pupils of this level of ability remained in school until the matriculation stage. Thus the superiority of the boarding-school lies in the fact that it holds the pupils of a low level of ability and brings them to the matriculation examinations, as opposed to other institutions, which cast out these pupils in the course of the four years of secondary education. However, it appears that the fostering project has not yet found the right way to promote these pupils of below -90 "Miltha" I.Q. and improve their chances of success in matriculation notwithstanding their low level of ability on the entrance testing. In order to draw conclusions it is necessary to integrate the data on matriculation success with the data on dropping-out and with a follow-up on the drop-outs; therefore, we shall return to this to complete the picture and reach conclusions in our final report.

In Table XXIV we see that if we take only the pupils of Middle-Eastern and North African origin the fostering boarding-schools still have the advantage, although this advantage is somewhat reduced if we take into account the potential success of those who lack only one subject to qualify for the certificate. 69% of the boarding-school pupils who are of Middle-Eastern origin qualify for the matriculation certificate, as opposed to 56% in the development townships, 32% in the immigrant town, 57% in the average-level "academic" school, and 71% in the selective schools, although the boarding-school wards of Middle-Eastern origin are generally of a higher average level of ability than their friends in the other institutions. It is important to note that if we take into account also those who lack only one subject, we find that in the development townships the rate of potential matriculants (87%) is similar to the rate in the fostering boarding-schools (86%). However, this is misleading because in the development townships 65% of the starters in the 9th Grade of Middle-Eastern origin did not reach the 12th Grade, and we do not know the personal and family background factors which formed the configuration forcing these pupils to two-year streams and to dropping-out, beyond the I.Q., which serves only as a "threshold" variable.

Table XXIV : Success Rates in Matriculation Examinations of
Groups by Father's Country of Origin (percentages)

Groups		Success in matriculation examinations	Fathers' Country of Origin			
			Israel	Asia Africa	Balkan Countries	Europe
A.	Fostering boarding- schools	Qualifies for certificate	100*	69.2	100.0*	76.9
		Lacks one subject	0.0	17.1	0.0	11.5
B.	Classmates of fostering pupils	Qualifies for certificate	62.5	62.8	60.0*	59.5
		Lacks one subject	9.3	17.4	20.0	19.0
C.	Day - fostering	Qualifies for certificate	100*	75.0	100.0	76.4
		Lacks one subject	0.0	17.8	0.0	17.6
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	Qualifies for certificate	66.6*	56.4	0.0*	33.7
		Lacks one subject	0.0	30.7	100.0	34.9
E.	Regional secondary school (23)	Qualifies for certificate	100*	50.0*	100.0	70.8
		Lacks one subject	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.5
F.	Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	Qualifies for certificate	20.0*	32.2	60.0	53.8
		Lacks one subject	20.0	22.5	20.0	12.8
G.	Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	Qualifies for certificate	37.5*	57.1	83.4*	70.7
		Lacks one subject	12.5	21.4	16.6	14.6
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	Qualifies for certificate	83.0	71.0	83.0	82.5
		Lacks one subject	6.1	3.2	4.7	4.3
I.	"Special" boarding- Schools	Qualifies for certificate	50.0*	63.5*	50.0*	71.0
		Lacks one subject	20.0	18.1	0.0	4.4

* Less than 10 cases.

In Table XXV we see the success rates in matriculation of the pupils according to their fathers' occupational level. Among the pupils of the fostering project whose fathers are unskilled laborers, 56% matriculated and another 24% lack only one subject for matriculation. Unfortunately, because of the drop-out and dead -end policy, it is impossible to compare this datum with the other groups, because in all of them only a few pupils with fathers at this occupational level reached the stage of matriculation, while among the boarding-school pupils who sat for matriculation some 25% are children of unskilled laborers. At the intermediate occupational level (skilled laborers, small shopkeepers and so on) the success rates of the pupils in the fostering boarding-schools are higher than the success rates in all the other groups except for the selective schools, where there are hardly any pupils of Middle Eastern parentage, and the occupational level of the parents is likely to be higher than that of the parents of the boarding-school pupils, beyond the formal classification that we have used *.

* For example : a shopkeeper in the centre of Tel-Aviv is liable to have a higher occupational status than a shopkeeper in a development township, though both were placed in the category of "small-scale" businessmen.

Table XXV : Success Rates of Groups by Father's Occupation (percentages)

Group	Success in matriculation examinations	Father's Occupation									
		Dead or unemployed	Unskilled laborer	Skilled or semi-skilled laborer	Small scale businessman or small-holder	Low rank clerk	Technician or elementary school teacher	Manager or merchant	Academician and free professions		
A. Fostering boarding-schools	Qualifies for certificate	70.3	56.0	73.5	75.0	84.2	100*	75.0*	100*		
	Lacks one subject	18.4	24.3	13.2	14.2	10.5	0.0	0.0	0.0		
B. Classmates of fostering pupils	Qualifies for certificate	88.6*	63.5*	54.5	59.0	73.8	66.5	72.2	58.8		
	Lacks one subject	35.7	9.0	22.7	13.6	10.8	13.3	11.1	23.5		
C. Day - fostering	Qualifies for certificate	50.0*	66.6*	88.8	66.6*	80.0*	66.6*	66.6*	100*		
	Lacks one subject	50.0	16.6	5.5	33.3	20.0	33.3	0.0	0.0		
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	Qualifies for certificate	100*	60.0*	35.1	30.7*	45.0*	75.0*	14.2*	27.2*		
	Lacks one subject	0.0	10.0	48.6	48.4	20.0	12.5	85.7	9.0		
E. Regional secondary school (23)	Qualifies for certificate	100*	0.0	0.0	68.1	100*	0.0	90.0*	50.0*		
	Lacks one subject	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.2	0.0	0.0	10.0	50.0		
F. Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	Qualifies for certificate	50.0*	33.3*	55.7	36.6	58.2	85.6*	33.3*	60.0*		
	Lacks one subject	0.0	25.0	17.6	20.0	12.5	14.2	20.0	0.0		
G. Average -level secondary school (31)	Qualifies for certificate	40.0*	66.6*	63.1	75.0	66.6	75.0*	62.5	100*		
	Lacks one Subject	10.0	33.3	15.7	12.5	25.0	12.5	18.7	0.0		
H. Selective "academic" secondary schools	Qualifies for certificate	80.0	89.0*	89.6	83.0	82.5	69.2	82.6	81.4		
	Lacks one subject	6.6	0.0	4.0	7.5	3.9	7.7	2.8	3.6		
I. "Special" boarding-schools	Qualifies for certificate	33.3*	50.0*	88.8*	87.5*	44.4	71.4*	62.5	66.6*		
	Lacks one subject	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	22.2	14.2	12.5	0.0		

* Less than 10 cases

In Table XXVI we see that 68.5% of the pupils in the fostering boarding-schools whose fathers had incomplete elementary education qualified for matriculation certificates, with another 17% lacking only one subject for matriculation. This is a higher rate of success than in the comprehensive schools in development townships. In the regional school and in the immigrant town school only a few pupils with fathers at the elementary educational level reached the matriculation examinations. In the average-level "academic" school and in the selective schools the rate of success is higher, but we must remember that the pupils in these schools are generally of European origin. A similar picture is obtained at the other educational levels of the fathers.

In the fostering boarding-schools the success rates are high and are not greatly affected by the father's educational level. This is particularly important with regard to the large group of children of fathers with no schooling or with only elementary schooling, who form about 75% of the boarding-school pupils. Something of the influence of this factor does appear, however, in the difference between children of fathers with elementary education and less and children of fathers with partial or complete secondary education (we cannot refer to higher education because of the small number of cases). This fact is particularly conspicuous in comparison with the classmates of the boarding-school wards. Of these only about 60% were successful in all the examinations, and this after the greater selection in the dropping-out

Table XXVI : Success Rates of Groups by Father's Educational Level (percentages)

Group	Success in matriculation examinations	Fathers' Education					Post secondary
		Partial elementary	Elementary	Partial Secondary	Secondary	Partial Post secondary	
A. Fostering boarding-schools	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	68.5	72.1	78.5	85.7	75.0*	66.6*
B. Classmates of fostering pupils	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	61.6	66.7	56.7	77.7	58.6	53.7*
C. Day - fostering	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	77.7*	77.7*	90.0*	58.3*	100*	100*
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	43.5	16.6*	60.0	63.2	69.1*	62.5*
E. Regional secondary school (23)	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	100*	85.7*	88.9*	50.0*	80.0*	50.0*
F. Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	63.5*	35.1	45.0*	40.0*	41.3	14.2*
G. Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	9.1	48.6	20.0	20.0	34.4	85.5
H. "Special" boarding-schools	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	85.7	63.6*	50.0	64.6	60.0*	100*
I. "Special" boarding-schools	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	7.1	27.2	21.4	23.5	13.3	0.0
	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	92.5	82.8	84.6	84.5	87.3	83.0
	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	3.7	5.7	3.7	6.7	3.8	4.0
	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	100*	53.8*	72.6*	68.0*	50.0*	66.6*
	Qualifies for certificate Lacks one subject	0.0	7.7	9.1	12.0	0.0	16.6

* Less than 10 cases.

process, when some 52% dropped out, as against only 26%, approximately, of the boarding-school pupils.

In the other schools the picture is differential in accordance with the nature of the institution and the effect of the drop-out rates from Grade 9 through Grade 12. In the "special" boarding-schools and the regional school there is not a sufficient number of cases in each group, due to the extensive dropping-out, and in the selective schools those who were accepted and reached matriculation are not affected in their success rates by the father's educational level (similar results are obtained in selective schools in other countries, as we shall demonstrate in our final report).

3) AN INDEX OF SUCCESS IN SECONDARY SCHOOL AND IN MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS

In the two previous sections of this chapter we dealt with the rates of dropping-out from secondary school and with the rates of success in the matriculation examinations. The data on each of these two points were discussed separately. In this section we will attempt to examine all the data together in order to get some idea of the differential chances of success of the pupils in the various groups. Since there is a correlation between ethnic origin and level of ability and success in secondary school we shall present the findings separately according to ethnic groups and according to the pupils' level of ability.

In Table XXVII we see the success index of pupils of Middle Eastern origin with low level of ability ("Miltha" up to 89 in Grade 9). Such pupils are found in large numbers in the comprehensive schools in development townships (group D), in the regional secondary school (group E) and in the immigrant town secondary school (group F). In the development townships we found 106 such pupils who were admitted to Grade 9. If we apply to the pupils who began their studies in Grade 9 the index 100, we find that only 19 (out of 100) reached Grade 12; only 2 succeeded in the matriculation examinations and qualify for the certificate, and another 8 (still out of 100) lack one subject for matriculation. In other words, out of every 100 pupils of Middle Eastern origin with a below-90 "Miltha" level of ability, who began their studies in the comprehensive schools in development townships included in our sample, only 19 completed Grade 12 and only 10 qualified for the certificate *, while 8 of them still lack one subject. Out of the 26 pupils of Middle Eastern origin with this level of ability who began their studies in the regional school, not even one finished Grade 12 and reached the matriculation stage. Out of 100 similar pupils who began their studies in the immigrant town school, only 35 completed Grade 12, and only 9 matriculated. A further 9 pupils lack one subject to qualify for the certificate.

* In this case, the government school-leaving certificate, not the certificate of matriculation.

Table XXVII : Success Index in Secondary School and Matriculation Examinations of Pupils of Middle-Eastern Origin* and Level of Ability of "Miltha" to 89

Group		Began Studies		Completed 12 Grades (index)	Qualify for matriculation certificate (index)	Lack one subject (index)
		no.	index			
A.	Fostering boarding-schools	19	100	53	16	16
B.	Classmates of fostering pupils	9	100	67	33	22
C.	Day - fostering	4	100	0	0	0
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	106	100	19	2	8
E.	Regional Secondary School (23)	26	100	0	0	0
F.	Secondary School in immigrant town (32)	23	100	35	9	9
G.	Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	12	100	42	17	8
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	2	100	50	50	0
I.	"Special" boarding - schools	-	-	-	-	-

* According to the fathers' country of birth, including Asia, Africa and the Balkan Countries. Similarly in the following Tables.

In the boarding-schools of the fostering project only 19 pupils of Middle Eastern origin with the "Miltha" level of below 90 were absorbed. By the index, 53 out of 100 completed Grade 12, 16 matriculated and another 16 will receive the matriculation certificate. (technical) on completing one more examination. It can, therefore, be said that half of the pupils of this kind have a chance to complete their secondary studies in the framework of the fostering boarding-schools and a third of them have a chance to matriculate and gain entrance to the various institutes of higher education. This chance is much better than the chance that such pupils have in other institutions, although it is not as good as the chance that Middle Eastern pupils of higher levels of ability have in the framework of the fostering boarding-schools. However, it should be noted that only 19 pupils of this low level of ability ("Miltha" score below 90) were absorbed by the fostering boarding-schools, and they form only about 10% of the pupils of the project. Perhaps this finding gives some hint of the possibilities that the project may open up for pupils of a low level of ability, if only suitable conditions can be found for their absorption and fostering.

In Table XXVIII we see the success index of pupils of Middle Eastern origin with a 90 - 99 "Miltha" level of ability. 50 such pupils were absorbed by the fostering boarding-schools, and the index shows that 86 out of 100 such pupils complete 12 Grades; 48 qualify for the certificate (half of them - the academic matriculation; a quarter - the government-school-leaving certificate; and the remainder

Table XXVIII : Success Index in Secondary School and Matriculation Examinations of Pupils of Middle Eastern origin and Level of Ability of "Miltha" 90 - 99

Group	Began Studies		Completed 12 Grades (index)	Qualify for matriculation certificate (index)	Lack of subject (index)
	no.	index			
A. Fostering boarding-schools	50	100	86	48	18
B. Classmates of fostering pupils	19	100	58	21	16
C. Day - fostering	8	100	38	25	0
D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	20	100	65	40	15
E. Regional secondary school (23)	6	100	33	33	0
F. Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	18	100	39	22	6
G. Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	22	100	32	32	0
H. Selective "academic" secondary schools	9	100	56	44	0
I. "Special" boarding-schools	2	100	100	50	0

the technical certificate of matriculation), and a further 18 will qualify for certificates after one more examination. The chances of success of these pupils are much higher than the chances of the boarding-school pupils with a lower level of ability, and they are also much higher than the chances of success of pupils of Middle Eastern origin of the same level of ability in the other groups.

In the immigrant town school, in the average-level "academic" school and in the regional school only about one-third of such pupils manage to complete their secondary studies, although most of those who finish Grade 12 succeed in the matriculation examinations. In the development townships (where more than half of the pupils are of the level of ability of below 90 "Miltha") there were only 20 pupils of the 90 - 99 level of ability, and 65% of them completed 12 Grades, with 40% gaining matriculation or government school-leaving certificate.

In Table XXIX we turn to the success index in the ability group defined by the "Miltha" score of 100 - 109, and considered to be above average-level. 62 pupils of Middle Eastern origin with this level of ability were absorbed by the fostering boarding-schools. 73 out of 100 such pupils completed 12 Grades in the fostering boarding-schools, and 55 matriculated (10 others lack only one subject). This success rate is higher than the success rates in the other groups, and the outstanding examples are the average-level "academic" school, the immigrant town secondary school, the day-fostering group and the classmates

Table XXIX : Success Index in Secondary School and Matriculation
Examinations of Pupils of Middle Eastern Origin and
Level of Ability of "Miltha" 100 - 109

Group		Began Studies		Completed 12 Grades (index)	Qualify for Matriculation Certificate (index)	Lack one subject (index)
		no.	index			
A.	Fostering boarding- schools	62	100	73	55	10
B.	Classmates of fostering pupils	10	100	60	40	-
C.	Day - fostering	20	100	55	35	15
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	13	100	69	46	8
E.	Regional secondary school (23)	4	100	50	25	--
F.	Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	26	100	85	38	23
G.	Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	18	100	56	28	17
H.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	25	100	68	48	-
I.	"Special" boarding- schools	4	100	75	25	50

of the fostering pupils. Compared with the development townships and the selective schools the gap is smaller, but it must be remembered that in the development townships there are very few pupils in this category. Nevertheless, we see that at this level of ability the relatively superior chance of success that the fostering project gives the pupils is reduced.

In Table XXX we see the full success of pupils of Middle Eastern origin with the high level of ability defined by the "Miltha" score of 110 and over. The combination of initial ability and a fostering framework made it possible for 90 out of 100 pupils with this level of ability to complete 12 Grades, and 75 of them gained the matriculation certificate (another 8 lack only one subject). To the extent that such pupils are to be found in the other institutions included in our study, they too reached high rates of success, although somewhat lower than those of the pupils in the fostering project.

Indeed, in all the groups, we found that the chances of success in secondary education increase with the rise in the level of ability. This situation exists both in the boarding-schools of the fostering project and in the other educational institutions we studied. The gap between the chances of success of pupils of Middle Eastern origin in the boarding-schools of the fostering project and their chances of success in ordinary educational institutions is relatively large at the low levels of ability and becomes gradually smaller at higher levels of ability. In other words, pupils of Middle Eastern origin with high

Table XXX : Success Index in Secondary School and Matriculation
Examinations of Pupils of Middle Eastern Origin and
Level of Ability of "Miltha" 110 and Over

Group		Began Studies no.	index	Completed 12 Grades (index)	Qualify for matriculation certificate (index)	Lack one subject (index)
A.	Fostering boarding- schools	40	100	90	75	8
B.	Classmates of fostering pupils	20	100	85	75	5
C.	Day - fostering	14	100	86	71	14
D.	Comprehensive schools in development townships	6	100	67	67	0
E.	Regional secondary school (23)	-	-	-	-	-
F.	Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	8	100	88	38	-
G.	Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	4	100	50	25	-
II.	Selective "academic" secondary schools	37	100	84	68	8
I.	"Special" boarding- schools	8	100	75	63	-

ability succeed in acquiring secondary education outside the framework of the fostering project, too. For these youths the fostering project might perhaps find more difficult challenges in the intellectual, human and social spheres, than simply to reach and pass the matriculation examinations. On the other hand, the chances of success of pupils with poor ability are much improved in the framework of the fostering project, although their chances fall far below the chances of the more able pupils, and the rates of their absorption in the project are lower.

The reader interested in seeing the success indexes of pupils of European origin, paralleled with the indexes we have shown here regarding pupils of Middle-Eastern origin, can find them in Appendix IV.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMING - UP

As we said in our introduction, this report is one of a series that we are preparing in the framework of the follow-up on a Course of the fostering project in boarding-schools and in various groups that were set up for purposes of comparing and broadening the significance of our work. In about another year, when all the material has been processed and the separate reports prepared, the general concluding chapter will also be prepared. In this interim report we shall attempt to sum up only what seems to us to be significant, on the basis of the matters that have been discussed.

In this concluding chapter we shall refer, on the one hand, to our assumptions in preparing and organizing the project, and on the other hand, to the doubts and objections that were raised by various parties at different stages in the process of developing the project.

The first assumption was that the rates of continuance of studies and achievements in studies of the groups under discussion do not reflect a limited pool of ability, but are a reflection of a social reality that has come about as a result of a certain configuration, and a suitable fostering program can demonstrate possibilities for significant change. The second assumption was that, granting the importance of fostering from an early age, it is not too late to begin certain activities at a later age, even in the case of disadvantaged youngsters

who have been through the maturation process in conditions of "cumulative deprivation". The third assumption was that in order to overcome the deprivation that has accumulated, it is necessary to create a "crisis" situation as a spur to re-orientation; and the removal from home to the framework of a mixed school and boarding-school was suggested as one potentially promising approach for this purpose. The fourth assumption suggested adolescence as a particularly suitable age for this function of "crisis" re-orientation. And the fifth assumption proposed the group of the more talented among the culturally disadvantaged as a preferred group for demonstrating the chance of success.

Some ten years have passed since 78 boys and girls were chosen for the first Course and were housed in the S. Weiss Youth Hostel in Jerusalem. Since then, the project has expanded, and in the last year, 1969-1970, some 1300 pupils were being educated in its frameworks in 17 boarding-schools. From a first budget of about IL. 60,000 per annum, the budget for 1969-1970 reached IL. 2,660,000..., apart from additional sums destined for basic investment; and tuition fees, paid from a separate fund.

On the basis of our follow-up on the first Course*, the repeat follow-up on the Course reported on this time, and the data on the Course commenced in 1969-1970,** it would seem possible to sum up several

* See: Smilansky M., Nevo D., Marbach S., Gifted Children from Disadvantaged Schools - Their Identification and Fostering in Secondary Education, Szold Institute, 1966. A second follow-up of this group is now in its last stage.

** See Appendix III.

facts as follows:

1) THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE POPULATION ABSORBED

In spite of the economic and social changes in the State of Israel, and the organizational-personnel changes among those responsible for the project, it has remained consistent in striving toward the defined goals during the ten years of its existence and has absorbed a "culturally disadvantaged" population, both by the criterion of ethnic origin and by social criteria. If the assumptions (in 1959) determined 3 out of every 4 places as a desirable ratio to be reserved for children of Middle Eastern origin, in the sixth Course (the one discussed in this interim report) some 82% of the pupils' fathers were born in Middle-Eastern and North African countries, and among the pupils admitted in 1969 we find about 87% of this origin. As regards educational background, in the sixth Course roughly 75% of the pupils' fathers had only elementary schooling (full or incomplete), and in the 1969/70 Course the proportion rose to 83%. With respect to occupation - in the sixth Course some 70% of the fathers were laborers or unemployed, and in the 69/70 Course the proportion was 83%. As for size of families - about 77% of the pupils in Course Six came from families with 4 children or more, and 43% from families with 6 or more children; and in 1969/70 the picture is similar. These proportions should be seen both in comparison with selective secondary schools - which, according to the data on the comparison groups of Course 6, absorbed only about 6% of Middle Eastern parentage, only about 13% children of fathers with elementary education or less, only some 15% children of laborers or unemployed fathers, and

only 8% from families with 4 children or more,--and in comparison with schools in the places where our pupils come from - development townships, immigrant towns and so forth. These, in spite of their being designed for broad absorption of pupils, did not reach the same rate of absorption, and to those pupils who were absorbed they did not assure the same chance of advance and success; as we shall see in the coming sections of our summing-up.

This essence of the project in question stands out most in comparing Course 6 with the "special boarding-schools", which also belong to a Government Ministry, but absorbed only about 11% children of Middle Eastern origin, only about 20% children of laborers and unemployed fathers, and only some 10% from families with 4 children or more. And in spite of this selectivity, which is contrary to the aim of furthering social integration, only one in two remained there to the end of the course. If, in addition, we remember the fact that in the last year some 53% of those absorbed by the fostering boarding-schools came from "problem families" (separation of parents, chronic illness of parents and so on) then we can speak in this project of the development of an educational-social project which, with the improvement in the local and regional educational institutions, expanded its absorption to include more and more of the lower social stratum among the culturally disadvantaged groups; and, as we have seen, assured a high proportion of them success towards the set aims.

The social make-up of the population absorbed by the project of boarding-schools for the "gifted" naturally raises problems and requirements regarding suitable treatment. As can be seen from the report of

Mr. S. Marbach*, certain steps have recently been taken towards extending the social treatment through the introduction of social workers. But from our visits at various boarding-schools, and from our interviews with pupils, youth instructors and headmasters, it seems to us that there is a need to organize individual care. In the case of many of the pupils, this should be on a social-therapeutic basis, with the help of psychologists (in coordination with various units of the Ministry of Education, such as the Guidance Dept.) and by means of more methodical and deeper guidance of the educational staff. Here too, there are, of course, differences between the various institutions, but the lack of suitable training of the youth instructors on entering their roles, and the high turnover of youth instructors call for very intensive in-service training.

2) LEVEL OF ABILITY OF THE POPULATION ABSORBED

The results of the entrance examinations show that most of the population absorbed cannot be regarded as "gifted" according to the absolute definitions accepted by educational psychologists and educators, or according to the structure of the population of pupils absorbed by the selective secondary schools chosen as comparison groups. With the expansion of the project from the first Course to those Courses we

* Supervisor of the Project on behalf of the Ministry of Education and "The Society for the Advancement of Secondary Education". See Appendix III.

are now dealing with, there was not found to be a sufficient number of pupils from a very disadvantaged social background, or from immigrant settlements or development townships, who were "gifted" in intellectual ability. Therefore, the expansion of the absorption frameworks evolved more and more in the direction of giving opportunities for absorption to the pupils who were among the more talented in the disadvantaged elementary school of their community, and whose background data indicated that a boarding-school framework would serve their needs for intellectual development and social mobility. In Chapter IV we see that only about 2/3 of the pupils in Course 6 passed the Grade 8 "Seker" at the usual norm, and the mean score in the "Miltha" Intelligence Test was 102; that is to say, a score only slightly higher than the general norm of the test for Grade 8 (and some 40% were even below the national norm). This fact should be seen, on the one hand, in comparison with the selective secondary schools, where only about 12% were admitted with a "Miltha" score below 100, and the mean "Miltha" score was 110.6 (or the "special" boarding-schools, which admitted only 7.8% with a "Miltha" score lower than 100, and the mean was 112.5) and, on the other hand, in the light of the fact that still only about 10% to 12% of all the children of Middle East parentage pass the "Seker" at the usual norm, and their mean "Miltha" score varies between 92 and 95, as shown in various samples that have been tested in other studies.

In other words, most of those absorbed by the project are "gifted" in relation to their social-ethnic groups; thus it is a proposition of attempting to meet the demand for the fostering of talent and promotion

of opportunities for advancement, when the talents and the knowledge are limited at the starting-point. In other words, these are not frameworks providing opportunities for the expression of talents and interests that have been developed at home and elementary school, as is usual in institutions for the "gifted" organized in some countries, but rather frameworks for the identification and fostering of a certain potential; or, in a considerable number of cases, educational frameworks which regard "ability" as a "threshold variable", on which to build an opportunity for scholastic and educational achievements, mainly by means of exploiting and fostering the motivation for advancement and for constancy of purpose.

The data presented in this report show that the boarding-schools have recognizable achievements in giving continued opportunities for learning, as seen in the existence of relatively high rates of learning and success. But, from the differential achievements of the pupils with lower levels of ability, from our observation in various institutions, from interviews that we held with pupils and educators, and from the results of the repeat tests in Grade 12, it seems to us that not everything possible has yet been done to turn the boarding-schools into frameworks for cognitive fostering, in keeping with the expectations in this field.

It should, perhaps, be added that our present activity in the

framework of the new project known as "Neta"*, demonstrates in various fields what we mean by the concept of adaptation of approach, curriculum and tools for directed cognitive fostering.

Meanwhile we can sum up this section with the statement that our use of the concept "gifted" seems even more vital with the present composition of the student population. Just because, in an absolute sense, the group is one of average ability, there is great importance in this pedagogic-psychological tool which is designed to recruit and foster human motivations for achievement by the offer to play the role of "gifted", instead of the role of "culturally deprived".

3) LEARNING RATES AND SUCCESS RATES IN STUDIES

About 83% of those starting Grade 9 in the first Course completed Grade 12, and in the sixth Course - about 74%. When we split up the boarding-schools, we see that in boarding-school no. 10, which is the continuation of the Course 1 framework (and which absorbed a population of similar background and ability), some 80% completed the 12th grade. The lower rate of continuance in other boarding-schools has its source mainly in the fact that the project absorbed groups of lower ability and, by differentiation among the boarding-schools in distributing pupils according to ability, the advantage was given to school no. 10.

This rate of continuance should be seen as high by several criteria, both when compared with the various comparison groups in Course 1 and Course 6, even when we hold as constant background and ability

* "NETA" is a comprehensive secondary school fostering project, directed by Smilansky, M., and Peri, J., in Tel-Aviv University. The project is financed jointly by the Bernard Van Leer Foundation in Hague and the Ministry of Education in Jerusalem.

variables; and in relation to the background of the pupils and to all the known data concerning drop-out rates in institutions of other educational projects, "Youth Aliyah" groups and the like, which absorb pupils from a similar social background. This rate is particularly high when we consider the various limitations that we found in the manner of treatment of the pupils in the boarding-schools and secondary schools, a subject we shall return to in the course of our discussion.

The fact that we find this high rate of continuance throughout different Courses and boarding-schools permits us to reach a generalization as to the "holding power" of residential institutions. Here there is evidence in favour of the boarding-schools, indicating that even financially speaking, they are not as expensive as they would appear from an account of expenditure per pupil, since for each pound invested they give a higher rate of "productivity", both in terms of ratio of graduates produced and the standard of achievements of each graduate. And at the same time, this generalization bears out the criticism of other institutions, which, while accepting a similar population, or one even more suitable for continued studies, failed to give it opportunities for advancement. In this report the reader finds in the various comparison groups evidence against different types of institutions. For example, the schools in the development townships and the regional school belong to one type - on entrance they classified children to a two-year stream, thus cutting off possibilities for continuance of studies, or rejected pupils who, according to their background and ability, could have been

in a 4-year academic stream, opening up a chance for post-secondary studies for those interested in continuing. Another type of institution is the "average-level" academic school, which admitted a population from a relatively selective social background, and with sufficient ability to continue for four years of secondary education, and nevertheless only 45% of those admitted to Grade 9 completed Grade 12. And a third type is the one we have called for comparison purposes "the special boarding-schools", which admitted a most selective population - in background and ability - but nevertheless lost half of them. In our final report we shall further itemize our criticism, and attempt to recommend certain conclusions.

As for the rate of continuance in the boarding-schools, it seems to us that while noting the success maintained above, we can also raise some points of criticism. The differences in continuance rates in various boarding-schools, of children with a similar background of ability; the higher drop-out rates of the pupils with lower ability; the dropping-out of children who had the ability to continue, and the fact that those whose situation permitted them to seek a non-residential place dropped out; the higher drop-out rate of girls; all these, together with observation and interviews that we conducted in certain boarding-schools (to which we shall return in the final report) indicate that it is possible to raise the continuance rates in the boarding-schools, at least to the rate that was achieved in the first Course.

With regard to success in studies, the data on Course 1 and Course 6 strengthen further the assumption that it is possible to achieve aims

which are set as vital targets for success, even when the youngsters come from a disadvantaged background, even when their ability is mediocre and even when the institutions are not sufficiently prepared for fostering purposes. In the first Course we saw how 83% of those who reached Grade 12 (who were about 83% of those entering Grade 9) passed the matriculation examinations with no failures, and together with those who failed in only one subject, the proportion came to 92%. In the same Course we saw that, both in receiving the "matriculation certificate" and in their scores in the various subjects, they closed the gap between themselves and their classmates who came from a very high social background, and surpassed the comparison groups from similar backgrounds to their own. In the sixth Course we saw in school no. 10 about 90% of success in all the examinations (when those taking the examinations were about 80% of those entering Grade 9), and the remainder failed in only one examination. Thus we may regard the whole group as a successful one. In all the fostering boarding-schools together 71.3% passed with no failures, and together with those failing in only one examination, the proportion rises to 87% (after some 74% reached Grade 12). Taking into consideration the different rates of success in different boarding-schools, the varying degrees of ability of the population in different boarding-schools, and what we know from interviews and observations of the limitations of certain boarding-schools (matters we shall return to in the final report), it seems that we can say three things clearly:

- a) If we combine the data on the drop-out rates and the data on the success in the "matriculation" examinations, it appears that beyond a "Miltha" score of 90 almost every pupil can be assured of completing 12 Grades (77% of the 90 - 99 "Miltha" group completed Grade 12) and the decisive majority will qualify for matriculation if suitable fostering conditions are assured.
- b) There is no basis for the selection methods for entrees to secondary schools used by educational psychologists and headmasters, or for the use of grouping methods, directing pupils to two-year streams and similar ways of cutting-off the continuation of intellectual development, in the case of pupils beyond the minimum norm, the above-mentioned "Miltha" score being one of the criteria of this configuration. From the present data it may be stated that I.Q. is merely a "threshold" variable, and beyond a minimum that can be defined on the basis of the data at our disposal, (or similar data) it is possible and necessary to encourage motivation for learning, intellectual development and motivation for achievement. Psychologists, pedagogues, and administrators who act as "gate keepers" and "traffic policemen", instead of acting as fosterers of human potential, do clear and deliberate harm to the individual's prospects for advancement and to the chances of increasing the pool of human ability in our society.
- c) There is room for conflicting views on the need for "matriculation exams" in general, and on the intellectual significance of the

present matriculation examinations in particular; and we personally question the present practice . But, as long as these examinations exist, and serve as an almost exclusive gateway to further studies and to social mobility, the importance must be recognized of institutions which accept a population from disadvantaged background and of average ability and assure it of progress in secondary studies and success in the matriculation examinations.

In the social reality of Israel, where still only some 16% of the Jewish year-group pass the matriculation examinations (and Middle-Easterns, who comprise more than half of the year-group, form only about 15% of these), the success of the investment in the fostering project of boarding-schools for the "gifted" stands out clearly. The continuity of success from one Course to another, together with our awareness of the present weaknesses of the project (matters which we shall discuss further in the final report) enable us to say that a laboratory has been set up whose experience over the past ten years confirms our assumption that in adolescence it is not too late to invest in fostering programs, provided there is a theoretical model guiding the activity, plans of action suited both to the models and to the changing reality in the field, and systematic investment in improving the methods. From the comparison with the various comparison groups which we set up in our follow-up on Course 1 and Course 6, it stands out that the "gifted", by an absolute national norm, would, for the most part, achieve success, even in an unsuitable or a very bad school. On the other hand, the intermediate group -

who form about half the year-group in each stratum of society and about a quarter to one-third of the culturally deprived strata (of whom almost all the rest are in the bottom quarter of the national norm, and only about 5% in the top quarter) - this group's success in making progress is dependent on the opportunities given by a suitable fostering framework. Completing of secondary education and success in the matriculation examinations are not the only criteria for evaluating this project. In our follow-up four additional areas were examined which we shall discuss in separate interim reports.

- 1) The social standing of the pupils in their schools, as evaluated by themselves, by other pupils in the class and by the teachers.
- 2) Different values and attitudes of the pupils in various areas of socialization.
- 3) The attitude of the parents to the fostering project.
- 4) Rates of continuance in learning, and success in studies, after leaving the boarding-school - in higher education.

In this section we wish to add the main point which stands out from the follow-up on Course 1, the first group to have finished military service and to have passed the full length of time needed to complete undergraduate university studies. All but a few from this Course continued their studies; about half of them have completed or are completing their studies for a first degree; and there are grounds for assumption

that within another year or two some 2/3 will achieve this.

This high proportion is beyond the expectations that we proposed in initiating the project. It is also very promising, relative to the national rates of continuation of studies in higher education, even of a population which is not culturally disadvantaged. Since this additional fact is an important complement to the generalization we made above, we hasten to mention it in the framework of this report. It will be dealt with in detail in one of the additional technical reports of this project. .

APPENDIX I

THE SCHOOLS WHICH TOOK PART IN THE STUDY AND THEIR CODES

- 10 - An academic secondary school in a large town. The school is designed for pupils of the fostering project, who live in the boarding-school attached to the school. The school also absorbs external pupils outside the framework of the fostering project; these pupils do not live in the boarding-school. The project pupils who study at this school are the group with the highest level of ability among all those accepted by the boarding-schools of the fostering project.
- 11 - A technical school in a large town. The group of pupils who study at this school live in a boarding-school shared by wards of the project studying at two other technical schools in the town.
- 12 - A technical school in a large town. The group of pupils who study at this school live in a boarding-school shared by project pupils studying at two other technical schools in the town.
- 13 - A technical school for girls in a large town. It also absorbs a small group of girls from the fostering project, who live at a boarding-school shared by wards of the project studying at school no. 11 and school no. 12.

- 14 - A religious academic secondary school for girls, attached to a teachers' training college. A group of religious girls from the fostering project study at this school, and they live in the boarding-school of the training college. This school is also attended by ordinary pupils, outside the fostering project framework.
- 15 - A religious academic secondary school for boys, attached to a teachers' training college for the religious. It also absorbs wards of the fostering project, who live in the boarding-school of the fostering project. This school generally absorbs those with the highest level of ability among the religious pupils in the fostering project.
- 16 - An academic secondary school with residential quarters in a Youth Village that has a farm, although it is not an agricultural vocational school. About half of the pupils in this school belong to the fostering project. The others also live at the boarding-school although they were not admitted through the fostering project. This institution absorbed pupils with low levels of ability relative to the other boarding-schools of the fostering project.
- 21 - A comprehensive school in a development township in the north. A large proportion of its pupils are of Middle Eastern origin, and most of them are from low social strata.

- 22 - A comprehensive school in a development township near to a large town. A large proportion of its pupils are of Middle Eastern origin and from low social strata.
- 23 - A regional secondary school in a veteran "moshav" (cooperative village) Roughly a third of the pupils are children from old-established villages, and about two-thirds are children from immigrants' villages and from a development township situated in the region.
- 30 - A non-selective academic secondary school in a large town. It absorbs pupils with a below-average level of ability from the population of the outskirts of the town.
- 31 - An academic secondary school in a town. It is considered to be a school of average level, which absorbs pupils of Middle Eastern origin from good social background. 22% of its pupils are of Middle Eastern descent.
- 32 - An academic secondary school common to two large immigrant towns. It also absorbs a small group of children from immigrant villages in the area.
- 40 - A selective technical school of high level. A group of "day-fostering" pupils of the fostering project study at this school.

50- A selective academic secondary school in Tel-Aviv. It absorbs pupils of high ability level.

51- A selective academic secondary school in a large town. Pupils from one of the "special boarding-schools" study at this school.

52- A selective academic secondary school in a large town. Pupils from one of the "special boarding-schools" study at this school.

APPENDIX II

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE GROUPS IN THE STUDY

- A. The fostering boarding-schools - This group comprises all those pupils who were absorbed into the framework of the boarding-school fostering project of the Ministry of Education, and who study at academic and technical schools in urban and rural areas. This group includes pupils from the following schools*:
10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. The total number of pupils in this group is 224.
- B. The classmates of the fostering pupils - This group consists of all the pupils who study in the same classes as the pupils of the fostering project.
- C. Day - fostering - This group consists of pupils from culturally-disadvantaged strata, who study in the framework of a selective technical school (school no. 40 *) and receive individual treatment, help in preparing homework, and cultural enrichment in the afternoon, in the fostering framework of the Ministry of Education. The pupils live at home with their parents. The pupils in this group are

* See itemization of schools in Appendix I .

accepted on the basis of prior selection, in the same way as the pupils of the boarding-schools of the fostering project. There are 62 pupils in this group.

- D. Comprehensive schools in development townships - This group is composed of the pupils from two comprehensive schools in development townships (schools nos. 21 and 22 *). For comparison purposes we treated the two schools as one framework of comparison, because of the similarity in background and ability of the pupils. This group includes 293 pupils.
- E. Regional secondary school - This group includes pupils from school no. 23 * . This school was chosen as a comparison group because it represents a type of regional school in a rural area, absorbing a population from veteran villages and immigrants' villages. There are 100 pupils in this group.
- F. Academic secondary school in an immigrant town - This group consists of the pupils who study at school no. 32*. In this group there are 238 pupils.
- G. Average-level academic secondary school - School no. 31*. This is an academic school in a town. We chose it on the assumption that it absorbs pupils of Middle Eastern origin who come from settled social background. 22% of its pupils are of Middle Eastern origin.

* See itemization of schools in Appendix I.

- H. Selective academic secondary schools - This group includes pupils from several selective academic schools in large towns. Since these schools are similar in the background and ability of the pupils, it was decided to treat them as one comparison framework. This group comprises pupils who study at the following schools * (50, 51, 52), (excluding pupils of the "special boarding-schools" who study at two of these schools). The group consists of 638 pupils.
- I. "Special boarding-schools" - This group consists of 130 pupils who live in two boarding-schools and study in the framework of selective academic schools (51, 52*). These boarding-schools do not belong to the fostering project, and are the responsibility of one of the Government Ministries, which finances them. We chose these boarding-schools as a comparison group representing pupils of high level of ability, outside the framework of the boarding-schools of the fostering project.

* See itemization of schools in Appendix I.

S. Marbach

APPENDIX III

THE FOSTERING BOARDING-SCHOOLS IN THE SCHOLASTIC YEAR 1969 - 70*

A) THE PUPILS BY TYPES OF INSTITUTION

In the year 1969 - 70, 1300 pupils were being educated at seventeen boarding-schools of the fostering project, according to the following breakdown:

Academic Education		Technical Education		Agricultural Education		Maritime	
General	Religious**	General	Religious	General	Religious	General	Religious
370	305	315	35	215	40	20	-
Total:675		350		255		20	

1300

B) THE GUIDANCE AND TREATMENT STAFF

In each institution there is a boarding-school administrator, who is usually an experienced educator with appropriate training. He is assisted by a staff of group instructors. In the absence of special institutions for the training of group instructors for boarding-schools, these workers are selected on the basis of their general education and their past experience of youth leadership in educational institutions or youth movements.

* Since the report on the present study concerns Course 6, which began in the scholastic year 1965-66, we asked Mr. S. Marbach, Supervisor of the boarding-school project on behalf of the Ministry of Education, to add this chapter describing the state of the project and its organization in 1969-70.

** In the Israeli State School System parents can choose a Religious trend or a secular trend, in academic or technical agricultural education.

In the 1969-70 scholastic year, 36 group instructors and 14 "house-mothers" worked in the fostering boarding-schools, most of them in part-time employment. Most of the group instructors are secondary school graduates, who are continuing their studies in higher education and in teachers' training colleges. The "house-mothers" are mostly wives and mothers who have personal experience in home-economics and were selected for the interest they showed in this work and because of the management's assumption that they had suitable personalities for this role.

THE GROUP INSTRUCTORS BY SEX AND EDUCATION

Studying for first degree		Studying at teachers' training college		Senior teacher	
M	F	M	F	M	F
21	11	2	--	2	--
32		2		2	

36

THE GROUP INSTRUCTORS BY PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE

1 year	2 - 3 years	3 years and more	Total
24	6	6	36

Thirty-four of the group instructors work and study at the same time. This fact has many implications - both positive and negative. The advantage is that the pupil sees before him a leader-student who is striving for higher education and who can therefore serve as a model

to imitate and identify with. On the other hand, the fact that the group instructor has obligations concerning his studies limits the time he can devote to his work, and creates tension and clashes in his relations with the headmaster, and with the pupils. As seen in the Table, most of the group instructors are in their first or second year of service, and their actual previous experience is confined to one year. This situation is common to boarding-schools in Israel, but nonetheless grave in an educational fostering project, which must ensure special understanding for the needs of adolescents from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds, identification with them and systematic help in the formation of their self-identity.

THE GROUP INSTRUCTORS BY PERSISTENCE IN WORK

First year	Second year	Third year	Fourth year	Total
12	16	4	4	36

We are witness to a large turn-over of group instructors, with only a few persisting in this work more than two years. The reasons for this are well-known: firstly, the nature of the occupation, which necessitates working at irregular times (night, Sabbath, festivals); secondly, the lack of opportunity for professional mobility.

Bearing in mind these reasons, various boarding-schools have tried to provide better working conditions - including higher salaries, suitable living accommodation and free board; all this in order to stabilize the educational staff - at least for the duration of one complete Course

of secondary education.

C) BUDGET

In the 1969 - 70 fiscal year the expenditure on the upkeep and education of 1228 wards was - IL. 2,662,000.-. In addition to the upkeep of the pupils, this sum also included the expenditure on selection and follow-up, administration, rent, interest and insurance. It did not include the secondary school tuition fees, which are paid from the graded tuition fees budget, and the basic investments in building or in renovating the boarding-schools.

Thus it emerges that the upkeep of a pupil in a boarding-school for a period of 11 months (including a preparatory camp for the new Course) costs an average of IL.2,167 per annum. This outlay, which is low compared to what is usual in Israel, is the average cost of various institutions, some of which are able to provide cheap services because of the existence of a farm or the proximity to a parent-institution whose budget is covered from other sources. In institutions whose budget is covered solely by the project, the cost rises to IL.3,000 per pupil per annum.

D) METHODS OF SELECTION AND ACCEPTANCE OF PUPILS

For the scholastic year 1969 - 70, 2,757 candidates were recommended for the boarding-schools by 570 elementary schools (an increase of 44% over the year 1968-69).

These three documents were attached to the applications:

- a) a pedagogic report from the elementary school where the pupil studied,
- b) a report from the local authority on the social situation of the family,
- c) a medical report on the pupil's state of health,

All the candidates were subjected to a battery of ability tests, which was perfected following a special follow-up study *.

The dividing-point for selection in 1969-70 (Stage 2) was determined in accordance with the policy of the Ministry concerning the number of absorption places vacant in educational institutions, and in accordance with the size of the budget which was at the disposal of the project. 921 pupils who passed the ability tests and achieved the required minimum were invited for personal interviews together with their parents.

Total of elementary schools from which candidates came	Total of candidates	Passed Stage 1 Tests
570	2,757 pupils	921 pupils

The selection committee judged on the basis of the test results and the recommendation certificates, and determined the preference for absorption in accordance with the number of available places.

* Levin Y., Nevo D., "An Evaluative Study of Selection Procedure for Boarding-Schools". Megamot, Volume XVII (1), 1970. (in Hebrew).

Out of 921 candidates who passed the Stage 1 tests, 526 pupils were accepted for the boarding-schools for the scholastic year 1969-70.

E) THE COMPOSITION OF CANDIDATES FOR ACCEPTANCE IN 1969-70 BY BACKGROUND DATA

From the following Table it can be seen that the candidates for the fostering project came from all over the country, and the rate of increase in the last year is high in all regions, and ranges between 33 and 51 percent.

District	Percentage of Candidates	Rate of Increase Over 1968-69
Jerusalem	10	33
North	14	51
Haifa	10	33
Central	26	45
Tel-Aviv	19	44
South	21	50
All the regions	100%	44%

By the criteria of country of birth and origin of parents, we see that the overwhelming majority of candidates - 87.5%-come from families who immigrated from Middle Eastern and North African countries, although some 70% of the children were themselves born in Israel.

The Candidates by Father's Country of Birth

Region	Total of Candidates	Percent
Israel	70	2.5
Middle-East and North Africa	2415	87.5
Europe	272	9.8
Total	2757 pupils	100%

F) COMPOSITION BY BACKGROUND OF THE GROUPS OF PUPILS WHO WERE ACCEPTED FOR GRADE 9 IN THE 1969-70 SCHOLASTIC YEAR

In accordance with the criteria which were itemized in the introductory chapter and in Section D of this appendix, 526 pupils were selected for the various boarding-schools. After appeals and concessions on the part of the youths, the parents and the institutions, 448 pupils were admitted to Grade 9.

By type of residential settlement of the parents, the make-up of the new Course, Course 10, is as follows:

	Immigrant village	Development township	New urban settlement	Immigrant town	Veteran "Moshav"	Established urban settlement	Large towns (mostly poor neighborhoods)	Total
Number of settlements	36	18	8	9	14	15	14	114
Number of pupils	46	81	18	62	20	35	186	448
Mean number of pupils per settlement	1.3	4.5	2.3	5.2	1.4	2.3	13.3	3.9

The pupils who were accepted came from 114 settlements. In the majority of cases, the reason for the child's leaving his community was the absence of an educational institution of suitable standard, or of a trend suited to the wishes of the parents and the child (academic, technical agricultural, maritime - general or religious) or conditions not conducive to regular studies. The low number of pupils from each of the development townships and immigrant villages belies the fear that removal of these children from their communities may thin out the local peer-group society.

The social background of the family can be evaluated in different ways, but for the purpose of comparison with data from previous Courses,

we give here the father's occupation, the father's education, and the size of the family.

Skilled laborers	Unskilled laborers	Agricultural laborers	Drivers	Clerks Policemen etc.	Peddlers	Unemployed or undefined	Total
6.7%	54.2%	7.5%	3.5%	10.5%	6.0%	11.6%	100%
71.9%				16.5%		11.6%	

From the Table on occupations we see that almost 72% of the parents are laborers, who, in a family with many children, will have difficulty in securing full secondary education for their children. Of these, the group of unskilled laborers stands out, forming more than 54% of the population.

There is a large proportion of parents (11.6%) whose occupation is not defined, or who are defined as "unemployed". This proportion suggests the fringe stratum among the population of pupils.

No education	Elementary education (partial or complete)	Secondary education (partial or complete)	Post-secondary education	Total
16.3%	66.6%	15.0%	2.1%	100.0%
82.9%				

From this Table it appears that the educational level of almost 83% of the pupils' fathers is not above that of elementary school.

The children admitted to the boarding-schools came from large families. Close to 79% in this Course came from families with 4 children and more, and the mean is 5.5 children to a family.*.

1-3 children in family	4-6 children	7-9 children	10 children and more	Total
21.3%	45.2%	26%	7.4%	99.9%
78.6%				

If we consider the average size of a flat in a standard housing project, we will get some idea of the crowding and restriction in which these children grew up for 14 years.

As was mentioned in the introduction, the fostering project undertook the task of grappling with a certain proportion of problem cases, and in many instances giving preference in acceptance to youngsters in this condition. Compared with the first Course, the rate of these cases has risen in recent years, and in the present Course we can see that in half the cases there are indications of a "problematic" condition being the dominant criterion for accepting the pupil.

* Only about 12% of the Jewish families in Israel have 4+ children, and only about 4.5% have 6+ children.

Separation of parents or orphaned	Chronic illness of one parent	Other problems	No declared and obvious problems	Total
18.0%	31.6%	3.3%	47.0%	99.9%
52.9%				

G) DISTRIBUTION OF THE PUPILS ACCEPTED BY RESULTS OF ENTRANCE TESTS

The 2,757 pupils who were recommended by headmasters of elementary schools as candidates for the boarding-schools in 1969-70 were given entrance tests. The candidate could attain a score ranging from 1 to 9. In keeping with the financial possibilities of the project, the pass-score for acceptance was set at 5.5 points. Here is the distribution of pupils who were accepted for the boarding schools in 1969-70, by their test scores.

8 - 9	7.5-7.75	7.0 -7.25	6.5-6.75	6.0 -6.25	5.5-5.75	Total
3%	8%	16%	20%	25%	28%	100%

From among those rejected it stands out that almost 400 pupils achieved "margin" results, that is, they obtained a score of 5.0-5.5 points. In this group, there are many whose social circumstances are bad, but because of the budgeting restrictions, they were denied the chance of being included among those benefiting from the desired opportunity.

The findings obtained from the analysis of the population of pupils who were accepted for the boarding-schools in 1960-70 showed a definite decline in the social and emotional situation of the pupils.

This is explained mainly by the decision of the project to give priority to three types:

- a) children from disadvantaged Middle Eastern families with many children ,
- b) children from broken families, due to death of a parent, separation or chronic illness, mostly mental sickness ,
- c) a group of recent new immigrants who were mostly remote from the dominant values of Israeli society.

This fact forced the project to reorganize itself in order to help the pupils in the process of absorption and adjustment to the boarding-school. In most of the institutions a social worker was added to the staff, whose role was to act as a bridge between the institution and the family home, and to give supporting treatment to the pupil in need of it in times of crises.

Special help was arranged for the new immigrant pupils, in personal attention and extra help in studies.

H) TRENDS OF THE PROJECT IN THE LIGHT OF ITS TASK AND EXPERIENCE

The special character of the boarding-school framework permits it to deepen and broaden the areas of education and to contribute to shaping the personality of the pupil. The singularity of the boarding-

school framework enables it to circumscribe the life of the pupil, to try to understand him and guide him. The communal life gives the pupil innumerable opportunities for relating to others, for developing communicative skills and for strengthening of tolerance and mutual help. As an example, we may consider some basic aspects of boarding-school education.

1) Social integration - Israel is a society absorbing immigrants from various origins. It has faced, and still faces, the problem of merging the different ethnic groups into one nation. The test in the future will be - to bring the second generation closer toward social integration, beyond the formal encounter in the classroom. Bringing together of the boarding-school pupils with the population of pupils from established strata on an equal basis, encouragement of shared activities and mutual social penetration - all these turn the slogan "integration of exiles" into a fact of daily life.

2) Broadening of horizons and enrichment - The imparting of formal education and knowledge is made possible in the boarding-school by the varied activities of study-circles, meetings with community and national personalities, and the provision of suitable conditions for the encouragement of reading and study.

Great stress is laid on the developing of sensibility to beauty and to art. Trips in the countryside, visits to theatres, a film club, exhibitions, paintings, a music club and record circles all help to draw out the natural skills and encourage their development.

- 3) Education for a democratic way of life - The boarding-school education is based on the student society as a stimulus, both in education and treatment. Through social activities the pupil acquires the habits of expressing ideas and of tolerance to the ideas of others, and makes his first steps in democratic education.

The social institutions, such as the committees and the council are the elected representatives of the youth. The elected body has privileges and obligations, and has the power to direct and initiate projects, to accept or reject suggestions - all in accordance with the regulations approved by the educators and pupils alike.

- 4) Education for active citizenship - Living in a free boarding-school, supported by public funds, could lead to feelings of arrogance and aloofness. Therefore, the tendency of the education in the boarding-school is to bring the young people to norms of "give and take". The institution does not formalize demands of obligation to return a debt to society, but on the other hand, it curbs ideas and feelings centred round the concept "we deserve it". The boarding-school presents the youth with challenges, projects for helping others, such as: work in projects of environment preservation, social service to the sick, First-Aid Society, teaching Hebrew to new immigrants, and so on. Through voluntary activities the boarding-school pupils take part in cooperative efforts of citizens for the strengthening of society.

5) The tools and method for achieving the target - Much has been spoken of the special character of the boarding-school framework, where the pupil spends 24 hours a day. This framework permits close observation and follow-up, and creates opportunities for deeper development of the individual's talent and ability.

We may note several components, specific to the nature of boarding-school education, which form the tools in the hands of the educational staff.

- a) The permissive social climate.
- b) Individual attention and supporting treatment in moments of crisis.
- c) Personnel of different disciplines to aid the educational staff, such as: social worker, psychologist, physician.
- d) Participation of student representatives in the forming of the institution's policy, orientation and planning.
- e) The educational group as a factor of treatment and guidance.
- f) Giving of opportunities for individual self-expression.
- g) Social challenges uniting the group and strengthening its social organization.
- h) Physical and emotional conditions conducive to development of talents.
- i) An educational staff as a model for identification and imitation.

To sum up, the education in the boarding-school extends well beyond formal teaching, and, according to the data in our hands, the shared efforts of pupils and staff have met with success.

I) THE PROJECT'S FOLLOW-UP ON ITS PUPILS AND GRADUATES

The unit keeps a card-index on every pupil, from the stage of candidacy onwards. The pupil's card is brought up-to-date each year with a note on his scholastic and social achievements. On the completion of his studies his card is moved to the graduates' index, and information is added concerning his further studies or his place of employment.

In addition, during the period of his stay in the boarding-school, a "cumulative personal file" is kept, marking details of his development. The material from the chain of selection and acceptance serves as a basis for this file, including details on the pupil's family, the test results, the pedagogic opinion of the elementary school headmaster, the opinion of the local welfare bureau, the results of medical tests that were carried out before his entrance to the institution, and the impressions of the accepting committee.

The institution tries to preserve a close tie with the graduates and to instigate social contacts among them. As well as informal meetings, the committee of each Course encourages annual reunions of graduates, held at the boarding-school where they were educated. These reunions have great importance for the young pupils in the boarding-school, because, seeing those who have succeeded, they find in them a model for imitation and a further incentive for consistency of motivation during moments of weakness in face of adjustment difficulties.

Since its foundation the project has graduated 7 Courses with about a thousand members, as follows:

Trend	1963/64	64/65	65/66	66/67	67/68	68/69	69/70	Total
Academic	65	62	70	69	83	78	57	484
Technical	-	30	27	34	65	64	71	291
Agricultural	-	-	19	20	48	55	56	198
Maritime	-	-	-	-	7	6	3	16
Total	65	92	116	123	203	203	187	989

Out of the 989 who completed 12 Grades in the framework of the boarding-school project, 400 graduates from 4 Course, (63-64, 66-67) have arrived at the possibility for further studies, having finished military service. According to our data, 191 out of this group are continuing their studies at institutes of higher education. Since we do not yet possess data concerning the rest of the graduates, it should not be concluded from this that only half of the graduates of the boarding-school project go on to study at institutes of higher education. The follow-up on the graduates, conducted in the framework of the project, reveals that at least 2/3 of the 1963-64 graduates have gone on to higher studies *.

* A separate report (Technical report no. 5) will be devoted to this subject, and is now in the preparatory stage.

J) FORECASTS AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

The extension of the School Reform and the development of large regional and comprehensive schools necessitate planning the future of the boarding-school project. In spite of attempts to raise the standard of services and to vary the curricula, a long transitory stage awaits us until the time when the regional school can bring its scholastic and teaching standards up to the level of schools with a long tradition of experience in the large towns. Parallel to the teaching problems, we must be prepared to grapple with problems of social integration, which will become progressively worse in conditions of "opening the achievement gap", and this as a result of the teaching method in the schools included in the Reform. If we see the changes in the educational system as extensive pedagogic experiments, it will be correct to add to these experiments the boarding-school frameworks, in order to use them as a workshop, where new didactic methods and study curricula can be tested in controlled conditions.

The extent of the Reform in the coming years calls for renewed preparation concerning the manner of absorbing pupils into the boarding-schools. We shall not be able to recruit our pupils from among candidates recommended by headmasters, because, due to local interests, they will not be able to give up pupils with promising intellectual potential. On the contrary, there is a danger that the candidates referred to the boarding-schools will be pupils whom the school is interested in getting rid of, because of adjustment and discipline problems.

The educational system faces the challenge of bringing each pupil to the development of his optimal ability. For this, it is necessary to create the suitable environmental conditions. Among the environmental conditions are the family home and its atmosphere, and the conditions of the neighborhood or the street where the child grows up. In following up our candidates we come across a large number of pupils whom it is necessary to remove from the family home for psycho-social reasons. Sometimes precious years have been wasted, and pupils of promising intellectual potential have not realised their ability.

These facts demand consideration - is it not desirable in such cases to lower the age of absorption to the boarding-schools? Perhaps it would be advisable to set up an experimental boarding-school framework for a younger age-group. Boarding-school conditions would make it possible to conduct pedagogic and didactic experiments and to follow closely the achievements and failures in order to draw conclusions.

Several possibilities exist for integrating the boarding-schools in the presently developing School Reform:

- a) To leave the boarding-schools of the fostering project as a separate experiment in the Reform process. The boarding-school would receive pupils at the end of their 8th scholastic year, for secondary studies.
- b) To build a parallel system of boarding-schools for the "middle division" stage, as a controlled experiment in the education of pupils whose social condition hinders them from developing their full intellectual ability.

- c) To build a parallel system of boarding-schools for the upper division, where there would be separation of technical and academic education.

The unique character of boarding-school education permits variety of experimentation in the implementation of educational reform, and creates a suitable climate for developing of talents and spurring of motivation for intellectual efforts. The life together can provide the means for deepening social integration among the pupils, and their future integration as citizens in the State.

APPENDIX IV

SUCCESS INDEX IN SECONDARY SCHOOL AND MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS OF PUPILS OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN *

Miltha Score	Group	Began Studies		Completed 12 Grades (index)	Qualify for matriculation certificate (index)	Lack one subject (index)
		no .	index			
	Fostering A. boarding- schools	4	100	75	75	-
	B. Classmates of fostering pupils	7	100	29	-	14
	C. Day - fostering	4	100	75	75	-
	D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	31	100	48	10	13
68	E. Regional secondary school (23)	12	100	17	8	-
101	F. Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	22	100	36	18	14
	G. Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	13	100	31	23	-
	H. Selective "academic" secondary schools	7	100	86	29	14
	I. "Special" boarding- schools	1	100	100	100	-

* These Tables are equivalent to Tables XXVII to XXX in Chapter V

SUCCESS INDEX IN SECONDARY SCHOOL AND MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS OF PUPILS
OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN (Cont.)

Miltha Score	Group	Began Studies		Completed 12 Grades (index)	Qualify for matriculation certificate (index)	Lack one subject (index)
		no .	index			
69 - 60	A. Fostering boarding- schools	9	100	56	44	-
	B. Classmates of fostering pupils	7	100	43	14	14
	C. Day - fostering	5	100	80	60	-
	D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	18	100	83	17	39
	E. Regional secondary school (23)	17	100	35	12	12
	F. Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	29	100	66	34	-
	G. Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	50	100	30	20	2
	H. Selective "academic" secondary schools	44	100	64	52	5
	I. "Special" boarding- schools	6	100	33	33	-

SUCCESS INDEX IN SECONDARY SCHOOL AND MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS OF PUPILS OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN (cont.)

Miltha Score	Group	Began Studies		Completed 12 Grades (index)	Qualify for matriculation certificate (index)	Lack one subject (index)
		no .	index			
109 - 100	A. Fostering boarding- schools	12	100	83	67	8
	B. Classmates of fostering pupils	28	100	57	32	14
	C. Day - fostering	3	100	100	67	33
	D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	34	100	62	21	24
	E. Regional secondary school (23)	15	100	60	47	7
	F. Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	33	100	61	39	9
	G. Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	76	100	53	39	8
	H. Selective "academic" secondary schools	142	100	75	68	4
	I. "Special" boarding- schools	23	100	30	26	-

SUCCESS INDEX IN SECONDARY SCHOOL AND MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS OF PUPILS
OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN (Cont.)

Miltha Score	Group	Began Studies		Completed 12 Grades (index)	Qualify for matriculation certificate (index)	Lack one subject (index)
		no.	index			
110 and over	A. Fostering boarding - schools	5	100	100	100	-
	B. Classmates of fostering pupils	19	100	74	68	5
	C. Day - fostering	2	100	100	50	50
	D. Comprehensive schools in development townships	16	100	75	50	19
	E. Regional secondary school (23)	11	100	64	55	-
	F. Secondary school in immigrant town (32)	29	100	86	45	10
	G. Average-level "academic" secondary school (31)	30	100	63	53	7
	H. Selective "academic" secondary schools	235	100	85	75	2
	I. "Special" boarding-schools	58	100	53	34	3