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APPENDIX A

SCHEDULES OF INTERVIEWS IN ISRAEL

Abulkadar, Mr. Abu Salim, Ministry of Interior Affairs, Gaza.
February 14, 1980.

Alon, Mrs. Esther, Director of Planning and Evaluation, Israel
Corporation of Community Centers, Jerusalem.
January 16, 1980.

* Bar-On, Col. Mordechai (retired), former Chief Education Officer, Israel
Defence Force. Author of: Education Processes in the Israel
Defence Forces. Jerusalem. April 11, 1980.

* Bein, Mr. Yehuda, former Director of Adult Education in the Kibbutzim
Movement, Kef r Masaryk. Author of: Adult Education in
Kibbutzim in Israel. January 22, 1980.

* Ben Sasson, Dr. Yona, Director of Torah Culture Department, Ministry
of Education and Culture. Co-author of Israel, Jews and
Judaism. April 25, 1980.

* Cohen, Rabbi Jack, Hillel Foundation, Hebrew University, Mount Scopus
Campus, Jerusalem. May 2, 1980.

* Cohen, Dr. Yeheskel, Director of National Academy of Science and
Humanities, former Head of Adult Education, Ministry of
Education and Culture and Chairman of the Israeli Adult
Education Association. Coordinator of: A Survey of Adult
Education Personnel in Israel. Jerusalem, September 20, 1979.

Epstein, Dr. D. Department of Torah Culture, Ministry of Education and
Culture. Jerusalem. April 25, 1980.

Erdstein, Mr. Bert, Manager of the Adult Education Section of the Haifa
Municipality, Haifa. April 22, 1980.

Faganbaum, Captain Avi, Camp Commander of Camp Ze'ev Haifa Literacy Camp
(I.D.F.), Haifa. April 22, 1980.

* Gil'ad, Mr. Gershon, former director of Cultural activities for the
Movement of Moshavim, Histadrut, Rehovot. March 11, 1980.

* Gothelf, Mr. Yehuda, former Editor of 'Davar', (Histadrut Labor
Newspaper). Tel Aviv. May 9, 1980.

* Grabelsky, Mrs. Ora, Jerusalem Teacher's College, Author of: From
Illiteracy to Literacy. Jerusalem. January 21, 1980.

Herman, Professor Simon, Professor of Sociology, Hebrew University,
Givat Ram. Author of Jewish Identity. Jerusalem, May 26,
1980

Hutner, Mr. Haim, Instructor of Hebrew at Ulpan Akiva, Netanya.
January 7, 1980.

* Katznelson, Mrs. Schulamit, Founder and Director of Ulpan Akiva, Netanya,
January 6 & May 22, 1980.

* Kodesh, Dr. Shlomo   Director of the Ashdod Evening School for Adults.
Former head of Department of Adult Education, Ministry of
Education and Culture. Editor of 'Hed Haulpan' (Echo of the
Ulpan), Ashdod. September 10, 1979.   85 - Retired
                                                        July 88

Me'iri   Ms. Ofra, Secretary-General of the Adult Education Association
of Israel, Jerusalem. September 13, 1979.

Millin, Dr. Daniel, Director of Manpower Training and Development Bureau,
Ministry of Labor, Jerusalem. June 30, 1980.

* Navon, President Yitzhak, former Head of Division of Culture,
Ministry of Education and Culture, Jerusalem. May 1, 1980.

Roumani, Dr. Maurice, Lecturer at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.
Author of: From Immigrant to Citizen 'The Contribution of
the Army in Israel to National Integration: The Case of the
Oriental Jews'. Beersheba. June 11, 1980.

Roushey, Mr. Deputy Master of the Arab Jewish Community Center in Haifa.
April 22, 1980.

Shkhadem, Farouk, Adult Educator within the Druse Village of Issfya, near
Haifa. October 13, 1979.

Shapiro, Moshe, Machon Meir Center for Jewish Studies, Adult Student,
dialogued on behalf of the Administrator, Jerusalem.
January 30, 1980.

Smooha, Dr. Sammy, Senior lecturer in Sociology at Haifa University,
author of: Israel: Pluralism and Conflict, Haifa.
May 22, 1980.

Srour, Ms. Samira, Hebrew-Arabic Adult Education Instructor, Gaza.
January 6 & February 14, 1980.

* Tzivion, Mr. Avraham, Head of the Department of Adult Education, Ministry
of Education and Culture, former Director of Camp Marcos
Adult Education Camp (I.D.F.) Haifa. January 28, 1980.

* Yadlin, Mr. Aaron, former Minister of Education with the Labor government.
Kibbutz Hazerim, (near Beersheba). June 11, 1980.

* Yaron, Mr. Kalman, Director of the Martin Buber Center for Adult Education,
Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Editor of: Lifelong
Learning In Israel. Jerusalem. September 17, 1979.

Young, Dr. Douglas, founder of American Institute for Holy Land Studies, Director of 'Bridges for Peace', Jerusalem. January 24, 1980.

* Zippori , Mr. Haim, Director-General of the Israel Corporation of Community Centers, Jerusalem. January 30, 1980.

* Initial 'Primary Personnel'

Table 1: Survey of Primary Personnel

Ministry of Education

a)	General	3
b)	Universities	3
c)	Department of Adult Education	2
d)	Department of Torah Culture	2

Ulpan	3
I.D.F. (Israel Defence Force)	3
Kibbutzim	1
Histadrut (Labor Union)	1
Community Centers	3
Moshavim	1
Yeshiva	1

Minority Groups

a)	Arabs	1
b)	Druse	1
c)	Christians	1

Sociologists	2
Adult Education Association	1
Municipalities	1
Ministry of Labor	1

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APPENDIX B

SCHEDULE OF ISRAELI ADULT EDUCATION

AGENCIES VISITED, PROGRAMS OBSERVED

OR MEETINGS ATTENDED

Agricultural Adult Education

> * Toured the Faculty of Agriculture, Rehovot.
> December 4, 1979.

Army Adult Education (Israel Defence Force - I.D.F.)

> * Toured Camp Ze'ev, Literacy Camp, Haifa. April 22, 1980.

Community Centers

> * Toured Mandel Community Center, Kiriyat Yam, near Haifa.
> October 11, 1979.

> * Toured Arab-Jewish Community Center, Haifa.
> April 22, 1980.

Ministry of Education - Department of Adult Education

> * Participant in 'Bakitah Alef' Ulpan class, Sundays,
> Tuesdays and Wednesdays, Jerusalem. September 2 to
> November 22, 1979.

> * Attended 30th Anniversary Program for Ulpan in Israel,
> Tel Aviv. December 19, 1979.

> * Guest at Ulpan Akiva, Netanya. January 6-8, 1980.

> * Observed classes at the Adult Learning Center Haifa
> Municipality, Haifa. April 22, 1980.

Histadrut

> * Visited Histadrut headquarters and Library Tel Aviv.
> May 9, 1980.

Israel Adult Education Association

> * Visited Head Office in Jerusalem. September 13, 1979.

> * Attended Annual Meeting of the Israel Adult Education
> Association, Tel Aviv. December 17, 1979.

Kibbutzim Adult Education

> * Toured Kibbutz HaZorea   near Haifa. October 13, 1979.

> * Guest at Kibbutz   Ginnosar, near Tiberias.
> December 19-20, 1979.

* Visited Kibbutz Ma'barot, near Netanya. December 31, 1979.

* Visited Kefar Masaryk, near Akko. December 31, 1979.

* Resident at Kibbutz Sasa, N.W. of Safed. March 26 to
  April 2, 1980.

* Visited Kibbutz Hazerim, near Beersheva. June 11, 1980.

Universities and Museums

* Toured Hebrew University, Mount Scopus Campus, Jerusalem.
  September 3, 1979.

* Toured Haifa University, Haifa. October 10, 1979.

* Toured Hebrew University, Givat Ram Campus and National
  Museum, Jerusalem, December 11, 1979.

* Visited Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot.
  January 3, 1980.

* Visited Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beersheva.
  June 11, 1980.

* Visited Bar-Ilan University and the Museum Nathan Goldman
  Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, Tel Aviv. July 20, 1980.

Immigration Absorption

* Toured Immigration Absorption Center Kiryat Yam, north of
  Haifa. October 11, 1979.

Yeshiva

* Toured Machon Meir Institute of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem.
  January 16, 1980.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT YITZHAK NAVON - May 1, 1980.

(transcribed from taped interview in the President's
Office)

J.C. I am studying the beginning of the State of Israel, the first 25
years, from 1948 - 1973, and how adult educators in Israel saw adult
education as contributing to national identity and national unity.

My interest in you is related to your years as Head of the Ministry
Department of adult education literacy programs, and I am trying to get
you to go back and reflect and assess what a.e. was trying to do in those
days...We so often get caught in the news of today that we forget to go
back and reflect on what has been done and what were our goals and where
have we come from, especially programs to help new immigrants identity
with the land and the people, and the history...and were they
successful?

Y.N. I speak maybe without notes, maybe a monologue to give expresion to
what I think was my idea of the general background of adult education in
Israel - as I saw it then and as I see it now.

Today we have in Israel 3.2 (roughly) million Jews. I am not going to
speak about the Christian, Druse, Muslim communities.
I am limiting myself only to the Jewish population. The non-Jewish
population is almost half a million. I will speak only about the Jewish
population. The non-Jewish population is a more or less homegenous
culture.
Almost all of them speak Arabic, although in religion they may be
different.
The Jews who came to Israel, come from 102 countries, speaking 81 languages.
When we say 'language' it is not just 'the mother tongue' it is a whole
world of emotion, and culture, and meaning associated with it.
They had to learn Hebrew. Like one of our scholars said, to read the Bible
through a translation is like kissing your sweetheart through a
handkerchief!
They (the immigrants) came, not only from distances of geography but from
distances of time. Some of the new comers belonged to the 20th Century,
some belonged to the 21st Century.
Some sociologists like to compare the situation in Israel to the early days
of the United States. Some call it the 'pressure cooker', others call it
the 'melting pot' in that you had the resemblance between the WASP and the
Ashkenazi Jews, and the Black, Chicano, Peurto Rican with the Sephardic
Jew.
But the situation is not the same.
All those who came to the United States did not have anything in common except
maybe the first ones who came on the Mayflower. They all came because they
were fleeing from somewhere and they wanted freedom...
I use the term used by the Hebrew writer 'Ha Hade' - He wrote an article
called 'Past and Future' - his name became a nickname - Haanadan Street
in Jerusalem, etc. - he said more or less the following "a great
philosopher was the first man Adam when he uttered for the first time the
word 'I'. When we use the word 'I', we do not refer to the hair of our
head, the nails of our feet, but to the combination the synthesis of your
memory of the past, the present and the future."
The same goes with the collective 'I'.

If we take this definition, I would say, "All the people who come to Israel from 102 countries, have a collective 'I'. Unlike those who went to the United States.

Whether we come from Finland or Kurdistan, Mexico or Afganistan (we have 15,000 people here from Afganistan) from America or Shanghai, you name it, all of us have a common memory of a common past. Of Moses and the Exodus, King David, First Temple, Second Temple, all the joys, all the feasts, the mourning, that is 'part of us'. All of us have the same aspirations for the future. Not just to return to our ancient homeland as a free independent people....pause....
...our problem is to bridge the gap of 2000 years that separates the memory of the past with the realization of the aspiration for the future.

From this day, to sum up after 32 years from the day the State was born, I would say, the elements of the memory was much stronger in the beginning.

In the beginning we were frightened..."What is going to happen?"...
Our consciousness was of ourselves...you must remember that when the state was formed we were 600,000 people. Within four years time it had increased by 120%.
During the War of Independence, which lasted more than 8 months, we received more than 100,000 new immigrants!
In the next three successive years we had received 650,000 new people.
And we had different languages and different customs.
We developed Ulpanim to teach the people Hebrew.
But what we had developed here had been preceded by 60 - 70 years of Zionist activity within the country. One would see posters saying "you are a Hebrew, learn Hebrew!" and "Fight Against the Enemy of Illiteracy"...
So the reaction in the beginning was, 'you came to a new country, will you please forget everthing that went in the past!" You are coming to a new country, your ancient homeland.
Your language is Hebrew and you have a new culture in your new homeland.
It was a big undertaking. We had to absorb 650,000 new people in four years, and they kept coming in later years 100,000, 70,000, 60,000.
Those who were the 'veterans', they worked very hard and very quickly to teach the newcomers.
So the army became a school. You find this in the writings of Ben-Gurion, the army is not only to defend, but to teach and the commander is not only a military type, but he is an educator, and is instructing.
Long discussions came about when it came to money for defence. The armor units wanted money and the air force, but there was no cut in budgets in the education services of the army. This was seen as a chance where you have the soldier, whether a boy or a girl, within your reach for a certain period of time. Then it was 18 months and then developed into 2 years and now it is 3 years.
So, for those years apart from military and instruction in equipment, the soldier was given an orientation to the country ...

J.C. I have visited Camp Marcos and met Mordechal Bar On and Mr. Tzivion ...

Y.N. So you know what they did and how they developed. The concept was
"here they are within your reach for their military service. Use this
time to teach them the language, the country, the history and civics."

J.C. From the agencies formed for a.e....how do you rate the agencies as
the ones who contributed to national identity and national unity the
most...
i.e. my wife has been attending Ulpan for the past 6 months and has
enjoyed learning along with the Hebrew, the history of the country, etc.
etc.
Ulpan is more than language...

Y.N. Certainly....dance and songs....
All of the agencies wanted national identity and national unity.

J.C. You feel that all of them....

Y.N. All of them, that is what they wanted!
Let's say a man comes to Israel and he wants to be a doctor. If he is a
doctor he is given a short course in the language to help him but if he
is not a doctor he must have training in the areas related to medicine.
So there would be some technical subjects taught...but generally speaking
the aim of adult education was - and I know this from personal experience -
to help him identify with the land and the people.

Now, let's jump and come to 1963-1965...
You have statistics, if I can remember of 202,000 illiterates. 2/3 were
total illiterates. 1/3 were what we call functional illiterates, (up
to maybe four years of school) but for all practical purposes the adults
were illiterate.
Some 80,000 of them came from Eastern European countries. And we said
how come? We thought Jews were among the best educated etc. in their
country. But these had had their education interrupted by the war, so
I would say: "Listen, it is the conditions that make a man. And if the
Jews in Morocco had been given different conditions they would function
equally as well. That is another aspect.
Usually it was considered that Jews who came from Eastern countries that
it was them who had the problem because they were illiterate. They were
called the Oriental Jews.
When I was assigned to this task we found that the total numbers of the
amount of illiterates in the city and the country was different, but that
the total percentage of illiterates in a city like Tel Aviv was smaller
than in some of the development towns. For example in Tel Aviv there
may have been 30% of the population illiterate, but in a town or village
in the frontier areas it may have been 50% illiterate. So we did not
develop the program on the basis of the numbers available in a given
area but on the basis of their size in a given area or place.

We found there were 120 places, villages, moshavims, etc. where there was
a very high percentage of illiterate people.
So I decided in 1964 to start programs in the cities, they tended to be
more defensive about learning Hebrew. In Tel Aviv there was the pressure
of the concerts and the theaters, signs on the shops, (etc.)...the city

was overwhelming, the pressure, of the schools etc. but in the villages it was different. When Literacy becomes the normal thing in a village then everyone wants to be a part of it, and it affects the second generation. Whether a child learns or not often depends on the pressure or encouragement received from the parents. If the parent is learning a language then the child will see a value to learning. If not the child says, why should I learn.

The whole system of habits and way of conduct is affected by the adults. So we brought in the girl soldiers to teach the adults...from secondary schools who were beginning their military service I met these girls before they went to the villages and told them:

1. This is a humanistic endeavor you are entering. If an adult cannot read and write he is a slave to other people. Always dependent on other people..."What is the number of this bus coming?" He gets a cheque and does not know what is written on it. Gets a bill and must have someone read it to him. It is up to him to learn to read and write and become independent, so you are helping him widen the scope of his universe.

2. Secondly, we worked on the assumption that 'this was the generation of the desert'. And we had questions like: "Why shouldn't we wait", "Why should we make an effort", "Why shouldn't we wait 20-30-40 years and all of these people will be gone". Then comes their children and we will have no problem, but it has been shown that we must enhance the family relationships by helping the adults learn. This gives more respect for the parents, and a change in attitude toward the parent by the child. This has been proven.

3. The children will have more respect for their parents. Thus educating the adults will enhance the relationships within the family. In the country of origin, education may not have been a norm, but here there is a different norm, and the children have an opportunity to go to school and learn, but the parents may say, 'Don't go to school. I am a self-made man. I made it without learning and going to school'...so we have to change the attitudes of the parents, for the benefit of the child.

4. Many of these Jews were living on the frontier, the border of Lebanon or with Gaza or Jordan. You had incessant incursions of terrorism. They shoot, throw bombs, injure and kill people. In a time like this people need strength. They need to know that we as a people are concerned about them. They needed to identify with Israel to have some spiritual substance with the people, not that they had just been deserted somewhere.

J.C. These are Jewish communities that you are talking about?

Y.N. I told you at the beginning, I am speaking ONLY about JEWS!

J.C. I know but the statistics about the illiteracy are also including the Araɔs...

Y.N. I am speaking about Jews...

5. Now in the next area, they needed to identify with the History of
the Jews. It is the history of a small nation, having to struggle to
be one. Having to struggle for survival against neighbors who showed
animosity and hated. Their intention was to annhilate Israel...
That was their goal in '62 - today it is the same. The question is
whether we can have peace with our neighbors. We will never be able
to compete with the Arabs in natural resources, oil, money, population,
territory. The victorys of 1948 and 1956 and 1967 were due to moral
and spiritual superiority. The Arab lands outnumbered us in oil and
territories and money and numbers. Only the quality of our men and the
quality of our armament (technology) helped us gain victory.

J.C. Did these immigrants volunteer to go to these towns?

Y.N. They were brought from the ship and went down and that was it. They
had no choice. Thousands and thousands went through places like Damona
and Kiryat Schmonna. They were put there and that was it (in Development
Towns). Today they want a house and a car and a choice and a job. In
those early days there were no houses, they had no jobs. They were just
glad to be here! Especially those from Europe and North Africa. They
suffered the loss of everything to come here. They worked the land and
felt very rooted on that land. They became part of the nation!

J.C. That is the impression I received from the members of the moshavim
and the kibbutzim...They were willing to defend their land and homes...

Y.N. You could move from Tel Aviv to another area, but on the Moshav you
were committed to defending your area. So, on the one hand we had the
language. And in spite of the variety of languages and cultures etc.
they lived together and worked together...
They had a tenacity and they stuck to it. They had a task.
So we started in 1965. Put one or two girls in each village and they
began to teach, especially women. They were very warmly received and
the women appreciated the help.
We began in the moshavim and the north to the border line, then to the
development towns.
I told the girls in the programs not to bury the cultures of the women
they are working with but try to learn their values, their history, their
past. There is not one single Jewish person who has not given something
to the Jewish heritage. So I began publishing and editing some of the
local stories of each culture. Every month there was a feature of
people from a particular culture or group.
In the second Phase we had teachers teaching those who were instructors...

J.C. Was this coordinated with the Histadrut?

Y.N. Yes. These girls were not professionals. I told them the best
course you can have is a course in loving people! They had short courses
to help but I told them to take an interest in the women. Ask them

about their homeland, their culture. Learn a few words in their native language. These women are under much pressure. They have to get their children off to school, then have their house in order and look after their younger children. Then in the afternoon the children come from school. Some days you would have two women, some days five, and the class would vary considerably! Some of the husbands were upset because their wives were learning Hebrew and how to express themselves and read.

J.C. The impression I have from my interviews is that I am talking to men and women who are the pioneers. They were and are enthused about what they are doing and do not need or did not need to be highly coordinated to accomplish their task. These people were committed to : the land, to the history etc. You did not have to tell them to introduce identity and unity as a subject. It came naturally. Masada was a real place with special meaning. No one had to coach them to stress the importance of this place.

I have enjoyed meeting these men. They have a sense of urgency and commitment and vision - 45 years on Mashavim, 45 years on the Kibuttzim, 45 years of working with adults. You did not have to tell them to identify. They were sold on Israel and the future of the people in Israel.

I have chosen in my research to restrict my research to the 3.3 million Jewish people. I have not gone into the Arab community, Muslim, Druse... etc.

Y.N. If you take the situation in 1948 you will see why the study is most significant with the Jewish people.

Take the Arabs who lived here in 1948 (there were only about 100,000). These Arabs could communicate with one another. They were of the same culture, the same religion and the same language. They were not swamped with Muslims arriving here from 102 countries, all speaking different languages...No. These Arabs already had their national identity and unity. They were Muslim. They spoke Arabic. They remained in their same homes. They kept their same culture.

So you ask, can the Arab express himself, even if he is illiterate? My God, all of those, they tell you stories, they are first rate story tellers. Even if they cannot read and write Arabic, they can understand the radio and the television, and they can communicate with one another. They had no problem of understanding each other or their culture. It was not so urgent for them to learn to communicate with the new immigrants because they remained in their own area!

We went to the Arabs too, but not with the same scope. We began compulsory education for the Arab children. And we worked on helping the parents change their attitudes towards education. But no one had to tell the Arabs 'forget your background, forget where you came from, this is now your new home'. No. They were in the same country where they had been before. The first stage we as Jews had was to defend

ourselves from the onslaught of these new immigrants. There was no
problems for the Arabs. They did not have to defend themselves from
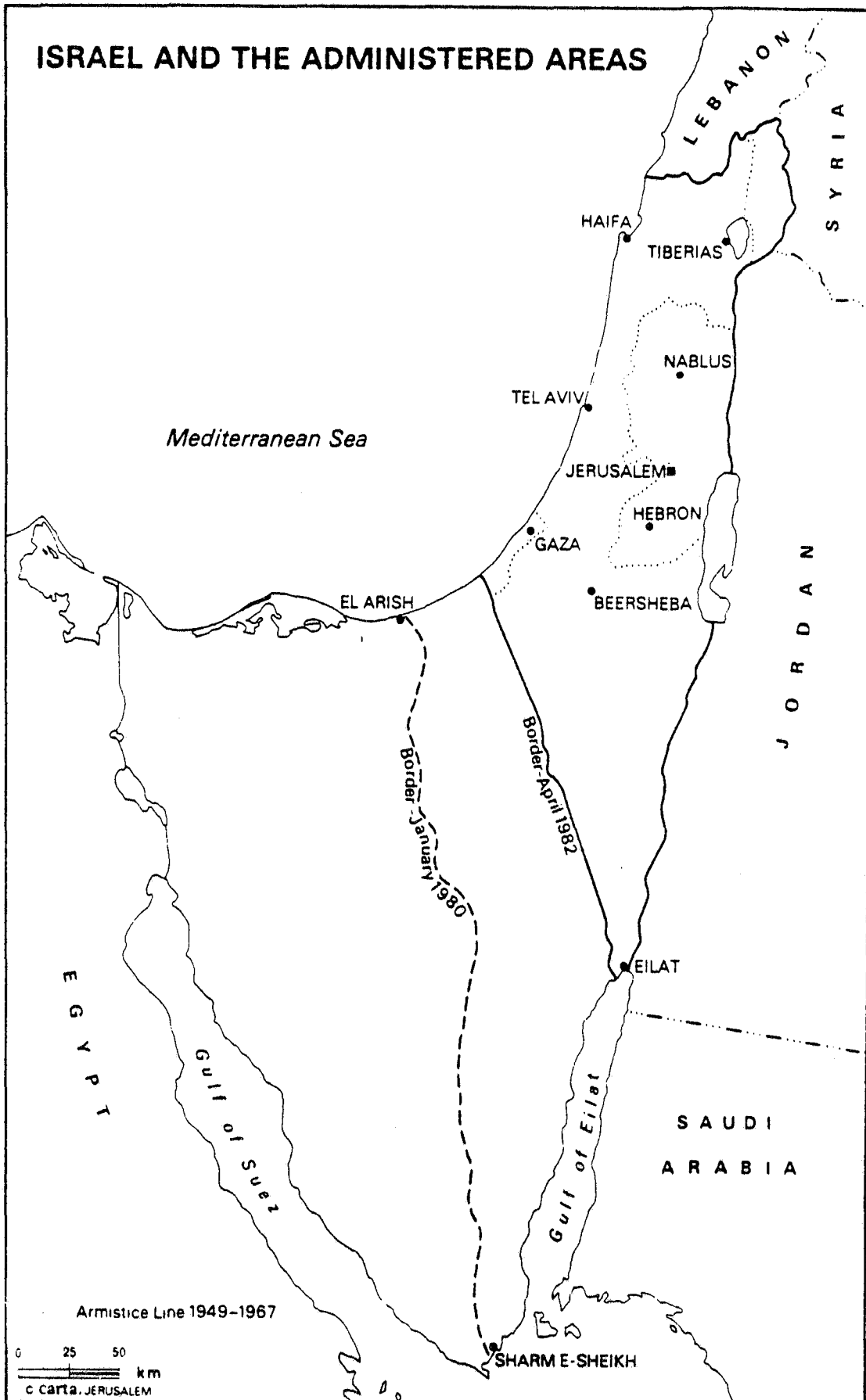newcomers.

In the second stage where we developed a pluralistic society, and a
pluralistic culture, we did not have to preach to the Arabs, to keep
their customs, keep their culture, keep their dances. They kept them
and developed them and did not have to forget them.

Over the centuries the Arabs have rejected the idea of learning much
more than the Jews. Learning is a value that has been transmitted as
part of the Jewish heritage. It took time, but I think today that
all Arab girls are part of that educational system. So, as a result
the attitudes of the parents has changed toward education because of
the Jewish society and because of the law! - Compulsory education helps
the Arabs - we had courses for the women and the children, but the Arabs
were demanding of us not that we teach their children to read and to
write but to sew etc. If she has a skill and a machine she can help the
family, economically. For example; in Abu Gosh near Jerusalem we had
courses for the women. I went there, spoke with the people, and we
started to plan our campaign against illiteracy. And I cannot tell you
what an effect this had on the people. I have studied Islamic
studies and I speak Arabic.

J.C. What is National Identity for the Jewish citizen?

Y.N. It is an identification with your past, a concern for your present
and problems and a support of the future in all its stages. Ours is a
long history and one must identify with it. One cannot take the pages
he likes and take out the pages he does not like. One has to find a
common ground with the present...

end of tape....

ISRAEL AND THE ADMINISTERED AREAS

LEBANON

SYRIA

HAIFA

TIBERIAS

Mediterranean Sea

NABLUS

TEL AVIV

JERUSALEM

HEBRON

GAZA

BEERSHEBA

EL ARISH

JORDAN

Border April 1982

Border January 1980

EGYPT

Gulf of Suez

EILAT

Gulf of Eilat

SAUDI

ARABIA

Armistice Line 1949–1967

0   25   50

km

C Carta. JERUSALEM

SHARM E-SHEIKH

APPENDIX E

SEVEN PRIMARY QUESTIONS

* Who is a Jew?

* What is Jewish Identity?

* Who is an Israeli?

* What is Israeli Identity?

* What is Zionism?

* What is National Identity?

* What affects National Unity?

Who is a Jew?

* "A Jew is a fact. The Bible tells a Jew that he is a 'chosen person'."
  (31.1-SC)

* "A Jew is one born of a Jewish mother. You may not be able to prove
  who was the father, but you can establish who was the mother."
  (31.7-YC)

* "A Jew - a true Jew - is one who was not a proselyte Jew." (71.6-SK)

* "A Jew remains a Jew as long as he does not profess any other faith or
  baptize into another faith." (71.5-SK)

* "A Jew may deny his religious traditions and become an atheist, but he
  is still regarded as a Jew." (71.7-SK)

* "A Jew prays three times a day (morning, afternoon and evening) 'and
  to Jerusalem your holy city you will return and you will live...' A
  Jew who did or does not believe in coming to Zion is not a Jew."
  (31.2-SC)

* "A Jew belongs to the Jewish people." (31.22-Epp (1980). p. 54.)

* "I know that I am a Jew. Jewishness is something in the mentality.
  I am not a religious Jew. I am an atheist." (31.25-Epp (1980), p.31.)

* "A Jew is the definition given in the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah
  (chapter 34, verse 9) for the word 'Hebrew'. A Hebrew was in this
  place defined as a Jew. The literal meaning of Jew from the Hebrew
  tongue is: 'Praiser of God'; in the biblical sense one who has
  devoted himself to please God and so to be a blessing to mankind."
  (71.4-JC)

* "A Jew (in Israel) considers himself both Israeli and Jewish."
  (32.28-SH)

What is Jewish Identity?

* "Jewish Identity is rooted in the Bible and the scriptures and the Jewish culture." (31.4-KY)

* "Jewish Identity and Israeli identity are not necessarily congruous or identical." (31.5-YC)

* "Jewish Identity can be defined by what a person says he is. If a person says he is a Jew, he identifies himself as a Jew." (31.6-YC)

* "Jewish Identity is more than a religion." (31.10-OG)

* "Jewish Identity is not a race." (31.11-AT)

* "Jewish Identity finds its framework in the Hebrew language." (31.13-UA-HH)

* "Jewish Identity was originally a religious identity." (31.14-GG)

* "Jewish Identity is not just a religious identity, but it is a culture, a language, a way of life. Judaism is the civilization of the Jewish people." (31.15-SH)

* "Jewish Identity in its essence is an identification with the love of God, the love of mankind, and the love of study." (31.19.Epp (1980) p. 123.)

* "Jewish Identity is a unique experience. It involves penalties and it involves hardships." (31.20-Epp (1980), p. 105.)

* "Jewish Identity is a 'feeling' for being Jewish - and that is something that is hard to explain. It's a feeling. It is not a territory, not a political frame, not even any economic interests. Its not a religious feeling. Jewish identity and unity is based on that feeling and on those institutions which are operating in Jewish life. (31.26-Epp (1980), p. 33.)

* "Jewish Identity and Israeli Identity are not identical. Anyone who believes in Jewish Identity outside of Israel does not believe in Israeli Identity. Jewish Identity sees the existence of the Jewish people throughout the world. Israeli Identity is anyone who believes that Israel is the ultimate solution and only solution to the existence of the Jewish people." (32.23-GG)

* "Jewish Identity is the identity of the Jewish people with the Jewish civilization and the Jewish people." (32.27-SH)

* "Jewish Identity goes back 4,000 years to the beginnings of the Jewish civilization." (32.27-SH)

* "Jewish Identity involves Jewish history, Jewish sources, Jewish religion etc as part of his Jewish heritage - regardless of whether or not he is religious - that is immaterial." (32.31-MB)

* "Jewish Identity is evidenced when an individual is
  a) prepared to work together in the Law of Return
  b) willing to assist in the absorption of new immigrants
  c) willing to defend the Jewish State.
  d) willing to make a contribution to the continuation of Jewish history. (5.12-SH)

* "Jewish Identity is a common element which is common to all Jews and, goes beyond the land and the language." (5.15-BS)

* "Jewish Identity was an exclusive identity which made possible the absorption of hundreds of thousands of immigrants." (102.1-SH)

Who is an Israeli?

* "An Israeli is one who has chosen to come to Israel." (9.1-SC)

* "An Israeli is one who sees his past, and present and future in this country and who is accepting the facts of life as the price he has to pay." (9.6-AT)

* "An Israeli is identifying with the Jewish people. Not only is he identifying with the present phase of Jewish history or Jewish belief but he is identifying with himself as a Jew. He is accepting the destiny of the Jewish people and he is prepared to make an effort to ¡ improve that society." (9.6-AT)

* "An Israeli, to be a true Israeli, would have to be Jewish. A non-Jewish person could identify with Moses, or David, or the Jewish past or the people and make a real contribution to the international life - as a phenomenon of History, but to be a true Israeli, he would have to be Jewish." (9.7-AT)

* "An Israeli is a citizen of the State of Israel." (9.9-DY)

* "An Israeli was anyone living in Israel in 1948 when the State of Israel was formed - be he Jew, or Muslim or Christian." (9.9-DY)

* "I'm an Israeli. I don't feel Jewish." (9.11-Epp (1980), p.111.)

* "An Israeli is one who is willing to examine himself to see what it means to be a better Israeli, to integrate himself with others, to be learning things he didn't know, to be faithful to the country, and to endure the opportunity to emmigrate and get more money in Canada and yet stay in Israel because he wants to stay in Israel." (26.1-SC)

* "In Israel, a Jewish nation came into existence, a Jewish Israeli nation. Israeli Jews are a national entity in themselves..." (9.10-Epp (1980), p. 141.)

* "An Israeli sees himself and his nation as a continuation of the old thing of 4,000 years of Jewish history." (32.31-MB)

* "An Israeli, religious and perhaps nonreligious conceives himself as not 'disporic', not 'exilic' and not antiquated. The early Israeli. would view the Jew with the curl locks in Me'a She'rim as an abberation, or at least as a 'kind' of outdated model of himself, therefore having no relevency." (32.31-MB)

What is Israeli Identity?

* "Israeli Identity is where we are now. Jews were once upon a time in
  the Diaspora, and there are still Jews in the Diaspora. But we came
  back to Israel to create an Israeli image or identity." (31.5-YC)

* "Israeli Identity borders on a secular Jewish identity, with a heavy
  respect, if not an endorsement for the traditions of the Jewish
  religion." (31.8-JC)

* "Israeli Identity was once taught that only those who came to Israel
  were the Jews. We ignored the Diaspora. After 1973, there were many
  changes in our thinking about that..." (31.12-CZ)

* "Israeli Identity is to live for the country, whether Jews or non-
  Jews, to do something for Israel." (31.23-Epp (1980), p. 63.)

* "Israeli Identity is believing that Jewish identity can only find its
  fulfillment in Israel. Anyone who believes that Israel is the ultimate
  solution and only solution to the existence of the Jewish people has
  an Israeli Identity." (32.23.GG)

* "Israeli Identity is the identity of the citizens of Israel with
  Israel. Israeli Identity when you take the Arabs and Jews together
  only goes back to 1948 with the formation of the State of Israel."
  (32.27-SH)

* "Israeli Identity is also a National Identity." (32.27-SH)

* "Israeli Identity is a mixture of 'some-sort-of Jewishness'!"
  (32.31-MB)

* "Israeli Identity is 'something different'. It is wrong to say that
  Israel wants to be just another western society. That is against the
  principles of Zionism. This society wants to be Jewish. Not west.
  Not Oriental. They want to be a Jewish Zionist society."
  (112.1-SS)

* "Israeli Identity is Jewishness. Israel is Jewishness. Here in
  Israel a child doesn't have to worry about feeling his Jewishness."
  (32.39-Epp (1980), p. 22.)

What is Zionism?

*   "Zionism is the possibility to fulfill ourselves as a group."
    (45.1-KY)

*   "Zionism is the opportunity to live our own life, in our own way, and
    not have to wonder what other people are thinking about us."
    (45.1-KY)

*   "Zionism is in certain ways a revolt against Judaism. Zionism wanted
    to get rid of the mentality of the ghetto. Zionism wanted the Jew to
    be a 'new human being'. Zionism wanted the Jew to go back to the land
    to work and to get rid of the complexes." (45.1-KY)

*   "Zionism was a revolt against traditional Jewish orthodoxy that said,
    'you live your life your own way and you wait for Messiah to come and
    than you go back to Israel, but not on your own." (45.1-KY)

*   "Zionism is the drive within Judaism to establish a Jewish State."
    (45.5-DY)

*   "Zionism was seen as the solution for the Jewish people." (45.5-DY)

*   "Zionism is the religious idea and political program to provide an
    answer to the prayer, 'Next year in Jerusalem'. (45.8-Epp (1980), p.32.)

*   "Zionism was identified as a political movement with the first World
    Zionist Congress in Switzerland in 1897, but it existed long before
    that time as a religious and spiritual ideal connected to the
    Messianic hope of historic Judaism." (45.6-Epp (1980), p. 13.)

*   "Zionism is not the solution to the problem of Judaism. The one and
    only problem solved by Zionism is the political and national
    independence of the Jewish people." (45.9-Epp (1980), p. 35.)

*   "Zionism is self-expression for the Jewish people. There are many
    interpretations of Zionism because there are many sources of Zionism:
    religious sources (religious Zionism) political sources (political
    Zionism). People have their own conceptions." (45.11-Epp (1980), p.32.)

*   "Zionism is the normalization of the Jewish people. The Jewish
    people should be somewhere in the world a people sovereign over a
    certain piece of land. Normalization allows the Jewish state to give
    personal security to the Jew, a feeling of equality with others
    without any need to move through assimilation and self-denial."
    (45.12-Epp (1980), p. 37.)

*   "Zionism as the Jewish national liberation movement was to bring the
    majority of the Jewish people who were dispersed all over the world to
    their own historic country, the land of Israel." (45.7-Epp (1980), p.23.)

What is Zionism? (continued)

* "Zionism is a political movement organically associated with
   international imperialism and antagonistic to all action for liberation
   and to progressive movements in the world. It is racist and fanatic
   in its nature, aggressive in its methods. Israel is the instrument
   of the Zionist movement, and a geographical base for world
   imperialism placed strategically in the midst of the Arab homeland
   to combat the hopes of the Arab nation for liberation, unity and
   progress." (Palestinian Liberation Organization, 1973: clause 22).

* "A sign on wall near the market in Mea' Sher'im - an ultra-Orthodox
   religious section of Jerusalem says: "Judaism and Zionism are
   diametrically opposed!"

* In an article entitled 'Education Towards Zionism' (Forum, January,
   1962, pp. 10-14.) Sociologist Simon Herman lists and describes what
   he entitles 'Elements of a Zionist Ideology'.

   One people with common history and destiny. Zionism sees Jews as one
   people, bound together by a common history and destiny.

   Israel as the Jewish national center. Zionism regards Israel as the
   homeland of the Jewish people. It seeks equality of national status
   for the Jew through the establishment of Israel as the Jewish State.

   The precariousness of Gaulut (exile). Wherever Jews live as a
   minority, where they are not politically or socially independent,
   where they rely on the good graces of the non Jewish majority and are
   subject to the everyday pressures of its civilization and mode of
   life - such a place is galut.

   Aliyah. The encouragement of aliyah (immigration) is the primary task
   of a Zionist movement.

   Continuity and Change. It is the essence of the Zionist credo that
   Jews themselves can and should control their destiny.

   Land and People. The ultimate aim of Zionism may be broadly defined as
   the redemption ('geulah') of the Jewish people. A wide spread
   tendancy exists to define Zionism as the upbuilding of the Jewish State,
   but this is only the means to the achievement of a goal which relates
   to the Jewish people in its entirety.

   Pertinence to all facets of communal life. Zionism represents a proud
   unabashed expression of "Jewish Identity'...in accord with its concern
   for the creative survival of the Jewish people. Zionism stimulates the
   cultural distinctiveness of the Jewish community ie, the use of
   Hebrew which has become the symbol of the Jewish national revival.

What is National Identity?

* "National Identity is the character of the nation and its essence.
  It is identifying the characteristics which define membership in it.
  It is the conditions for the nation's existence and its continuity as
  a social identity." (32.34-BS)

* "National Identity is an identification with your past, a concern for
  your present and its problems and a support of the future in all its
  stances. Ours is a long history and one must identify with it. One
  cannot take the pages he likes and take out the pages he doesn't
  like. One has to find a common ground with the present." (32.33-YN)

* "National Identity could be defined by what a person says he is. If
  a person says he is a Jew, he is identifying himself as a Jew. It is
  also defined by what others say he is." (32.9-YC)

* "National Identity in Israel is to be an inclusive identity. That is
  one that allows within its framework, the existence of other
  identities. An identity may be exclusive or inclusive." (102.1-SH)

* "National Identity among the Jewish people is a 'feeling'. It is not
  a rationale factor. It is more or less a new concept (since 1948).
  I think National Identity among the Jewish people was created as a
  result of the pressure of the outside world on the Jewish people."
  (32.4-KY)

* "National Identity is to be in control of ourselves." (32.5-KY)

* "National Identity means to be aware of my heritage, to be devoted to
  my present tasks of the nation, to struggle for the realization of
  common goals." (32.14-YB)

* "National Identity is being shaped by the way of life in the kibbutz.
  The kibbutz life is the modern realization of the basic approaches
  to Judaism in that you are considering the needs of others, you are
  contributing an important part to their real family life, you are
  building up a connection with the land, you are giving preference to
  aspects of education and spiritual life, and you are transforming
  religious tradition and interfacing it in a modern way of life."
  (32.14-YB)

* "National Identity causes me to think in terms of Israeli Identity.
  The identity of this particular national group in terms of their
  identity, their 'ethnic identity', which is much more complex, be
  they Jew or Arab...there is just not an Israeli Identity without
  something affixed to it...One must strengthen the identity of the
  Israeli Arab community and the Israeli Jewish community and the
  elements they have in common. You cannot deal with it as a simplified
  phrase, 'How do we strengthen National Identity?'" (32.26-SH)

What is National Identity? (continued)

*   "National Identity must be viewed on two levels. First the cognitive
    level. What is the national purpose? Why are we here? How well do
    I view the State? The second level is in terms of culture, that is
    what am I indeed? What is my lifestyle, how do I react to things that
    represent national terms, holidays, language, what kind of stories do
    I tell my children? (32.31-M.B.)

*   "National Identity is a difficult term, because in many ways there is
    a national identity, but it is an evolving national identity that is
    mostly Jewish." (32.29-SS)

*   "National Identity and Jewish Identity may not be exactly synonymous -
    but National Identity is overwhelmingly Zionist." (32.30-SS)

*   "National Identity may have to be defined on two levels. The 'Legal-
    Cognitive-Physical' Level ie. pre-1948 Arabs are citizens, have the
    right to vote. Druze are citizens and can serve in the army. Arabic
    is a recognized official language etc etc etc. These are the things
    done to recognize National Identity and unity on the 'visible' level.
    But along with this is The 'Secondary-Emotional-Reality' Level that
    says 'we have two distinct groups, Jews and Arabs, that we cannot mix.
    Therefore National Identity is Israeli Identity is Jewish Identity.'
    The Arabs are a 'special category' within that National Identity.
    (32.30-JC)

*   "National Identity requires a personal internalization cr self-acceptance
    of the goals of the nation. National Unity requires a personal
    integration or commonality with the members of the nation." (32.41)

What Affects National Unity?

*   "National Unity is affected by the 'struggle for survival'. With the
    population doubling and tripling within a few years produced a
    tremendous pressure on the people to survive." (39.5-DY)

*   "National Unity is affected by the very strong feeling of 'family
    relationship' or 'corporate identity' whether the Jew is from Russia
    or Morocco - he is Jewish." (39.5-DY)

*   "National Unity is affected by the 'collective I'. All of us (Jews)
    have a common memory of a common past. Of Moses, and the Exodus, King
    David, First Temple, Second Temple, the joys, the defeats, the mournings
    that are 'part of us'. All of us have the same aspirations for our
    future...to bridge the gap of 2,000 years that separates the memory of
    the past from the realization of the future." (39.6-YN)

*   "National Unity is affected by the tensions with Arab neighbors. As
    long as we have pressures from the outside, part of our problems will
    be overshadowed by the security problems." (39.2-KY)

*   "National Unity is affected by more inter-marriages between the
    different cultural groups today than in 1948. The educated wanted their
    children to marry only educated. The same with the ethnic groups. Now
    there are many more inter-marriages." (39.3-GG)

*   "National Unity is affected by the learning of Hebrew. The French
    Ambassador who studied Hebrew at Ulpan Akiva said, 'Forget about
    understanding Jewish life, Jewish history, the Bible or Jewish politics
    without an understanding of Hebrew." (39.4-UA-HF)

*   "National Unity is affected by Hebrew. Hebrew is the first uniting
    factor, because without Hebrew we cannot communicate." (5.4-SC)

*   "National Unity is affected by a) the land, b) the language, c) the
    roots of tradition and d) the religion. (5.7-OG)

*   "National Unity is affected by the influence of one culture on the other
    in music and literature. This is part of unity. (5.8-OG)

*   "National Unity can be talked about only in Israel. Outside of Israel
    there are so many variations of and understandings of Judaism.
    National Unity for Jews can only occur in Israel." (5.11-GG)

*   "National Unity is affected by - or evidenced by -
    a) a readiness to stand together against a common enemy.
    b) a readiness to accept the others as part of the Israeli society.
    c) a willingness to participate in the democratic process.
    d) a willingness on the part of the Jewish people to work for the
        fulfillment of the goals of the Jewish State." (5.12-SH)

* "National Unity is affected by our Jewishness - of course! The only thing that can bring the Ashkenazi and the Orientals together is their Jewishness - not the western elements. If you strengthen the Jewish common factor then you achieve more ethnic integration." (5.13-SS)

* "National Unity is affected by Muslim literature which tries to put a wedge between the Oriental and Ashkenazi Jews by calling the Oriental Jews 'Arab Jews' and therefore part of the Arab People." (5.13-SS)

* "National Unity is affected by 'hardships' - common hardships in the army like route marches, hard training and encampment in small tents in the winter. You are doing this because you are the soldiers who must defend the nation. Suffering in the cold, you curse, but it is nice - two days later you have the memory and you will be in the eyes of the people the ones who are doing this for the purposes of the family man." (5.14-MB)

* "National Unity is affected by strengthening as much as possible the common strands and basics of Judaism." (5.15-BS)

* "National Unity is affected by religion and Zionism. ...another thing that ties them (the Israeli Jews) together is the rest of the world... and there's the physical tie. People who are in the same place are automatically tied together." (5.18-Epp (1980), p. 42.)

* "National Unity is affected by nationalism. Israeli nationalism is the new Judaism; that consummation of Zionism which for the present at least, makes the most sense and is worthy of every sacrifice." (38.3-Epp (1980), p. 173.)

* "National Unity is affected by the Bible. "Rabbi Solomon Rashi in the 11th Century opened his commentary on the Bible by saying, 'For all practical purposes the Bible need not have commenced until the 12th chapter of Exodus...for the Bible is a book laying down the duties of the Jew and of men and the first commandment is found there. Why then does the Bible begin with the story of Creation? Because the time will come when the nations of the world will say to Israel, 'Ye are robbers, Ye are thieves, Ye have conquered the land, which belongs to other nations.' and the Jewish people will answer them, 'the whole world belongs to almighty God. He created it. He decides to whom it should be allotted and it was He who allotted the Land of Israel to the Jewish people and gave to other people their territories." (114.9-LR)

* "National Unity is affected by Religion. "Religion plays a major role in nation building and national integration, in Israel...by accident of strength in electoral votes (the religious party often holds a balance of power in a coalition government) - ...in addition to a process of politicization of religion, ie tendancies to introduce religious matters into politics...religion also serves as one more cleavage in Israeli society...(between the religious and non-religious Jews)." (8.1-EG-Middle East Review, p. 31-36)

What Affects National Unity? (continued)

*   National Unity is affected by:
    1) the Army.
    2) intermarriage between Orientals and Ashkenazi, religious and nonreligious Jews.
    3) cultural groups who maintain pride in their identity and do not try to hide it.
    4) Heritage programs (ie for the Orientals etc).
    5) Nature and time - the Orientals are gaining ascendancy ie. Yhitzak Navon as President. (SK-p. 10.)

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APPENDIX F

CODED CATEGORIES

1. The nature of the question.

2. Adult education and adult learning.

3. The importance of a.e. in Israel.

4. Nation building.

5. Thoughts on unity.

6. Beliefs of the immigrants.

7. The law of return.

8. Israelis and religion.

9. Who is an Israeli?

10. Differences between immigrants in Israel.

11. The learning of Hebrew.

12. What is adult education?

13. The Israeli sabra.

14. Traditional Jewish culture.

15. The programs of a.e.

16. Ulpan.

17. The early days of a.e. in Israel (1948).

18. The compulsory education law.

19. The Israeli Army as an a.e. agency.

20. The educational level of adult immigrants.

21. The city of Ashdod (as an a.e. center).

22. What makes an adult participate in a.e.?

23. Dr. Kodesh's philosophy of a.e.

24. One adult's tangle with Dr. Kodesh (monologue).

25. Stated goals of a.e. in Israel.

26. Thoughts on being a 'better Israeli'.

27. The teaching of concepts in Hebrew/Ulpan.

28. The influence of Dr. Kodesh on a.e. in Israel.

29. The Jewish way of adult education.

30. Historical example of beginning days in Ulpan.

31. Jewish identity.

32. Comments on national identity.

33. The Arab 'minority' population.

34. Cultural pluralism in Israel.

35. Arab education.

36. Arab-Jew dialogue - (Co-existence).

37. The Druse in Israel.

38. Jewish 'nationalism'.

39. Forces or pressures creating national unity.

40. Jewish assimilation into other cultures.

41. Characteristics of 'minority' groups.

42. References to the life/works of Martin Buber.

43. Effect of a crisis on adults.

44. The Bible - its effect on the people of Israel today.

45. Zionism - views and definitions.

46. The Orthodox Jews - relationship to national identity.

47. The secular Jews and their relationship to NI NU.

48. Archeology and its significance in Israel.

49. Religious policy makers in a.e. (Adult religious education).

50. The key agencies that set policy in a.e. in Israel.

51. The Martin Buber Center.

52. The 'Arab problem' as it relates to NU NI.

53. The Palestinians (PLO).

54. The Israeli Adult Education Association.

55. Community centers.

56. The Canaanite movement.

57. Israeli culture - possibilities for a definition.

58. Israelis leaving Israel - suggested reasons.

59. The Ashkenazi-Sephardic 'situations'.

60. Social pressures affecting NI NU.

61. Culturally deprived adults - 'disadvantaged adults'.

62. A 'Religious-Political Dichotomy' in the State of Israel.

63. Civil law in Israel.

64. 'Models' of adults to be integrated into the modern state of Israel.

65. Shachar - The man and his work.

66. The Ministry of Education - Department of Adult Education.

67. The Ministry of Labor.

68. The Histadrut.

69. The Kibbutzim.

70. Schools for Girl Soldiers.

71. Who is a Jew?

72. Kiriyat Gath Model (Lakhish Development Town).

73. Christians in Israel.

74. Douglas Young.

75. Religious pluralism among Jews.

76. Christian-Jewish relations.

77. Evidences of hate.

78. Principles of action for community centers.

79. 1961 census.

80. Theater for the people.

81. Literacy programs.

82. 1967.

83. 1973.

84. 1948.

85. Ulpan Akiva.

86. Hebrew University.

87. Yeshiva.

88. Humanism meaning and comments.

89. Pre 1948 history of Israel and a.e.

90. Philosophy of Kibbutzim a.e.

91. 1950s.

92. Volunteerism.

93. 1960s.

94. Integration.

95. Agricultural adult education.

96. Illiteracy.

97. Philosophy of a.e.

98. Moshavim.

99. Visit to Gaza.

100. Jewish religious a.e.

101. Immigration to Israel.

102. Forces contributing to national identity.

103. Cultural absorption supremacy.

104. Holocaust.

105. Relationship of the Israeli 'model' to other countries.

106. Israelization vs Palestinization.

107. Arab-Israeli identity.

108. The religious - non religious 'conflict' in Israeli society.

109. Ethnic stratification in Israel.

110. The Oriental Jew.

111. Attitudes of Ashkenazi towards Oriental Jews.

112. Comments on Israeli identity.

113. Mixed marriages.

114. Torah Culture.

115. Ministry of Education - Department of Torah Culture.

116. Methods of teaching adult religious education - Torah Dept.

117. Philosophy of a.e. in the I.D.F.

118. Educational process in the I.D.F.

119. A.E. "failures' in the I.D.F.

120. A.E. "successes" in the I.D.F.

121. The I.D.F. as a "nation builder".

122. The social structure of the I.D.F.

123. History of immigration to Israel.

124. Why research restricted to Jewish adult educators.

125. Cultural pluralism.

126. Gush Emunim.

127. Anti-Semetism.

The Institutionalization of Ethnic Stratification

Transcript of a presentation to the Canadian Professors for Peace in
the Middle East by Dr. Sammy Smooha, at the Haifa University, May
22, 1980.

The researcher attended this seminar at the invitation of Dr. Smooha,
prior to a personal interview in his office. The following transcript
is presented almost verbatim so the reader might follow the flow of
Dr. Smooha's address.

      The Jewish community in Israel is 3.2 million people (1979).
The Orientals are the majority of the Jewish community - 55 percent -
and the predictions are for a higher percentage in the future...despite
the Russian immigration...

      Who are the Orientals? They are Jews from Islamic North
Africa - Libya, Iraq etc. plus Sephardic Jews from the Balkans, Turkey,
Bulgaria, Greece - plus 25 percent of the Russian Jews are Oriental or
the 'mountainous Jews'. Though a diverse community, it is much more of
a heterogeneous community, than the Ashkenazi Jews. Ashkenazi Jews are
being assimilated in to Israeli society very rapidly, ie. from Russia,
Romania, Poland, Germany.

      Within the Oriental communities there are deep divisions. There
are Oriental and Sephardic - 48 percent Oriental - 7 percent Sephardic -
for a total 'Oriental' community of 55 percent of the total population.

      The Sephardic Jews have three primary groups: 1) those that
spread into North Africa are called the Mediterranean Sephardic; 2) those
who went into Holland became the European Sephardic; and 3) those who
went to Canada/United States became known as the western Sephardic. Most
Sephardic in Israel came from North Africa and most came to Israel after
the formation of the State in 1948. The word Sephardic means descendents
of the 'Ladino' language from Spain, Portugal in the 14th Century.

      In the years before the Mandate, the 'Oriental' population of
Palestine was 40 percent of the total Jewish population. By 1947 (due to
increased Ashkenazi immigration from Europe) the Oriental population was
down to 20 percent. After 1948, the majority of the immigration was
from the Oriental communities and by 1964 it was up to a majority of the
population.

      What exactly is the problem? First, the Israeli culture is a
mixed culture. It is not exactly a western country although it has some
western elements and some Jewish traditions and some local sabra elements
mixed together. There are very few Western (American) Jews in Israel.
Most of the Ashkenazi Jews are from Eastern Europe. Many of these
Ashkenazi Jews are being assimilated into western traditions under the
influence of a strong American orientation. The Jewish traditions of

Israel, in the public domain, are more oriented to Ashkenazi style
(of worship, dress etc.) than to Oriental. And the majority of the
local traditions of the sabras are Ashkenazi traditions. The Oriental
feel their cultural heritage is being overlooked, therefore they feel
an alienation towards the emerging Israeli culture (an Ashkenazi culture).

By culture we mean the 'rules of the game' - how people relate
to one another and compete with one another. If you set the rules
according to the Ashkenazi values, you make it easier for them to compete
and harder for the Oriental Jews.

In the 1960's there was the beginning of an effort to maintain
an 'Oriental heritage' of the Oriental traditions. Most Orientals do
not participate in the cultural routines of this society, in fact most
Orientals have been assimilated into the Ashkenazi culture.

In Israel the 'National Dream' is to mix all Jews into one
culture - but since the 60's there has been some relaxation of the
cultural dominence of the Ashkenazi Jews. But there has been little
progress because of the lack of participation by the Orientals. The
problem is one of participation. How can the Orientals be full partners
in cultural development.

This brings us to the problem of 'Paternalism'. In the
Ashkenazi mind, the Orientals are perceived as under-developed, backward
and in need of improvement - to prove and improve themselves. They are
not treated as people who are equally as talented as the Ashkenazi.
Therefore there is less trust of the Orientals. And this is more than a
stereotype of the Oriental. It goes much deeper. It is in the
subconscious, with a long, long background. It takes a long time to
change it. When part of the dominant culture is in control it is easy to
see why 50 percent of the people can be defined by the state as
'culturally deprived'. The state wants to make them (Oriental Jews) equal
(to Ashkenazi Jews) culturally, - but only 5 percent of the Ashkenazi
Jews are defined as culturally deprived. Thus more money goes to the
Oriental schools which in turn breeds an ideology that supports the
superior-inferior stereotypes. If a project fails with the Orientals,
that's OK. That is explainable because their parents are poor etc etc.
Paternalism provides a ready made answer for failure!

The third problem is the problem of class structure. The
stereotype of the Orientals is that they have less education, less skills,
lower standard of living and larger families. This may be partially true
but it underestimates the severity of the problem. The problem is really
one of the 'Institutionalization of Ethnic Stratification'.

In Israel you have a class structure that parallels an ethnic
proportion - not just based on a disparity of income or differences of
standards of living - between Ashkenazi and Oriental Jews. The problem
since the formation of the state has been a crystalization of class
structure forming around an ethnic characterization.

For purposes of discussion we can divide Israeli Society into six class levels.

1. Marginal Status - Mostly Orientals

    People who are unemployable, disabled, single parents, criminals, or who do not work or study. Not totally Oriental as some Ashkenazi are subject to misfortune.

2. Lower Class, Poor or Distressed Strata - Virtually Oriental

    The 'working class' but they live under the poverty line. Tend to have large families, poor paying jobs, live in development towns, or urban slums. Lack elementary education but may have strong religious tradition.

3. Working Class/Lower Middle Class - Overwhelmingly Oriental

    Ashkenazis within this class are escaping by upward social mobility. Those who remain are often older workers who may have lacked education or opportunity. Not 'poor' but just making a living - found in production, service, and government jobs.

4. Middle Class - Mixed Ethnically - Ashkenazi/Oriental

    Teachers, clerks, businessmen.

5. Upper Middle Class - Overwhelmingly Ashkenazi

    Managerial, professionals.

6. Elite - Virtually Ashkenazi

    Decision makers, business, arts, science, political.

Each class is in a process of crystallization - and is reproducing itself. Israel is an aging society - now 30 years old - and is building its societal image. The repercussions of this 'Ethnic Stratification' are: 1) Orientals at the lower end view themselves as low achievers and develop a negative self-image; 2) Ashkenazis in the elite position have developed the image that 'we are the smart guys, we are the able leaders and decision makers'etc. Both sides are perpetuating the image.

By 'institutionalization' I mean a phenomena that becomes permanently established as a fact of life - however justified - but becomes a form of ethnic stratification which is being reproduced in each generation. In the sabra population this stratification is no less pronounced than in the foreign born. Israel appears to be developing some kind of tolerance for this mentality.

The question must be asked, "How is this mentality transferred to the next generation? It is done by:

1) Class Heritage

If you are a middle class person with two kids and content with your way of life, you transfer your way of life on to them. You socialize them, train them and invest money to perpetuate your values. This is the Ashkenazi pattern. The minimum you seek to transfer is your present class position - if not up! The Ashkenazi have the resources to do this. They are the 'old timers'. They are pre-state. They have more housing, more land, more reparations from Germany. In short they have more opportunity.

For Orientals to change they must move from a lower to a higher level, but they lack the resources to transfer their children as they have larger families etc, so to change their situation they must do something special - they must MOVE - geographically to a better location. This takes money and effort but they lack the resources. Ashkenazis are already in their location for transferring class heritage.

2) Community Development

Many people are locked into a community. You are born in an area, ie an urban slum, or development town, so you are socialized in that area and live there. But most of the 'areas' in Israel or 'communites' are ethnic communities. Over the past 30 years, as these communities have stabilized the children that have been born into these communities have maintained the traditions and class level of the community.

With Urban Renewal projects - even if successful - it makes the Oriental more stable, but we continue to isolate the communities where they are with the same people, in the same class. We may 'raise the floor' of class structure, but it does not lower the gap!

3) A Process of Default

The 'Establishment' does not intervene. In fact it practises a policy of non intervention. It lets the situation stabilize believing in time that the situation will clear itself through education, economic opportunities etc...The establishment is not taking the ethnic situation as a prime project. The government is making decisions that perpetuate the ethnic stratification and perpetuate the ethnic groups.

The Ministry of Education and Culture only budget 1 percent for adult education. But intervention is a component in the improvement of ethnic situations especially where achievement and equality is the goal. It is not a pre-meditated plan by the Ministry (of Education and Culture) to say, "I am going to discriminate against Orientals," but when you analyze the outcome, you can see the connection between their decisions and ethnic stratification. Many institutions have arisen in Israeli society that are not ethnic at face value...

...(question asked about the affect of mixed marriages on ethnic stratification)...

If an Ashkenazi and an Oriental marry, that is what I call a 'mixed marriage'. If an Arab and a Jew marry, I would call that 'Inter-marriage'. However...

People who mix marry tend to go to someone in their own level. One third of the population is in the middle class, so most mixed marriages are in the middle class. 19.5 percent of all marriages are mixed marriages. This has tended to stabilize in the past five years. If you are in the Lower class, your chances for a mixed marriage are very slim because you do not have Ashkenazi at this level. And if you are in the upper class/elite, you rarely marry an Oriental. The 'dangers' of a mixed marriage in the middle class are quite good!

Many of the wealthier Oriental Jews from North Africa, did not come to Israel. They went to Europe or Montreal (where French was spoken) or to the USA. They heard about the paternalism in Israel and they avoided it. They did not want it! We are all Zionists, but we know that people can live better elsewhere!

In 1965, about 15-18 percent of the population of students were Oriental (in Universities) but the Oriental percentage of the population was the same as the Ashkenazi (50%). Even if more Orientals get their B.A., this is not all that significant as the B.A. in the last 20 years has become common to many.

...a question was asked about Arabs in Israel and where they fit in the class structure...

Arabs are in the lower two classes - and inter-marriage with them is regarded as bad from both sides.

...a question was asked about the role of the army in 'integration'...

The army (IDF) has a special program whereby every soldier has an opportunity to receive an elementary school certificate. Before he is discharged he is sent to school for three months to work on his diploma. The army provides trades, mechanics, drivers etc with skills for later living. Israel is a Zionist society, an immigrant society, but the majority of the immigrants since 1965 are middle class and are streamlined into the middle class, thereby perpetuating the class stratification even further.

The problem in Israel is not class distinction per se but 'ethnic stratification'.

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