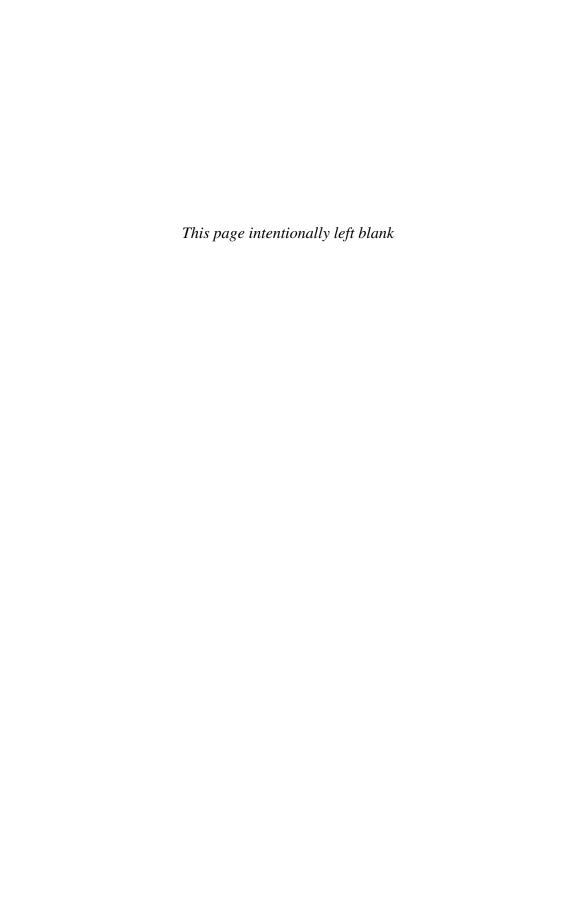# IDEOLOGY, POLICY, AND PRACTICE
## Education for Immigrants and Minorities in Israel Today

Devorah Kalekin-Fishman

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Created in the United States of America

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# Contents

# Preface

Systems of state education are a crucial means for realizing the state's focal aspiration of guaranteeing solidarity and civil loyalty (Van Kemenade, 1985 pp. 854ff.). The means at hand include the state's structuring and organization of schooling, determination of what education is compulsory, examinations that decide admittance to institutions of secondary and tertiary education, the design of educational aids, curricula, textbooks, didactic methods, and the general distribution of resources to schools. A further apparatus is that of teacher education and the regulations for appointment to the schools and remuneration (van Kemenade, 1985, p. 850). There are indications that the issue of equality and equity for all in education is a dilemma prevalent in systems of state education, among others, because the advancement of equity is liable to interfere with the state's main goal. It is highly likely that the failing does not derive from contingent misunderstandings, but rather from systemic contradictions.

With this in mind, this book suggests a broad-spectrum approach to understanding how state education gets done, so to speak, and what in the process seems to obstruct impartiality. The case that I will examine is that of the state system of education in Israel. Underlying the study is the sociological assumption that an analysis of how one state system works is likely to bear a message that can be generalized. I will begin by looking at official pronouncements of ideology in order to understand what education is designed to do with and for Israeli society. Basing my analysis on the premise that what is said is what is meant, I will go on to see how declared intentions are given voice at different nodes of the state educational system. Hence, I look upon this investigation as an exploration of how statements of

ideology are translated into policy, turned into instructions for implementation, rephrased in the light of specific school populations, and ultimately carried out as classroom practices with children defined as different in terms of origin. This staged investigation will give us an opportunity to see how control of aspects of education branches out. Like the party game of 'telephone', where the message received by the last participant, is likely to be very different from what was conveyed at the start, classroom practice may appear to have only a weak relation to the initial ideological viewpoint. In the party game, however, the changes that the words and sentences undergo until they are decoded by the last participant provide some information about the way language works in communication. It is my contention that the transmutation of ideology into classroom practice can be analyzed to disclose some of the mechanisms that come into play at different levels of the system as well as unveiling the socio-cultural assumptions that are covertly embedded in the initial proclamations.

## 1.    MATERIALS

In carrying out this investigation, I have relied on several different kinds of materials. Primary materials that served me in writing this book include the documentation of state events and activities in the *Knesset Record, Government Yearbooks, Circulars of the Director-General of the Ministry of Education* , and the *Statistical Yearbook of the Central Bureau of Statistics.* In addition, interviews were held with key educational personnel: Ministry officials, counselors, principals, teachers who work with groups of immigrant and minority children. Observations were carried out by researchers in the course of the school day – in classrooms and, during recess, in school yards. I also relied on secondary sources such as research reports, and on the constant stream of information about education that appears in the media, much of which is compiled on the basis of first-hand observation.

The overarching goal has been to attain theoretical insight into the workings of ideology as it filters, so to speak, through the Israeli educational system. Each chapter therefore discusses materials from a source that can be viewed as a significant intersection of the educational system. At each site, information was collected on different populations of students. Classes and groups of children were observed in schools that were recommended by people in the Ministry of Education, i.e., in every case, the schools we looked into were considered to be doing a good job in carrying out the goals of education for a diverse student population. Clearly, therefore, the schools discussed do not comprise a representative sample, but constitute rather a set

of institutions considered typical and whose functioning reflects the differential impact of ideology.

## 2.    TERMINOLOGICAL NOTE

Throughout the book I have used Hebrew terms that lack an English translation with the same denotative and connotative boundaries. The glossary provides explanations for these terms. At the outset, I would like to point out the problematic political significance of language usage by referring to three of them.

a. The term *Yishuv* was coined before the establishment of the state to refer to the totality of *Jewish* settlements in Palestine, or to all the locations, urban as well as rural, that have a Jewish majority. Thus, although it derives from the root for 'to settle,' it describes the communal situation of the Jews who gathered in Palestine. It still functions as a shorthand term when referring the Jewish sector in the State of Israel, and, when a person is described as "somebody from the Yishuv," she is recognized as the ultimate "member" of "our" community.

b. For the most part, the book is devoted to an investigation of education in Israel, a country founded in 1948 on part of the territory of a land known heretofore as Palestine. In traditional Hebrew terminology, Palestine is the "Land of Israel" (*Eretz Yisrael*), a term that is currently associated with right-wing groups who insist that the whole of what was mandatory Palestine should be part of the state of Israel.

c. The non-Jewish citizens of Israel are identified in this book as 'Palestinian citizens of Israel', or as 'Arab Israelis'. From a linguistic point of view, the two terms are interchangeable. There are, however, different political connotations. For many of the citizens of Israel who are not Jewish, proclaiming their affiliation with the Palestinian people while asserting their right to full recognition as Israeli citizens is an important part of their struggle for civic equality. For the sake of clarity, it is important to remember that the Palestinian citizens of Israel live *within* the (still somewhat vague) "green line" that divides the state of Israel from the Occupied Territories. They are people who have formal rights as citizens. In the Occupied Territories, Palestinians are citizens, or rather potential citizens, of the soon to be established (Arab) state of Palestine. In East Jerusalem, which was annexed to Israel after the Six-Day War, the Palestinians have permanent residence permits, but, although they can vote in the municipal elections, they are not citizens in any formal sense of the term.

# 3.    WHY THIS BOOK

Since the founding of the United Nations, the extension of a useful and broadening education to all has been an important item on the public agenda. In discussions, equality and equity of the educational system are the principles that concern educationists and researchers alike. The prevailing argument is that in order to maintain the state's goals it is important to provide educational resources equitably and to this end many educational reforms have been introduced during the last several decades. Although the principles are not usually disputed, the degree to which they are fulfilled is the subject of major disagreements as are the reasons for failure (Farrell, 1999). One stumbling block that is usually pointed out is that of educational differentiation. The unequal outcomes of demarcations in schooling are a theme that has provoked a great deal of research (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; Ayalon & Yogev, 1996; Fox & Miller, 1995; Lasch, 1991). Most of the researches point up the ways in which classroom performance and examination results fall short of sacrosanct didactic goals. Many studies show how elements in educational policy are likely to counter the possibility of equality and ultimately produce consequences that are undesirable for one or another group involved in education (Al Haj, 1996; Swirski, 1990; 1999). Yet, the implementation and practices of differentiation and integration are rarely contextualized. It is the claim of this volume that the many researches into 'mis'-steps in educational systems rely on investigations that are either very narrow, or overly generalized. Links between implementation and practices are reviewed only cursorily. Moreover, critical reviews of educational practices are often too limited. Yet, tracking procedures and practice is of the utmost importance for pupils that are segregated one way or another, and in fact for all pupils, because procedures and practices have consequences in terms of stratification and the distribution of life chances.

The working assumption of this book is then that merely pointing out the extent of malfunction is no more than a preliminary step. In order to understand why the system fails so many students, it is important to trace the process of education from the enunciation of commitment, through its amendments and modifications, to an examination of actual practice. The book will therefore present a theoretical interpretation of this process as the unscrambling of the imbrication of ideology in the succession of steps that lead to practices in educational institutions. The reference is to: the translation of ideology into legislation, the subsequent transfer into bureaucratic activities, and hence to administration and pedagogical performance in schools. The aspect of education that I will be tracking is the composite *educational* goal of integration and egalitarianism as it is implemented in relation to different groups of pupils in Israel. In my

conception, the relevant questions are how policy is applied and realized; and at what points the probability of disadvantage can be discerned. By marking patterns of performance in these areas, I am hopeful that it will be possible to shed light on the emergence of disparities that are apparently never explicitly intended.

The approach to the state promulgated in the book is derived from Burke's "perspective about perspectives" (Gusfield, 1989, p. 4) with its specification of the drama of human action whether macro or micro. In Burke's (1969, p. xv) words:

> In a rounded statement about motives, you must have some word that names the *act* (names what took place, in thought or deed), and another that names the *scene* (the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred), also, you must indicate what person or kind of person (*agent*) performed the act, what means or instruments he used (*agency*), and the *purpose.* Men [sic!] may violently disagree about [any of the constituent elements]. ... But be that as it may, any complete statement about motives will offer *some kind of* answers to these five questions: what was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), how he did it (agency), and why (purpose).

Having undertaken to make a statement about the motives of the state of Israel in carrying out children's education, I look upon the state as the *agent,* ideology as the *purpose,* schooling as the *act,* the political and social background as the *scene,* the apparatus of policy-making, delegation of powers to the Ministry of Education, its officials, and the "workers in education" as the *agency.* The approach that is developed in the book establishes a perspective on every link in the chain of activity as a Scene where Acts are carried out by the state in some guise. At every step, the state is served through the offices of situated (Deputy) Agents who command the means (Agency) appropriate to their location to realize an appropriate (sub-) Purpose. Through the acts affected by different types of agency, the motives of the nation-state are clarified in ways that are not foreseeable in the original ideological statements.

The point of departure for the presentation is the *purpose* as stated in the official ideology, which constitutes a kind of shared consciousness. However formulated, the official ideology provides a definition of the people for whose benefit the state exists and at least by implication, a description of its social structure, namely, a portrayal of the groups that make up the society and the relationships among them. Educational performance addresses the links between the state and the various groups that make up the population.

'Differences' that are initially embedded in ideological discourse take on concrete reality as they are unraveled in schools and give rise to practical outcomes. For each group the relevant questions are how the applications of ideology and policy determine life chances. By tracking the tensions between what is achieved and the intentions originally articulated in official statements of ideology, it will be possible to work out the functions of the discourse (rhetoric and practices) in differently defined contexts.

The book comprises fourteen chapters divided into three parts. Part I is devoted to contextualization from several points of view. Chapter 1 presents general historical background that explains why immigrants are so important to Israel and to the Israeli system of education. Chapter 2 draws on the literature of comparative education in order to show a variety of orientations toward dealing with the education of a diverse population. Approaches to understanding what constitutes ideology are sketched in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents a broad selection of ideological declarations from preparatory affirmations of the World Zionist Organization to the Declaration of Independence, and onward to statements by public figures when the state was founded and after the Six Day War. The examples are selected to display statements that frame an official ideology at different stages of the territorialization of Israel.

Part II moves on to the realm of embedding ideology in practical steps. Thus, Chapter 5 opens a window to policy-making in the Knesset. Focusing on actions that have been found to be praiseworthy, Chapter 6 looks at actions and projects related to immigrant and minority groups that minimally have approval of the state, some of which are reported in a way that shows pride of accomplishment. The transmutation of policy into goals for the education system as a whole is the topic of Chapter 7. In Chapter 8, I present the specifications for educational performance as regularly explicated by the Ministry of Education in the *Circulars of the Director-General,* as well as evidence of educational accomplishment publicized by the Ministry. An important aspect of Ministry activity is the appointment of officials to convey the messages of the Ministry 'live' to the field. Some of the approaches of Ministry officials and agents in schools are observed and reported on in Chapter 9.

Part III has four chapters that focus on school performance. Chapter 10 describes the integration of pupils from the Former Soviet Union (Russia); Chapter 11 describes the integration of pupils who belong to the community of immigrants from Ethiopia; Chapter 12 relates to the children of Arab Israelis (including Druze and Bedouin children); Chapter 13 discusses the education of the children of immigrant workers who are temporary residents. Each chapter tells about the background of the group's arrival in Israel,

refers to research reports on the group, and presents some description of pertinent  classroom events.

In the Conclusion, Chapter 14, I describe how the paths that have been traversed lead to a revised understanding of how ideology operates, i.e., a summary statement of the state's motives (in Burke's terms) in carrying out education.

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# Acknowledgments

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# PART I:  HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

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Chapter 1

# INTRODUCTION:
# EDUCATION IN ISRAEL AS A CASE STUDY

In this chapter we will present a sketch of the historical and conceptual background that defines the *scene* and provides a setting for developments in education. As a country with a highly diverse population, Israel provides a field that is particularly amenable to a case study of how education is performed and how ideological declarations are likely to undergo modification and even transformation.

Today, Israel is a country with a population of close to six million, of whom a little over twenty per cent are children of school age. The school population, moreover, is heterogeneous according to every customary sociological variable. Apart from the classical divisions of age, gender, and geography; large groups of students are dissimilar in religious affiliations and ways of daily life, in (parents') countries of origin, in skin color, as well as in economic class. The array is an outcome of the history of the region and the foundation of Israel as a nation-state.

## 1.    BEFORE THE STATE

In the course of the twentieth century, the territorial divisions and the allocation of sovereignty in the Middle East were altered several times before Israel was set up as an independent country in 1948.

Until 1918, the entire area of what is called the Middle East had been part of the Ottoman Empire for about four hundred years. At the end of World War I, "the Allies described the whole area of the Arab rectangle as Occupied Enemy Territory" (Mansfield, 1988, p. 179). Opposing attempts to carve the region up into independent states, Britain and France convened the Supreme Council of the League of Nations. Ultimately, in 1922, the Council allocated League of Nations mandates according to a compromise decision: Greater Syria was partitioned into two French mandates of Lebanon and Syria, while the British were given a mandate over Palestine and Iraq. The

two great powers were mandated to help the regions become independent political entities. Between the two World Wars, the mandatory governments decided on the foundation of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, and Palestine as separate political units, each to be headed by a local council.

In Palestine, the arrangement was found to be impossible. Budding nationalist movements among the Arabs and the various factions of the Jewish Zionist Movement juggled for the exclusive support of the mandatory government. Their agitation was based on promises that the British government had made during the war. In 1915, trying to win Arab support in the war against the Turks, Sir H. McMahon, the High Commissioner of Cairo promised Hussein, Sherif of Mecca, that his country was "prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs..." (Gilbert, 1979, Map 7). In 1917, the British Government approved a letter written by the Prime Minister to a Jewish leader, Lord Rothschild, in which the Jews were promised a homeland in Palestine on the understanding that this would not "prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."[1] Considering that the Jews constituted at most thirteen per cent of the population at that time, this pledge was anathema to the Palestinian Arabs (Bregman, 2002, p. 7). Arab leaders insisted that the 'homeland' promised to the Jews would inevitably sabotage the status of Arab Palestinians, and opposed further immigration and growth of Jewish settlements. Despite negotiations between representatives of the Zionist Organization and the Muslim community, with and without British intermediaries, Arab opposition to the Zionist project did not relent.

Still, between the two world wars, the Jewish community in Palestine devoted resources to preparing for a prospective state by setting up communal institutions – a governing council, a labor movement, a system of health care, as well as a system of education. Zionist institutions invested in the purchase of land and pressured for allowing Jewish immigration. Despite attempts by the Arab leaderships to forestall the developments, and despite British attempts to regulate the distribution of certificates for immigrants, and the rights of Jews to make land purchases, the Jewish community persisted in its preparation for establishing a state.

As the Zionist project persevered, Arab opposition was expressed in attacks by bands of Arabs who were uprooted from their land when the effendis sold their estates to representatives of the Zionist Movement. There were demonstrations by Arabs who lost their livelihood to less experienced,

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[1] The Declaration states: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing may be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country" (Gilbert, 1979, Map 10).

more expensive Jewish workers who had the backing of the Zionist leaders. Although they defined themselves as socialists, the Jewish workers put nationalistic goals first and did not attend to class solidarity (Shaffir & Peled, 2002). Organizing in comparatively large numbers, Arabs carried out strikes in 1921; they revolted against what they perceived as British favoritism to the Jews in 1929. The revolt of the years, 1936-1939 – labeled the "events" by the Jews — was the most organized and the bloodiest (see Morris, 1999). In those prolonged uprisings, nationalistic ideals were explicit (Shalev, 1989). Small groups of Jews ("Hashomer") organized to promote the self-defence of the Yishuv protecting Jewish settlements against Arab attacks. As Arab opposition grew, the Yishuv took more decisive steps. In the 1920s, an underground organization, Haganah (Defense), was set up to provide military training for all able-bodied persons in the Jewish community. On the assumption that the British would be more amenable to Zionist demands if the actions of the community were controlled, however, the Haganah adopted a policy of restraint (havlagah). Radical groups that abhorred this reserve split off from the organization and carried out offensives against the Arab population and against British officials (Morris, 1999).[2] In the 1930s and the 1940s, information about atrocities against Jews in Germany provided the Zionists with irrefutable arguments to countermand the limitations that the Arabs repeatedly requested and the British often imposed. The Jewish community in Palestine mobilized to ensure unlimited immigration whether or not the mandatory power agreed.

Several Commissions were appointed by the British to study the situation in Palestine and to work out an agreement between the two national groups. Their efforts failed to calm the growing Arab-Jewish antagonism until the outbreak of World War II. At the end of the War, Zionists championed Palestine as a locale that could offer asylum to the Jews who had survived the Holocaust. It was argued that Palestine was the only place that could provide a haven for the Jews who had no recognized civic status, the displaced persons. Their arguments were crowned with success when the United Nations General Assembly adopted a recommendation of the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) and voted to partition Palestine on November 29, 1947 (UN Resolution 181). The Jews welcomed the decision even though the proposed Jewish State (on 51% of the territory of Palestine) was a peculiarly shaped entity and left a number of Jewish settlements in the territory allocated to the Arabs. On the other hand, the Arabs, who comprised two-thirds of the local population at the time, refused

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[2] The National Military Organization (IZL – initials from the Hebrew: Irgun Zvai Leumi) was headed by Menahem Begin. The Fighters for the Freedom of Israel (LHI – Lohamei Heruth Yisrael) was headed by Ya'ir Stern. Relations among all the groups were hostile, often to the point where members of one group acted as informers for the British.

partition outright. "The civil war [that broke out in the wake of the UN Resolution] was vicious, cruel and littered with atrocities. It involved immense human suffering and a degree of blatant brutality never before seen in Jewish-Arab relations in Palestin ..." (Bregman, p. 19). In the course of the fighting, the Jews strengthened their hold on the territory allotted to them, and also conquered towns such as Safed, Acre, and Jaffa that had been consigned to the Arab state.

Under these circumstances, the British announced that they would leave Palestine by Saturday, May 15, 1948. On the eve of that date, which was the Jewish Sabbath, the yishuv's "National Committee", now calling itself the first "Jewish National Assembly" issued its Declaration of Independence in the name of a *"Jewish state"*. This Proclamation, received with jubilation among the Jews, set the stage for continued armed struggle that challenged the legitimacy of the Israeli government, as well as for conflicts in the realms of human rights and education over the next fifty-odd years.

Hostilities were immediately renewed, with troops from Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria demanding the nullification of the new State. The battles and the skirmishes that lasted for "one year, three months and ten days" (Bregman, p. 32) constituted a War for Independence for the Jews, but their outcome is commemorated as "the Catastrophe" (*naqba*) by the Arabs. During the war, almost a million Arabs left their homes; many were "transferred" by the Israeli army. Hundreds of villages were occupied or destroyed and the community of Arab residents that remained in Israel was subjugated to military rule. Before the war, the Jews had been only 30% of the Palestinian population and held about 8% of the land. When the fighting finally ended, the Jews held 80% of the area that had been included in the British mandate, while the West Bank and the Gaza Strip were annexed to Trans-Jordan and Egypt respectively. Furthermore, with a Jewish population in Israel of 600,000 to 165,000 Arabs, the Jews constituted a little under 80% of the population of the new State (Kamen, 1981; Morris, 1990).

In the fifty-five years since its establishment, the State of Israel has been engaged in wars in which thousands of soldiers and civilians have been killed or maimed. During the first decade after the Declaration of Independence, the borders with Lebanon, Jordan, and the Gaza Strip were the scenes of innumerable skirmishes. The Israeli Army countered attacks by small bands of *fedayeen* (guerilla fighters) and adamantly prevented Palestinian Arabs from returning to villages they had left, or from which they had been expelled. On October 29, 1956, after Egypt blockaded the port of Eilat by closing the Gulf of Aqaba, Israel attempted to force Egypt to recognize her legitimacy by joining forces with Great Britain and France in their war to recover control of the Suez Canal that Abd-el-Nasser had nationalized. None of the goals was achieved and, under pressure from the USA, Israel withdrew its forces from the areas of the Sinai Peninsula that

she had succeeded in occupying. At that time the UN sent peace-keeping troops to patrol the borders between Israel and the neighboring states. Throughout the 1960s Israeli borders were repeatedly tested by Syrian-trained bands and by members of the Palestine Liberation Organization *(Fatah)* that had been founded in the late 1950s and formalized as an organization in 1964. In the meantime, the strongest of the Arab countries, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Jordan signed treaties in which they agreed to collaborate in a war on Israel. In 1967, President Abd-el-Nasser of Egypt asked U Thant, the Secretary-General of the UN, to withdraw the UN troops from part of the frontier with Israel. Angered by the request, the Secretary-General withdrew all the troops serving in the south and in the north. When he threatened to close the Tirana Straits to Israeli shipping in May, 1967, the allied Arab countries all moved forces to the Israeli borders. Israel undertook a pre-emptive attack on June 5. In the Six Day War that ensued, Israel seized the Sinai from Egypt, the Golan Heights from Syria, and the West Bank from Jordan. The week-long war was followed, however, by a War of Attrition that lasted from 1968 to 1970. In this war, there were casualties from attacks on Israeli strongholds in the Sinai, as well as from forays across the Green Line, the temporary border that divided Israel from the West Bank (Bregman, 2002; Morris, 1999).

In October, 1973, Egypt and Syria launched an attack on Israel's northern and southern borders on the holiest day of the year in the Jewish calendar, the Day of Atonement. The Yom Kippur War was a partially successful attempt to force Israel to give up lands she had seized in 1967. In that war, Syria captured areas of the Golan Heights; Egypt besieged the Israeli front lines in the Sinai Peninsula and captured some territory. In 1978, Israel took over areas of Southern Lebanon as a "security zone" for the Israeli population on her northern borders. This was followed in 1982 by a full-scale war in Lebanon. The outcome was an extension of the security zone and a lengthening of the lines of the Israeli Defense Army. The War called the "Grapes of Wrath" was fought in 1996 with the proclaimed goal of ensuring that Hizballah fighters would not attack civilians, and with the function of demonstrating that Shim'on Peres who had taken over the Rabin government after Rabin's assassination, could be as military-minded as the highest ranking generals. Relying on an alliance with the Arab states in the region, the United States succeeded in preventing Israel from actively participating in the Gulf Wars of 1990 (although SCUD missiles fell in several cities) and 2003 (Bregman, 2002).

In the meantime, there were sporadic attempts to reach peaceful settlements with the Arab nations. President Sadat of Egypt attempted secretly to negotiate an agreement with Prime Minister Golda Meir in 1971, but did not succeed. Five years after the 1973 war, and a year after a right-wing government was voted into power, Sadat was invited to visit Israel in

1978. Negotiations with Prime Minister Begin lead to the first full treaty of peace between Israel and a neighboring country. It took more than a decade before treaties were signed with Jordan and the Palestinian Authority. The interval was marked by the First Uprising (Intifada) of the conquered Palestinian people. Sparked by an accident at a checkpoint in December, 1987, the insurgence lasted until the Oslo agreement of 1993. With the promise that in the course of five years, the Palestinians would be granted autonomy, a peace treaty was effectively signed between Israel and the Palestinians.

Paradoxically, every move toward peace has been publicized as a serious danger to the Yishuv. Shortly after the Six Day War, the project of "settling in the Land of Israel" was begun. During more than thirty years, Jewish settlements were established in different areas of the West Bank, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Gaza Strip. The Peace Treaty with Egypt led to the uprooting of settlements in the Sinai, but this did not halt the growth of Jewish towns and villages in the areas that remained under Israeli occupation. Peace with the Palestinians as promulgated in the Oslo agreement was interpreted as a threat to the rights of the 150,000 to 200,000 Israelis who live on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. Prime Minister Rabin, who was one of the architects of "Oslo" was denounced as a traitor by the settlers. At giant demonstrations, Rabbis from the settlements in the conquered territories preached that to prevent the catastrophe that the "Oslo" agreement would inevitably cause, the Prime Minister should be submitted to the "Law of the Turncoat / One Who Surrenders [the Holy Land]". His assassination marked the beginning of the end of the hope for peace. Repeated failures to concur on details of policing and on limiting Israeli settlements in the territories led to the collapse of "Oslo", and in September, 2000, to the outbreak of the second Intifada, an uprising that was marked by violence and brutality of both the Israeli army and of the Palestinian militants.

As part of its policing of the territories, Israel increasingly deployed tanks and helicopters to shoot missiles at the cars of "ticking bombs", members of militant Palestinian groups (Hamas, Jihad Islami, Palestine Liberation Front) on city streets in the Gaza Strip. In addition to the customary deployment of snipers, the Palestinians mobilized large numbers of suicide bombers who have not hesitated to sacrifice their own lives as they explode near groups of Israeli civilians. Despite the fact that both the Palestinian Authority under Mahmud Abbas and the Israeli government under Ariel Sharon have formally accepted the "road map" to peace drawn up by the United States with the support of the European "Quartet", the

success of the negotiations is far from certain.[3]

## 2.    ISRAEL: A GROWING POPULATION

Despite losses of population through war and emigration, the Jewish population of Israel at the start of the twenty-first century was over five million, while the population of non-Jews was over one million.[4] This was the outcome of a deliberate policy of encouraging in-migration. This is not simply giving permission of entry to Jews, but a project called the "in-gathering of the exiles," a national mission fueled by the dual motivation of building a nation-state and saving the lives of Jews at risk.

The Jewish population of Israel has never comprised a majority of Jews in the world. Before World War II, when there were sixteen million Jews in the world, almost all scattered in countries around the globe. The Nazis' deliberate destruction of the Jewish communities of Europe was interpreted to be a continuation, perhaps a culmination, of the persecution of Jews that had been known for hundreds of years (Gilbert, 1979, Map 3). There were credible grounds for the claim that Jewish life was in jeopardy in every corner of the Diaspora and that a Jewish state should be set up to save communities at risk. In addition to the perception that life in the Diaspora was potentially threatened, the leaders of the Yishuv had a highly instrumental goal. Contrary to the Zionist narrative, the Jewish settlement of Palestine was not simply taking control of an empty region, and "making it fruitful." The indigenous population at the end of World War I, just after Balfour had committed the British government to support for a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, consisted of about 700,000 Arabs and 56,000 Jews. This ratio could not be cited as an argument for a Jewish State. Thus, in-migration was raised as a constant demand by the Jewish institutions under the British mandate. The independent state proclaimed in 1948 was still too tiny to be considered a viable political, military, or even social entity.

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[3] Until the end of June, 2003, the Israeli program of assassinations proceeded as before, and the Palestinian militants had not given up the suicide bombing. See *Ha'aretz,* for details of fighting — June 8 – failed assassination of Rantisi , second in command of the Hamas with Israeli helicopter killing six Palestinian civilians; June 11 – suicide bomber attacks public bus in Jerusalem killing sixteen Israelis; June 11 – assassination of assistant "engineer" of suiciders' equipment, along with his wife and baby girl, and four bystanders.
[4] According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, the population in 2001 included 1,227,500 Arabs; 5,281,300 Jews and others. In these cases, the population listed includes Lebanese not classified by religion (3,600 according to the Ministry of the Interior); the category "Jews and others" includes non-Arab Christians and people not classified according to their religion. When the numbers are distributed according to religion, they are: Jews: 5,025,800; Muslims: 1,004,600; Christians (total): 138,500; Druzes: 106,300; and "religion unclassified": 230,900 (CBS, 2002, Table 2.1).

Encouraging the in-migration of Jews was envisioned as a valid means for establishing political viability. The policy has been, and is still being pursued with fervor.

Since then there has been a steady flow of Jews 'returning' to the homeland sanctified in Jewish history and accepted as integral to the meaning of Israel as a Jewish State. Within the first ten years of its existence, Israel's Jewish population tripled thanks to the initiation of a massive immigration by Jews from North Africa and other Middle Eastern countries. Ironically, the Jewish national project was supported by the very states that opposed the establishment of Israel. They reinforced the population of the new state by encouraging the deportation of their own Jewish minority.[5] In the 1980s and the 1990s, in-migration continued with almost 1,000,000 Jews immigrating from the republics of the former Soviet Union, and about 80,000 Jews from Ethiopia. The Jewish population of Israel today includes significant numbers of groups that stem from over a hundred different countries, from every continent of the world. (For a record of waves of immigration as noted by the Central Bureau of Statistics, see Appendix A.)

Thus, heterogeneity of the Israeli population is actualized in terms of 'nationality', 'language', 'religion', 'community', and country of origin. The officially recognized 'great divide' is that between Arabs and Jews. This division is drawn on the basis of a presumption that religion and 'mother tongue' are measures of identification with the state. Those who claim affiliation with the Jewish people are assigned to the community that has Hebrew as their mother tongue. Those associated with Arab nationality are presumed to have Arabic as a mother tongue. This distinction is heightened by refinements of distinctive religions. While all Jews, even non-believers, are assigned to the orthodox Jewish establishment and impelled to accept their understanding of what it means to be a Jew; Arabs are pedantically categorized as Muslims, Christians, Druze, and 'other'. In practice, the distinctions refer to the arrangement whereby rites of passage for each group are controlled by the particular religious establishment with which they are associated by birth. Arab citizens born into a particular religious community are, therefore, differentially associated with their presumed nationality.

Among the Jews, as noted, religious affiliation, like linguistic homogeneity, is taken for granted. But the *Yearbooks* of the Central Bureau of Statistics perpetuate distinctions according to 'community' and 'country of origin.' In the large, there are two communities: the Ashkenazi community and the Sephardi, or Mizrachi, Community. Historically, the disparity was drawn on the basis of subtle differences in religious practices and in the compilations of prayers and the wordings that were adopted by

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[5] Professor Dr. Karlheinz Schneider, personal communication.

Jews who lived under the influence of the Spanish (Sephardi) Empire and those who lived in the central parts of Europe. In Israel, the terms are assigned according to countries of origin. Thus, Jews who originated in countries of the Middle East and around the Mediterranean Basin are classified as Sephardi; Jews who originated in Europe, America, and countries formerly linked to the British Commonwealth, are classified as Ashkenazi. The classification is considered to reflect differences in culture that are sometimes recruited to explain social inequalities. Since the ways in which the differences are confronted have had a decisive role in the development of education, it is important to look at the meaning of culture in a broader context.

## 3.     CULTURE AND MULTICULTURALISM: AN INESCAPABLE CONSIDERATION IN STRUCTURING EDUCATION.

*Catastrophes come from keeping people apart and not from putting them together.* (U. S. President William Jefferson Clinton, March, 2000, Speech before the Indian Parliament)

Since most of the countries of the world are multicultural with many types of people 'put together', there should, according to Clinton, be very few catastrophes.[6] Were President Clinton's remark universally true, moreover, Israel could be an exemplar of how to overcome catastrophes. Unfortunately, this supposition does not seem to hold true.

With a population that comes from over a hundred different countries, Israel is a multicultural society from several different points of view. Multiculturalism is self-evident from Israel's demography, but what is the significance of how the population is constituted for running the country and, more specifically, for organizing and implementing an educational system? In this section, I will discuss the impact of culture, its links with group identity, and the structural foundations of the interplay between the two. Then, I will point out how culture is likely to influence the meaning of 'education in a multicultural society.'

Culture is a highly fluid construct. Yet with all the uncertainty that attends

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[6] Contemporary research shows that even states that are presumed to 'belong' historically to specific cultural groups, are now known to be constituted by a diverse collection of peoples (cf. Gundara, 2000 on England; Yinger, 1990). Beliefs in the mono-culturalism of any given country are now seen to be myths mobilized to enhance the prestige of the dominating groups and to provide a justification for depriving groups defined as, or intimidated into the position of minorities (not always because of small numbers – cf. Ruanda).

its definition, it maintains centrality in anthropological and sociological literature. Historically the word culture was applied to whatever could be described metaphorically as a domain that had to be developed / cultivated by human effort. In classical German, *Kultur* was used to describe the innate spiritual brotherhood of people who belong to one group. It was contrasted with *Zivilisation* from the French *(civilisation),* understood to describe the artificiality, the contrived manners, and pretended aestheticism of the snobbish upper classes. In English, on the other hand, the term 'culture' took on the blanket meaning of 'high' culture – the arts and manners that are valued among the educated elites. In contexts where people want to demonstrate sensitivity to difference, the word 'culture' is often used, but frequently it is reduced to a reference to folkloristic elements such as food, dress, popular music, and dance. With the rise of anthropology, however, definitions of culture took on new importance because of researchers' need for guidelines. Much effort has been invested in defining what ways of living and acting make up the complex whole that discloses what can be perceived as the basic nature of groups.

In a classic 400-page review of concepts and definitions of culture, Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952)[7] found that it was possible to group definitions of culture under six broad categories: descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, genetic, and structural.

*Descriptive* definitions are those that attempt to enumerate the content of culture. Among these is the classic definition of Tylor, who, in 1871 (p. 81), talked about "culture, or civilization.... [as] that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." *Historical* definitions emphasize a shared social heritage or tradition. Typical is Parsons' assertion (p. 92) that "Culture… consists in those patterns relative to behavior and the products of human action which may be inherited, that is, passed on from generation to generation independently of the biological genes." Rules and ways of behaving are the focus of *normative* definitions. Kluckhohn (p. 98), for example, summarizes culture as "the distinctive way of life of a group of people, their complete 'design for living.'" The designs are constituted by assumptions about the nature of social reality as well as instructions as to obligations, hierarchies of preferences, scales of tolerance, and prohibitions.

Still other definitions are *psychological.* Such definitions attach culture to the outcomes of processes contrived by a group such as 'adjustment', 'learning', and 'development'. Thus, Dawson (p. 105) talks about culture as a "particular 'adjustment' of man to his natural surroundings and his

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[7] Page numbers in the paragraphs that follow are from the Anchor Books edition of *Culture.*

economic needs." Benedict (p. 112) asserts that culture "is the sociological term for ... behavior which in man [sic!][8] is not given at birth, which... must be learned anew from grown people by each new generation." There are also *genetic* definitions that characterize culture as products, ideas, or symbols. Assigning culture to the category of artifacts, for example, Willey (p. 125) calls culture "that part of the environment which man has himself created and to which he must adjust himself." In *structural* definitions there is a shift in emphasis and culture is often seen in statistical terms, even though the assumption is not stated explicitly. In the view of Coutu (p. 119), for example, "culture is to a population aggregate what personality is to the individual; and the [essence of the] ethos is... [to be grasped as] the core of most probable behaviors."

Since that publication, there have been many additional suggestions about how to look at culture. Some can be filed under one or the other of the above headings. Some relate to the effects of culture and the consequences of one or another type of culture.

Swidler (1986) provides a psychological definition when she identifies culture with the cognitive and emotional tools for dealing with daily life that a group shares. Figueroa (1993, p. 19) combines norms, cognitive structures, history, and action in describing "'Culture' [as] a system of values and a conceptual system, a system of behavior and a communication system which have been socially constructed and are socially transmitted as part of a group's heritage and as a framework and medium of its life." Bauman (1973) discusses culture as the human heritage and finds in culture the purpose of facilitating life and "escaping death." Arvizu (1994) seems to be specifying how this works concretely when he insists that: "Culture is what guides people in their thinking, feeling, and acting, and serves as an emotional road map or plan of action in their struggle for survival." Yet although culture seems inescapable, every definition seems to stimulate researchers to renewed efforts at definition.

I would like to suggest that Kroeber and Kluckhohn's categories are most useful in that they can be understood to indicate the highly varied ways in which culture is expressed and in which culture impresses itself on members (Garfinkel, 1967). In a word the culture we are born into necessarily is constituted by numerable or innumerable elements, provides guidelines for behavior in all domains of living, imposes an intuition of how to process experience, and how to insert orientations into social structures. Each of the aspects of culture is related to knowledge about its sources and about its

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[8] The discomfort aroused by the use of 'man' as the generic term for humankind is perhaps a measure of the success of the feminist movement. The victory has penetrated our understanding of legitimate discourse (cf. Chapter on "Ideology and Education").

evolution in group history. These are the materials, so to speak, made available to and putting pressure on in-migrating persons, in the form of 'enculturation' — inserting people into social networks.

From all of the above, the conclusion would seem to be that culture is a construct for what is enduring and unchanging in social life. Students of culture in the second half of the 20th century had difficulty with accepting a view of a group characterized exclusively by continuity, and seek ways of understanding culture as inevitably changing. To this end, there are several different approaches.

Taking conversation as the quintessential site for experiencing culture, De Certeau (1998) shows that people in conversations share a construction of patterned action as well as the construction of substance, content and an extension of sociality. As a cardinal modality of representation, talk is, in his view, both evidence of cultural change and its motor. When one focuses on representations, as in talk (but also in the representational arts), opportunities for change emerge in the inevitable breach between representation and interpretation, between intention (of the speaker/ performer-artist) and assimilation (by the listener / audience). True, people who talk, or otherwise 'represent' experiences build on relational networks already in place, but the new pact is a provisional addition to existing networks of located relationships.

From a slightly different point of view, Bauman (1973) postulates that culture is a mode of practice that mediates between the universalisms of what it means to be human and the particulars of every group's environment. In practice individuals change their environments and have to revise their understandings of how to operate in them (Bauman, 1973). Corporeal individuals are inescapably linked in the production of "actions infused with theory", and the creative potential of human beings is expressed in their ability to theorize and thus to shape and break — even to break out of — cultural patterns. In sum, with Bauman's interpretation of culture as the production of agents, it becomes possible to conceptualize culture as a dynamic creation, the locus of on-going change and innovation.

Both De Certeau and Bauman conceptualize culture as a social creation. De Certeau's view of cultural creation as acts of presentation and representation assigns the work of culture and of culture change to the realm of immediate relationships, to the dominion of intimacy – covert and apparently liberated from the coercion of the economic order. Bauman's perspective on culture as an on-going creation can be applied to relatively large groups, if one presupposes relations of production that do not impede invention and elaboration. As culture evolves, under whatever social conditions and economic constraints, the individuals that emerge in either the micro or the macro relationships form and re-form complex identities,

the fundament of action.

Definitions of individual identity demonstrate that culture does not exist as a detachable casing. Emergent individuals cannot be stripped of cultural appurtenances, for identity is no other than "condensed culture" (Bauman, 1973). Every person is a micro-cosmos of her culture, a particular collection of elements assembled from the universe of cultural possibilities. Analysis in this vein, however, suitable as it is in situations of individual therapy, does not necessarily lead to an understanding of why culture is shared, or to an understanding of how culture and identity coordinate with the formation and dissemination of ideology. A wider view of identity provides a useful conceptualization..

The literature talks about identity in contrastive terms: as presence and absence, inner (personal) identity and outer (public) identity, subjective and objective identity, individual identity and group identity, national identity and ethnic identity. Clearly, each of the distinctions represents a different political point of departure as well as a different kind of research agenda. In the context of this book I will look at multiculturalism in light of the construct of 'group' identity that shades into identity that is national or ethnic. In order to do this, I will have to rely on appraisals of groups and the practices that surface as natural to those appraisals.

The realization that 'condensed culture' can be shared, is central to an understanding of what happens in education. In their book on *Cultural identity and educational policy,* Brock & Tulasiewicz (1985, p. 1) demonstrate that group identity is crucial to the maintenance of every grouping. Although they insist that "it would be inappropriate to attempt a rigid definition of ... cultural identity," they go on to propose a complex view of how it can be described. In their formulation:

> [Identity is] ... a state of distinctiveness achieved by an act of separation produced either by external pressures exercised by a group or individual upon another with the aim of isolating it, or by a group, society, or individual using its own 'forces propres' to conceptualize and arrive at some unique characteristics.

Furthermore, they insist, "identity can only be formed in a system of relations which crystallize into a commitment."

Such a conceptualization of cultural or group identity not only hints at the opportunities that the very concern with identity provides for political intervention in group activity and in group history, but also confirms the processual dynamism that the concept of group identity discloses. This definition indicates that educational policies are central to an analysis of

whether group identity is being promoted, transformed, or destroyed. Since education is a deliberate choice of materials from the 'soup' of culture, there are varieties of ways in which macro-policy can intervene to establish the formation of group self-identities. It is useful to look at two theoreticians who elaborated their theories on the basis of analyses of the identity of two groups that are of central interest in this book. Herman writes about the group identity of Jews and Rouhana about that of Palestinians.

Herman (1977), who presents a social psychological study of Jewish identity, spells out some of the opportunities implied by the Brock and Tulasiewicz definition. Distinguishing at the outset between group identity and its 'reflection' in each of the members of the group, Herman (1977) in fact leads up to an analysis of the ways in which groups can be said to share an identity. He quotes Weber, Glazer and Moynihan, as well as Klineberg and Barth (Herman, 1977, p. 29) as a basis for the claim that 'ethnic identity' — the sense of a shared descent and a shared way of life — is a concept that can be justified by reference to individuals' desires, and buttressed by the assumption that people have a "need to belong" (Herman, 1977, p. 33).

Foremost for Herman is the analysis of forces and processes that have made the Jews into a distinct ethnic group (Herman, 1977, pp. 39-73). The processes he names can, however, be viewed as generic to the formation of ethnic groups of all kinds. Membership in an ethnic group is heralded by what Herman (1977, p. 40) calls "marking off." In forming a collective identity, markers may be positioned and lines drawn more or less rigidly by members of the group and / or by members of other groups. The group is likely to develop recognition of internal cohesion, what Herman calls "alignment" over time, that is, a common history. The alignment may also be defined across space, encompassing the given territory that is perceived as belonging to the group, and any territory in which members of the group happen to reside as a Diaspora. To justify the alignment (Herman, 1977, p. 42), an ethnic group is served by perceptions of similarity. The discernment is nourished by the promulgation of recognizable features in the outer appearance of members of the group and by deliberately developed systems of values that promote a sense of "mutual responsibility" (p. 44). For Herman, these conceptual distinctions provide well-defined lists of cognitive, affective, and behavioral levels of self-identification – all of which can be combined into a profile of group identity.

In a book that appeared twenty years later, Rouhana (1997) explores the ethnic identity of Palestinians in a similar vein. He, too, assumes that groups have an "indisputable" affective need for belonging, for a collective identity (Rouhana, 1997, p. 4). His analysis of the phenomenon relies, however, on an approach that is more meticulously sociological than that of Herman. In his conception, a collective identity enables a group to invoke symbols,

heroes, and myths that strengthen self-esteem, security, meaningfulness, and satisfaction with how the group is acknowledged by others. Because of this, collective identity provides each and every member of the collective with emotional fulfillment (Rouhana, 1997, p. 5). At the same time, however, Rouhana asserts that the collective identity of an ethno-national group is "'elusive' and should be studied as a dynamic and contextualized organization that affects and is affected by the evolving political and social forces in the state and outside it." The dynamism develops in response to political forces and is likely to be manifested in new loyalties, new groupings, and new commitments. In these cases, collective identity is an important political tool for a group, for an imaginary of collective identity has the power "to mobilize group members" (Rouhana, 1997, p. 4).

The model of collective identity that Rouhana (1997) proposes is, therefore, a social structure the layers of which are held together, in his words, by affective axes. The sections of the configuration are the legal-formal structures that define the place of the collective, the distribution of political power that positions a collective in a society, and the socio-cultural understandings that locate the groups in the collective consciousness. Rouhana does not specify the economic constraints that govern these developments but he does imply that they are of central importance. For he emphasizes that each of these layers is affected by historical events and may at different times have different content, be differentially salient to consciousness, be valued in different ways, and more or less central to the concerns of members of the collective. In each individual, these contextual structures are organized around axes of attachment that are propelled by a core, nuclear self. Hence, the collective self-identification label reflects the "most condensed" form of the identity structure: the content, the salience, the valence, and the centrality of each of the layers, together with the strength of the various affective axes. The complex web of the collective identity cannot be located once and for all in the sum total of individual awarenesses at a given moment of history. Responses are differentiated according to the 'accentuations' evoked by dynamic situations (Rouhana, 1997, p. 16, p, 146). The structure interacts with significant historical events through which it is exposed to varying processes of inclusion and exclusion. In a multi-cultural society, therefore, the processes affecting different groups are likely to interact in ways that may be mutually supportive or contradictory.

From the theoretical discussions of Herman and Rouhana, we can establish that a society is multi-cultural when groups can be said to differ in the production and reception of symbolic forms, in the targets of their allegiances and of their affective ties, as well as in the modes of conveying meanings in a shared social context. Although the distinctions are not easy to

research, the differentiation is easily grasped in practical social intercourse and is often engineered by political maneuver. The experience of people in a multi-cultural society, such as Israel, is rife with examples of culturally grounded differentiation.

The complexities of culture and identity do not disappear when people from different backgrounds are assembled in schools. Drawing on the insights of Brock and Tulasiewicz, we note that in schools it is possible to trace the 'act of separation' and the ways in which educational policy and educational action effect that separation. The actual performance of the acts of separation or their negation is multi-layered and dialectical depending on the state regime, the configuration of political power, and the capacity of different groups to command appropriate resources.[9] Still, it would be disingenuous to assume that it is possible to draw up a blueprint with exact specifications of how best to organize children's education in a multi-cultural society. Bureaucratic modes of collecting people in educational institutions may or may not facilitate the types of learning that are helpful. The content, the pacing, and the evaluation of learning, as well as their implications for daily life in schools are all problematic from both the point of view of the state that has articulated overarching goals and for the groups whose cultural identity is at stake.

The interaction of educational ideology, strategies, implementation and practice with the nexus of cultures interwoven in a multi-cultural society is an issue that requires cautious unpacking and careful study. It is not enough simply to look at one type of written document, such as, for example, official publications related to policy. We must go on and ask: How do people in different positions of the educational system interpret the varied documents? What decisions about curriculum and about extra-curricular arrangements are made? How are all the components of the educational situation carried out? What political and economic consequences derive from the educational project in its various aspects?

The burden of this monograph is then an attempt to explore possible responses to these questions from the point of view of how the educational system of Israel deals with the populations of students that it serves.

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[9] From the start, it is important to note what we will not be concerned with. In the framework of this book, it will not be possible to look as well at the psychological effects of the 'acts of separation'.

# 4. TRADITIONS OF SCHOOLING IN ISRAEL

The new state inherited a maze of educational systems, remnants of every regime. Among the Jews, there were schools sponsored by the Religious Zionist Parties, the Centrist General Zionist (Liberal) Party, as well as the Socialist Workers' Parties. In addition there were the traditional religious frameworks of the Heder and the Yeshiva. Similar religious schools were under the direction of the Muslim religious establishment. And Christian orders (among them: Franciscans, Carmelites, Les Soeurs de Jesus) had set up schools alongside their abbeys. Under the Ottoman Empire with its system of capitulations, European consulates had functioned as protectorates of their citizens living in the Middle East. In this framework there were schools designed according to the 'homeland' schools of Great Britain, France, and Germany; as well as schools sponsored by Jewish organizations in various countries. The mandatory government sponsored schools to prepare students for the local Palestinian civil service. A condition for study in almost all of the schools was the payment of tuition fees.

In keeping with the requirements of the UN Resolution 181 on the partition of Palestine,[10] one of the earliest pieces of legislation in the new state of Israel was the "Law for Free Compulsory Education" of 1949. This law in effect eradicated tuition fees for primary schools. The "Law of State Education" of 1953 went further and ensured that most of the schools in the country would be state schools, and the state would enforce sanctions against parents who did not register children for schooling. At various times in the course of the last fifty-five years, the laws have been amended by regulations for extending the range of compulsory education to the age of fifteen; regulations changing the funding of the schools, and so on. Currently the law calls for three years of pre-school attendance and ten years of schooling.

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[10] In the Resolution, the following sections establish human rights as conditions, of the creation of two states in Palestine:

Guaranteeing to all persons equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political, economic and religious matters and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion, language, speech and publication, education, assembly and association [UN Resolution 181, Part I, Partition, Chapter 1. B. Steps Preparatory to Independence, paragraph 10 (d)].

The State shall ensure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab and Jewish minority, respectively, in its own language and its cultural traditions.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the State may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. Foreign educational establishments shall continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights [UN Resolution 181, Part I, Partition, Chapter 1. C, Paragraph 6].

Although the authorization of 'free, compulsory state' education ostensibly places Israel among the progressive countries, there are, in fact, numerous complications. For one thing, the primary definition of the state as Jewish introduces the problematic of the relationship of a school system to the approximately 20% of the population — citizens and residents — who were neither born Jewish nor converted to Judaism (MacDowall, 1998). Clearly, such a definition places all those who are not Jewish at a disadvantage. Structurally, and often by regulation, non-Jewish citizens of Israel have to put up with exclusion (Sternhell, 1998). In the Israeli educational system, this is disclosed in the segregation of Hebrew-speaking and Arabic-speaking schools, and in an institutionalized logic to the effect that the major investment in education should be made in the Jewish schools. The disadvantage has been intensified by the extraordinary efforts expended in order to facilitate the in-migration of Jews from all parts of the globe. From the point of view of raising the percentage of Jews in the 'Jewish' state, this is a project that has for the most part been very successful.

When all is said and done, however, the policies cited have not eased the situation for the Jews. Jewish society is regularly called upon to manage diversity. Because of the state-sponsored Jewish in-migration, the Jewish sector of the school system is constantly dealing with successive waves of new-immigrant pupils not all of whom are from the same countries of origin. Schools are chartered to perform the feat of producing graduates who are all equally capable of taking full responsibility for themselves, the way of life they choose in adulthood, and for carrying out the duties of citizenship. Each group is assessed as to whether they integrate into the collective in a manner that is politically legitimate.

The complex of ideals introduces additional conceptual complications in the Yishuv as well. Although a 'Jewish' state was conceived of as the long desired homeland for a people that has been persecuted throughout the centuries, the political establishment has to face the problematic of what version of Jewishness is the determining one. Before the foundation of the state, the Zionist movement succeeded in attracting a section of religious Zionists who could accept the principles of socialism and pioneering. This was especially important to furthering the cause because a majority of the movements' members sided with a conception of Jewishness as a 'culture', with emphasis on the Hebrew language, a shared history, and folk customs. This interpretation is the basis for what is called secular Judaism today. Since the foundation of the state, the tensions between those who insist that Judaism is first and foremost a religion and those who stress the political and cultural qualities of the nation-state have sharpened. When an aspect of religion is invoked to provide guidelines for the educational system, there are bitter contests on issues that signal differences between religious

orientations. The differences between the ultra-orthodox, Zionist orthodox, conservative, reformed, reconstructionist, and the several different humanistic versions of Judaism have not been bridged. For the time being only the orthodox and ultra-orthodox versions of religion are officially recognized by the state and this affects the apportionment of funds to schooling, teacher training and teacher employment, as well as deciding on significant elements of the curriculum as in extracurricular activities.

An additional dimension is that of organization. The conceptualization of Israel as a nation-state expressed a self-imposed obligation to carrying out tasks of nation-building, of forging a solidary citizenry. At the same time, this model was a means of reinforcing the notion that Arab citizens of Israel can legitimately be excluded from key national privileges (see ruling of the High Court of Justice in relation to Kaadan).[11] In organization and administration, the Israeli system of education was highly centralized from its inception. Centralization was touted as the best way to ensure consistent standards and to foster high achievement among all the student populations in the country – Arab and Jewish, veteran and new, as well as to build a nation-state. In terms of the actors involved, this was an attempt to impose complete government control over education. Schools are accountable to a Minister and the officials of the Ministry of Education, a highly intricate bureaucratic structure. Officials appointed to different departments and sub-departments of the Ministry, are assigned to deal with specific areas of the educational project (see Appendix F).

Despite the presumption that centralization and control make for efficiency, education has consistently been the site of civic discontent and disappointment. Universities complain about the low standards of secondary school graduates. Recent scores of Israeli pupils on international examinations of reading and of mathematics point up the acute problems of the school system in an era when Israel is called upon to adjust to a new political order in the region, and schools are required to meet challenges of the revolution of a technological information society (see Rally Sa'ar, *Ha'aretz,* 4/VI/2003, pp. A1, A14; 16/VI/2003, pp. A1, A15). There is unrest among the Palestinian Israelis, who protest inadequate funding of local educational projects and the imposition of curricula that do not meet their needs. Moreover, intellectuals who defend the purposes of the centralized school system lament what they perceive as the lack of national solidarity, and a persistent record of failure in regard to promoting

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[11] In 2000, when Mr. And Mrs. Kaadan, an Arab family, attempted to acquire rights to build a home on state land in a Jewish village, their request was refused. Despite a ruling by the HCJ that the refusal was unconstitutional, the village authorities found ways to avoid action. In 2003 the purchase was still not completed (*Ha'aretz,* September 17, 2003, p. B3).

egalitarianism.

In short, fifty years after Israel instituted state intervention to ensure education for all the children who reside within its borders, findings demonstrate that few of the envisioned goals for the educational system have been, or are being, accomplished. There are then several key questions, both practical and theoretical. Practical questions include the puzzle of *how* this gap actually comes into being, and what forms it takes. A further issue is why it emerges and whether it is inevitable. Hence, the theoretical challenge of the entire project depends on finding a feasible way to describe and explain the gap between proclaimed goals and achievements. In the framework of this book, we assume that by pursuing a comprehensive description of the practical aspects of education in Israel we are moving toward a viable explanation of these intricately related phenomena and a theoretical grasp of their impact on egalitarianism in education.

The need to grapple satisfactorily with problems of educating immigrants and minorities in state education systems is not unique to Israel. In the next chapter I will sketch some of the solutions that have been proposed in different social (geographical and historical) contexts.

Chapter 2

# EDUCATION FOR IMMIGRANTS AND MINORITIES IN THE WORLD

Literature on education for immigrants and minorities in various parts of the world offers clues to the issues that every state system of education has to confront in attempts to provide schooling. The following sketch will provide a framework for placing the analysis of Israeli education for immigrants and minorities in the perspective of tools that states have at hand *(agency).* In the first part of the chapter, I will sketch some difficulties that multicultural societies perceive in organizing education. In the second part I will survey different approaches to multicultural education as they have been applied in the United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, and the United States of America.

The central concern of this volume, education for children from indigenous minority groups and children of immigrants, is an issue that arises in two distinct, but not completely independent contexts. One context is that of series of international decisions on the location of boundaries between states — decisions in which the distribution of groups from different cultures within proposed borders did not always necessarily receive the attention it required. Another context is that of constantly rising levels of international, i.e., interstate migration. Whereas in the past, immigrants constituted a relatively small proportion of the population in developed countries except in those, such as the USA and Australia, that were initially defined as settlement countries or countries of immigration; the situation has been changing radically during the twentieth and into the twenty-first century. According to Entzinger (2000, p. 2), "between 1965 and 2000, the number of people who live outside the country where they were born has doubled from 75 to 150 million". True, this number represents only about one per cent of the world population, but it is awe-inspiring because of the speed of the transformation.

# 1.    STATES, MAJORITIES/MINORITIES, AND SCHOOLING

Although there are states (Germany, Japan, Lithuania) that define themselves as mono-ethnic or mono-cultural, fewer than twenty states in the modern world are actually homogeneous, and in only half of these can an ethnic group be found that constitutes as much as 75 percent of the population. All told, the states that are homogeneous make up about five percent of the world population (Barber, 1996, p. 9). In a word, there is practically no state whose population does not include minorities perceived to be 'different'. This historically generated phenomenon expanded since the nineteenth century when Europe was divided into political and cultural conglomerates that constituted empires. Borders drawn after World War I remade the sprawling domains into series of small states roughly defined by nationality. Despite the outer show of following a principle of "self-determination", the inner reality was that in every country there remained pockets of national groups that were not of "the same" ethnic group. Revisions instituted after World War II did not change that picture. Furthermore, during the twentieth century, the decolonization of Africa and Asia led to border — definitions that outlined almost fifty new states, each with populations that were essentially multinational. In practice, state enterprises create minority statuses. The introduction of state school systems necessitates decrees on language(s) of instruction, curricula, teacher preparation, cultures of administration, and pedagogies. The complex of administrative and substantive regulations necessary for maintaining education necessarily classifies groups as allied with the dominant majority or with the subordinate minorities. This division is not necessarily made on the basis of numbers, but it usually has the consequence of determining scholastic ranking and, further, post-schooling social status.

An interesting exception can be found in Soviet education. In the Former Soviet Union, the centralization of Communist power in the Russian Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) meant that the Russians could dictate the nature of education in all parts of the Union. Since they proclaimed a commitment to pluralism, the Russians agreed to schooling in indigenous languages in all the republics. But they also imposed the teaching of Russian in all schools and fostered its adoption as the lingua franca (Grant, 1987). In the long run, these educational policies did not prevent minority groups, whether defined by religion or by ethno-linguistic affiliation, from achieving educational success greater than that of the Russians themselves. In 1980, for example, forty percent of the Jews, 10.5 percent of the Georgians, and 7.5 percent of the Armenians held academic credentials, by contrast with only 5.9 percent for the Russians (Kravetz, 1980). This, however, does not represent the

situation that prevails in the education of minorities in most parts of the world. This is usually a tale of deprivation, if not of degradation.

From research in the field of comparative education, we learn that in many areas of the world there is a remarkable consistency in the types of groups that are taken to be minorities and consequently are deprived of a good education. These include children in rural areas, born into impoverished families, indigenous minorities, and women, as well as diversely categorized immigrants. In most cases there are efforts at remedying the deprivation.

Across the world, impoverished children in rural areas are relegated to minority status. According to the UNESCO (1993) report, *Education for all: Status and trends,* they are marginalized in regard to schooling in that they do not have equality of access (probability of getting into the school system or some particular level of it), equality of [school] survival (probability of completing the cycle of primary, secondary, and tertiary education), equality of output (probability of learning content similar to that learnt by the dominant groups), or equality of outcome (probability that children from various social groupings will live similar lives) (Farrell, 1999, p. 159).

One example of inequality of access is Thailand where over fifty percent of urban children had access to preprimary education while only 28.8 percent of the rural children had had that opportunity. Further on, consequences of the disparities are evident in the gaps in achievement, as measured by examinations in mathematics and in language (Zhixin Su, 1999, p. 338). Similar trends are discernible in the Middle East where early childhood programs are accessible chiefly to urban families (Christina, Mehran & Mir, 1999, p. 354).[12] "To improve educational opportunities for the rural population" becomes an explicit goal of education in places of this kind, and that is true of education in El Salvador as well (Ruiz-Esparza, 1988, p. 249).

Other groups, defined as minorities, also suffer from inequity when measured by access, survival, and output. Writing about education throughout Latin America, Amove, Franz, Mollis, and Torres (1999, p. 310-311) assert unconditionally that "Indigenous populations or 'first peoples' are the populations most discriminated against with regard to access to educational services for two reasons. First, they are commonly located in the most impoverished and underdeveloped regions of their countries and,

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[12] In this article, the authors explain that the term "Middle East" is used "to refer to the twenty-one members of the League of Arab States (Algeria, Bahrain, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine [West Bank and Gaza Strip (sic!)], Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen — and to the non-Arab countries of Iran and Turkey" (Christina, Mehran & Mir, 1999, p. 346).

second, the language of instruction is invariably Spanish (Portuguese in Brazil)" rather than their mother languages. Bolivia, Peru, and Guatemala, have the largest indigenous populations in Latin America and predictably the highest rates of illiteracy. Furthermore even in countries where there is a relatively low overall rate of illiteracy, the rate among the indigenous "natives" is much higher. In Peru, for example, overall illiteracy is about 12%, but the rate among the indigenous groups in that country is 63 %. Similar findings are reported about indigenous Tibetans in China and about indigenous Malay and Indian minorities in Singapore (Zhixin Su, 1999, p. 340, p. 336).

There have been attempts at remedying the deprivation by attending to problems of language. On the assumption that there is not only cultural, but also psychological value in preserving the school child's mother tongue, issues in the education of indigenous minorities have, in some countries, been reduced to a concern with the languages of instruction. Thus, in Singapore, pupils are required to be bilingual, and minority children can study some subjects in their mother tongues, Mandarin, or Malay (Thomas, 1988, p. 595). Similarly in Peru, there are efforts to have instruction in both Spanish and in the Quechua Indian language, a language that is spoken by several million Peruvians — 2.6 million in 1961. To this end an alphabet was compiled and materials were produced (Krugmeier, 1988, p. 534). Rwandan education in the 1980s continued to be conducted in French, the language used by the colonial Belgians; but materials were also developed in a Bantu language, Kinyarwanda, in the hope that this could be a lingua franca (Brady, 1988, p. 578). Measures of this kind were not feasible in every country. The educational system in Papua New Guinea, with a population of about three million, is challenged by "a [cultural] heterogeneity of group identities unmatched by any other nation in the world." Distinguished by marked differences in appearance, the many ethnic types of the young state represent 738 distinct languages or dialects (McNamara, 1988, p. 542). For the most part the government has had no alternative but to insist on studies in English.

By contrast, Tunisia enacted laws to the effect that Arabic should be the only language of instruction beginning with the school year, 1977-78, and allowed ten hours per week of instruction in French beginning in Grade Four. Despite efforts to hasten the Arabization of all secondary school subjects, it was found necessary to equip pupils with the Fench terminology required in many subjects that could "not ... be Arabized in the immediate future" (Tibi, 1988, p. 675).

Across different continents, women are probably the most deprived indigenous minority. An equity index elaborated by UNESCO shows that, except in Latin America and the Caribbean, girls and women have

significantly less access to education throughout the educational cycle (Stromquist, 1999, p. 186). Christina, Mehran and Mir (1999, p. 354) note that "When reviewing [educational] services for birth to age six, the [gender] imbalance is 70 percent in favor of males" in the Middle East. Repeating grades is prevalent among girls in Jordan and in Mauritania. As many as 28 percent of the girls drop out of schools up to Grade 4 in Yemen. In tertiary education women constitute only 16 percent of the student body in Mauritania and 17 percent in Yemen (Christina, Mehran & Mir, 1999, p. 357). Popular programs of adult education in Latin America, notably Brazil, are designed to help women overcome their deprivation. These programs relate to discriminatory practices in the labor market, domestic violence, inheritance and family law. Using principles formulated by Freire, some programs attempt to empower women through "conscientization," stirring people's political awareness through helping them recognize the relevance of political struggles to their own experience (Arnove, Franz, Mollis, and Torres, 1999, p. 321). In Asia, the literacy rates for women are about half those for men (Zhixin Su, 1999, p. 330) and the ratios of women's enrollment in schools at every level are consistently lower than those of men in all the countries of Asia, prosperous or poor (ibid.). Adult illiteracy is high in Afghanistan (68.5%), Bangladesh (61.9%), Nepal (72.5%), and Pakistan (62.2%). Of these women's illiteracy constitutes between 74% and 86% (ibid., p. 332). In the Arab states of the Middle East, the overall rate of illiteracy is 42%, but two thirds of these are women (Christina, Mehran & Mir, 1999, p. 349).

In this connection, remedial steps worthy of note were taken only in Malaysia. There the policy of affirmative action adopted during the 1980s, has reversed the trend. In the 1990s it was already found that while 59% of the girls attended school, only 52% of the boys did so. Research on the content and experience of schooling has found that although textbooks do not make derogatory sexist assertions, women are represented reductively both in terms of personality and in terms of potential roles. In Mexico, for example, girls were presented as unfit for tasks that require "masculine force" as well as for roles as school leaders (Stromquist, 1999, p. 190-191). There are numerous declarations of good intentions that were adopted during the 1990s. Among them the conclusions drawn up at World Conferences on Women in Nairobi in 1985, in Beijing in 1995, as well as at the International Conference on Assistance to the African Child in 1992, the Pan-African Conference on the Education of Girls in 1993, the "Education for All" Declaration in Jomtien in 1990, and several regional conferences in Africa. Still, deliberate organized intervention by the states in different parts of the world is far from extensive and often relies on support from private donors (Stromquist, 1999, pp. 196-197).

In addition to the need to eradicate the deprivation suffered by the types of groups cited so far, educational institutions are called upon to provide for the minorities that have formed in many of the more prosperous states through the on-going pressures of immigration.

## 2.    IMMIGRANT MINORITIES

If only because of the development of relatively inexpensive means of transportation, migration is, as noted above, steadily on the rise (Castles & Miller, 1993). With the economic boom that followed World War II many European states were interested in receiving a limited number of refugees and asylum seekers; and in inducting temporary workers. The latter often decided to stay in the receiving country and to bring their families. This was an unexpected development. According to Zolberg (2000, pp. 62-63), the immigration of workers remains economically desirable for capitalists because the competition enables them to lower wages. From a social point of view, however, as Zolberg notes, groups of temporary-workers-turned-permanent-settlers constitute a "political and cultural presence" that has unpredictable impact on social cohesiveness and on the public agenda. With the general recession that began in the 1980s, many states have deliberately instituted measures to limit immigration.

Understandably, the tide has not been stemmed. When people come to the conclusion that their economic, political, or social situation can be improved in another state, they seek recourse to migration. Their decisions, however, have to come to terms with the demands of the state they want to leave and the state they want to enter. Many states forbid emigration or limit it stringently. Until 1989, leaving the USSR and other countries of the Eastern Bloc meant risking death. Since the revolution of 1974, Ethiopia has evidenced great sensitivity to the emigration of large groups. Conditions set by receiving countries for accepting immigrants vary from welcome on the basis of interests to strict rejection and these have to be considered by migrants when they choose their target state.

In a word, despite the power asymmetry of the parties, it is useful overall to look at migration as a phenomenon that depends on negotiation, covert as it may be, on several levels. On the one hand, the potential for migration is the outcome of class relationships and political circumstances in the country of origin. On the other hand, the likelihood of admittance depends on the economic and political interests of the desired host. The connections are particularly clear in the steady increase in the burgeoning migration of workers. According to Portes & Borocz (1996, p. 161), "physical coercion, economic inducement and gradual transformation of cultural patterns —

form part of the progression .... [that has] increase[d] the supply of pliable labor while decreasing its costs. The process has reached its culmination today when labor migrants assume the initiative and the full costs of the journey. … From the point of view of the population of less developed countries, labor migration [is] a viable solution to their own societies' immediately perceptible internal imbalances." Because migrants are embedded in social networks, emigration often continues even when the situation has changed for the better. Migration is interpreted as "a means of survival and a vehicle for social integration and economic mobility" (Portes & Borocz, 1996, p. 164).

In the receiving states, incorporation of migrants has many guises. In some cases, admittance is dependent on conditions of exit. There is a sharp distinction between migrants whose emigration is understood to be the outcome of rational choice and migrants forced to flee because of political upheaval. The latter are recognized as refugees — and as such make known that return to the country of origin is blocked (Zolberg, Suhrke & Aguayo, 1986). Acceptance by the host country is also differentiated according to class origins. Characteristically there is a differentiation according as the migrants are manual laborers, technicians and professionals, or potential entrepreneurs. Depending on the host state, migrants may be received as candidates only for menial types of work; some may be permitted to choose their niches and allowed to fend for themselves in any way they can. In still other cases, immigrants may enjoy active encouragement and legal aid to realize their goals within the frameworks available in the receiving state.

Immigration depends, therefore, on how immigrants' origins are defined and how the economic and political constraints of the host state classify them. Among the crucial definitions are the probabilities of authorization for long-term residence and of opportunities for naturalization, and those offering residence only for the short-term. In a word, the state decides on which immigrants to admit, in what status, carrying what benefits, and thus, in fact, on the speed and nature of immigrants' incorporation into the host society.

From the immigrants' point of view, migration is a personal decision and the desires of immigrants are in play throughout. Research has shown that opportunities for more rewarding employment and for access to better education for oneself or for one's children are the salient reasons for migrating. Under these circumstances, systems of education are a crucial juncture. In educational institutions, immigrant children and their families are to reap the benefits of their displacement. Basically, the interests of immigrants are similar to those of minority groups. Distinctions between pupils who belong to minority groups, and pupils who are the children of immigrants are rarely made in either the professional or the research

literature. In educational institutions, minority children are meant to obtain the kinds of learning that will enable them to participate fully in the majority society. The literature shows that these aims are unproblematic when formulated as general professional objectives (Eden & Kalekin-Fishman, 2002). How they are construed and how applied, however, depend on the interaction of professional perceptions and the socio-economic-political framework in which educationists work out how to deal with children whose backgrounds are diverse. This interaction has panned out very differently in different historical periods and in different countries. In the following we will cite types of interactions and reactions that have been studied with a few examples.

## 3.    OVERCOMING DISCRIMINATION AND DEPRIVATION

One of the reasons frequently cited for the deprivation of minority groups is the inadequate preparation of teachers for dealing with a multicultural population. A large-scale research project of the International Bureau of Education of UNESCO, therefore, undertook to examine how teacher education can integrate training toward (as the model puts it) multiculturalism/interculturalism (Gagliardi, 1994).[13] The reports highlight the fact that there are deprived minority groups among all of the project's participants (Bolivia, Czech Republic, Jordan, Lebanon, Mauritius, Mexico, Pakistan, Poland, Senegal, and Tunis). In almost all the cases, education was found to be mono-cultural with homogeneous educational objectives for the entire population. The object of the research reports from the various countries was, therefore, to outline the basic steps needed to introduce a recognition of the presence of multiculturalism and a determination to do something about it. At the time of the project, the object of inculcating a multicultural consciousness took on rudimentary forms in most of the countries involved. In Poland, for example, neither in schools nor in universities was there recognition of the Ukrainian, Belorussian, or German minorities as groups that required any special attention (Janowski, 1994). The educational system in Lebanon is described as "a series of pedagogical islands connected by the official diploma" with private schools of different denominations or factions each carrying out instruction according to their own lights (Constantine, 1994, p. 46). Researchers from the Czech Republic reported on the initiation of courses of study in one or two universities to

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[13] The entire project was "Basic education for participation and democracy: Key issues in human resources development (teacher training and multicultural/ intercultural education)."

equip educators with knowledge about Romany culture, and skills to help the Romany children make progress (Kotasek & Ruzicka, 1994). In Mauritius, the researchers accept the theory that limited space has forced the different communities to tolerate one another. Thus, the principle of equity can be applied to curriculum content and school norms, values, and standards. In practice, "minority ethnic children [Muslim, 16.6%; Chinese, 13%; and Francophone, 29%] are not required to study those subjects or participate in those activities that are against their religious beliefs, alienate them from their ancestral origin or create a gulf between themselves and their parents" (Guruvadoo, Kalla, Thancanamootoo & Veerapen, 1994, p. 9). Yet teacher trainers were found not to have the knowledge or the attitudes that could promise success for a multicultural teacher education program (Guruvadoo, Kalla, Thancanamootoo & Veerapen, 1994, p. 42). As the coordinator of the project, Gagliardi (1994) presents a comprehensive model for ensuring a truly multicultural orientation — one that requires far-reaching changes in all the participating countries.

   In dealing with school systems that have adopted an explicit orientation to the presence of children who are either from "other" minority cultures or were born abroad, Figueroa (1995, p. 779) asserts that it is possible to discern six distinct approaches. Abstracting from policy documents and documented practices, he names them as follows: laissez-faire, assimilationist, integrationist, multicultural/pluralist, antiracist, or multicultural and antiracist. These approaches are abstracted from diverse measures designed to enforce policy at different times, among them 'color-blind' education, compensatory education, education for the disadvantaged, ethnic minority education, and so on. Although the approaches indicate a kind of evolution, in practice, the policies adopted for teaching immigrant children and minority children cannot be delineated as a chronological progression.

   The *laissez-faire approach* indicates that schools have a mandate to continue "as they were" on the assumption of a principle of universalism, that is to say that modes of schooling and their content can be defined for all, and with the understanding that the children of immigrants and the children of indigenous minorities will be able to meet the requirements presented by school studies if they apply themselves. Until the twentieth century, this presumably benign disregard of difference was the overt ethos of schools in the USA, as in England, Australia and Canada. In Australia there was no discussion of immigrants' education until well after World War II, when successive waves of immigration turned Australia into the most ethnically varied nation in the world. To this day, Australia has a higher proportion of residents born overseas than any country except Israel (Allan & Hill, 1995, p. 764). In the framework of the laissez-faire approach, when immigrant

children did not do well at school, their failures were explained by the depravity of their neighborhood surroundings, by poverty, crime, social disorganization, foreign habits and by the threat of Catholicism in the United States of America, or of Islam in Australia. Stressing a kind of pan-Protestant ideology of unity, obedience, restraint, self-sacrifice, schools appealed to lower class immigrant children to be "just like us".

The alternative to laissez-faire can be defined as an active *assimilationism,* according to which "Schools [are] intended to serve as culture factories in which polyglot populations [are] to be homogenized" (Schultz, 1973). Expressing concern with national identity and social cohesion, American schools adopted programs for immigrants that taught middle-class manners, diet and food preparation, as well as values, logics, sensibilities (Olneck, 1995, p. 311). In Germany and in England, assimilation was promoted by provision for learning the lingua franca of the state, in special preparatory classes, and betimes by withdrawing children from their classrooms for periods of time from 30 minutes per day to two hours (Figueroa, 1995, p. 782). Relying on a special syllabus and distinctive textbooks, German schools deployed pedagogy for immigrants and minorities that was based on methods used in special education (Hoff, 1995, p. 825). As in Germany, USA and UK education policies stressed the acquisition of the state's language as the key to full participation in the culture.

In Australia, the 1901 Immigration Act that institutionalized xenophobia, i.e., preference for white Anglo-Saxon immigrants, heralded an assimilationist and ethno-centric government policy. The principles guiding education were derived from the ideology of settlement. According to Allan and Hill (1995, p.766), the government acted on the assumption that immigrants were fortunate to have come to a country as democratic, individualistic, free of class prejudice, generous and open-minded, as Australia. Thus, it was clear to the authorities that success in assimilating to Australian society depends not on government policies but on the good will of individuals, veteran Australians and new immigrants alike. Consequently, the government could assert that special privileges for immigrants would actually work against smooth incorporation into the Australian collectivity.

*Integrationism* was heralded as a new approach in England by the Minister of Education, Roy Jenkins, in 1966. Actually describing a form of absorption, he announced that education for integration was to be carried out "not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance" (Figueroa, 1995, p. 783). This announcement of what was presumed to be a new kind of consciousness was not accompanied by extensive change in the actual workings of the state or of the procedures in the schools. The

perception emphasized was that immigrants have, or give rise to, problems. To avoid trouble, the state could take steps, such as, for example, placing limitations on the admission of Kenyan Asians, i.e., on people who were officially British citizens and held British passports, but were black (Figueroa, 1995, p. 784). Similarly, in the USA, integrationist approaches were signaled by providing channels of differentiation. Integrating the less desirable immigrant groups in vocational secondary education, for example, was an effort to resolve tensions between coercion and beneficence (Olneck, 1995, p. 313). Thus, despite small differences in rhetoric, policies that underlay the design of programs for immigrant pupils and children of minority groups, the overarching objective was assimilationist.

## 4.    MULTICULTURALISM, PLURALISM, ANTIRACISM

A new educational idiom became standard during the second half of the twentieth century. In Australia, the Federal Immigration Education Act of 1971 (replacing the legislation of 1901) gave the federal government the power to intervene in state legislation and a reformist Labor government introduced sweeping multicultural initiatives. Taking the stand that special services and programs were needed to ensure equality of access to resources for immigrants and the realization of every individual's potential, the Fraser government proclaimed that "every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage, and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures" (Allan & Hill, 1995, p. 766). The Minister of Education sought to emphasize that "We are not talking about 'migrant' children. We are talking about Australian children of many different backgrounds. Certainly it is irrelevant to talk about migrant education. What we are really talking about is education of all children to fit them for a life in a multicultural and polyethnic society" (A. J. Grassby, 1979, quoted in Allan & Hill, 1995, p. 768).

In Great Britain, there was a change from declarations in favor of outright assimilation to a recognition of pluralism during the 1970s as well. In the wake of patterns of low achievement among immigrant children, the 1975 Bullock Report asserted that "no child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold … The curriculum should reflect many elements of his life outside schools … [B]ilingualism is an asset." For the first time, there was official recognition of the multiracial complexion of British society and of the fact that there must be deliberate measures of inclusion to benefit from the minority cultures in Britain and from cultures of the Third World (Figueroa, 1995, p.

788).

The 1965 Immigration Reform Act in the USA shows how hesitant was the move from pressing immigrant children into a uniform mold toward a pluralist approach. "Official educational policy assumes that the limited recognition and incorporation of minority cultural and linguistic repertoires is an appropriate and perhaps necessary means to assure students that they are respected and that they belong, and to facilitate levels of linguistic and subject-matter comprehension adequate to participation in regular classrooms" (Olneck, 1995, p. 314). The important point is that there is a connection between respect for the child's culture and the probability of success at school. Still, policy documents emphasize that the insertion of multicultural elements has to be "limited".

The Canadian Official Languages Act of 1969 gave a concrete meaning to pluralism in that both French and English are allotted the status of official languages of the Canadian Parliament and the government. Although this was promulgated as an important step toward the recognition of all cultural groups and as a blow to Anglo-assimilationism, the French Canadians and the First Nations saw the law as a neutralization of their special claims, among others, the land claims of the aborigines (Moodley, 1995, p. 802). In applying the policy, Canadian educational systems have followed three main models. Ethnic specific programs emphasize the preservation and development of group cultures to counteract assimilation by increasing knowledge and understanding of each individual's ethno-cultural heritage. Problem-oriented programs include proactive programs, such as curricula for English as a Second Language (ESL), to help immigrants adjust to Canadian society, as well as reactive programs that clarify responses to racism and other forms of inequality. Finally cultural or intercultural programs were designed to promote an ethos based on values of access and shared ownership, so that immigrant children and children of minorities will be enabled to enhance their self-esteem, transcend cultural barriers, develop appropriate bicultural skills to function in a culturally plural context (McLeod, quoted in Moodley, 1995, p. 809).

Yet, as the research shows, federal policy has had little meaning beyond that of a pious declaration. The test is in the provincial responses to cultural diversity and there are many differences among the various Canadian provinces. Programs to impart official languages, to preserve home languages, to retain cultural practices have been developed in different ways in Vancouver, in Ontario (especially in Toronto), and in the state of Alberta. In each province there are wide differences between the kinds of projects carried out in urban and in rural environments (Moodley, 1995, p. 810). For fear that no region would pay adequate attention to children of the First Nations, there is federal funding for alternative programs for them

(Moodley, 1995, p. 811).

A description of developments toward multiculturalism in the United Kingdom has to relate to the issues on two levels: experiences in the community and the national policy. In areas where there was a concentration of former colonials and immigrants from the Caribbean and from Asia, the underachieving schools caused a good deal of agitation. In deprived communities — areas where the schools were poor and the available jobs were low status — residents demanded equity and saw education as the road to equality of opportunity in the work place. To achieve an equalization of outcomes in terms of pupil achievement, the Thatcher government promulgated a National Curriculum and a standardization of school teaching and learning. In this framework, "multicultural issues ... with some references to 'prejudice,' 'discrimination,' 'ethnic origin,' and 'race' — are treated as matters to be dealt with in every area of study. According to Figueroa (1995, p. 793), "since the national curriculum is strongly organized by subject, these issues tend to receive only marginal attention" (Figueroa, 1995, p. 793).

In Australia, hyphenated schools (Italian-Australian, Greek-Australian) were set up as a bow to multiculturalism. It was found, however, that the implementation was tokenistic with an emphasis on externalities. Teachers were not equipped with the knowledge that would make it possible for them to give adequate instructional attention to ideas, values, patterns of behavior from different cultures. Thus, the implementation of a multicultural curriculum across the country was unsystematic. Most important in the eyes of critics was the fact that the emphasis on culture ignored evidence of racialism in Australia (Allan & Hill, 1995, p. 769).

By contrast with the efforts made in Canada, in the United Kingdom, and in Australia, Germany has proposed multiculturalist programs only sporadically. Above all, the term multiculturalism is identified with helping immigrants acquire a good command of German so as to fit into the work force. Textbooks for teaching German as a Second Language were developed only after many experiences of failure among the immigrant children. There are some educational initiatives that attempt to build courses of study based on respecting difference. The Institute for Third World Studies in Berlin, for example, organizes work camps and excursions for student teachers to the countries of origin of many workers in Germany, among them, Turkey, Nicaragua, Brazil, and the Philippines (Hoff, 1995, p. 829). The meager German efforts at designing fully multicultural programs can be understood as an expression of Germany's self-definition as a country of non-immigration. Large numbers of workers from foreign countries, who were invited as a temporary stopgap for labor shortages, have become long-term residents. Recent changes in their legal status (permission to participate

in municipal elections) have not yet had a far-reaching effect on educational policy.

Effects of policies presumed to be multicultural have been studied extensively in the USA, where the federal government sets general guidelines, but elaboration is left to the local authorities and the professionals in their domain. Accordingly, the inputs are quite diverse. It is not clear, however, whether that is the reason why children of different minority/immigrant groups adjust to schooling in different ways and vary widely in their accomplishments. Among first generation Jews, achievement was found to be much higher than predicted by class. Children from the Far East, notably the children of Chinese shopkeepers have been found to be the highest achievers of all. By contrast, among Mexicans, educational attainment has been found to be low by comparison with their class status, even for the second generation. In general, despite the successes, pupils who were actually born abroad suffer a serious disadvantage in American schools (Olneck, 1995, pp. 321-322). These findings have spurred researchers to studies of what types of barriers prevent school success. These have been located in local school cultures, intergroup perceptions, in tacit and explicit pedagogical, curricular, and administrative practices (Olneck, 1995, p. 316). In addition, there are indications that the concerns of the family have significant impact on minority children's school performance. Schooling is likely to have very different meanings to immigrants and to their children's educators. While immigrant parents see schooling as the key to realizing economic success, educators are likely to interpret the school's contribution to children's development as one of helping them to construct a viable national identity (Olneck, 1995, p. 318). Salient differences come into play in the education of girls. Girls who come from Hmong, Sikh, and Portuguese groups are pursued by the community concern that they may not be learning how to be good home-makers. Girl students whose origin is in Ethiopia have to cope with the derision of Ethiopian males (Olneck, 1995, p. 317).

Outright differences are likely to arise between home and school in regard to pedagogies. While policy-makers attempt to work out novel ways to a progressive pedagogy, "What most minority parents want for their children is not condescending teaching of fragmented, diluted versions of their culture .... They expect committed, demanding teaching aimed at the mastery of basic skills and the success in English, math, and science required to survive in the new home country" (Moodley, 1995, p. 817).

In a word, the evolution of educational policy from assimilation to integration to pluralism and multicultural education could not fulfill the urge to equality, equity and empowerment that is the motor for improvement in the education of migrant and minority children. One response has been the movement of anti-racist education, a movement based on the conception that

what unites all groups, regardless of origin, is above all their common exposure to manifold discrimination and their common experience as outsiders. In the UK the drive to antiracist education was initiated by teachers organized in the All London Teachers against Racism and Fascism (ALTARF) in the 1980s. Bradford was the first Local Education Authority to run a Racism Awareness Workshop for teachers (Figueroa, 1995, p. 791). In Canada anti-racist education has been developed as a project through which levels of individual and group consciousness are raised. The key is developing critical thinking to grasp and question the rationality of dominance and inequality. By inviting community intervention, while structuring the curriculum on appropriate literature, oral histories, music, poetry, art, and by maximizing the importance of children's lived experience as 'school knowledge,' antiracist educators are committed to making changes (Moodley, 1995, p. 812).

*Antiracism* is a response to the blatant failure of apparently well-meaning policies to make a significant difference in tangible school performance. This is a consciously political approach to differences among groups in the schools. As Mullard (1982) explains, while assimilationist and integrationist education focus on race as a structural phenomenon, and pluralist (multicultural or multiethnic) education focuses on race as a cultural phenomenon, antiracist education focuses on both structure and culture. The object of antiracist education is *justice,* a reconstructed structural-cultural order in which "specific educational relations of social liberation and change as opposed to ... control are developed" (Mullard, 1982, p. 130). This explanation is analogous to the claims of the Australians, Kalantzis , Cope, Noble & Poynting (1990), who, as researchers and curriculum theorists, argue for effecting antiracism through a curriculum that explicitly combines instruction in multiculturalism and promotes social equity.

Despite the different terminology, Banks (1981, p. 57) argues for antiracism when he develops a program of practice in 'multiethnic education'. In order "to help reduce ethnic isolation and encapsulation," Banks discusses the reduction of discrimination against "victimized ethnic groups" while providing "all students [with] equal educational opportunities". In his view, this kind of education has to be effected not only through curriculum changes, but rather through modifying "the total school environment to make it more reflective of the ethnic diversity within American society". He does not shrink from itemizing needed reforms, among them: staffs attitudes, the testing program, counseling, power relationships, and grouping practices. He proposes revisions of teaching and learning styles, of curricula and instructional materials thoroughly imbued with a 'multiethnic' orientation, community participation, as well as a scrupulous refurbishment of school policies (Banks, 1981, p. 34; Banks,

1995).

Although in the 1990s, antiracism appeared to promise the ultimate resolution of the tensions introduced into the schools by the sweeping social changes of the century, this movement, like its predecessors, has met with strong criticism. A possible explanation is the fact that doing education is such a complex social action that no change in philosophy or even in policy can be carried out by the highly diverse staffs of teachers across schools and communities.
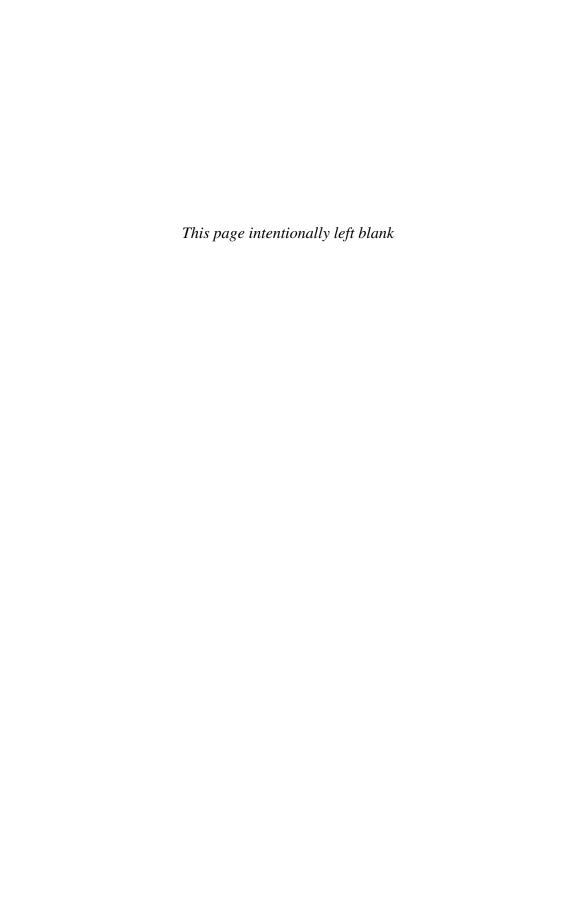
As Banks (1981, p. 73) sees it, the greatest hindrance to achieving the multiethnic reform is the prevailing ideology of schooling whether assimilationist, multicultural, or laissez-faire ideology. He theorizes that it would be possible to reach the goals of antiracist/multiethnic education if schools were capable of relating to the 'variables' that facilitate or hinder cross-cultural understandings. He cites levels of understanding and performing "language and dialects ... nonverbal behavior ... cultural elements (foods, art forms, music, and so on) ... perspectives and world views ... behavioral styles and nuances .... ethnic values ... methods of reasoning and validating knowledge" as keys to effective multiethnic education. To understand each set of variables, and to be able to perform them across cultures, teachers must constantly study, practice, reflect, discuss, and revise their professional practices so as to accomplish the change that it is patently necessary to effect throughout the school (1981, p. 56).

Ogbu explains differential educational outcomes as consequent upon minorities' social locations and modes of incorporation. In his view, these affect consciousness in ways that affect the ability of different types of groups to integrate into the work force, and that of children to learn effectively. Placement in the social structure is crucial as an enabling mechanism, and unfortunately both immigrants and indigenous minorities rarely have the privilege of an opportune site. Beyond what is done to them, minorities differ from one another in their cultural resources. Ogbu distinguishes between "voluntary" and "involuntary" minorities. "Voluntary minorities", have a palpable advantage because, having chosen to undertake immigration, immigrants are equipped with beliefs, practices, and values that derive from their pre-migration pasts even as they attempt to understand the new milieu. These enable a "dual frame of reference" that can overcome perceived and substantial majority hostility. Voluntary minorities can embrace opportunity without compromising their identities. The social situation of involuntary minorities, on the other hand, fosters oppositional identities. Groups that were conquered or transported without their consent, such as the Blacks in the USA, the Native Americans and the aborigines of Canada, hold beliefs, practices, and values formed in response to historical

oppression and exploitation. Holding to pessimistic folk theories, involuntary minorities tend to withdraw from active self-improvement, and this has a wide-ranging effect on children's performance in schools.

# 5. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE WORK AT HAND

The material cited in this chapter raises questions about whether any state system may be able to achieve the goals of equity and egalitarianism through education. In analyzing the Israeli system of education and how it serves children from different social groups, it will be of interest to note how immigrants and minorities are incorporated in the social structure, what policies are recorded, how the policies are implemented at different levels of the educational system, to what extent the variables that differ from culture to culture are considered, and what the outcomes are in terms of performance and achievements. Since in Israel, there is a diversity of social groups, it is possible to examine the viability of Ogbu's distinction between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' minorities as well. As noted in relation to measures adopted in various countries, however, the basis for educational action is to be found in the broader issue of the state ideology. Most researchers in the field of multicultural/pluralistic/antiracist education seem to relate to 'ideology' as a general declaration of intent that can be taken at face value. In this work, it is our plan to problematize the concept of ideology and, by following through on the application of official ideological perspectives on education, to assess what theoretical approach to ideology can be shown to be valid, when viewed in light of its application to education.

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# Chapter 3

# IDEOLOGY: THEORETICAL CONCERNS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

This chapter is devoted to a brief overview of how ideology is discussed in analytical literature. Each of the conceptualizations has implications for a perspective on the *purpose* of schooling.

The term 'ideology' has a history of more than two hundred years, and a rather involved set of characterizations. Definitions range from those that are descriptive to those that are explicitly judgmental. In short, views of ideology can be classified as positive, neutral, or pejorative (Balkin, 1998). In public exchanges of political views, ideology is an emblem of principle, a signal of good thinking and lofty values. Here the definition is relatively straightforward: ideology is a collection of statements that supports struggles for what is conceived of as the right. A political party that places a platform before the public alleges that their underlying motives are pure and their goals are for the common benefit because their proposals are 'ideological.' In this kind of debate, 'ideology' can be negative only in the sense that the ideas of an opposing group are antipathetic, albeit still convincing.

The literature that suggests neutral approaches asserts that it is possible to have "an understanding of ideology as ideational or conceptual .... to do with consciousness, subjective representations, beliefs, ideas" (Woolard, 1998, p. 5). In this vein, 'ideology' is a concept that stands for the intellectual constituents of a culture, what can be said about the world, what is conceived of as reality (cf. Gouldner, 1976; Thompson, 1984; 1990). A second, similarly neutral, conceptualization of ideology is encompassed in the idea that the origins of ideology derive from a comprehensive consciousness of the meaning of experience. The constituent elements originate in the totality of a group's circumstances; they are developed in the interchanges that mark social relations (Merton, 1968). Thus ideology may be contingent on social contacts or may develop in a dialectical inter-relation.

Analytic approaches that take a negative view of ideology conceive of it as linked to positions of power. As ideas, discourse, or signifying practices,

ideology serves groups in their struggle to "[sustain] asymmetrical relations of power — ... maintaining domination .... by disguising, legitimating, or distorting those relations" (Thompson, 1984, p. 4). Talcott Parsons (1902-1979), whose structural-functionalist sociology generally found legitimations for the status quo, asserted that distortion based on biased selectivity is always a factor in ideology (Parsons, 1969).

# 1.    SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO IDEOLOGY

The concern with ideology as an attempt to discover how ideas arise and how they are transmitted has been referenced among philosophers and social scientists. Here I will relate to definitions proposed by Durkheim (1858-1917), and Marx (1818-1883). Then I will go on to sketch orientations of theorists that build on their insights, among them Mannheim (1893-1947), Lukacs (1885-1971), Gramsci (1891-1937), Adorno (1903-1969) and Horkheimer (1895-1973), as well as readings of Bourdieu (1930-2002) and Foucault (1926-1984). Within the limitations of space here, I will outline only points that will be seen to be relevant to the case of Israeli education.[14]

Originally, 'ideology' was coined by the 'ideologues' in Revolutionary France as a general term for the study of ideas. Because the ideologues had radical political leanings, Napoleon attempted to limit their influence. He dismissed them as politicians pretending to be scientists (Thompson, 1984).

Proposing that ideas are derived from concrete aspects of collective life, Durkheim (1964) developed this conception into an intricate processual theory. He located what Kant construed as mental imperatives structured in the human mind, namely: concepts of time, space, objects, number, causality, and purpose, in the arrangements that characterize the social environment. From his analysis of what he viewed as particles of social process, Durkheim concluded that concepts derived from collective structures are the basis for how people perceive the world.

The amalgam of ideas and perceptions that can be identified as ideology is, in Durkheim's scheme, an inevitable phenomenon of social life, the kernel of cognition and morality. A social group that shares a territory is able to persist because of the related ideas that members intuit, and with which they identify. Because association (existing in society) is the source of the godhead, members of a collective create opportunities for transcendental experiences. Assemblies are planned for times and places that are set aside "in perpetuity" and are therefore sacred. These are the loci of rituals, i.e.,

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[14] For a detailed survey of theories of ideology and their development, see Thompson (1984), Waters (1994), and Schiefflin, Woolard, & Krokrity (1998).

sacred acts. By congregating, members acquire a fund of (personal) vitality to be expended in the dispersed (profane) routines of daily life while putting the collective moral consciousness to the test (Durkheim, 1964). Through an ineluctable bond, the concepts embedded in performances of the sacred, are reconfirmed in the language of the ordinary. The elaboration of these primary concepts and their acceptance are recognizable as the *conscience collective* – a shared *consciousness* of what exists and a communal *conscience* for defining what is right or wrong. It is this collective *consciousness/conscience* that provides guidelines for prevailing conventions of action. Ideology, then, is no less than the cluster of concepts and moral precepts without which neither the life of a group nor that of an individual can be maintained.

Marx propounded quite a different view of the nature of society and hence, of the nature of ideology. In his theorization society is divided into classes that are shaped by their relations to and in production. In these relations there is a clear division between mental and manual labor that defines the rules of action and determines access to conceptualizations. The asymmetries of action required by the economic order further different systems of ideas because thinking and feeling inevitably arise from the material conditions of people's lives. One would expect, then, different conceptualizations of the world according to a group's location in the interlocking progression of material relations and its different interests (Marx, 1971). However, with the resources at their disposal, the powerful are enabled to impose conglomerations of ideas that are taken for granted as representing truth for the entire social aggregate. Presented as self-evident and neutral, these conceptualizations of values and feelings constitute the only repertoire of concepts available to describe reality. Ideas and beliefs combine into ideology because they are perpetrated as purely 'natural' and 'logical' even though they serve the welfare of the few and reinforce existing patterns of control. Ideology hides injustice and deprivation from the view of those who are on a lower footing. In sum, according to Marx, ideology is a devious tool to conceal exploitation, and the rational goal is to overcome the constraints it imposes. Luckily, there are contradictions in systemic outcomes that necessarily lead to fractures in social relations. Through a growing awareness of these contradictions, the deprived classes can gain the strength to participate in a revolution, and break the chains that bind them.

The tension between looking at ideology as an inherent resource of society *qua* society, as does Durkheim, and the certainty that ideology misleads the deprived into mental slavery, as proposed by Marx, is an on-going issue in subsequent writings on the subject.

Durkheim's construction of ideology in the form of the collective consciousness/ conscience has served many theoreticians in sociology and

anthropology. Among them, Shils (1972, p. 50) maintains that "a sensitive and receptive person" tends to adopt an orientation nourished by the atmosphere and the promise of the sacred even if the force of the established religion has been attenuated. Through this ideological stance she expresses her quest for harmony. But accord can, according to Gadamer (1900-2002) (1986, p. 288), only be temporary, for every meeting with symbols is qualified by a person's preconceptions, and every process of learning involves the formation of further (ideological) biases. Gluckman (1963) recognizes that configurations of symbols that make up an ideology express not only the social sentiments, the collective consciousness, that make for solidarity, but they are useful because, by amplifying social conflicts, they verify that society is one despite the occasional incidence of discord. These objective phenomena have also been described as fulfilling personal needs. Pointing out that every society is made up of interest groups, Cohen (1974, p. 81) demonstrates that through the use of symbols to assemble an ideology "the group and the self become parts in the scheme of the universe and are … validated." As a result, ideology, which derives from group action, also impels people to action that ensures group survival. With ceremonies and rituals central to establishing the constraints of ideology, Cohen (1974, p. 102) also points out that certain ideologies may be shaped and adopted consciously to confirm the positions of interest groups. This perception cues into Marxian understandings of ideology as a menace rather than as a bedrock of consistency and support.

    In his proposal for a sociological study of knowledge, Mannheim (1960) attempted to combine insights of Durkheim with those of Marx when he suggested that *gradual* changes are at once possible, necessary, and inevitable. Allying material conditions with cognitive outcomes, he characterizes the *conscience collective* as the collective *sub*conscious that is fashioned by social structure. Thus, Mannheim recognizes that for most groups in society, a plethora of ideas are unquestionable *because* they secure the group's particular social position. In Mannheim's theoretical structure there is, however, at least one class that escapes the grip of materialistic circumstances and is by definition capable of transcending current social structural constraints. In this interpretation, thinkers, the intellectuals who have the tools for clarifying ideas, operate outside the confines of class relations, and that is why they hold the key to emancipation from the distortions of ideology. They can take on responsibility for liberating the deprived by creating knowledge that explores and elucidates the subconscious workings of social structure. In Mannheim's view, not revolution but research into the collective subconscious is the key to ensuring human liberation. He recommended founding such research on the distinction between the body of ideas and information about the present,

which are accepted on the basis of knowledge of the past, and knowledge of the present in light of a design for a better future. To distinguish between them, Mannheim denoted reliance on knowledge of the past for interpreting actualities as 'ideology' and knowledge oriented to a better future as 'utopia'. Although he accepted the notion that both ideology and Utopia are constrained by force of circumstance, i.e., by the relations of domination in society, he found crucial differences between them. A vision of Utopia elaborated by the activities of intellectuals is, in his analysis, the foundation of hope for human betterment.

By contrast to Mannheim, Gramsci (1971) took exception to the idea that there can be an intelligentsia free of the bonds of society, even to the extent of achieving emancipated thinking. A measure of the difficulty of achieving liberation from the dominating ideas of an era was embedded in his conceptualization of *hegemonia*. Going beyond the generalizations of Marxian thinking, Gramsci defined hegemony as "an accomplishment of social groups or classes which can penetrate and control 'private organizations' so that knowledge, values and standards can be manipulated in their own favour" (Waters, 1994, p. 183). In his understanding, hegemonic domination is made possible by carefully interlacing recognized *tools for thinking* with 'facts' that are taken for granted because they are deduced from personal experience. The snare is that in capitalist societies, first hand experience necessarily confirms the relations of production that prevail. What must be understood is that emancipation can be envisioned as a possibility only if and when workers learn to give full weight to the cultural practices that spring from their own being and realize the significance of the underlying cultural principles. In his view, if this kind of alertness can be evoked, the exploited, the workers, will be able to accumulate the strength for an uprising against the unjust exercise of power. Gramsci toiled to organize laborers so as to further their *cultural* autonomy, their access to the perceptions and ideas that can be generated by a clear view of their social location. His life story may be read as a measure of his effectiveness. Because of his activism, he was pursued by the Mussolini regime, incarcerated, and tortured till he died in prison in 1937. Yet even in prison, Gramsci wrote constantly and the *Prison Notebooks,* a collection of working papers for revolutionary action sporadically smuggled out of the prison walls, served as inspiration for the anti-fascist underground in Italy.

In the sober appraisal of Gyorgy Lukacs, a communist active in Hungary during the 1920s and the 1930s, constraints on thinking are among the most difficult to unshackle. For this reason, the Gramscian view of activating workers to cultural agency, like the Marxian dream of rousing the oppressed classes to awareness of their true situation border on the impossible. From his studies, Lukacs (2000) concluded that neither a well-formulated

ideology, nor, in Mannheim's terms, the concern with Utopia, sets off revolution. But revolutionary change is still a possibility. Insurrection need not be delayed until the oppressed achieve full awareness of how they are exploited. The point is that although workers are capable of reacting rebelliously to a real crisis in the relations of production, even though they will be able to shed the cumbersome gear of the ideology of the dominant classes only with great difficulty. There is therefore no need to assume the need for conditions such as either a fully emancipatory consciousness of the working class (Gramsci) or a free class of intelligentsia that will lead the deprived classes into awareness (Mannheim). Lukacs claimed, rather, that revolutionary awareness, the rejection of the bourgeois ideology, is a condition likely to follow upon action. The ideas that can be seen to have underpinned a revolution are apprehended only after the fact. What actually comes to pass, in his view, is that the disinherited classes turn to explosive action on the basis of a quasi-intuitive grasp of their experience of injustice and dispossession even before they can fully describe their position in the social structure. Thus at the outset of a revolution, the workers have to oppose not only the middle classes, but also the members of the proletariat who are still under the sway of the mental structures that have fixed them in a state of subordination. Lukacs suggests that the slow evolution of ideological justification for revolution is likely to be a relatively long-range historical process. Still, once a revolution has taken place, changes in ideology are inevitable.

The critical analyses developed by sociologists of the Frankfurt school constitute a program for uncovering the historically rooted causes and conditions of knowledge and the social order that are so hard to overcome because they are both taken for granted and idealized. By contrast with the benign neutral view of Durkheim's functionalist account of social constraints, the work of Adorno and Horkheimer (notably in the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*) focuses on the dialectical constraints of the shared consciousness that is ideology. They explore how the rigidities of technical efficiency that characterize capitalist production are configured as ideological abstractions which lock people into helplessness. In their analysis, the Enlightenment was the supreme tool of capitalism as the rationality of bureaucratic social arrangements percolated into the positive rigidities of the sciences. Instead of infusing people with energy for self-realization, ideologies of rationality actually overturn the possibility of liberation through reason (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1987; Jay, 1973).

In the large, the sociologists we have mentioned so far assume that ideas are shaped by social structure and that ideology, the aggregate of ideas prevalent in society, so to speak, are imposed more or less completely on individuals, who have no choice but to act in society, as part of an

uncontrollable, often cynical, manipulation of power. In discussions of ideology in writings of the "next generation" of critical theorists, among them Habermas, Bourdieu and Foucault, the emphasis shifts to an examination of how what is claimed as knowledge, the basis for ideology, is and can be managed under unavoidable conditions of constraint.

Habermas' (1986, p. 316) perception of the imposition of ideology pursues the Frankfurt project to somewhat different ends. He recognizes that ideology exercises a "force [that] achieves permanence through precisely the objective illusion of freedom from force ... a pseudo-communicative agreement," to install authority. Taking as his point of departure, the notion that interpretation is an art that is natural to human beings, he elaborates on the importance of "philosophical hermeneutics" as the professional exercise of a critique of the structures of communication. In his argument, therefore, Habermas locates ideology and its illusionary impact as knowledge that is an outgrowth of a definable communicative form. To overcome the deception, he proposes that the implementation of a method of depth hermeneutics will enable the political analyst to locate disturbed or pathological communication not only in the face-to-face exchanges that sustain micro-systems (the system of the family or that of doctor-patient relations, for example), but in society as a whole (Habermas, 1986, p. 217).

Appreciating that people carry out their lives in different fields of endeavor, Bourdieu's (1991, 1993) writings research and theorize the insight that class struggle conditions the formation of knowledge. In his analyses of social practices, and of the differentiation of classes, he shows that in every field, including the broad differentiated fields of knowledge and of what is sometimes referred to as 'high' culture, elites are formed by ruling the production, the consumption, the marketing, and the amassing of cultural resources. Ideology is indeed based on concentrations of capital. But capital may also be cultural, i.e., a collection of resources that determine how groups are to be ranked in terms of taste, discrimination, distinction, and privilege. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that there is a single unequivocal path to liberation from the limitations of ideology. Emancipation from ideological constraints requires a highly discriminating struggle that may succeed at one time and in one or another channel of cultural production, but is not likely ever to be crowned with success once and for all.

Foucault (1991; 1998), as a "historian of the present," focused on ideological thought processes, on what he called the 'epistemes' that constrain practice. In his terms, just as people are born into a spatio-temporal environment, they are born into (a) meta-model(s) of beliefs, knowledge, modes of symbolization and representation that control situations because they imply sets of apparatuses and accompanying practices. The ruling discourse is thus insinuated into selves through the implementation of all the

resources. Ineluctably imposed, a meta-model changes only gradually until another takes its place. In a sense, the keystone to social events is not to be found, therefore, in fully conscious agents. Actors are operated, driven by the epistemic discourse (see also Goffman, 1974). Since actors 'fit in' to the *episteme* in different ways, there is a possibility that the aggregation of small, sometimes even negligible, actions will contribute to a cumulative change in their discourse, will infiltrate into the social episteme, and eventually bring on cultural change. The movement toward a new meta-model, however, is not linear nor can it be taken for granted. Whether they emanate from atoms of structure as in Durkheim, from class relations as in Marx, or from the deliberations of a 'free' intelligentsia as in Mannheim, is of negligible importance in light of the intangible and constraining, rigid or flaccid epistemes that mark the limits of what can be thought and govern the acceptability of what is done.

With the rise of feminism, different types of sociological analysis have been adopted to highlight the deprivation undergone by women. Contemporary feminist theory, a field where liberal, anti-liberal, critical, post-structural, and post-modernist orientations compete for attention, is an on-going struggle to demonstrate how ideology purges social thought of the central experience of gender and chains women to the self-negation that is a condition of social practice (see Rogers, 2001, pp. 285-296).

In the approaches to ideology sketched so far, we can see that ideology can, as Balkin (1998) states, be interpreted as neutral, positive, or pejorative. Moreover, the distinctions are not always strict; attributions of different kinds can be intertwined. Appraisal of the import of the concept can at best be ambiguous once we realize that ideology can be conceived of as a voluntary commitment that will, or may be, instructed by interests or values; that constraints take on diverse forms from the physical to the symbolic. Moreover, the conceptualization is made murkier by the value suppositions that penetrate some analyses. Among many writers, for example, the ideology of one group (capitalists, for example) is inevitably negative, the ideology of the group discounted (proletariat, for example) is just as inevitably justified and positive. There is, however, a consensus that ideology is inescapable. Disclosed in discourse, accepted as natural, ideology has to be understood as at least a part of people's equipment for living.

## 2.    IDEOLOGY AND SCHOOLING

Each of the orientations to ideology noted above is relevant to understanding the centrality of ideology to education and, perhaps more to

the point, the centrality of education to the perpetuation of ideology. The different theories contribute an outline of what the criteria are and cues, or initial premises as to what level of success can be expected.

According to Durkheim (1956), schools are the vehicle for conveying the collective consciousness and the collective conscience - with a minimum of deviation. His argument is completely general. Educational institutions are responsible for transmitting the elements of knowledge and belief that underpin the possibility of a society while answering to individuals' needs. There are overt modes of passing on ideology through substantive curricula, and these are enhanced by the relatively covert regulation of the school order and of the educational system as a whole. Educational institutions create environments that embody collective notions and impart them through careful governance. Implicit and explicit messages combine into a semblance of the *conscience collective,* laden with consensual perceptions and a tacit agreed upon morality that can be explicated in cases of doubt.

At the opposite pole from Durkheim's complaisant acceptance of education as an unquestioned good is Marx's condemnation of public education as the tool of the upper classes to keep the working class submissive and in an inferior position. In Marxian terms, educational institutions are deputed to mask the concrete problems of the oppressed with a glaze of religious devotion and a perception of the aesthetic. Systems of education do recruiting for the class system by cataloguing people so that they will be available for pigeonholing, for filling all the slots in the economic structure, for carrying out the manual as well as the mental labor that is needed for production. And in conveying what is known as unchallengeable 'knowledge' and 'beliefs' and 'values', schools impose on their populations a readiness to stay put in those slots for as long as the interests of the ruling class are served. Thus, while society is perpetuated in and by economic-political mechanisms, schools put into operation the psychological mechanisms that ensure continuity (Ollman, 1976).

Most of the theoreticians cited here, however, indicate that education has a double potential. Schools may be designed to constrain students to conformism, but they may also nourish the capacity for emancipation. In Gramsci's perspective, schools are the machines for detaching the working class from the wellsprings of their authentic needs and drives. By imposing an image of the person that has evolved in the service of the hegemonic classes, and turning it into the only available image of the person, schools ensure that each pupil is alienated from his or her self as well as from their actual surroundings. Instead, they are enticed into a fabricated environment that is natural to the *hegemonia,* a milieu whose meaning negates the authenticity of their socially located experience. If, however, as Gramsci thought, the very encounter with and acquaintance with cultural resources

provides an opportunity to become conscious of the extent of oppression, access to schooling can open the way to emancipation.

This view accords with Bourdieu's analysis. He demonstrates that education legitimates the subordination of certain classes by adding cultural – evaluative inferiority to material deprivation. Still, it is possible to envisage conditions under which pupils in educational institutions become familiar with the form and substance of cultural capital and gain a capacity to assess the relevancy and the relative worth of different elements. The very exposure to ideology in the form of the learning and thinking systematically imparted by official schooling may enable members of subjugated classes to learn how to use cultural capital to attain additional capital in the form of prestige and 'distinction'.[15]

The theoretical stands of Mannheim, Lukacs, and Foucault shed further light on the contradictions that schools sustain. Mannheim would probably agree that for young people in modern states educational organizations with all their failings are privileged environments. As Mannheim perceives reality, schools have a compound potential for imparting ideology (rooted in knowledge of the past), and for conveying aspirations toward an improved future. Thus, by cultivating sensitivity to the potential of utopia, educational institutions and even conventional pedagogies articulate techniques for identifying the present, the past, the future, and for ferreting out their significance. Even if schools are oriented to ideology – the 'now' that has grown out of the past - methods of evaluation open a space for appropriating distinctive understandings. Basically, all adept schooling shapes and informs an intelligentsia, a group relatively free of material constrictions, capable of penetrating the darkness of the present and of carrying on a vision of the contours of projected freedom.

Lukacs' treatment of ideology also implies that schools impose a distorted worldview, on the one hand, and yet may enable emancipation, on the other. Although the macro-social context is rendered palpable only indirectly, its injustices undoubtedly percolate through the school system. Pupils are persistently acted upon by the immediate structure of the school, the classroom, the schoolyard, and activities that are assigned to the realm of the extra-curricular. If Lukacs' view of the dynamic of discontent with social warps is valid, the contradictions and the conflicts embedded in educational arrangements should rouse those involved in schools, adults and children alike, to acts of resistance that can be used to further liberation. In the resistance to the taken-for-granted modes of action, there will also unfold opportunities for countermanding the shackles of conventional notions and beliefs, for ideological change.

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[15] Bourdieu's own biography bears witness to these possibilities (Waquant, 2002).

With Foucault, we can also see educational institutions as a system, and schools in particular, as the locus of conceptual imprisonment. This is where people are locked into the governing *epistemes,* the motor underlying all the topics and relationships. Educational organizations function according to structural and administrative meta-epistemes. The modes of thinking and writing, as well as the interlocking positions of prevailing *epistemes* are produced, ensured, and marketed by the educational system under these conceptualizations. Curricula are the mechanism for explicitly transmitting the ruling patterns of thought and for overcoming the resistance generated by the bureaucratic regulation of school life. The *epistemes* are presented for the most part through representation in discourse that, usually unawares, fixes the hierarchical relationships among administrators, instructors, learners and their families. In this light, schools are places where "a system of thinking, social practice, and communication (in other words, a discourse system), ... is used either to bring a particular group to social power or to legitimate their position of social power." The discourse system of schooling implants the conviction that "personal economic power can be achieved through direct, deductive expression of information" and, furthermore, that "the system [is] the cause of its worldwide political, economic, and communicative domination" (Scollon & Scollon, 1994, p. 119). This insight encapsulates the thrust of the style of communicating in formal and informal settings that defines education and good schooling. Systems of discourse, in their shifting applications to daily life in school turn into the concrete means by which the educational machinery reproduces differentiation and demonstrates that it is just. As Foucault demonstrates in relation to institutions of mental health and institutions that deal with criminality, such discourse is the tool for establishing that a particular social structure bars an alternative order. And a "system of thinking" and attendant "social practices" are the means for ensuring that consciousness is shaped to fit into that order.

The apparatus of descriptors such as 'western,' 'modern,' 'liberal,' among others - serves as a means to bring pupils and their parents into line in the micro, and to pigeonhole 'underdeveloped' societies according to what the discourse identifies as particularistic thinking and practices (Said, 1994).[16]

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[16] For an illustration of the efficiency of discourse in fixing separations among groups see Said's (1978) analysis of orientalism. Insisting on unbridgeable difference, a long tradition of European and Europeanized writers succeeded in marking the contrast between conceptualizations of development as linear or cyclical, between the logic of the syllogism and the logic of the heart in order to symbolize the political distances and the rabid opposition generated in the competition between wealthier self-styled 'western' collectives and the poorer 'orientals.' This discourse has, as Said shows in detail, managed the perpetuation of dependency both macro- and micro-.

Clearly, the definitions noted here and what they imply about education go beyond the hasty identification of a particular attitude or opinion as ideological. The term 'ideology' applies to a social whole – the concepts, ideas, beliefs, opinions, and mentalities characteristic of a collective and expressed in familiar, even over-familiar, practices. The fact that they are shared does not mean that the entire population has the same attitude or the same approach to every issue. What it does mean is that education – the selective imparting of content and form through schooling – is assigned the guardianship of the figures and structures, as models of social phenomena. State educational organizations are custodians of bodies of collective 'ideas,' beliefs, values, affective responses, and practices. The point at which they are articulated as goals marks the boundary that limits interpretive permutations.

## 3.  IDEOLOGY AS AN EMPIRICAL QUESTION AND AN ISSUE IN PRACTICE

The discussion of ideology sketched above leads to several different approaches to the relations of ideology and any given system of education. As is common in the academe, the literature on ideology represents a contest among philosophers, theoreticians, and researchers to find *the one* definition of ideology that will cover all its uses. Yet the definitions sketched above actually represent different ways of inquiring into the connections between thinking and doing that generate society. Each theoretical definition provides a challenge to social reality and questions about the educational system with intimations of the indicators that can hold out answers. Does the system of education promote solidarity? Does education conceal oppression? Do schools allow the expression of intuitive aspirations toward emancipation – a breaking away from the irksomeness of reified tradition? Do schools prepare an intelligentsia with the capacity to lead emancipatory struggles? Do schools prevent the progeny of society's subordinate classes from accessing socio-cultural resources? Do schools disclose the means to acquire cultural capital? What are the *epistemes* that govern schooling? The accompanying question in every case is, of course, "how".

A further set of questions is raised when we look at the division of labor within the educational system. Could it be that agents of education at different levels of the system approach the conventional ideology in ways analogous to those of the theoreticians cited above? The government and the legislature are concerned, as was Durkheim, with the *conscience collective.* Those who compile curricula assess method and meaning – putting in place the very *epistemes* (cf. Foucault) that are likely to support the collective

solidarity that concerns the state. Administrators have the responsibility for determining what constitutes school success and hence, for assigning subject matter and pupils to the *intelligentsia,* the 'free-floating' leadership that Mannheim envisioned. Teachers are in the position of the workers (as defined by Marx) whose function is to receive decisions from those above them in the organizational hierarchy, and whose control is limited to the confines of performance in classrooms. While teachers may have access to materials that can illuminate their actual position in the system, their pupils, who have no experience of other types of social structures, are in the situation that Lukacs perceived among subjugated workers. Coerced by their social location into accepting the ideology that is being transmitted to them in subject matter, in textbooks, in administrative regulations, and in spoken discourse in school, pupils often demonstrate a quasi-intuitive understanding of the force imposed on them. Thus, they deploy different forms of un-intellectualized, often even un-cognized, resistance. Whether or not the discourse system as a whole can be challenged by the pupils depends perhaps on the rewards, or sanctions, that await them beyond the confines of the school. The nub of the dilemma is twofold: Do the epistemes imparted coalesce into a coherent way of life? If they do, the question remains, do pupils remain bound to the epistemes that the system is injecting into their lives?

In common parlance, the convolutions of definition and inquiry are not confronted. By contrast with the many stumbling blocks that appear to thwart a thorough theoretical analysis, ideology as a deliberate social instrument belongs to the realm of the 'good'. Practical questions, such as what different groups define as ideology and how they relate to the representations of ideology are *the* issues of note. The function of ideology in the popular sense is to create a basis for group solidarity. The formulation of a conscious ideology is based on a lively intuition or on a learned understanding of the mechanisms of discourse that ensure the crystallization of cohesion and the promotion of camaraderie. Primarily, ideologies are produced in a shared language. By this I mean the creation and compilation of a complex of evocative terms and definitions that can be relied on to rouse a group to union. In this construal, ideology is constituted by sets of symbols and heroic narratives that combine to convince a group of its shared history and shared values, perhaps even of shared religious beliefs and shared religious rituals. Ideology in the popular sense is a tool for promoting a collective identity (Rouhana, 1997). Therefore, a consciously articulated ideology is an effective political tool. Experience shows that statesmen and politicians are astutely tuned in to the affect generated by invoking the symbols, heroes, myths that infuse a meaningful ideology.

In this light, there is no mystery about the connections between ideology and education. It is a truism that in modern states, education is a collective undertaking that is not random. The forms and content of educational systems are explicitly justified by whatever compilation of ideas, beliefs, and values are consciously collated in the underlying ideology and in the strategy of the system. Moreover, educational systems are set up with the goal of perpetuating collective perceptions, ideas, and beliefs; they are therefore a most appropriate locale for examining the fluctuations and the variations in form that ideology takes on as the work of transmission is carried out. The transmission and dissemination of knowledge framed in terms of ideology is, moreover, a multi-staged process elaborated by subtle interchanges of discourse. At each stage, relevant elements are passed on in written documentation, often with oral elucidation. The basic ideology is, of course, formulated in words that are rich in connotations. The people involved in the educational system at every stage are knowingly responsible for representing, modeling, and conveying the ideological principles on which the system is founded. Incumbents in every position of the bureaucratic network necessarily interpret and re-interpret what is identified as intended by at least part of the ideology. By preserving the initial terms each interpreter manages to link up with those understood to be carrying out the original ideological intentions of the collective. The general view is that while fluctuation and variation are inevitable, the basic ideology serves as a lodestone; it is the duty of people in education to keep it in view and to use it as a measure of their probity and of their success. Overall, the importance of ideology lies in its power to sway people as a collective. Clearly, then, propounding an official ideology that will permeate the collective with a consciousness of the need for its preservation is a project central to the foundation of a nation-state.
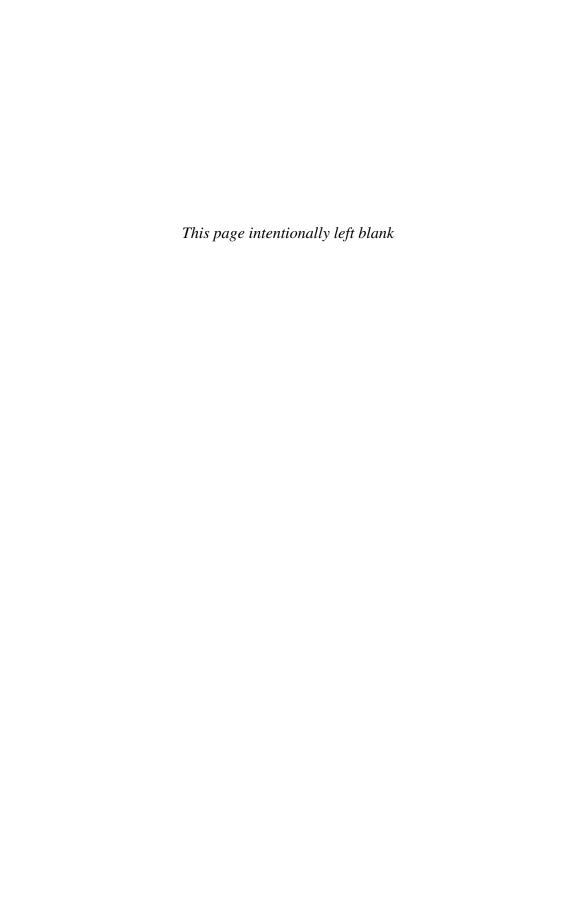
In line with the interests of this book, it is possible to study acts in terms of "their content, their causes, their effects, or the social functions they serve" (Balkin, 1998, p. 103). Taking the state as the agent that carries out education, the ideological grounding explicit and implicit, corresponds to the purpose of the agent, the intentions that underlie the acts (see Burke, 1969). In what follows, I first scrutinize the ideology with which the Israeli state school system is consciously infused, emphasizing the aspects of schooling that have to do with the education of immigrant children and of minorities. By analyzing ideological elements in educational documents, as well as in the oral discourse of people involved in education – their words and practices, we will come full circle to a revised theoretical analysis of ideological practices, and hence to a revised understanding of culture, identity and multiculturalism in Israel.

In the next section, I will go on to look at the officially enunciated Israeli ideology. I will point out how Israel perceived itself as a new state, what practical problems were perceived and how these were conceived to be resolved in an explicitly enunciated ideological stance connected to education. Then I will go on to show how the ideology impacts legislation, and how the ideology structures educational goals. In examining the materials to be presented, I will adopt a functional definition of ideology formulated by an Israeli researcher. Lamm (2001) defines ideology as a cluster of ideas that presents

a.  a diagnosis of the prevailing socio-political conditions;
b.  a view of the 'good society;'
c.  a definition of the collective that bears the ideology and the collective for which it is developed; and
d.  the strategy proposed for achieving the desirable situation.

From many points of view, this definition seems to describe the actual foundations of the official ideology formulated by the Zionist Movement and by the leaders of the Yishuv.

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# Chapter 4

# IDEOLOGY AS A NATIONAL PROJECT IN ISRAEL

In this chapter, I will cite ideological proclamations about Zionism, the nature of the state, and the representation of an appropriate consciousness that have particular significance in Israel. In these pronouncements of *purpose* I will be looking for evidence of the diagnosis of social circumstances, of how the relevant collective is defined, the vision of the good life, and of the strategies proposed for attaining it.

As background to an analysis of how ideology is translated into educational terms, with emphasis on the legislation and policy that relate to children of different cultural origins, I will focus on statements of national purpose made at three significant periods in modern Jewish history: the initiation of the Zionist Movement, the time of the establishment of the state, and twenty years later, close to the time of the Six Day War. Each of these dates is marked by significant changes in conceptions of the territory appropriate to the people destined to be part of Israel as to the construals of collective identity/ies. The declarations publicized by Jewish leaders at these times are connected with conditions and strategies related to the association with 'place'. The formation of the Zionist Movement marked a complete change in the self-image of the Jewish people, from that of a group dispersed among different states to one of a group with a potential for statehood, the ownership of territory. Both later periods were notable as well for widespread euphoria associated with territory. In 1948, there was jubilation because the objective of the Zionist Movement, formulated after vigorous debates at a succession of Zionist congresses, the foundation of a Jewish state in the territory historically recognized as that belonging to the Jews, had become a factual right by virtue of UN Resolution 181, valid as international law (cf. domino.un.org). In 1967-68, territories that had been part of the ancient glory of Israel had been occupied, or, as many said, 'liberated.'

The territorial expansion led public figures to make sweeping statements, which have had an impact far beyond those historical moments. I will look at

a few texts from the early years of the Zionist Movement, texts publicized by representatives of the governing parties and among those in opposition, upon the foundation of the state and shortly after the Six Day War, in order to shed light on ideas and concepts that recur in the ideological discourse at all points of the political spectrum. These are the ideas that are taken for granted as reflecting the experience of the [Jewish] community and the basis for practices that affect schooling.

## 1.    SIGNIFICANT STATEMENTS OF NATIONAL PURPOSE

In point of fact, the very name of the Zionist Organization, founded in 1897, constituted an ideological declaration related to territory. In the course of the first several congresses, during which various locations for a Jewish homeland were suggested, the organization formulated a narrative to explain why there had to be a Jewish state and why it had to be located in Palestine, or 'Zion' as referred to in Jewish prayers.[17] At least three arguments, phrased so as to support the claim to the territory of Palestine, were presented to the Sultan who ruled the Ottoman Empire. They related to the collective imaginary, the physical need, and the potential utility for the Empire. First of all, the historical roots of Judaism as a religion are associated with the ancient kingdoms of David and Solomon that were glorified in Palestine. Secondly, the persecution of Jews throughout the ages and especially in the nation-states formed in the nineteenth century demonstrated that Jews are actually in need of territory as a refuge. Third, the proposed plan would be beneficial to the Ottoman Empire. Jewish settlement of Palestine would be fully paid for by Jewish entrepreneurs and therefore would help solve problems of the Ottoman Empire in the Near East; while, at the same time, it would improve the conditions of the Christians in the area (Herzl, 1897, reprinted in Medzini, 1981, pp. 13-17). The arguments were noted by Herzl, the first head of the Zionist Movement, in his book, the *Judenstaat,* the opening salvo of the Jews' struggle for independence. These arguments were to be repeated and elaborated throughout the years that led up to the foundation of the Jewish state (see below).

Herzl's conceptualization of Zionism was the outgrowth of several streams of thought that characterized Jewish communities in different parts of the world. For one thing there was the idea of the Jews as a distinct *ethnie,* a people with mores, customs, and traditions that were peculiarly theirs. Given these shared qualities, many Jews saw them as a sign that the Jews,

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[17] In the prayers, Zion, the mountain in Jerusalem where King David's palace is presumed to have stood, is a metaphor for a glorious ancient kingdom.

like the Italians and the Germans, could and should be allowed to develop as a *nation-state* in a territory of their own. In the eyes of others, the recognition of Jewish ethnicity was thought of as a basis for Jewish integration into the multi-ethnic States of Europe and the Near East – the Austro-Hungarian, the Russian or the Ottoman Empires. Herzl affirms, however, that the central strategy of the Jews as a collective must be to take responsibility for working out their own destiny.. His conception struck a chord of sympathy among some religious Jews who were open to the relatively novel idea that a "national" factor was involved in being Jewish. For centuries, rabbis had insisted that a Jewish dominion would naturally come into being only with the appearance of the true Messiah. Influenced by the nationalist movements of the nineteenth century and the rise of anti-Semitism, many rabbis were led to consider that by cooperating with the Zionist Movement, they would be embarking on a project of laying the foundations for "salvation," beginning to realize the covenantal promise documented in the Old Testament even before the coming of the messiah (Shimoni, 1997). In a more pragmatic vein, at the First Zionist Congress, Herzl spoke of the newly established Zionist Movement as the first stage of a "return home *[a return to being the owners of a home and responsible for it, DKF]* – even before the return to the Land of the Jews" (Herzl, 1897/1981).

Evron (1995) points out the tensions between the political Zionism of Herzl and his followers who considered the establishment of a modern democratic political entity to be the central purpose of the Zionist Movement; and the "Zion Zionism" of the religious adherents to the movement who envisioned the return to Zion as a preliminary act to the desired accomplishment — a nation set up by the Messiah. They were willing to collaborate but insisted that realization of the messianic nation was not in the hands of any human group. In Durkheimian terms, both groups supported the idea of the Jews living 'together' in a given territory, even though they aspired to different realizations of the conscience collective, i.e., to different constitutions of the space, time, and assembly that would define the collective. Among the religious groups, "returning to the Land of Israel" was a way of enabling Jews to act in a way that would lead to changes of their consciousness in the future (see Lukacs, above).

In Palestine, the Zionist Movement concentrated on activities that would ensure the growth of the Jewish population. Representatives of the movement acquired pieces of land from absentee landlords for Jewish settlements. To encourage Jewish immigration, leaders in the Yishuv authorized campaigns of "Hebrew work" (avodah ivrith) even though taking on Jewish workers was neither profitable nor efficient from the employers' point of view. By replacing Arab workers, the Jewish immigrants, many of them members of revolutionary groups in Russia before their immigration,

were disavowing their commitments to socialism, substituting national unity for class consciousness (Shaffir & Peled, 2002). As the Zionist project persevered, Arab opposition was unrelenting. Bands of Arabs who were uprooted from their land when the effendis sold their estates to representatives of the Zionist Movement attacked the Jewish settlers. There were frequent demonstrations by Arabs who lost their livelihood to less experienced, more expensive Jewish workers. Because of disagreements among the leaders of the Arab community, for a long time, the opposition was sporadic and disorganized. In 1921, however, Arab riots that broke out on May Day marked the beginning of coordinated large scale violence. Arabs revolted against what they perceived as British favoritism to the Jews in 1929. In the most prolonged uprisings, those of 1936-1939, nationalistic ideals were fully explicit (Shalev, 1989).

In appealing to the mandatory authorities, the Arabs in Palestine argued on the basis of rights of residence, rights of local history, and a deep symbolic attachment to the land as the symbol of autonomy, stability and meaning in Arab history (Nakhleh, 1975). At the time of the organized outbreaks, Arabs accused the British of allowing the desecration of morals by the incoming free-thinkers. Until the strikes of 1921, Zionist leaders had insisted that Jews and Arabs could live together peacefully. Within the movement the claims presented by the Arabs were discussed as a minor problem to be solved once the crying need of the Jewish people was fulfilled. The practical political underpinning of the argument was the idea that a solution to the historical problem of the Jewish people and of the Palestinians would be found in a state where the Jews are an unassailable majority.

In many ideological writings of the time, however, there is an implicit recognition that the Arab community in Palestine would not countenance the development of an independent Jewish entity. Some members of the Zionist Organization understood that an Arab national movement was developing. At the start of the twentieth century, Asher Ginzburg (Achad Ha'Am), essayist and activist, claimed that in light of Arab opposition to the Jewish settlement of Palestine, the only realistic solution was to solve the Jewish political problem by finding some available territory in the New World, while setting up a small cultural center in Palestine. Most Zionist ideologues rejected this view. With the goal of reviving the Jews' historical roots, they relied on citations of clerical decrees as presented in religious texts, and on appeals to what are portrayed as universalistic principles of justice.

Zionist claims to the legitimacy of forming a state were put forth with a consistent implicit deprecation of the way of life, the shared concepts, the consciousness and morality, as Durkheim would put it, of the local Arabs. Moreover, the behaviors of the Zionists who immigrated to Palestine –

mostly young students who had rebelled against the strictures of the Jewish religion — constituted an affront to the local morality *(conscience collective).* The official Zionist program derived from ideology in Mannheim's sense; the program viewed the Jewish past as justification for the efforts they were investing in political negotiations. Ahad Ha'am, an intellectual, was one of the few who persisted in presenting a vision of the future, a Utopia of cultural emancipation for the Jewish people based on universalistic principles. Tensions between the two approaches were heightened by further disagreements on how to combine class interests with the interests of nationalism. During the stormy period after the 1917 revolution in Russia, and between the two world wars, the case for nationalism became overpowering.

The case for accepting partition, the territorial arrangement already suggested by the Peel Commission in 1937 was neatly formulated in an ideological statement by David Ben Gurion the year before the crucial UN vote in 1947. In 1946, Ben Gurion, then head of the Jewish National Committee, testified before the Anglo-American Commission appointed to investigate whether, after the end of World War II, Jewish Displaced Persons should be allowed entry into Palestine.

Ben Gurion's testimony relies on a set of arguments of 'natural rights', the contingencies that are the outcome of the war, the Jews' commitment to democracy, and on the communal 'passion'. Asserting that the Jews are a nation, Ben Gurion goes on to affirm that every nation has a 'natural right' to a homeland. If only because of the wrongs done Jews in many countries, then, their claim to a land of their own is especially compelling. Ben Gurion points out the vulnerability of any national entity that is scattered in small groups among different nations. Since Jews are a minority in every host country, they are dependent on what Ben Gurion calls the 'whims' of diverse types of majorities. For collecting the Jewish nation, the 'natural' place is Palestine because of the history documented in the Old Testament. Furthermore, the idea makes practical geographical sense. Although "the land" is small, the territory of Palestine is large enough for all its inhabitants and in its current condition it cries out for development. The Arabs occupy and will continue to occupy their own space, living, as Ben Gurion puts it, in "five rooms while the rest of the rooms of the house are in ruins". Obviously, there is ample territory for Jewish settlement and the Jews can be counted on to refurbish all the rest of the "house". Moreover, because the state that will come into being will be based on democracy in the form of "Jewish justice, brotherhood, and peace" the Jews will in fact be "loyal and useful friends to the Arabs." Ben Gurion reinforces his claim by using imagery that will vanish from Zionist discourse within less than two years. He asserts that he is representing *only* the Jews who are living in Palestine,

those who, by virtue of having come to the homeland, have taken steps to escape the asymmetry of the Diaspora. The Jewish population of Palestine constitutes a unique, "heroic" group. As a community of "non-hyphenated Jews" they have only the one country where they can actually be free. In opting for this freedom, they have split off from the Jews of the Diaspora and raised themselves to a level of dignity far beyond the level of the Diasporic Jew.

Further evidence of heroism among the Jews in Palestine is found in the fact that this evolving nation has made the language of the Bible theirs by turning it into a modern tongue. They are *re*-building the country, especially in places that are not cultivated. Because Zion, where the Jews are working to develop its resources, is like a parent in the eyes of the Jewish people, they are passionately devoted to the country and it cannot be exchanged for another. In a word, "the land, the book, and the people are one for us, forever". These are the symbols that unite the Jewish community in their "natural" homeland, setting the limits on what can be thought and establishing the direction of what is to be done (see Foucault above).

In the crisis faced by the Jewish people one year after the end of World War II, the Jewish collective that resides in Palestine is described as actually managing to fulfill its aspiration to turn into a just society. The strategy is both material and spiritual — hard work is combined with love of country, an attachment rooted in tradition that is analogous to a family's fondness for its homestead. The ideas and beliefs of the Jewish community are invested in the vision of an independent state.

## 2. FORMING A STATE — THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The official Declaration of Independence (Appendix B), made public in May 1948, extends and changes Ben Gurion's pre-state ideological account. With several audiences in mind, the Proclamation lays out a complex of ideas that would convince members of the Jewish community that they were "doing the right thing" and would serve to justify that step to a not necessarily hospitable international public. The proclamation had the additional function of specifying an operative self-definition. It served to 'mark off' (cf. Herman, 1977) the Jews as a national entity, and to define Israel as a nation-state that is the 'natural habitat' of this body. The compound of relatively dry statements of historical fact and pious expectations in the language of the Bible specifies a network of identifications with the past and outlines practices that would characterize the new state.

## 2.1 The historical narrative

The particularistic narrative stripped of detail is based on a judicious presentation of geo-historical information, citations of religious practices in the Diaspora, and evidence of activism, as well as on reflections on the traumatic suffering of the Jewish collective. According to the Proclamation, the area is historically the "Land of Israel". Palestine is the territory in which the Jewish people had a state in biblical times, the place where they have their "spiritual, religious, and political" roots, where their national culture was first created. They have, furthermore, never forgotten those roots. For two thousand years, wherever Jews were to be found, they prayed daily for the privilege of "returning to their land." Relatively recent history is also laid out in detail in the Proclamation. At the end of the nineteenth century, the dream was institutionalized in an international Zionist Movement that made organized efforts to gain access to the ancient homeland. In 1917, Lord Balfour, then Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, committed his government to the establishment of a "Jewish homeland in Palestine." The last chapter of the story is a tale of horror — Jewish experiences under the Nazi regime and during World War II. The Holocaust underlined the urgency of the national project, and indeed, "the world" must remember that those who survived are joining the Jewish community in the Land of Israel. Setting up the state is triply legitimate — because of the memories and the desires of Jews over centuries, because of their determined organization, and because those who have escaped the Holocaust deserve to enjoy freedom in an independent state.

## 2.2 Legitimation: Norms of reciprocity

Beyond the claims that the Jews deserve the state because they have always wanted it, political autonomy has to be seen as minimal compensation for what the Jewish nation has done on behalf of "the entire world". In ancient times, Israel gave the world the "eternal" legacy of the Bible and, according to the Proclamation, that debt has never been repaid. In recent times, Great Britain and the Allies incurred a further debt to the Jews. By contrast with other sectors of the Palestine population, the Jews could be relied on to be loyal combatants in the Allies' cause. Throughout World War II, the entire Jewish community in Palestine showed its motivation and had been prepared for total mobilization. Finally, the Jews have earned their right to a territorial state because they had, by their own efforts, turned their collective dream into a plan of action and into an on-going saga of accomplishment. According to the Proclamation, "masses of pioneers" were

acting to realize the vision of an independent state, and individuals with great resolve have been "returning" for several generations. They are civilian heroes who have renewed the national spirit, "revitalized their language, built villages and cities, and set up a growing community."

As the Proclamation maintains, both the historical narrative and the itemizing of specific norms are good reason for particularizing a new national entity. Now that the British Mandate is at an end, it is therefore justified that "We, the members of the People's Council, representatives of the Hebrew community and the Zionist Movement, on this day of the termination of the British Mandate over the Land of Israel, by virtue of our natural and historical rights, and on the basis of the decision of the Council of the United Nations, proclaim the foundation of a Jewish State in the Land of Israel, to be called the State of Israel."

## 2.3    Legitimation: Commitments of the State

The second part of the document outlines principles to which the new state is committed. These include unlimited immigration of Jews, but also social and political equality for all residents. With her request to be admitted to membership of the United Nations, Israel pledges to be faithful to UN principles and to cooperate with all UN institutions. In accordance with UN Resolution 181, Israel will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture, and assumes responsibility for guarding the holy places of the three great world religions. Good will is evidenced in the assertions that Arab citizens of the state of Israel will be equal partners in all the state's endeavors, and that Israel also "holds out her hand in peace" to the neighboring states. At the same time, it is made clear that Israel's most important ties are those with the Jews in the Diaspora. The new state asks for their support, and reiterates an appeal that they immigrate to "the Land" – the Land of Israel, now the State of Israel. Given this list of the basic features of the state and the solemn obligations that the state has taken on, the proclamation reminds the UN that the international organization must undertake to support and cooperate with the new state of Israel.

## 2.4    Modes of Discourse and Clusters of Ideas

The Declaration of Independence is thus a study in contrasting, even contradictory ideas. Appealing in turn to the Jews living in the new state, the Jews living in other countries, the Arabs who are living in the country, the Arabs living in other countries, as well as to the world, and specifically to

the United Nations, the proclamation rhetoric is handled with aplomb so as to carry a detailed message about the nature of the new state. The language in which it is written also constitutes a series of political messages. The Hebrew vocabulary is weighted with biblical symbolism; but while the choice of words relies on religious sources, the content centers on a modern narrative with contemporary heroes. The language which is spoken daily in the area of Palestine establishes that the links between the people and the territory are organic. Claims that the language is at once ancient and flexibly modern are taken as proof that the Jewish community in Palestine is a legitimate continuation of an ancient nation. Moreover, those who have survived the Holocaust are "remnants" of that same nation, which is now "risen" in the "Land of Israel". Although the state of Israel relies on ancient resources, it is a political entity with Jewish citizens who are a "Hebrew" nation. The argument returns to emphasize that the nation that makes use of Hebrew for mundane activities is in effect cutting itself off from the peculiarities of Jews in other places in the world. The dating of the Proclamation intimates that the Hebrew lunar calendar can still serve as the particularistic tool of periodization in the old-new state. In Israel, Hebrew will no longer be reserved for elite use as it was in the Diaspora, where it is the language of the Bible and the language of the synagogue. In the Jewish state, sayings quoted from the daily prayers are embedded in daily intercourse, and thus they are among the foundations of political negotiation. Again through the many layers of the language, the nation-state of Israel heralded as the ultimate realization of the "visions of the prophets of Israel," this "Hebrew" nation, calls on all the Jews of the world to think of themselves as part of the new Jewish state. The Proclamation makes a final turnabout with its call to Jews everywhere to join in the task of nation-building.

Fifty years after the first Zionist Congress, the three streams of thought that fed into the founding of the international Zionist Movement are preserved as the founding ideas of the State. The reasons for setting up a state and for expecting collaboration and cooperation, are all taken from a diagnosis of the socio-historical condition of the Jews in Europe. Herzl and his associates argued that the Jews have a natural right to a state since the fact that Jewish history is entwined with religion has marked the Jewish community as the enemy of Christian churches. Ubiquitous and recurrent anti-Semitism is inevitable until the Jews have a state of their own. Secondly, there are hard-headed considerations of distributive justice. Jewish soldiers who fought in two World Wars on the side of the allies deserve appropriate return. Only a state is a fit reward. Third, the brutality toward Jews in Europe through the ages culminated in the Shoah. Millions of Jews who were brutally murdered in Europe are now represented as having

fulfilled a mission in the name of the Jewish community settled in Palestine. There has to be a state for the Jews who escaped. With this logic, the 'world' has an obligation to enable the foundation of a haven in Israel. Finally, despite the insistence on the uniqueness of the Hebrew-speaking nation, the Proclamation asserts that Jews throughout the world are bound inescapably to the state. Jewish communities abroad are reminded that they are Diasporic minorities. Like the new state, they, too, are defined by affiliation with Jewish ancestors and by religious ties and that means that they have essential traits in common with the Jewish community in Israel. On the assumption that Jews are eager to become part of the state, the Proclamation sends out the first official call for immigration as part of its struggle to ensure a viable *Jewish* population. The state is represented as nurturing Jews by its readiness to carry out an "in-gathering of the exiles" that constitutes a response to the most important aspirations of all Jews.

Given the pattern of reliance on Jewishness that is anchored in references to the tenets and the practices laid out in the Old Testament, there is a peculiar flavor to the parts of the proclamation that relate to democratic values. By contrast with the concrete itemization of the state's obligations to the core (Jewish) nation, the commitment to egalitarianism that constitutes a promise to the autochthonous minorities, is formulated in standard terminology. The Proclamation declares that there is to be equality among people of all religions, races, and genders despite the special status assigned to the Jews. The state is committed to protecting "freedom of religion and conscience, as of language, education and culture." The solemn pledge of freedom and equality in every domain of living and, significantly, in education, is what we may call the democratic pillar of the official ideology. But subtle choices of words imply reservations. For example, despite the promise of "political and social" equality, the Arabs in the country are referred to as "residents" rather than as citizens. At the same time, by contrast with the provisions of the Balfour Declaration and with Ben Gurion's 1946 assertion that the Hebrew nation in Palestine is a separate and distinct branch of the Jewish people, the Proclamation recognizes a special relationship between the Jews in Israel and their fellow Jews in countries throughout the world. With this contention, the Proclamation confirms that the Arab citizens of Israel are, to a significant degree, outsiders.

Although the Declaration of Independence did not have the standing of law until most of its assertions were included in the Law for Human Dignity and Freedom in 1991, it has consistently served as a reference point for gauging the reliability of ideological claims to affiliation with the state of Israel. As we have seen, the document stitches together ideas each of which was acceptable to some of the political parties, who presumed that they were resolving issues of tension. But the formulation of the Proclamation actually

locked conflict into place. The blend of 'Jewish' with allowances for 'democracy', the blend of statehood with connections with the religious communities in the Diaspora, signaled the opening of a Pandora's box. Early on the two threads (Jewish and democratic) began to unravel and the contradictions presented have been a constant source of controversy (even to the level of outright conflict), on the public agenda to this very day. The consequences of pairing concepts in the ideological sine qua non of the new state, exemplify unpredictable historical ironies discussed by Horkheimer and Adorno, ironies that may well be inescapable in an emerging society.

I will look into this issue in more detail further on in this chapter. But first let us see how these contradictions are treated in less formal ideological discourse: some about the time of the foundation of the state, and some during the period of 1967-68, the time of the Six Day War.

## 3.   IDEOLOGIZING THE STATE: ESTABLISHMENT VOICES AND VOICES OF DISSENT

A month after the state was founded, the ideologue of the majority party in the Israeli Parliament (the *Knesset*) (*MAPAI,* an acronym for the *Workers' Party of the Land of Israel),* Zalman Shazar (p. 26), addressed the party council on the issue of enlarging the Jewish population of the 'motherland'. Shazar opens with platitudes on Israel's "readiness to live a long, uninterrupted life of peace with the .... Arabs." When he talks about the Jews, there seems to be a new problem. Instead of the image that had been cultivated hitherto — of homeless people "knocking on the gates" in their struggle to be admitted to the new state, Shazar insists that the state must embark on "a genuine and *methodical* in-gathering of the exiles". In Shazar's version, it is "our responsibility to arouse in the Jewish masses a thirst for their homeland ... a feeling of need for Jewish life and Jewish creativity, for suitable work and for social justice; to awaken this need and to foster it – until it becomes a life purpose driving them to seek, and ultimately fully and completely to gratify this nationalist, human urge within the boundaries of our motherland ….. in the free Jewish State" (p. 27).

Shazar's elaborate rhetoric does not conceal the panic. The new-born state is diagnosed as a rational organization that must turn the Yishuv of 600,000 Jews into an irrevocable majority in order to ensure that the state will continue to belong to the Jews. By summarizing the strategy as the "in-gathering of the exiles," Shazar announces that he is imaging a collective that consists of the Jewish people wherever they are to be found. Paradoxically, very few members of this collective were demonstrating a desire to immigrate. The feeling has to be provoked, the urge has to be

fostered. According to Shazar, Jews in the Diaspora simply do not understand what benefits immigration to Israel will bring them. They have no appreciation of the universalistic value of statehood nor do they realize how much personal satisfaction is in store for them once they do move to Israel. Jews who arrive in Israel may not yet share the required ideological vision, but he is convinced, just as was Lukacs in relating to the strategy for achieving communism, that once Jews do "make aliya" they will be appropriately inspired by the Zionist dream.

The state did indeed institute a program in cooperation with the Jewish Agency and succeeded in tripling the Jewish population of Israel by the end of the decade of the 1950s. The mass immigration consisted for the most part of Jews from Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa. For some, the idyllic co-existence with the local communities and the privileges granted them in their native lands, came to an abrupt end with the establishment of the state of Israel. For others, the foundation of the Jewish state signaled an opportunity to fulfill a long-held Zionist dream. With the appearance of an apparently haphazard collection of immigrant communities, the state ideology now had to relate to its rapidly changing demography.

In this connection, it is interesting to quote a 1958 statement by S. H. Bergman, a professor of philosophy and former activist in a party that had supported the establishment of a bi-national (Arab and Jewish) state in Israel. In describing the basis for the existence of a Jewish state, Bergman claims that the "return" of the Jewish people, the "in-gathering of the exiles" was primarily a strategy for "curing" a national illness. The old-new nation-state settled on its own territory marks the convalescence of the collective. In agreement with the ideologists of the 'revival' of Hebrew, Professor Bergmann states that group recuperation is made possible by the fostering of Hebrew as a national language (see Kuzar, 2001). But this is not the whole picture. In his view, the bearers of proper Israeli culture and spirit are the Jews from the West. A decade after the establishment of Israel, Bergman ideologizes and idealizes the image of the state. Raising the project of the state to a spiritual level, he attributes a mystic source of spiritual power to the collectivity in which he sees continuity with the ancient world. Yet he quite deliberately divides the collective into subgroups, demonstrating that there is a 'natural' ranking based on origin and on 'self-evident' cultural capital (cf. Bourdieu). There is no question but that those of European origin are the true heroes of the Jewish national revival while the Sephardim (Mizrachim) from the Arab countries have to cultivate their kinship with them. As he saw it, it was fortunate for Israel that they [the western Jews] are able to "teach" and that the Jews from the East [North Africa and the Middle East] are ready to "learn". As an example of the success of the on-

going teaching-learning in the new state, he describes an outdoor concert where he was gratified to see the substantial presence of young people of European origin, alongside a sprinkling of young people from the Mizrachi sector, at an outdoor concert, listening to Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis.* The asymmetric power relations between veteran Ashkenazim and new immigrant Sephardim are here refocused in terms of symbolic capital and spiritual advantage.

Speaking at a convention of the right-wing Herut Party, shortly after the Six-Day War, twenty years after 1948 and ten years after Bergman's lecture, Menahem Begin also talks about the *spirit* of the Jewish nation. He sums up the results of the war, praising the work of the government (in which he had been the first member of his party to hold a cabinet position – that of Minister without Portfolio). As proof of the spiritual superiority of the Jews, he alludes to milestones in the "uninterrupted" history of the Jewish people as cited in the Declaration of Independence and in speeches of his arch rival, David Ben Gurion. The spiritual superiority of the Jews, together with the "repeated threats and actual dangers" that Israel has to face prove that continued occupation of the territories conquered in the Six Day War is absolutely necessary. In his words, by occupying territories to the north, east, and south of its former provisional borders, Israel has completed the project of reconstituting the ancient Jewish homeland, and is now signaling the closing stages of the project of Jewish self-renewal. He goes on to claim that Israel is worthy of possessing all the territories she now occupies because as a Jewish state she is openhanded and will allow equality for Arab citizens who are "loyal". There is no doubt but that Israel will implement principles of liberty, equality, and justice to carry out an "enlightened" conquest. The synthesis of "total Jewish sovereignty over Eretz Yisrael; and the fundamental right of the Jewish people to national security" became the dominant theme of the Right Wing political agenda, a theme that, under succeeding governments, was driven into the public consciousness. Control of territory was consistently interpreted as the key to security, and therefore was an adequate ideological basis for the expansion of Jewish settlements in areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. So the immigration of Jews from the Soviet Union in the early 1990s (see Chapter 10) could be seen not only as the realization of the ideal of the "in-gathering of the exiles" but also as confirmation of the rights of the Jewish people (Jones, 1996, pp. 57-8).

Less than a year after Begin's speech, Uri Avnery, a pre-state member of the radical *Lohamei Herut Yisrael (Fighters for Israel's Freedom)* turned ardent peace activist, at the opposite pole of the political spectrum from Begin, published a book that marked what was then perceived as a revolutionary use of the arguments that had been confirmed by the Zionist Organization and honed in succeeding rounds of political debate. Avnery

uses the conventional claims for Israel's legitimacy to explain why the only practicable solution to the on-going conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is one in which the Jewish state and a (new) Palestinian state will exist side by side (Avnery, 1968). To prove his point he shows the parallels between the imaginaries of the two collectives. A nation, says Avnery, is a group of people that believe they are a people, and want to live as one, that have a common political destiny, identify themselves with a political state, pay taxes, serve in the army, work for the future of the collective, share a fate, and if necessary die for the state. Given these criteria, he agrees with all the Zionist leaders that Israelis constitute a nation. Avnery rules out the possibility that Jews from other countries should be considered part of the Israeli nation, because Zionists who undertook the Jewish settlement of Palestine 'made' and 'were made' (in Ben Gurion's words) into something unexpected – *a new nation* different from the Jews of the Diaspora.

In this description of nationhood, Avnery reiterates the ideology of common history, common political destiny, and common political affiliation. He explicates the affiliation in terms of the mundane routines of taxes and army service, apparatuses and practices of nation-building (cf. Foucault), rather than in terms such as the negation of the Diaspora and the growth of a 'unique' national spirit. Disregarding declarations by parties of both the right and the left, Avnery centers on the traits that define Israel as a nation living on its territory. The 'common history' he mentions is the complex imaginary of the type of unity that makes a nation. In this way he accomplishes the cutting off ('netek') of modern Israelis from both their presumed biblical forebears and from their co-religionists outside the country. This view enables Avnery to come to a conclusion that was inconceivable for most of the members of the Knesset (see below) less than a year after the Six Day War. Avnery insisted that all of the fundamental characteristics of a nation can be found, or are developing, among the Palestinians in the newly-occupied territories. Therefore, the establishment of a Palestinian state in those territories was, to his mind, imperative.

Avnery was not the first of the voices raised in dissent from the official ideology. From the very beginning of the Jewish settlement in Palestine, there were groups who dissented from the conventional assumptions about the state that should be founded. Among them were the Brit Shalom group, the Canaanites, and the United Workers' Party (MAPAM).

Among the first of the unconventional political organizations, was *Brit Shalom* – the Covenant for Peace. During the 1920s, when the Jewish population of the country was about a quarter of a million, a group of academics affiliated with the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, among them the philosopher, Martin Buber and the Chancellor, Judah Magnes,

envisioned "a state inhabited jointly by the two peoples living in this country under complete equality of rights" (Shimoni, 1997, p. 454, note 103). Planning to reach an agreement with the Arab majority to the effect that the distribution of rights in the shared state would be independent of the relative numbers in each community, they sought to overcome inter-ethnic conflicts once and for all. They were convinced that under agreed conditions of irrevocable political equality, the Jews would not have to press for increased immigration against the will of the Arab community and against the policy of the British who held the Mandate.

Active until 1972, the *Canaanites* were a highly vocal and articulate group. The Hebrew authors and linguists who promulgated this approach to the nationhood of Israel, argued that modern Hebrew was not merely a "revival" of the Jewish national tongue. The Canaanites identify modern Hebrew as the reconstruction of an ancient language that was spoken by many peoples who lived in Canaan, a tongue that was the language of the Old Testament. Moreover, in Palestine of the twentieth century and in Israel, the evolving nation could not be described as exclusively Jewish. In a speech made in 1996, Oman (quoted and translated in Kuzar, 2001, p. 231) put it this way:

> Now, what is the central principle of Canaanite theory? It is the simple truth that in immigration countries new nations emerge, and the new nation which has emerged in the immigration country becomes cut off from the old world that the immigrants have come from.

Following this principle, the Canaanites define the historical mission of Israel as that of "wav[ing] ....[the] flag [of] 'the pluralism of the countries of the East'" (Oman, 1974, in Kuzar, 2001, p. 224). In other words, the Jews who have immigrated to this area of the world, no matter how long they have been living in the specified territory, are building a national entity together with the Arabs, an entity with a unique syntality. In their eyes, this is the core meaning of being Israeli.[18]

The leftist MAPAM (United Workers') Party, a party that was set up by the 'graduates' of the "Young Scouts" Youth Movement, tried to find ways of harmonizing the struggle for socialism with aspirations to nationhood. The party was in favor of a bi-national state from the beginning of the twentieth century to the 1960s. In accord with their grasp of social structure as an expression of class struggle, they encouraged Arabs to join the party; invited Arab youth to join kibbutzim of the movement set up in the 1920s;

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[18] See Tibi's (1998) defence of pan-Arabism as a non-racist approach to building nations out of the people who inhabit a given territory. He contrasts the liberal view of pan-Arabism with the narrowly sectarian and fundamentalist views of pan-Islamism.

and agitated for the acceptance of Arabs in the General Union of Workers (the Histadrut). The attempt to hold to a truly socialist ideology based on the brotherhood of the working class, was, however, in constant tension with the claim of the historical rights of the Jews to the "Land of Israel" (Shimoni, 1997, pp. 227, 377-8). When, in 1953, the Communist regime in Russia put Jewish doctors on trial for fabricated crimes, the party retreated from its fairly consistent identification with the communist regime, and modulated its insistence on Jewish-Arab collaboration (Brent & Naumov, 2003).

## 4.    IDEOLOGIES AMONG ISRAELI ARABS

Once the state was established, the Jewish leaders assumed that the Arab minority would assimilate and distance themselves from the Palestinians who had left Israel for Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt. What actually happened has been described as a steady strengthening of their collective identity system, and a perception of this system as allied with that of the Palestinians in the neighboring countries. Nakhleh (1975) points out that this trend is clear from the fact that by the time of his writing (only eight years after the conquest of the West Bank), most Arabs living in Israel identified themselves as Palestinians.[19] This association, however, does not mean that there is a single ideology prevalent among Arabs living in Israel. The diversity can be understood in light of the complexity of the collective identity of Israeli Arabs.

Among Arab citizens of Israel, there are differences in the realm of core political perceptions as well as about the kinds of formal-legal rights they would like to enjoy. Moreover, in regard to core political views, the Arabic-speaking community in Israel is divided by debates that have come to fruition in the Arab world during the twentieth century. In order to understand developments in education, it is important at least to note some of the most significant ideological positions that are part of the contemporary internal dialogue in the Arab world including that of the Arabs in Israel: communism, pan-Islamism, pan-Arabism, modern nationalism (Ziada, 2002).

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[19] A comprehensive definition of identity that contributes to an explanation of Nakhleh's analysis can be derived from Rouhana (1997). According to him (Rouhana, 1997, p. 4), identity evolves in response to major social forces and is manifested by loyalties, groupings, commitments, and identifications. Thus, a collective identity encompasses three 'layers': political (core political views), formal-legal (civic definition), and socio-cultural (shared core values and cultural consciousness). These layers are bound together by "affective axes" – sentimental attachment (Rouhana, 1997, p. 217). The formation of a collective identity feeds a psychological need for 'attachment' and for a symbolic system that signals that attachment, as well as a need for stability and continuity (Rouhana, 1997, pp. 147-148).

## 4.1    Communism

Many Palestinian citizens of Israel have been members of the Communist Party of Israel, which opposes the idea of including all the Jews of the Diaspora as part of the Jewish state. Focusing on attaining equality for the Arab citizens of Israel, the party recognized that the principle of the "in-gathering of the exiles" is a block to civic integration. They demand instead that Israel be "the state of all its citizens".[20] Following the 1967 conquest, the Communist Party insisted on separation and reconstruction. The plea for "two countries for two nations" countered the official government claim that Israel would carry out a fair and considerate occupation.

## 4.2    Pan-Arabism

The ideology promulgated by Abdel Nasser, president of Egypt from the late 1950s on, derived from a belief in cultivating a collective identity grounded in dedication to the Arab language and culture. Pan-Arabism resounded with great success in Israel during the 1950s and 1960s. This secularist message could be accommodated together with the hope for the spread of communism and justice for minorities and the poor, the foundation of the Communist Party platforms as noted above. According to students of politics, the failure of Egypt to impose its predominance on the Arab world and a succession of military defeats (Suez War of 1956, Six Day War of 1967) marked the rout of secularist trends. The resurgence of Islamism in the 1970s in Egypt under Sadat (Tibi, 1978) and beginning in 1979, under Khomeini in Iran (Farshad, 2000) marked at least a temporary defeat of Pan-Arabism.

## 4.3    Pan-Islamism

A review essay published in the 1980s (Woodward, 1984) relates to several different approaches to the political promise of pan-lslamism. It can

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[20] To counter this claim, the Zionist parties emphasize that the demand has been met. They point out that the formal right to vote and to stand for election to office, as well as the right to receive social services from the state, are adequate indicators of complete equality. An interesting comment on the Zionist perception of Israel as a democracy is the fact that defining the state as belonging to "all its citizens" is perceived as a threat. In the view of the Zionist majority, this conception undermines the entire structure of argument about the Jews as a nation, the right of the Jewish people to a homeland and specifically to their right to Israel as a Jewish state.

be achieved through a particular interpretation of *jihad,* through the construction of the Islamic *Ummah,* through community welfare, and/or through the pragmatic realization of political rights. This ideological position may be seen as a determined struggle to take over most of the world by mobilizing all the countries currently ruled by Muslim leadership for a military *jihad* or as the furthering of a community in which the *jihad* is interpreted as a spiritual struggle conducted by individuals who attempt to overcome their moral weaknesses (Tibi, 1998). Promoting an ideology of furthering a global Islamic community (Ummah) (Zubaida, 2002), the Islamic Movement in Israel appeals to felt needs, cultivating volunteer activity in the Arab villages. Thus, the slogan "Islam is the solution" is demonstrated concretely through services that range from nursery schools to clubs for the old, from improving facilities to equipping clinics. Attracting new adherents to the faith and to religious practices, the movement relies on demonstrations that the inspiration for the good deeds comes from the Islamic Holy Books.[21] Although the ultimate goal must be a nation that includes all the Muslims, for the time being the Movement takes the realistic stand that what they are seeking is recognition of their political rights in the State of Israel and of their status as a social force in the Arab community (Rouhana, 1997, p. 102).

## 4.4    Nationalism

According to Haddad (1998), the formation of Arab states in the course of the twentieth century is the source of Arab nationalism. The Palestinian Liberation Organization, officially founded in 1964, is credited by Rouhana (1997) with facilitating the emergence of a Palestinian national identity. More and more Arabs in the state of Israel identify themselves as

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[21] See the following examples from the Qur'an and from the Hadith all translated by Aneela Khalid Arshed (1999) (Crossroads Publishing Company, NY).

 "Those who show compassion to the weak, treat parents gently, and pardon the enslaved shall be granted an easy death and the delights of Paradise."

*Hadith*

Did We not endow them with two eyes, a tongue, and two lips, and show them the two ways (of good and evil)? Still they did not attempt the ascent. If only they understood what the ascent is. It is to free a captive, to feed an orphan or a near of kin or some miserable wretch in the days of famine, and to remain virtuous, urging others toward compassion and fortitude.

*Qur'an, Al-Balad, Surah* 90:8-17

Those who obey Allah and His messenger shall reside among those upon whom the Lord bestowed His divine approval. These are the prophets, the saints, the martyrs, and the righteous. What a delightful company they shall be.

*Qur'an, An-Nisa Surah* 4:69

'Palestinian citizens of Israel' (Smooha, 2000). As Israeli citizens who view themselves as part of the Palestinian nation, they are confronted with dilemmas relating to the conquered territories. There is the issue of how, as Israeli citizens, they can best agitate for the end of the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. There is the challenge of the need for humanitarian aid to the population involved in an uprising that is marked by steadily worsening economic conditions. In their own towns and villages, the Palestinian citizens of Israel are confronted with problems of how to further industrialization, how to improve state services in health and welfare, and how to improve education according to their own lights (cf. *Ha'aretz,* National Democratic Alliance advertisement, 22/XII/2002). In the background there are voices contending that ultimately the sections of the state where there are concentrations of Arab citizens should be annexed to the future Palestinian state, or minimally should be recognized as a separate canton within the state of Israel.

## 5. IDEOLOGY AS IDEAS THAT REPRESENT A COLLECTIVE AND ITS CONSCIOUSNESS

Taking ideology to be a collection of ideas that represent a collective and its consciousness (Lamm, 2000), we can sum up the ideas that have been quoted as outlining a specific set of conditions that define the nature of a collective. Among the Jews, prevailing world-wide socio-political conditions are construed as being such that Jews are under attack and have no asylum except for the motherland in Palestine.[22] Hence, the 'good society' will be one in which Jews can live as a free people, in a society that is determinedly Jewish. The collective to which consciousness is attributed is a collective of Jews/Israelis. In only a few of the ideological statements, do Jewish speakers/writers make a distinction between the Jews as a religious collective and the Israelis who share a common fate in a given territory. In most of the statements cited, the two definitions are pooled. This means that the group that shares the territory assumes the burden of Jewish suffering at the hands of anti-Semites, and, the Jews in many countries of the world are implicated in the problems of the territorial entity. In fact, the strategy for solving the problems of all sub-groups of Jews/Israelis is the strengthening of the nation-state by means of contributions of person-power and of financial support.

Among the Arabs, the Jews' ideological perception of justice is viewed as the quintessence of historical injustice meted out to the Arabs.

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[22] See Evron (1995) on the partnership of Zionism and active anti-Semitism.

Collectively, the "good life" would be a situation where they have control of the land they owned before the establishment of the State of Israel, as well as control of a profusion of national institutions. The ideological rift in the community derives from differences of opinion as to whether nationhood should be embedded in a secular vision of core values and practices, in a religious world view, or in political aspirations. Although currently the weakest of the political ideologies, an ideology based on pan-Arabism has the advantage of including all the people in Israel for whom Arabic is the mother tongue. Through a shared language and literature, there is a potential for including the Druzes and Christians in a unifying project, and under certain circumstances even Jews whose origin is in an Arabic-speaking country. The ideology that stems from a religious world view is here the view of identification with the Islamic *Ummah,* a project that excludes the possibility of unity with the members Christian sects, and makes problematic the affiliation of the Druzes or Sephardic Jews.[23] Where the ideology is characterized by a determined orientation to nationalism, defining the center of the national entity and the status of the periphery is a problem for which differential solutions are offered by different political parties.

Essentially, divisive lines among the Jews and divisive lines among the Arabs are drawn according to the same types of categories. The differences lie in the interpretation of what constitutes a moral good. While the official Jewish-Israeli ideology maintains the image of the Jews as an oppressed minority as the ultimate justification for Jewish dominance; the Arabic-speaking minorities in Israel struggle to sustain an image of their community that is deprived only *temporarily* of opportunities to realize its potential. Because of the political developments in the region, what strategies should be used to shape those opportunities is a field of dissension.

Differently assigned weights to historical, normative, and political ideas in the official ideology of the State of Israel raise problems in defining the collective for which the ideology is being formulated. For ideologues associated with the Establishment, the collective is defined in terms of religious affiliation and cultural identification. On the other hand, among the dissenters, sharing a territory is the defining characteristic of a collective, the society consists of those who reside within the presumed boundaries of the state and therefore the religious and cultural affiliation borders on the irrelevant. Each group proposes a different strategy for achieving the optimal situation. The culturalists insist on a strategy of eradicating the Diaspora by encouraging immigration and absorption. Some of the orthodox see this kind

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[23] There are groups of Druzes who take the position that defining the sect as separate from the Islamic Umma as a whole is an artifact of (Israeli-Jewish) political maneuvering (Oppenheimer, 1979).

of action as a sign of the imminent coming of the Messiah. The territorialists emphasize a dual strategy: (a) embracing a policy of full equality within a state that belongs to <u>all</u> its citizens, and (b) compelling an Israeli withdrawal from the conquered territories to allow for an independent Palestinian state alongside the independent state of Israel. The territorial interpretation inevitably recognizes a solution to the problem of democracy. In a word, the differences between the two camps in strategies for defining the collective can be understood as a struggle over whether the State of Israel is to be developed as 'Jewish' or 'Democratic'. This debate is central to an understanding of trends in education and it will be the burden of the following section to examine what kinds of resolutions have been entertained.

## 6.    HOW DO 'JEWISH' AND 'DEMOCRATIC' FIT TOGETHER?

Although the documents cited in this chapter were written by people from different positions on the political map, the meanings articulated disclose an interesting consistency. When dealing with the theme of building a nation-state, all those who feel they are speaking in the name of the collective identify it by reference to the Jewish religion ('status quo' — see below). Although not always mentioned explicitly, however, the Jewish state is committed to democracy and consideration for those who are not Jewish. Furthermore, a convention of justification is established, based on concomitant appeals for reparations for suffering, recognition of effort expended in rescuing the land from desolation, and the 'just price' of services rendered. The services are both symbolic (the Bible) and instrumental (military support, and European urban culture). The issue of whether Judaism and democracy are at all compatible has not yet been resolved although the commitment implied in the Declaration of Independence was enacted into law in 1991 (Constitutional Law: Human Dignity and Human Rights). Many attempts have been made to settle the incongruities and since these efforts have had effects on the performance of education, we will look at some of them.

When former U.S. President Clinton told the democratically elected Indian parliament that democracy is not for one type of culture, but for all cultures (CNN, March 18, 2000), he was referring to the model of democracy in common parlance: representative government, regularly scheduled free elections, freedom of criticism, a division of powers among the legislature, the judiciary, and the executive arms of government, and a separation of church and state. This is the formula for the government of the

United States of America, of most Western European states as well as of India. But underlying these commonalities, there are many variations.[24]

Israel has representative government, regularly scheduled free elections, freedom of criticism, a partial division of powers among the legislature, the judiciary, and the executive arms of government, but certainly no separation of church and state. Each of these arrangements has aroused opposition. Discussions about how Jewish law accords with principles of democracy hark back to the Bible, to developments in the Oral Law (the Talmud) and to the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages.

## 6.1    Relating democracy to Jewish Law

For the most part, democratic government is unknown in ancient Jewish texts. The biblical history of the Jewish community as a political entity describes ruler – kings who did or did not do 'right' in the eyes of the Lord – did or did not obey religious commandments. Once the Jewish community ceased to be autonomous and was dispersed from the beginning of the Common Era, there was no practical need to solve formal problems of government from that time on. Still, the topic was not totally ignored.

In medieval times (the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries), Jewish philosophers in Spain and Italy who discussed government structure, wrestled with the issue of how to make a polity compatible with Jewish law. From Ravitzky's (1998) survey of the writings of Maimonides, the Rabbis Nissim, Hayon, Abarbanel, and of the philosopher, Baruch (Benedict) Spinoza, we learn that each of the thinkers saw the combination of religion and government differently.

Maimonides (Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon, 1135-1204), rabbi, physician, and philosopher justified a monarchy for the only kind of regime that is acceptable in the framework of the Jewish religion would be government by an absolute ruler, who would combine in his person the capacities of king and prophet, the practical politician and the visionary religious devotee. In the eyes of his contemporary, Rabbi Nissim of Gerona, the melding of monarch, priest, and prophet was improbable and unrealistic. He therefore suggested a differentiation of roles. While a king could be relied on to keep social affairs in order by means *of ad hoc* worldly arrangements, ultimately,

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[24] Among the countries that call themselves democracies, we find monarchies that are more or less limited, such as Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden, as well as the United Kingdom. There are parliaments elected by majority vote, and parliaments constituted by multi-party proportional representation. But under the heading 'democracy' there are also governments with ministers that need never stand for election, dictatorships with the trappings of an elected parliament and constrained popular voting presented as free, and so on.

the Jewish people had to be governed according to the laws of the Torah. The model that he recommended, therefore, was that of the Book of Judges. Given a regime of judges, there would undoubtedly appear some who knew and practiced religion with fervor and devotion. Such a judge, he believed, would be able to set up a government fully in line with the constraints of the Jewish religion. A third thinker of the Middle Ages, Rabbi Joseph Hayon of Portugal totally rejected government that was not based on religious tenets; he recommended that force be exercised to keep kings and their officials dutiful to the commandments of the Jewish religion.

The philosopher, Spinoza (1632-1677), who was expelled from the Jewish religious community for his deviations from the rules of the faith, had no regard for religion as an intellectual structure, but valued the use of religion to ensure good government. As he saw it, religion fulfills the needs of uneducated people because they do not have to expend a great deal of effort in order to understand the few, simple clear messages that religion conveys. Religion also fulfills a need that rationality cannot: the human need for magic and mystery, for myths and charms. Furthermore, religion has several advantages in that its requirements, *discipline and obedience,* are the very principles that ensure decent government and a viable state. In short, Spinoza was convinced that government had to be carried out by intelligent, rational, non-religious men. In order to reign, however, they would need the assistance of an extensive religious establishment to enforce good conduct.

Rabbi Yitzhak Abarbanel (1437-1508), was the only philosopher of the Middle Ages who thought that a democratic form of government accords with religious doctrine and is possible within the constraints of worldly affairs.[25] On the basis of his experience as an official in several city-states, he had concluded that a merger of politics and religion was forever impossible. Moreover, he thought the monarchy a corrupt form of government because kings set no limits to their power. If, however, officials were elected annually and the powers of government were distributed among different authorities, this might be a way of safeguarding at least a minimal level of justice in civil government, and hence a means for keeping the spiritual world from contamination.

Five centuries later, debates about the nature of a *Jewish* state raged when the Zionist Congresses discussed political goals. While the nationalists

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[25] Abarbanel quoted passages in the Holy Books to demonstrate that a democratic type of government is actually what the Bible preaches. When, for example, the Bible reports that Moses named "ministers of thousands, ministers of hundreds, and ministers of groups of ten," Abarbanel construed these groups as a series of democratic councils. He pointed out further that at the time of the Second Temple, there was a form of government that combined a constitutional monarchy with rule by the legislature, the Sanhedrin – the aristocracy, and also local 'houses of law'. In his reading, these were all organized as democratic institutions.

were in favor of a democratic structure and the radical students were interested in establishing a socialist utopia, religious groups wanted a state governed by religious law, one where the orthodox practices would indicate that the Jewish settlement of Palestine was indeed making the first move toward messianic salvation. With the UN resolution of 1947, the idea of a 'Jewish *and* democratic state' was presented as preordained. But the attempt to work out the practicalities met many obstacles.

## 6.2    Judaism and Democracy in Modern Israel

Modern Israel had to face the issues of Judaism and democracy in tandem. First of all it was necessary to establish and institutionalize what could be meant by Jewish. To this end, the socialist majority of the Yishuv reached an agreement with the ultra-orthodox stream. A letter signed by the Head of the National Committee, the Chief Rabbi, and a member of the Jewish Agency was sent on June 19, 1947, to the head of the ultra-orthodox party, Agudath Yisrael (Association for Israel), agreeing to what has since been called the religious status quo (Pines-Raz, 2002). In keeping with the "status quo" agreed on then, the public sphere is governed by well-defined rules. In the state the Sabbath and Jewish religious holidays are observed as public holidays. All public institutions provide kosher food approved by religious supervisors. Rites of passage (marriage, divorce, burial) are carried out according to the customs of religious orthodoxy. The ceremonials of the more moderate Conservative and Reform streams in Judaism are possible but not officially binding. The Chief Rabbinate is an arm of the government and official state decisions on questions of religious law are the mandate of the incumbent rabbis – one Ashkenazi and one Sephardi.

Despite opposition and even deliberate transgressions on the part of irreligious groups, the status quo is in effect to this very day. The issue of how democracy can be aligned with this interpretation of Judaism is still debated.

A recent book, *The State of Israel: Between Judaism and Democracy* (Ben David, 2000) presents a variety of approaches. Intellectuals from different areas of interest read the possibility of combining Judaism and democracy in diverse ways. Among them are approaches that embrace the status quo and others that demand its rejection.

In an interview with him, Haim Cohen, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, since deceased, explains that he understands Judaism and democracy as inevitably complementary because the abstract "values of the [democratic] state *are* the values of Judaism." Given this assumption, he claimed that it was necessary and possible to establish that Jewish doctrines

will be acceptable to the state *on the condition* that they [the religious values] are congruent with the values of democracy, or complement them" [Cohen, 2000, p. 170; my translation].

By contrast, the philosopher, Rosenberg (2000, pp. 179-209), places religious criteria at the head of his concerns, and views the combination of Judaism and democracy in government as a predicament for which there is no generalized solution. Reviewing collections of Jewish hermeneutical writing, he concludes that a choice has to be made between Jewish laws and state legislation. Rosenberg's solution is to opt for representative democracy in the framework of which selecting legal norms will be left to the authority of democratically elected leaders. To his mind, democratic norms can be supported only when they are in line with the commandments of orthodox religion. When, on the other hand, secular laws are at odds with religious tenets, the elected leaders should be obliged to consult with orthodox rabbis. The object will be to decide when conditions make it *absolutely necessary* to follow state law [even against a religious commandment], where a Jew should *submit* to the secular law with reservations, and where he is in fact obliged to *renounce* it.

Other academics review the possibility of establishing both a democratic **and** a Jewish character of the state in terms of entrenched ideological positions. Each finds the weakness of the combination in a loss of some fixed moral standard or political interest. Thus, for example, Ben Aharon (2000), a veteran labor union leader and researcher, complains that democracy suffers because socialism has been betrayed by submission to the religious establishment. Joseph Agassi (2000), a philosopher, protests that without a proper constitution, Israel is a country of 'ad hoc arrangements' and the citizen is often fair game for bureaucrats who are each committed to a particular configuration of Jewish ideas.

For Arab citizens of Israel the entire debate is in bad taste. Others reject the adjective 'Jewish' outright. Azami Beshara (2000), philosopher and MK, takes the position that equal civil rights are fundamental in a democracy. Theological debates in the public arena are unnecessarily divisive. According to Beshara, the topic of 'who is a Jew,' which is of burning interest to Jewish Israelis, is one on which no Muslim or Christian even wants to have an opinion. It should, therefore, not be an issue for political debate in the Knesset or a factor in deciding legal issues. Since Arabs have to be fully equal citizens, Israel can be democratic only if it allows real, rather than nominal, participation in public affairs to all its citizens. Along the same lines, a Member of the Knesset, Achmed Tibi *(Ha'aretz,* November 6, 2001) devised a wry formula for avoiding the issue by asserting that Israel is "democratic for Jewish citizens and Jewish for Arab citizens".

A compromise approach by Ravitsky (2000) aims to reduce the interface

of conflict. Ravitsky views the distance between Judaism and democracy as inescapable, but a resolution of the tensions that should satisfy both the religious and the secular groups is possible. In Ravitsky's view, democracy is a mechanism for political behavior on the one hand and a system of beliefs, on the other. These two aspects have to be separated. In order to have a working state that is both Jewish and democratic, it is possible to insist on democratic techniques of government. But the state can and must reject a democratic worldview. Such an outlook is contingent and any commitment to contingency would rule out religion as the foundation of Jewish life in Israel. It is quite possible, on the other hand, to reduce the influence of religious strictures on practices of government. According to Ravitsky, there are some fairly straightforward reasons why the difficulties that beset the public debate can be overcome. Religious people must admit that the coming of the Messiah has not yet come to pass. For the time being, therefore, the Jewish religion can have little to say about how to run a state and a democratic framework can take care of the day-to-day affairs of the collective. The very dissociation can, in this interpretation, enable a way of life based on mutual respect and negotiation.

This levelheaded image is, however, very far from the realities of Israeli political life. What upsets the balance, according to Ravitsky, is the fact that both those who side with democracy over against religion and those who proclaim the omnipotence of religion are convinced that there have to be binding decisions on norms. The religious people want Rabbis to decide 'once and for all' what the religious law is in regard to every aspect of life in a modern state. As Ravitsky sees it, secularists who accept the democratic worldview have a similar impulse. They turn to the law courts in search of definitive judgments that will serve as unassailable precedents. Substantively, the legalistic orientation in both groups introduces a type of reductionism that Ravitsky deplores. This insistence on unambiguous decisions on right and wrong undermines the potential of contact, discussion, and negotiation. Legalistic reasoning perforce ignores the power of legend and of symbols and the potential for realignment embedded in direct human contact. Ravitsky would like, at the present time, to see the state democratically managed and in a fruitful relationship with the irrational and the inexplicit.

## 7.    SUMMARIZING COMMENTS

In our survey of the implications of public statements for understanding the official ideology, we have seen that a particularistic thrust is mobilized in a historical narrative that shows the Jewish people as prototypical evidence

of eternity, an inescapably 'natural' collective. Still, the historical narrative that leads inevitably to the establishment of a Jewish state is presented as a rational tale based on universalistic principles. The understanding that the state of Israel is Jewish and democratic defines the ideological view of the 'good society'. It is a society for Jews and they are the bearers of the governing principles. Such a society is possible because of national restructuring that has succeeded after generations, rather centuries, of suffering. As we have seen in this section of the chapter, however, the definition of the official ideology cannot be completed satisfactorily because the strategy needed for achieving the promulgated good society is elusive.

By refusing to surrender either of the justifications for the state, ideologues interpret every Jewish act in the framework of the state as necessarily democratic. These understandings come into play with great force, as we shall see, in regard to education. A careful reading of what, in the Israeli context, can be said about the world constituted by the nation-state, shows that the conscious ideology is an inversion of the situation of Jews in many countries. The community defined by its adherence to a minority religion, suffered from extreme exclusionary practices in Christian countries and moderate exclusion in the Muslim countries. By contrast, the cluster of ideas that provides the center-piece of Israeli ideology focuses only on the inclusion of Jews, especially Jews with some western European background. Assuming that the Israeli collective can develop the ideological basis for the Jewish people wherever they are, the intellectuals, who are in a sense in charge of the national conscience, rule out the possibility of providing a worldview that includes perspectives of Jews from "Asia-Africa,"[26] or Palestinians — Muslim or Christian, on the one hand; and the possibility of including oriental" worldviews in the official compilation of underlying values and ideas, on the other.

In the following chapters, I will examine whether the democratic ideals are applied in relating to Jewish immigrants and to the education of immigrant children. In addition, I will look into the extent to which the 'democratic' state takes account of education for Arab Israeli children and for the children of temporary immigrant workers. As the state legislature, the Knesset has repeatedly been called upon to deal with the implications of ideology for policy, the next chapter will provide a view of how ideology enters into the Knesset debates and into the laws enacted. But first, it will be worthwhile to shed some light on how the official ideology is popularly understood.

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[26] Jews from countries around the Mediterranean Basin and from the Middle East are listed under the heading "Asia-Africa" in the *Yearbooks* of the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics.

# 8.    CODA: POPULAR VISIONS OF THE OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY

Politicians and educators alike tend to ignore the inherent contradictions that arouse academic debate, and take both democracy and Judaism for granted. The description of the collective for which the ideology is formulated as Jews worldwide has never been questioned. Thus, the encouragement of Jewish immigration and the 'absorption' of immigrants, a central pillar of the official ideology as well as a pragmatic demographic policy, is constantly raised in lay publications and discussions. In 1990, when the Jewish population of Israel was over four million (by contrast with the 600,000 Israeli Jews in 1948), the promise of massive immigration from the former Soviet Union was presented as a firm necessity. In an article written for the journal of the armed forces that is widely distributed, Schweid (1990, p. 10) states unequivocally "the assumption that the state of Israel must absorb immigration and needs it, is an ideological principle that was established as the civil, legal, symbolic, ideological-educational foundation of the state of Israel." Although he points out the difficulties from the point of view of the residents of the state, both Jewish and Arab; and shows that he is conscious of the hardships awaiting the immigrants themselves, Schweid insists that otherwise the Jews will disappear, and the state will lose its viability as a "Jewish and democratic" entity.

Similar ideas are presented in a recent publication that purported to point out elements of the official ideology that could be accepted by a wide public. Under the aegis of the Rabin Center,[27] a self-appointed "Forum for National Responsibility" circulated a document called the Kinneret Pact (January 11, 2002). The introduction announces that "out of a commitment to the existence of the state of Israel as a state that is Jewish and democratic, and out of a feeling of responsibility and deep concern for the future of Israel and for the nature of society in Israel; we, Israelis, members of the Jewish people, have assembled, and in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, have adopted this pact." The group, numbering 56 people, both religious and secular, includes 13 women, four men who identify themselves by their military rank, as well as rabbis, lawyers, and journalists. The first four provisos highlighted in the pact emphasize that the state of Israel, the "national home" of the Jewish people, is both Jewish and democratic. Article 5 states that "Israel will observe the right of the Arab minority to preserve its linguistic, cultural and national identity." Article 6 asserts that Israel seeks

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[27] The Rabin Center was endowed by the government after the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin as an institution for historical research and policy. It is currently headed by Rabin's daughter, Dalia Rabin Philosoph.

peace with the Palestinians and is "willing to recognize their legitimate rights .... if they will recognize the legitimate rights of the Jewish people." Acknowledging that the Jewish state has many "faces," the pact calls for a "shared core" culture together with the freedom to preserve community cultures. Further on, the pact calls for equality of opportunity, "brotherhood" among the Jewish people and cooperation between religious and secularist groups. Two of the articles refer specifically to civic equality for Arab citizens of Israel. To round off the document, the pact urges the community to take responsibility for continuing the effort to ensure the existence of a state that is Jewish and democratic. On the Sunday following the distribution of the Kinneret Pact, a group of ultra-orthodox rabbis made public their vigorous opposition. They stated categorically that the only collaboration possible between religious and secular people is through the study of the holy writings and the acceptance of orthodox religion by those who have rejected it to date.[28] Among the Arab Israelis, no group took the trouble to argue any points.

Popular understanding of the official ideology can be seen indirectly in the information disseminated on festive state occasions. On May 7, 2003, Israel celebrated its $55^{th}$ birthday. As almost every year, the central issue discussed in the media was "who we are." On the eve of Independence Day, *Yedioth Achronoth (Latest News),* "the newspaper of the country," because it has the highest circulation of any of the written media, published three supplements that present a popular solution to the riddle. The three are: the "Supplement for the Holiday," "I have no other country – An optimistic collection of songs for the fifty-fifth Independence Day of the State of Israel," and "Words from the Heart – A special supplement dedicated with love to the soldiers." The contents of the supplements grant us a rich overview of what Israelis want to see when they look at themselves. And, all together, they provide clues as to the culture that Israelis are creating.

The newspaper makes no attempt to hide its goal of compiling a cheerful

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[28] The inability of the secular circles and those of religious orthodoxy to disentangle themselves from the "traditional connection" was emphasized again after the elections of January 2003. Although the Likud party headed by Ariel Sharon earned the largest number of Knesset seats (40 out of 120), they had no choice but to seek partners for a stable coalition. Since the Labor Party refused to join the government, the Likud had to choose between alternatives of a narrow extreme right-wing coalition, one with the religious parties (orthodox and ultra-orthodox), or a centrist coalition with Shinui, a party that had earned 15 Knesset seats, among others, perhaps chiefly, because they had promised not to "sit at the government table" with the ultra-orthodox. A Minister from the Likud in the out-going government, Ms. Tzippi Livni, described the situation as very difficult because the Likud had always stood squarely behind the conception that Israel is a Jewish and democratic state, and for a Jewish state, the religious parties were essential partners in any Likud government (The Second Network, February 12, 2003).

and soothing self-characterization. On the cover of the "Supplement for the Holiday," the most comprehensive of the three, a picture of nine five- and six-year old children, smiling and waving flags, is headlined "The Next Generation". What that generation has to say is presented as "The State of the Children," interviews that appear on the page after the center spread, "This is What We Are Like."

Presenting a pocket version of the *Statistical Yearbook,* an annual volume of well over a thousand pages, the "Supplement for the Holiday" supplies partial answers to twelve questions that are, apparently, the most important concerns of *Yedioth's* readers (see Appendix C). The newspaper cites the entire population of the state, the distribution according to age, and according to geographic area. After that the non-Jewish population disappears from the statistics quoted. Statistics about Jews are presented as a portrait of the "Israeli." The "state of the children" is presented in snippets from talk with Jewish children in a prosperous town at the center of the country. The import of "Jewish" is not examined, nor is the issue of "democracy" raised.

Instead, a second supplement with seventy-one "optimistic songs" all Europeanized melodies is a nostalgic reminder that once singing together was a typical Israeli pastime. It was loud, and it was often musically distasteful, but for the pre-state army, made up of native-born "new Jews," singing while sitting around the bonfire was a time of true happiness. In a wistful introduction to the collection, readers are told that the words of the songs convey the kind of hope that suits Israelis. The illustrations in the supplement reinforce the nostalgia. The cover page shows a crowd singing (undoubtedly out of tune and yelling) together with an accordionist whose instrument is flying an Israeli flag. Inside pages have people from diverse social groups dancing together, in circles, in lines, in pairs. We see couples embracing, chatting intimately, and helping one another. And the words of the songs support the idyllic realization of solidarity. From the gateway song, "I have no other land" to "Our way" and "To give" on the last two pages, the collection bespeaks collaboration and solidarity. This is our country. Most of the pages are illustrated with pictures of Jewish men and women. But on the page where the reader is given the words of the songs, "A prayer" and "The last war", the illustration of dancers includes a Greek Orthodox priest, a military policeman, a woman objecting to the occupation, an Arab worker and a woman dressed according to the rules of the ultra-orthodox.

Proof positive of the importance of singing in the Israeli consciousness is the notice on the final page of the third supplement "To our soldiers with love". We are informed that there is a new disk, "Songs in Khaki with a Blue-White Flag" with "the best" recordings of the troupes of different

branches of the armed forces that have sung, played, and danced over the years. The disk includes performances by troupes of the navy, the artillery, the tank corps, the forces of the Central Region, the forces of the Northern Region, and several performances of the troupe that represents the men and women soldiers who do agricultural work between periods of mobilization for active duty. The entire supplement was funded by an NGO, called Libi, an acronym of "for the security of Israel," (l'vitchon Yisrael). Moreover, in Hebrew, the word 'libi' means "my heart" and that explains the subhead of the supplement.[29]

The three supplements carry a message that is highly pertinent to an understanding of how Israelis conceive of the nature of the state. Combinations of 'westernized' statistics, particularized nostalgia as the experience of singing together around the bonfire – and the unquestioning dedication to support for the army, the central institution of the country, are offered for adoption as Israeli identity.

The impact of the three supplements is far greater than their specific content. The supplements purport to describe a unified nation-state. Yet, in everyday life, people do not count themselves as part of a statistical bloc. The words of songs that are supposed to symbolize the togetherness of bonfires and mutuality are a virtual anomaly; the newspaper notes that people are invited to sing along on Independence Day when they will be performed on television. The purport of the supplement that supports "our soldiers" is even more jarring. When all is said and done, the military forces are undoubtedly the most stable, and the most highly valued – speaking in terms of investment - of the national institutions. In a country where all the Jewish people who reach the age of eighteen have to register for military service and can be recruited for a wide range of jobs from combat to office duties; in a country where the military budget is the largest single slice of the annual state budget, it is rather strange to learn that there are apparently such serious deficiencies in the soldiers' welfare that without voluntary donations to Libi and the many projects that the organization initiates, soldiers' needs may not be met.[30] Moreover, by singling out the army for special attention

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[29] In the supplement, Libi publicizes the services it provides for soldiers who come from homes where the family's subsistence is beneath the poverty line. They take care of entertainment for the soldiers who are posted in places that are far from both their home towns and from Israeli cities. But they also purchase protective vests for soldiers serving on the snowy Hermon Mountain. The object of the supplement is to encourage people to contribute regular sums, so that the organization can broaden its intervention.

[30] The involvement underlines the inter-relationship of the civilian and the military in Israel. This is also clear from the "infiltration" of officers in civilian institutions. In Israeli politics, a large number of incumbents are people who made names for themselves in the army. It has almost become routine for highly placed generals who retire to find their way to the Knesset or even more directly to the seats of ministries. The fact is that the army 'built' people such as

on the state holiday, the newspaper emphasizes that the military experience represents a collective tradition even though large numbers of Israelis are excluded. Among those for whom military service is unfamiliar are the ultra-orthodox men who devote themselves to the study of the Jewish Holy Books and the ultra-orthodox women, Muslim and Christian men and women who may be recruited only if they volunteer and meet conditions of admission, as well as at least 50% of the Jewish women (Roumani, 1991). The institution that is taken to represent the quintessential qualities of being Israeli turns out to be an apparatus that is necessarily not democratic.

Indeed, the very centrality of the military and of military experiences can be seen as a threat to the essence of democracy. The book section of another newspaper, *Ha'aretz,* that appeared on the day just before Independence Day, 2003, discloses how subtly the army can chip away at qualities of democracy while it nurtures 'being Jewish'. In *Ha'aretz* of May 6, Reuven Pedhatzur, a commentator who usually writes on military affairs, and Gideon Levi, who reports on events in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank, review books that shed light on effects of militarization. Summarizing *Wars Don't Just Happen* by Motty Golani, on the first page of the supplement, Pedhatzur quotes Golani to the effect that: "Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, her decision-making leaders have generally preferred to solve problems ...by force," adding that Israel has developed a unique "culture of security" according to which "the issue of security is regularly given priority, and always takes precedence over every other domain of activity in Israeli society" (*Book Supplement,* p. 1).

This perception of social priorities explains why Levi, in reviewing a translation into Hebrew of Sebastian Haffners' *Story of a German 1914-1933,* reminds readers that it is permissible to compare Germany of the 1920s and the early 1930s with Israel at the beginning of the third millennium. We must, he says, "understand how the monsters develop, examine the differences – they are many and profound and to our credit – and also the similarities which are not negligible and must cause us deep unrest." He goes on: "Among us people are not executed for their opinions, never — they are not even fired because of them. Among us, there is no ideology of genocide, none whatsoever, and the great majority is not even in favor of population transfer. But among us, there are arrests without trial, and people who have not been indicted for any crime are put in mass prison camps, people are imprisoned in their cities and in their villages, not to say

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Yitzhak Rabin, Ehud Barak, Arik Sharon, Shaul Mofaz to such an extent that their personalities, skills, and qualifications are considered resources for any position in the government or in the private sector. Lower grade officers who retire from the army have been appointed to positions of responsibility in schools.

their ghettoes. There is discrimination between Arabs and Jews in everything, roads are laid for Jews and the most basic human rights are slighted – all this in the occupied (conquered) territories and to the west of them. So how can we deny the need to compare?" (*Ha'aretz Book Supplement,* 6/V/2003, p. 6).

And interestingly enough, he ends the article (three columns later) by quoting Haffner's warning against what many would cite as the better part of military service — friendship. Haffner wrote that "friendship is connected with war ... like alcohol, it is a nectar of consolation for people who find themselves in inhuman conditions ... [friendship] frees a person from responsibility for his life before God and before his own conscience. He does what 'everybody' does. He has no choice. There is no time. His conscience is "the mates" and he is sure of complete expiation as long as he goes on doing what they all do." But friendship is above all compensation for years of obligatory service and years of reserve duty.

Ironically, a song recycled every Independence Day, serves as counsel that this warning should be taken seriously. The song glorifies that very same kind of close friendship, the brotherhood of fighters that releases individuals from the burden of moral decision-making. The messages of the newspaper presentation noted above – the state of the adults, the state of the children, all are to be together in the State of Israel as members of society and as 'friends.' The exclusive assemblage of Ashkenazi Jews and their native-born offspring in the State of Israel is popularly established and re-established by the choice of data culled for dissemination, by the choice of illustrations, and by choice of the institutions that are both the object of investments of core resources and the locus of subjectively meaningful life-experiences. These experiences are institutionalized through the national agency of legislating policies, the point of departure for Part II.

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PART II:  FROM IDEOLOGY TO NATIONAL
POLICY AND IMPLEMENTATION

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Chapter 5

# POLICIES THAT RELY ON IDEOLOGY – ENACTING LEGISLATION

How the official ideology is translated into policy is chronicled in the *Knesset Record.* As the primary instrument *(agency)* for achieving the state's purposes, the Knesset works through parliamentary discussion that leads to either formal legislation or relatively informal declarations of intent. Knesset discussions provide information on issues that the government and the Members of the Knesset (MKs) view as problems — perennial or ad hoc — that have to be solved. The policies establish how to resolve issues by setting the limits of the state's program. This chapter presents a global overview of the policies adopted by the Knesset in relation to three demographically distinguishable groups, all clients of the state system of education:

- policies on the settlement of immigrants (olim) and the integration of their children in the system of education — here the focus will be on the settlement of the immigrants who have been in the spotlight during the last twenty years, immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, and those from Ethiopia;
- policies related to the Arab population of Israel and the school system for speakers of Arabic;
- policies applied to temporary immigrant workers — non-Jews that have been brought to Israel since the late 1980s when limitations were decreed on the movements of Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza.

Positions taken in the Knesset in relation to different sectors of the population are all connected with notions about the proper interpretations of Constitutional (Basic) Laws that the Knesset has promulgated, among them: the Law of Return (1950), the Law of Citizenship (1952), the Law for Human Dignity and Freedom (1992), and the Law for Free Occupation (1994). Another important piece of legislation is the Law for Social Security and National Health Insurance (1994).

The Law of Return (1950) pronounces that "every Jew has the right to immigrate to Israel" and grants every Jew full privileges of citizenship on arrival (*Israel's Codex,* No. 51, 1950, p. 159). With this law Israel emphasizes that it is a Jewish state and therefore every Jew is welcome. The protection of the Law of Return has been denied only to potential beneficiaries who were judged to be a danger to public security or to public health.[31] When first enacted, the Law of Return defined a Jew as a person born to a Jewish mother, or a person who has converted to Judaism according to the rituals of the Orthodox rabbinate. With the prospect of a fairly large immigration of Jews from the Former Soviet Union, in many of whose families one of the partners was not Jewish by orthodox criteria, the Law of Return was amended in 1970. The amendments extended eligibility for immigration and citizenship to "the children, grandchildren and spouses of Jews, and to the spouse of a child and of a grandchild of a Jew. [The rights] are granted to these people whether the Jew they are related to is alive or dead, and whether or not he/she immigrated to Israel" (Greenfield, 1994). Under these provisions, only a Jew who has voluntarily converted to another religion can be excluded. This single piece of legislation establishes the priority of affiliation with the Jewish religion and with the Jewish community. At the same time, it locates non-Jewish groups, autochthonous minorities or temporary immigrant workers, in a position of lesser entitlement.

The Law of Citizenship modulates the blow somewhat. It specifies that Israeli citizenship can be obtained either by means of the Law of Return, or by residence in Israel prior to the establishment of the state. For while the Law of Return recognizes the citizenship rights of Jews according to birth *(ius sanguinis)* or by right of conversion, analogous rights of Arabs are specified in the Law of Citizenship on the basis of *ius soli.* Residents of Palestine who lived in the territory before the foundation of the state are recognized as citizens: if they were registered under the Registration of Inhabitants Ordinance 5709-1949, or resided in Israel, or entered legally before the Law of Citizenship went into effect (*Israel's Codex,* No. 95, July 14, 1952, p. 146). Similarly, residents of Israel who are descendants of those who met the conditions of the Law are also citizens. Thus, Arab residents of Israeli territory and their offspring are recognized as citizens.

In the 1990s, two constitutional laws were enacted, defining civil rights for citizens of Israel for the first time. These are the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom and the Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation. In the

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[31] In the 1970s, the then Minister of the Interior, Dr. J. Burg refused to allow the entrance into Israel of Meir Lansky, a member of the Mafia who had been sentenced to imprisonment for tax evasion.

Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom (*Israel's Codex,* No. 1391, 1992, p. 90), the arbitrary imprisonment of citizens and the arbitrary invasion of citizens' privacy are prohibited. The sanctity of life and the inviolability of freedom are recognized. The law explicitly grants citizens the freedom to leave and re-enter the country. The Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation (1994) recognizes the right of persons to adopt any vocation they desire. Both laws assert that their implementation is in line with the principles enunciated in the 1948 Declaration of Independence. The Law for Social Security and National Health Insurance states that every citizen or legal resident is entitled to health services as regulated by the Ministry of Health. These privileges are, however, specifically denied to temporary workers from abroad, and to tourists (*Israel's Codex,* No. 1469, 1994, see p. 156).

The laws cited supply the framework for Knesset discussions of how to provide for the different groups that are likely to reside in Israel, and how to regulate the education of children from each group. In the following we will look at some of the significant issues related to these laws that have come up for policy decisions, but first a word about the procedures adopted for parliamentary deliberations.

## 1.    PARLIAMENTARY DELIBERATIONS

Most proposals for legislation originate in the government, but there is also room for proposals by MKs seeking benefits for a particular constituency. Final decisions are recorded as resolutions, laws, or amendments enacted to regulate many domains of life in the State. Discussions initiated in the plenary are prepared in advance in committee deliberations. In relation to the topics dealt with here, it is important to note that there is a special committee for dealing with issues related to "immigration and absorption" and one for dealing with education and culture. Discussants argue according to the interpretation of earlier legislation accepted by the political party to which they belong. Speeches are summarized in resolutions adopted by vote, and by the enactment of legislation usually with modifications. Apart from the carefully prepared debates, the Knesset also considers topics more or less spontaneously. Some discussions are kicked off by a question that a Member of the Knesset raises because of provocative items in the media. An MK may also instigate a discussion because a voter has brought an insufferable situation to his/her attention. In what follows I will look at how the Knesset has dealt with issues related to Jewish immigrants, Palestinian Arab citizens of the country, and temporary immigrant workers.

## 2.     ALIYA (JEWISH IMMIGRATION) AS A PARLIAMENTARY ISSUE.

Hundreds of pages of the *Knesset Record* are devoted to describing, analyzing, and critiquing the procedures in place for absorbing Jewish immigrants. The legislative foundations for many of the discussions are the Law of Return and the Law of Citizenship, the two laws that provide the statutory basis for decisions on the legality of residence and citizenship.

From the point of view of the state, this law was necessary as a rational instrument for ensuring a viable Jewish population by securing a stream of "desirable immigrants." Problems arose, however, when Jews interested in immigrating were married to non-Jews as was the case with the aliya from the Former Soviet Union in 1972. The amendment of 1970 quoted above ensured that anybody with some family connection to Judaism could become an Israeli citizen. When the Soviet Union was dismantled in 1989, the then Minister in charge of Immigration and Absorption (Peretz), a representative of the ultra-orthodox Shas party, wanted to repeal the permissive amendments in order to prevent the migration of what he saw as a dangerous influx of non-Jews. But the pressure of parties who viewed immigration as essential to the vigor of the state won out and the broader interpretation of who is to be considered a Jew for purposes of Israeli citizenship has prevailed. For many families where one of the spouses is not Jewish, the legislation does not do away with problems that arise for the children on maturity. If the mother of the family is not Jewish, children have to undergo conversion in order to marry in Israel and to participate in rites of passage. The situation is especially complicated for many olim (Jewish immigrants) because in the country of origin, their religion was defined according to the religious affiliation of the father. On arriving in Israel, therefore, many people who had identified themselves as Jews had to face a new kind of categorization.

Because of the state's interest in inducing immigration, the Knesset has repeatedly discussed the life conditions of Jewish immigrants, as well as the process of their social and cultural integration. These debates are initiated for reasons ranging from concern for the conditions under which Jews are living in different countries, the procedures upon their reception in the country, and the standards that are met in supplying them with housing, employment, and social services. Discussions arise on the basis of:

- information that Jews in certain countries are at risk;
- a perceived need to decide on how to organize 'aliya' for a specific group of immigrants and on how to treat them once they reach the country;

- dissatisfaction with the integration of new immigrants; and
- follow-up on whether or not 'olim' already in the country are enabled to enjoy the benefits of citizenship in full.

There is a rather disappointing regularity to these discussions. In every debate, speakers begin by rehearsing conventional reasons why Israel needs immigrants (the state needs immigration for its very existence), go on to expound on the importance of accepting and integrating new Jewish immigrants (many of the people who plan to immigrate become dropouts at stations along the way and this is cited as a phenomenon that endangers the very existence of the state), and finish up with proposals for improving the system of "absorbing immigrants" that is in place. Connected with these qualms is the fear that many veteran Israelis have permanently left/are likely to leave the country. In order to capture the flavor of these debates, let us look at some of the points raised: about the meaning of immigration and its importance, problems related to the elucidation of the Law of Return, information about Jews at risk, and the mundane problems that hinder full 'absorption'.

## 2.1    The meaning of aliya and its importance

'Aliya' or 'ascent' is the generic term in Hebrew for Jewish immigration to Israel. On the assumption that the Jew who migrates to the Holy Land is, by virtue of the change of locale, improving himself spiritually, Members of the Knesset are careful to distinguish between 'aliya' and immigration. The distinction is important because while immigration is merely a change of address, 'aliya' is perceived to be both an individual accomplishment and the fulfillment of an essential collective need. 'Aliya' is a criterion of political efficacy both in the micro and in the macro. A consequence of this prioritizing is the assumption that problems of immigrants are problems of the entire collective. The Knesset, therefore, continually examines the performance of the government in light of how 'aliya' is carried out, and in this connection, MKs rehearse ideological declarations of purpose. Here are some examples of the conventional Knesset discourse. Jewish immigration is typically referred to as the "heart" of the state and a practical necessity. On March 27, 1974, the Minister for Justice (Pinhas Rozen), reminds the MKs that "From the point of view of the national ideology, we must repeatedly stress that 'aliya' and 'absorption' are the very justification for the existence of the state. The State of Israel and the Jewish community that preceded the foundation of the state always provided a base and a home for Jews." He adds that 'aliya' is also necessary for security. In October of that year, the

Minister again reminds the Knesset that "the state of Israel needs aliya. She needs it just as the body needs a soul." As still another MK states three years later, aliya is like the "air we breathe" and, furthermore, "we are lost without aliya" (21/XII/l977).

The rhetoric of Members of the Knesset is accepted as a model for all public discourse. The need for *aliya* that is unquestioned in the statements on the Knesset floor, is disseminated through the media to this very day, even though the Jewish population of Israel within the green lines at the start of the 21$^{st}$ century is more than five million and the total population is almost ten times that of the population of the state at its foundation in 1948 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002). Two examples illustrate the pervasive force. One example is the reaction to the January 2002 immigration of small groups of Jews who had decided to leave the Argentine at the time of the economic crash. Embracing them as olim, the media broadcast interviews with officials of the Jewish Agency and the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption as well as with Members of the Knesset. In their statements, the slogans cited by Rozen in the 1970s were still prominent. They emphasized that aliya is the lifeblood of Israel, and that it is a national duty to "absorb" as many Argentinian Jews as possible.[32]

## 2.2     Problems related to 'making aliya'

In order to facilitate aliya, the Knesset recognizes the importance of providing mechanisms for collaboration between the Diaspora and the state. Because aliya is a moral project of spiritual self-realization, it is relevant to members of the Jewish community wherever they may live. The United Jewish Appeal is deputed to collect money for supporting 'aliya' and the Jewish Agency is responsible for mobilizing immigrants from all the countries of the Diaspora and for organizing their migration to Israel. These activities are all supposed to be preliminary to the actual arrival of immigrants in the country. Once they have arrived, the immigrants become the responsibility of the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption. The conditions for the transfer of authority taking place are not always clear, however, and actually bringing the procedures to completion is not easy.

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[32] In the midst of Intifadat el-Aksa, that began in October, 2000, and developed into full-scale guerilla warfare, a radio broadcaster chose to encourage listeners with the information that "in the middle of all the sad news [of terror and counter-terror, as well as of an economic recession], there is some light. Six hundred and forty five 'olim' have come to Israel this week ..." And there followed an itemization of the specific numbers from the Argentine (71), from Ethiopia (65), several hundred from the FSU, and so on. (Michael Nero, "An Hour for Education", Second Network, February 13, 2002, 7:00 p.m).

Knesset debates record many clashes of interest between the Jewish Agency and the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption; these are held to be undermining the efficiency of the entire project (e.g., *Knesset Record:* 2/VII/1969; 22/X/1974; 6/XII/1978; 14/III/1990). Problems arise in relation to both the organization of aliya, and its financing. It is agreed that since anti-Semitism can raise its ugly head at any time and in every place, Jews anywhere might find that they need to migrate to Israel. There should, therefore, be mechanisms in place to ensure quick, efficient organization for groups at risk. But Jews in the Diaspora do not always see things in the same light. The Knesset discussions point to organizational defects as the root cause of disparate goals among Jewish communities throughout the world. MKs describe the Jewish Agency as a slow inefficient body. An associated problem is that of financing. Because aliya is a potential escape route for Jews in the Diaspora, and Israel is a relatively poor country, Jews throughout the world should be funding aliya "now," but the United Jewish Appeal has not always succeeded in mobilizing the resources that absorption requires. As early as September, 1969, an MK insisted that Jews from the whole world should be recruited to "raise their voices" and donate funds for the aliya of Jews oppressed in the Soviet Union. One MK suggested implicating Jews in the Diaspora by initiating a savings scheme for investing in aliya to celebrate the state's thirtieth anniversary in 1978 (MK Rom, Dec. 21, 1977).

Alongside the steady stream of exhortation, it is important to note that not all the Members of the Knesset have been enthusiastic about immigration. Opposition to indiscriminate aliya has also been frequently voiced in the Knesset. Generally, examples of disagreement with aliya appear in speeches by Members of the Knesset who belong to the Communist Party. They have reservations because they construe the situation of Jews abroad differently from the construals of the Zionist parties, and because they disagree with what they see as exorbitant annual provisions in the state budget for absorbing aliya. The MKs of the Communist Party consistently refuted statements about the suffering of the Jews in the Soviet Union and, after the fall of the USSR, in Russia. In their interpretation, the low rate of aliya from the communist bloc until 1989 was a sign that Jews did not want to leave their home countries; it had nothing to do with dictatorial pressures or with manifestations of anti-Semitism. MK Charlie Biton (a member of the Israeli Black Panthers protest group in the early 1970s before he joined the Communist Party and was elected to the Knesset) opposed the generous living allowances granted 'olim' (Jewish immigrants). He insisted that "we should be spending the money on Amzaleg [a name chosen to stand for the community of immigrants from North Africa in the 1950s] and his friends who came here and have lived through everything [the wars of 1956, 1967, 1968-1970, 1973] and are still

here" (*Knesset Record,* December 21, 1977). On July 3, 1990, when a special law for codifying benefits the state would allocate to 'olim' was proposed, the Communists argued that there should be no discrimination in favor of immigrants at the expense of veteran Israelis.

Although the Communists are a relatively small party, we learn from the discussions that their stand on 'aliya' is, at least covertly, accepted by many citizens who do not vote for the Communists or give voice to their doubts. In 1969 (2/VII), findings from a survey were presented in the Knesset to show that in general veteran Israelis agreed that aliya was necessary for security and for improving the economy, but only 25% said they had friends among the immigrants and as many as *30% of the respondents insisted that the state should not provide extra support for these immigrants.* In the course of succeeding debates, the survey data were used as a basis for decrying the resistance of many groups in the public to "the great national project of promoting aliya." In the *Record,* MKs insist repeatedly that veteran Israelis have to be educated to pay attention to the 'olim' and "to do their best" for them. Among the practical steps recommended is the investment of "extraordinary efforts" to find volunteers to work with immigrants (November 26, 1991).

## 2.3    Jews at risk

Opposition to benefits for Jewish immigrants is over-ruled whenever there is mention that the 'aliya', which is "the very life-blood of the country," is an essential service to Jews at risk. This is a theme that recurs throughout the *Knesset Record.* In June, 1969, the Knesset is concerned with the dangers that threaten Jews in Arab countries. They discuss ways and means of facilitating their migration. References to the deprivation of the Jews in the Soviet Union appear in the 1960s and the 1970s when MK Haim Landau of the right-wing Herut (Freedom) Party, initiated a debate on the "danger to the existence of Jews in the USSR". He asserts that Jews do not feel at home in the USSR, and tens of thousands are impatient to leave. In his perception, Israel had to act because Jews in the USSR were faced with a threat of imminent re-Stalinization, which would undoubtedly signal renewed oppression of Jewish cultural identity. When a representative of the Israeli Communist Party claims that this is a misrepresentation of the conditions of Jews in the USSR, the *Knesset Record* notes that he is shouted down.

The theme of 'Jews at risk' is frequently cited as the reason for organizing missions to encourage 'aliya'. On November 14, 1979, the Knesset discusses the "outcry" of the Jews in Ethiopia, and passes a

resolution to do everything possible to save a community described as "a remnant of the ancient glory" of Jewry. This was the signal for funding projects to bring Ethiopian Jews to Israel. The missions, that were carried out in the 1980s and the early 1990s were given picturesque names: Operation Moses and Operation Solomon. The names reflect the acknowledged constancy of these Jewish communities since the era if the Old Testament. In 1992, a small group of Jews from Syria was also earmarked for special treatment as olim because there was information that they were 'at risk'. At the end of the decade, the rise of anti-Semitism in Russia is discussed as a cardinal problem in the wake of an attack, in October, 1999, on the Chairperson of the Center for Jewish Culture in Moscow. In Knesset discussions, Jews are seen to be at risk, furthermore, in every country where there is news about the desecration of Jewish cemeteries (13/X/99).[33]

## 2.4      Success in carrying out absorption

As an on-going state project, the issue that is constantly on the agenda is that of whether the *rate* of aliya, that is, the relation of in-migration to out-migration is satisfactory. It is understood that the success of the undertaking depends on whether olim stay in the country and on whether the number of immigrants who remain is larger than the number of residents of Israel who leave the country in any given year. Ministers of Immigration and Absorption are repeatedly called upon to report on how many immigrants have arrived within the "last half year", sometimes in "the past two years." The responses are picked at pedantically. MKs query how to calculate the correct number of immigrants. The Minister is challenged to explain, for example, why the numbers he gives are higher than those published in the *Statistical Yearbook* of the Central Bureau of Statistics. One incumbent explains that while the CBS counts only those who arrive in Israel with the intention of staying, the government counts not only those who came to Israel with an immigrant visa, but also temporary residents and tourists who stay beyond the period marked on their visas. Thus the ministry concludes

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[33] "Risk" is also assumed when the Jewish community in a particular place is very small. In July, 2003, the Jewish Agency brought seventeen Jews to Israel from Basra, in newly liberated Iraq. The arrival of the group of people ranging in age from 70 to 99 [sic!] was celebrated as a great accomplishment, but one of the immigrants complained that the "woman from the Jewish Agency told me I *must* come to Israel. She gave me only two days to get my things together." Commentators indicated that this aliya was carried out to show that the Jewish Agency still had important tasks at hand (Channel 1 News at 9:00 p.m., Israeli Television, July 27, 2003).

that a higher number reached the country than the count made according to the classifications of the Bureau (2/VII/1969). This is a sensitive issue, because when the rate of immigration falls, the Minister is called to task. The plenary is constantly haunted by the fear that 'aliya' is not appealing enough. Faced with the disappointing statistical datum that more than 50% of those who get permission to immigrate to Israel from Eastern Europe do not actually reach its shores, the MKs figuratively beat their breasts, and the Minister attempts to escape criticism by warning that there is a need to regroup and reorganize. On July 28, 1975 and again on December 19, 1977, the Knesset holds extended discussions on how coming to Israel can be marketed as a favorable life change.

Still another concern is repeatedly highlighted — the sense in which the immigrants can be called Jewish. According to orthodox religious strictures, a Jew is defined either as the child of a verifiably Jewish mother or of a mother who converted to Judaism by following the orthodox rules of conversion. As noted above, in accordance with the secular emphasis on enabling the unification of families, the law allows the immigration of children and grandchildren of both male and female Jews. In 1996, eight years after the Minister for Aliya and Absorption complained about the threat to the Jewish character of the state that this liberal provision contains, another Member of the Knesset brought it to the attention of the legislature that forty per cent of the Russian immigrants who had been admitted to the country under the revised Law of Return, are not in fact Jewish. Apart from the many children and grandchildren of Jewish fathers, whose mothers are not Jewish, there are, he insists, indications that a large number of people had been admitted as 'olim' on the basis of forged papers. They actually are not related to Jews at all, so, he concludes, they have no right to citizenship even according to the amended law. After extended discussions in the Knesset Committee for Immigration and Absorption, it was decided that the questioned 1970 amendments (paragraphs 4a and 4b) to the Law of Return should not be changed.

These disagreements continue to be a source of friction between the secular and the religious political parties. When the Ministry is in the hands of a religious Zionist or an ultra-orthodox party as was the case during most of the decade of the 1990s, officials formulate and implement regulations that are contrary to the norms of basic human rights. In 1996, one of the parties set up by Russian immigrants touted "nash (our) control" of the Ministry of the Interior as its major goal and earned a significant number of seats in the Knesset on that basis. After the parliamentary elections of January, 2003, the Prime Minister appointed a Minister of the Interior from the non-religious middle-class party, Shinui. On May 4, 2003, he held a special ceremony awarding Israeli citizenship to non-Jewish soldiers, i.e.,

men who had been drafted at the age of eighteen because they were living in Israel, but whose mothers are not recognized as Jewish (*Ha'aretz,* May 5, 2003, p. A7).

Control of the Ministry of the Interior is crucial for determining whether the treatment of immigrants will or will not be democratic and fair. In a discussion set in train in 1998 (July 8), for example, the Minister of Immigration and Absorption was asked whether, as reported in the media, the Ministry regularly requires an examination of an immigrant's tissues to establish whether the person is indeed the grandchild of a Jew. The Minister insisted that there had been a single isolated case which was publicized disproportionately in the newspapers. In this case, the documents that the man had were not credible and his alleged father could not be found in the Ukraine.

The claim takes on more sinister meaning when compared with official regulations instituted in the absorption of the Ethiopian Jews. Brought to Israel by the government after the chief Rabbi confirmed that they were indeed Jews (Corinaldi, 1998), Ethiopian olim had to contend with suspicion on arrival in Israel. On the one hand, the way of life of the community in Ethiopia bore witness to their religious devotion. In Knesset discussions they were praised for their adherence to tradition and their entrenched aspiration to come to "Jerusalem" (their name for the entire Holy Land). Their ideas were highly appropriate to the state's ideological concern with the 'in-gathering of the exiles'. Thus it had been easy to convince the Knesset to fund huge diplomatic, financial and organizational efforts to enable them to immigrate even though the Ethiopian government opposed their emigration vigorously. When, however, the Communities of Ethiopian Jews did arrive in the Promised Land, they discovered that the Israeli establishment was skeptical of many of their practices. Despite the many declarations of brotherhood and kinship, the Chief Rabbinate, in the name of the government, demanded that Ethiopian 'olim' undergo full conversion and that their 'keissim' (spiritual leaders) enroll in courses in order to be acknowledged as rabbis. These regulations were debated at length by the Knesset. Led by MKs of the religious parties, the Knesset expressed its distaste for these demeaning measures, and passed a resolution noting their resentment (*Knesset Record,* 14/11/90). But the rulings of the Chief Rabbinate were not changed and the requirements stood.

## 2.5     **Problems of integration**

The investment in seeking out olim and making sure that they do indeed reach Israel does not ensure that they will have an easy time in their new milieu. Primary concerns of the Knesset are problems the immigrants have in attaining decent housing and suitable employment, as well as in overcoming the obstacles to social integration.

*Housing*: with every large group of olim, members of the Knesset accuse both the minister for housing and the minister for immigration and absorption of providing inadequate shelter. It is claimed that the ministries lack an overall vision of needs, and fail to elaborate systematic plans for the construction of living quarters. The excuses for not providing acceptable housing do not change from government to government. Sometimes the ministers claim that it had been impossible to foresee the number of immigrants that would arrive. Another excuse is a dearth of construction workers, and a need for too great a variety of types of housing (July 2, 1969). The ministries also find it convenient to accuse one another of inefficiency.

The topic of housing is perennially open to debate if only because of the varieties of solutions that are envisioned. On the one hand, plans for housing are dependent on financial considerations; on the other hand, designs accord with the government's perception of the "collective nature" of the immigrants and the available financial resources. Diverse arrangements have been made with every group of olim. For most of the decade of the 1950s, immigrants of the mass immigration had to be housed cheaply and quickly. At first, they were given tents or huts of corrugated metal; these were replaced in the middle of the decade by permanent, if jerry-built, housing. Later, immigrants were housed in hostels before being provided with apartments in government funded residential projects. The architectural designs of the projects varied.

The policy of distributing the population throughout the state's territory made for additional complications. Immigrants who arrived during the 1950s were driven on their arrival to different areas of the country. The Knesset approved the policy, allocated minimum resources for their settlement and oversaw the development of agricultural villages and small towns in places where there had heretofore been no Jewish presence. By the time the immigrants awoke to the fact that they were at some distance from the more attractive center of the country — the cities and the coastal plain — they were already settled into homes in the periphery and found it difficult to move. Members of the Knesset were often made aware that the presumed needs of the state did not always match the needs of the immigrants. A policy of incentives became part of the annual budget, among them tax

discounts, steady work, and subsidized housing. These were provided to induce newcomers and hopefully some veterans, to live in regions at a distance from the social and cultural centers of the country.

At first, the state presumed that olim should be able, in a very short time after their immigration, to purchase their homes and release the Knesset from the concern with financial support. This optimism turned out to be unjustified. In 1975 (July 7), MKs criticized the ministry of absorption because it was not making rental apartments available. Their condemnation was based on examples of specific families who did not have the wherewithal to purchase dwellings, and could not find places to live at reasonable prices. There is an implication of dishonesty among the bureaucrats in this area as in the entire process of 'absorption.' complaints of individual olim [immigrants] are raised in parliamentary questions and dealt with in detail. The minister, for example, had to confirm information that a ministry official who was responsible for distributing food at an absorption center in one town had been found to be corrupt. In this case, the official had been forced to resign (2/VII/1969).

A comprehensive issue is raised in discussions of whether it is preferable to settle immigrants who share a culture in the same area of the country or in separate communities. In distributing the population, the ministry of immigration and absorption presumed to know what was best for each group. The bureaucratic decisions did not necessarily match the expressed desires of the olim themselves. On November 10, 1971, for example, a problem of the housing for immigrants from Georgia is raised in the Knesset. Without consulting them, ministry officials had dispersed them to a wide variety of locales on their arrival in Israel. The minister explains that opportunities for employment were the consideration for allocating housing to Georgians in one or another area. The upshot of the measures, however, as is pointed out by a member of the Knesset, was that there were fewer than 200 in every locality; and as a result, this deeply religious community could not practice their customs or provide the kinds of religious services they needed.

With the Ethiopian olim, the policy was presumably liberalized. They were allocated housing so as to allow them to settle in closely knit communities. On November 14, 1990, some MKs express concern with this arrangement. One MK, however, relying on prevailing stereotypes, sides with the policy because he is "certain" that they are interested in preserving "their quasi-tribal way of life." At the same time, he pleads that they should "get housing that is not worse than that of other groups." This is rather mild criticism because, in his judgment, all in all Ethiopian families are doing well under the policy that is in effect. The policy is seen to be equitable even though there is significant differentiation between the treatment accorded the

Ethiopian olim and that accorded to the olim from the FSU. In the 1980s and the 1990s, Ethiopian immigrants, who were, it was assumed, in need of guidance and instruction, were lodged in 'absorption centers' and, when there was no room at the centers, they were given quarters in hotels where Jewish agency personnel provided for their needs. Later they were housed in caravan communities. For immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, on the other hand, outright grants were allocated to each family. They could choose what flat to rent and where. The differentiation is self-explanatory according to the Knesset record, once you realize that the Ethiopians had lived in rural areas and needed supervision, while those from the FSU were familiar with urban conditions in their country (or countries) of origin. In every case, however, there are members of the Knesset who point out the failings of the policy.

*Employment*: in every discussion about the in-gathering of the exiles, the Knesset expresses concern about employment. In 1969, the minister for immigration and absorption promises a bureaucratic solution. Officials from the ministry are, he asserts, to be found in every absorption center; they are prepared to show people how to gain employment; to make the contacts for them and to enroll immigrants in courses if they have to acquire a new vocation. Obviously, this provision could not provide for all the needs. Some of them can be seen when apparently negligible cases are brought to the Knesset floor. In the early 1970s, there is discussion of a letter from a British Jew who asserts that he would like to "make aliya"– but he can do this only if he is granted a license to operate a taxi. From this special case, which is discussed at length, the general issue of potential immigration from the "west" is discussed. The Knesset is reminded on march 27, 1974, that for the absorption of olim "with a college education" from Anglo-Saxon countries, an economic and industrial base as well as adequate provision for required housing must be arranged.

Probably because the economic and industrial base in Israel has not, so far, been suitable for all the groups of immigrants, the issue of employment is raised again and again in the Knesset record. Most recently, the hardships of Russian academics who do not find work that fits their qualifications are cited alongside the rampant unemployment among immigrants from Ethiopia (October 13, 1999). In January of that year, (January 20, 1999), a large group of MKs had proposed a comprehensive solution. To smooth the way of all olim, they proposed that the government would arrange for grants, social benefits, loans, limitations on taxes, and discounts on various goods for a period of three years after immigration. As part of the preparation for finding work, the immigrants were to have the right to study Hebrew at government expense, receive financial help, enjoy free health insurance during the first year following on arrival in Israel, get support in renting an

apartment, and all this to facilitate their participation in vocational courses at reduced tuition. In practice this was a proposal for institutionalizing assistance (currently given by the Jewish agency and the government) to Russian immigrants, whose integration repeatedly proves to be an intimidating challenge. The law was also to apply to immigrants from other developed (western) nations. Once the minister pointed out that by enacting this law, the Knesset would in fact be choking off a most important source of funds for supporting new immigrants' absorption, the proposal was defeated. Although the state insisted that Jews throughout the world were obligated to share the burden of integrating immigrants, it would be legally impossible for Israel to ask Jews who are citizens of other countries to collaborate on an effort that is regulated by state law. Jews in the USA, for example, would not be allowed to support services that the Israeli government was obliged to supply. Assistance to olim remains anchored in ministerial regulations and informal agreements with the Jewish agency.

In general, MKs demand that there be vocational training in fields that will help the immigrants adjust to the labor market in Israel. In this connection the problems of different groups are quite diverse. Vocational re-training is also needed by highly educated adult immigrants whose expertise is not in demand in the Israeli labor market. Among the Russians, for example, mining engineers and experts in Russian literature were not apt to find work in the fields for which they had been trained. According to the MKs, Israel has to find ways of integrating doctors, engineers, scientists — "the elite of the former USSR" that is "flowing" into the country (14/V/1990). The practical suggestions, apart from re-education, include government support for professionals by providing salaries for at least three years (3/VII/1990).

Some immigrants need to acquire a vocation. From the point of view of the Israeli labor market Ethiopians, for example, have no useful skills. The agriculture that they practiced in the Ethiopian villages is inapplicable in Israel. Very few have any academic background. From the start of the Ethiopian aliya, MKs often remind the plenary that Ethiopians have to be trained to work in services, industry, and industrialized agriculture.

*Social integration:* Among the existential problems of the olim is the problem of *social* integration, and this, too, is an issue that is discussed in the Knesset. MKs analyze the situation in detail and take the time to make homely suggestions. They avow that when immigrants arrive, they should be received warmly at the airport. Once immigrants are settled, those who supply them with social services and work with them should know their language. Moreover, as a group, the olim should have access to social clubs for leisure and cultural activities (October 22, 1974 and February 3, 1975). The suggestions are not merely expressions of good will. An on-going fear

of many Members of the Knesset is the suspicion that if the social needs of olim are not met, there will not only be no *aliya;* there will be increased *yerida,* emigration. There have indeed been instances. On July 28, 1975, the Minister notes that 50% of the immigrants left the country after residing in Israel less than a year. He is convinced that this was because of difficulties in housing and employment as well as because of fear for personal safety. He repeats the message on May 25, 1976, when he cites how social integration might have made a difference. The olim could not integrate successfully in his view because they did not know the Hebrew language, and did not understand how things are run in Israel. To make his point, he quotes verbatim a letter from a native-born Israeli woman who has returned to Israel with her family after a lengthy period of living abroad. She writes the Minister that she is living in modest quarters and has unpretentious employment, but is supremely happy that she has returned to Israel because of the improved quality of Jewish life that her family is enjoying.

Similar questions are raised in the proposals of individual MKs about the Ethiopians and the Russians in the 1990s. Undermining social integration, MKs cite examples of racism among Israeli youths (December 23, 1997). Mutual odium has led to violent brawls involving new immigrant youths and native-born Israelis, most of them children of the olim who had immigrated as children in the 1950s and early 1960s.

*The Place of Education*: Most of the Knesset debates end in resolutions expressing good will, and a decision to pass the topic on to the appropriate committee for further discussion. If houses are not available and unemployment is rife, there is almost nothing that the Knesset can do to change the situation except talk, recommend, and wait. In one field the Knesset is able to make decisions with a good chance that they will be implemented — the field of education. Indeed, MKs often cite education as a panacea. By educating children to the right values the state can ensure continued immigration, prevent emigration, and make certain that people are satisfied and integrated into the social milieu.

The vision is that such education should start in the Diaspora and must be continued when the olim reach Israel. The Knesset targets the many groups that are in need of extensive Jewish education. Primarily, MKs insist that all the Jewish people should be educated as to the value of migrating to Israel ("making aliya"). This, to their minds, is contingent on the study of Jewish culture and religion, and vocational training. Learning the Hebrew language is repeatedly mentioned as the key to successful absorption. It is also presumed that if people understand the language when they immigrate they are far less likely to leave the country (115/ XII/ 1986; 3/X/1999). The Ministry is called upon regularly to provide learning materials that contribute to a Zionist education (3/1/1977; 21/XII/1977). This is, the

Knesset advises, important for Jewish communities abroad and especially for those that are oppressed. In discussing ways and means for helping Ethiopian Jews make significant progress, MKs insist that it is necessary to develop an appropriate system for imparting Jewish learning. The idea is to ensure the continuation of a Jewish way of life (14/XI/1979). In that same discussion, the then Minister of Education, Zevulon Hammer (representing the National-Religious Party in the government), explains that Jewish communities throughout the world have to be encouraged to develop education on Jewish topics. And Israel can lead in this by preparing curricula and programs of informal education to provide what he calls "positive experiences" for children and adults. In response to the question, "Do you mean religion?" he answers curtly: "I mean a way of life!" (14/XI/1979).

Education is also seen as the key to employment and this is mentioned frequently in plenary discussions. As assurance that in the future vocational training for olim from Ethiopia "will take care of itself," the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption reports that there are 7200 Ethiopian children enrolled in formal schooling, 160 youths who are preparing for study at the university, and another 150 in a religious secondary school (15/XII/1986). Cautious and skeptical of the efficacy of short-term achievements, the Knesset proposes that to ensure the success of olim from Ethiopia in adulthood, the children should be provided with government-sponsored educational frameworks from birth.

The intensive involvement in the fates of new immigrants and in how they and their children should be educated sets a standard for the Knesset's ways of dealing with citizens of Israel who do not profess the Jewish faith.

## 3.   ARAB/PALESTINIAN CITIZENS OF ISRAEL

Arab citizens who have fulfilled the conditions specified in the Law of Citizenship have the right (and the duty) to receive identity cards and passports. Their privileges are not, however, automatically extended to those non-Jews — whether Palestinians or Europeans — whom they are likely to marry except by special dispensation of the Minister of the Interior. A similar situation is that of non-Jews who wish to reside permanently in Israel.[34] This means, in effect, that there are no standard procedures for the naturalization of Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza, or for workers who are brought to the country from other continents (see below). As part of

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[34] It behooves the Minister to assess whether or not Israel is the "center of life" for the spouse or the non-Jew foreigner who requests the right of permanent residence (State Comptroller, 1996, pp. 574 ff.).

Israel's policy of extending its sovereignty over some of the territories subjugated in 1967, the Law of Residence was amended to enable Palestinians in East Jerusalem and Druzes on the Golan Heights to become 'permanent residents' with the right to vote. Despite political reservations, many Palestinians and (Syrian) Druzes accepted the status of quasi-citizenship as a practical measure. The "blue card" enabled them to have a freedom of movement denied to residents of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Regulation of Government and Law, no. 1, 1967).

## 3.1    Rights and needs

As noted, Arab citizens of Israel have the right to organize political parties, to vote in national as in local elections, and have the right to be candidates for public office. Moreover, they are nominally entitled to receive all the social benefits that the state bestows — social security, health care, and education. From Knesset discussions, however, it becomes clear that the entitlements are conceded within definite bounds. A significant proportion of the social welfare grants, such as those for child support distributed by the Institute for Social Security, are conditional on one of the parents having done military service or, failing that, 'national service'. These categories are adequate for Jewish families, even for the ultra-orthodox who were released from army service on the strength of their being enrolled in theological institutions of higher learning. But they exclude the overwhelming majority of Muslim and Christian Arabs. The inequities are not unnoticed in parliamentary deliberations.

Throughout the *Knesset Record,* many MKs refer to restrictions and deprivations with which Israeli Arabs have to deal. In a discussion on the financial relationship of the national government to the local governments in 1956 (*Knesset Record,* January, p. 1272), an MK from Menahem Begin's right-wing Herut (Freedom) Party, speaks at length about the injustice of imposing a military administration on Arab villages and towns in Israel. In his view, the imposition of military restrictions is, in itself, a danger to national security. Israeli Arabs could be a valuable part of the state as a "bridge to the neighboring countries." Instead of cultivating the Arab community in Israel as a "bridge" to connect Israel with the Arab states in the region, the military government is destroying it. Among others, it is impeding the development of the Israeli Arab community, negating the civil rights of citizens, discriminating against Arab workers, destroying the Arab citizens' faith in their future, and undermining their confidence in the state. In his words, depriving a "national minority" of its rights is always a danger to the majority and the military government should immediately be

abandoned. Responses from members of the socialist MAPAI Party, the largest party in the Knesset, reject the suggestion, citing that the Arab citizens of the country are a potential fifth column in the country. Several MKs remind the plenary that there are attempts to infiltrate the temporary boundaries of the state and that these attempts are aided by espionage. Discussions, with the opposition attacking the policy and the coalition defending it came to an end only with the cessation of the military administration in 1965.

A topic that repeatedly comes up for discussion in the Knesset is the problem of appropriate work for people in the "Arab sector." As late as July 18, 2001, the Knesset was called upon to note that with the government's "poorly thought out" economic policy, Arab workers were the hardest hit. One example was brought to the floor on August 8, 2001, when the Knesset Committee for Welfare and Work discussed the catastrophic situation in several Druze and Muslim villages because the owners of textile mills had moved the plants to Jordan where they could pay lower wages. Well-known are the problems of Arab Israeli professionals, whose disproportionate unemployment was discussed in the Knesset on October 3, 2000. A Jewish MK insists that organizing good vocational courses for high school graduates in the Arab sector is of the utmost importance. He also requests that the Ministry of Labor compile lists of trained engineers so that there could be effective vocational placement. Among the facts noted is the situation where, until the 1990s, there were practically no employment opportunities for Arab university graduates. Companies that had even the slightest connection with production for the military ran security checks for screening, thus eliminating many promising candidates.

Further problems under discussion are those of infrastructure and town planning. The inequalities between the standards applied to Jewish areas — cities, towns, and villages — and those applied to Arab areas are frequently mentioned. The situation is depressing in most of the communities. But the worst conditions are to be found in the 'unrecognized' villages. There are over sixty of them, whose residents insisted on staying put despite government rulings that they had to join other localities.[35] These unrecognized villages have not been supplied with any resources for an infrastructure. That is to say, they still do not have orderly access to water or to electricity. Even among the recognized towns and villages, local councils do not have a government approved plan delineating boundaries. They

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[35] According to the daily newspaper, *Ha'aretz* (p. A6), the Minister for Infrastructure, Y. Paritsky, met with a committee representing the 'unrecognized' villages on April 28, 2003, and promised to bring the issues of water and electricity to the attention of the Ministerial Committee for Infrastructure. The representatives understood this to be a hint of the possibility that their problems will indeed be solved.

cannot, therefore, allocate land for construction legally and many people who build houses for themselves are forced to dismantle them, or to have them destroyed by court order (*Knesset Record*: 13/XII/2001; 19/ VI/2002). For this reason, the construction of housing in the Arab sector lags far behind the needs engendered by 'natural growth.'

In a Knesset session that took place on December 18, 1996, MK Salah Selim reported on a conference that he had attended in Nazareth, the "General Conference for Equality of the Arab Population." Covering all the important points that had been discussed at the Conference, he sums up many of the grievances of Arab citizens of Israel. It is worthwhile to look at them in some detail in order to understand what lead Mosheh Katzav, then Minister of Tourism, to present a heated refutation in the name of the Government.

Beginning with the statement that Israel must be the "state of all its citizens," he insisted on the validity of the following claims:

- The division into 'edoth' (communities) as Muslims, Christians, Druzes, and Bedouins is artificial, because all of them are in fact a single *national minority.*
- There is extreme poverty in the Arab sector and the state does nothing to ameliorate the situation.
- Arab women are a neglected population; many are in need of basic education and vocational courses.
- The government's constant expropriation of land is unfair. In 1948 when the Arab population numbered 156,000, they owned 2.5 million dunams, i.e. 16 dunams per person. In 1995, with a population numbering 850,000, they owned 770,000 dunams, i.e. less than one dunam per person.
- There are 200,000 Arab refugees *in* Israel. These are people who were forced to leave their villages in 1948 and have never been allowed to return to their own homes. Of these 50,000 are in "unrecognized" villages with very primitive living arrangements.
- Education in the Arab sector lags desperately behind education in the Jewish sector.
- These inequalities could be solved in part by allowing Israeli Arabs to be recognized as a national minority and Israel to be the "state of all its citizens."

The response of Minister Katzav was highly emotional. Asserting that he is willing to combine forces with Selim to assure that Arabs be integrated in the civil service, in the economy, in politics, he also agreed that conditions of housing have to be improved and rates of unemployment have to be

reduced. In addition, he would be at one with MK Selim in the struggle for full political rights. "But," when all is said and done, he insisted, "you must separate [Arab Israelis] from Palestinians. 'A state of all its citizens' — where did you get that crazy idea?"

Underlining the legitimation of civic inequalities, the state constantly flaunts its 'Jewishness' when topics relevant to the Palestinian citizens of Israel are under discussion. In 1997, when the Knesset is called upon to discuss the appropriate way to celebrate the fiftieth Jubilee of the State, Hashem Mahamid, an Arab MK, reminds the Knesset that for several hundred thousand Arab citizens of Israel, Independence Day marks memories of war and suffering, as well as banishment from their birthplaces. The Jubilee cannot be celebrated wholeheartedly by these minorities. ("We are minorit*ies*, not even a single minority!")

Intransigence in relation to the self-definition of the state can be seen as well in a discussion held in April, 2002, in the Knesset Committee for Symbols. The committee decided to recommend that there be an amendment to the Law on the State Flag. At the same time, they discussed the rules for singing the national anthem and resolved that singing it would be obligatory in public ceremonies. The lyrics of the anthem refer to the Jewish Zionist dream and many of the Arab citizens of Israel resent the fact that there is no reference to any symbol of civic solidarity. The existence of citizens of the state who constitute a national minority is blatantly ignored. Although in committee, there was some opposition to the decision, namely that whether or not to sing the anthem should be left to the discretion of the organizers of a public event; a majority of the members refused to consider this option (Knesset Record: 22/IV/2002, M. Kleiner and Z. Orlev).

Arab Members of the Knesset keep reminding their colleagues of patent inegalitarianism in the country. Many of them pinpointed experiences of young people of the Israeli Arab community who are confronted with discrimination and racism. The prejudice is palpable in informal encounters as well as in places where young people like to spend their leisure time. There are, for example, night clubs and places of entertainment that decline to admit youngsters as soon as they are identified as Arabs (*Knesset Record*: 3/1/2002). From Knesset discussions, we learn that drug trafficking is far more prevalent in Arab secondary schools than in Jewish schools (*Knesset Record*: 5/VI/2000). Arab drivers are involved in twice as many accidents with deaths as are Jewish drivers of comparable ages (*Knesset Record*: 17/VI/2002).

Here, too, there is a feeling that the most acute problems could be solved through adequate provision for education.

## 3.2    Education in the Arab sector

Discussions on Arab education appear over and over again in the *Knesset Record.* Following the record chronologically, we learn that many of the problems raised are perennial. In the early years of the state, the issues were raised for the most part by MKs from the leftist parties. In July, 1949, for example, when the government introduced the Law for Free Compulsory Education, Arab MKs reminded the parliamentarians that there were not enough elementary schools for the children in any of the Arab villages or in the cities with a large Arab population (Nazareth, Jaffa, Ramleh). Thus, it was an illusion to talk about compulsory education. Moreover, promises explicitly inscribed in the Declaration of Independence and announced in the Knesset by the Prime Minister, were not being kept. Prime Minister Ben Gurion had promised that there would be "full equality" for Arabs and Jews, especially in regard to salary scales for the same work; yet Arab teachers were paid far less than the Jews. He had asserted that the government would defend freedom of conscience and that there would be no coercion of any kind; but the few teachers in Arab schools who had pedagogic experience were actually forced to leave their jobs because it was known that they were sympathetic to communism. Other inequalities were to be seen in facilities and equipment. Even members of the Prime Minister's own MAPAI Party complained that there were no textbooks, no teaching of Hebrew ("so important for bringing the two peoples together"), and inordinately crowded classrooms.

Because of the low rate of literacy among Arab citizens of Israel, Members of the Knesset insisted that there should be courses of basic education for adults in all the Arab villages, but they were not budgeted for specifically (*Knesset Record,* 1951). In 1953, when the Knesset was discussing the then proposed Law for State Education according to which the entire school program was to be revamped, an MK of the MAPAM (United Workers') Party insisted that it was not enough to agree to formulate a curriculum according to the special needs of the Arabs. It was, to his mind, necessary to plan a curriculum "to satisfy their national needs" (*Knesset Record*: A. Zisling, 26/III/1953). As MKs list the failings: not enough kindergartens, inadequate social services in the schools, no guidance counselors, girls' non-attendance (35% of relevant age groups), classes with as many as 55 pupils, budget allocation per pupil 40% less than for Jewish pupils, and so on (*Knesset Record, E.* Wilenska, 19/III/1957); the Minister of Education (B. Z. Dinur) counters by quoting statistics as evidence that Arab education was improving. Among others, he announces that the government will be opening an Arab Teachers College without delay to prepare teachers for primary schools and for kindergartens.

When there are complaints a decade later that very few of the Arab secondary school pupils succeed in matriculation examinations, the Minister (Z. Aranne) responds with criticism of procedures followed in the schools. The Arab secondary schools do not exercise selective criteria for admitting pupils; furthermore there is a lack of suitable textbooks, and the teachers have inadequate professional preparation (*Knesset Record*: 15/VI/1960). The implication is that the government is doing its best to correct the weaknesses but that there is little cooperation from the Arab communities.

Again, sixteen years later, an MK of the largest party in the coalition, the Alignment, avows that in trips to Arab villages, he saw conditions in the schools that mortified him. Although he had heard Arab MKs talk a great deal about the inappropriateness of the curriculum, he had not heard them say anything about the impossible physical conditions. The Jewish MK saw classrooms scattered throughout villages in rented houses/flats. Rooms were too small, and even the minimal equipment was unsuited to schooling. He came away with the conviction that in crowded classrooms, pupils cannot study, but they undoubtedly do develop "hostile nationalism and anti-state feelings" (*Knesset Record*: 23/VI/1976, pp. 3205-6, A. Efrat). In his response, the then Minister of Education, Aharon Yadlin, agreed that there was much to be done for the Arab schools because, in his words, one of the most significant "tests of the State of Israel is its treatment of the Arab minority." The Minister immediately undertook to show that the State was meeting the test. Yadlin pointed out that the number of children enrolled in schools has grown since 1948 and that there was a significant increase in the number of certified teachers. Then he described the work the Ministry was doing. He had appointed committees to draw up a five-year plan, to revise the curriculum for the 1980s. The government had seen to the construction of a new building for an Arab teachers college near Tel Aviv. Moreover, in 1974, for the first time, the Ministry had opened classes in special education for Arab children who are blind, deaf, or retarded; and furthermore, the Ministry had trained personnel for teaching children with special needs. As to the physical conditions, of the three thousand new classrooms needed, he asserts that 1000 have been or are being built — among them forty for the Bedouin children in the south, though he admits that many of them are temporary pre-fabricated structures. In sum, the Minister reminds the Knesset that since there have been cuts in the Ministry budget, not many projects can be carried out. When all is said and done, Israel is meeting the 'test' as best she can (*Knesset Record*: 23/VI/1976, pp. 3206-7).

Eight years later, MK Abd el-Wahab Darawshe from Nazareth agrees that there has been some progress, but asks for a Knesset decision to improve Arab education in Israel. To explain the request, he cites data about the astounding contrast between Arab and Jewish education: 17% of the

Arab children are studying in vocational schools by contrast with 60% of the Jewish pupils; 10% of Arab three and four year olds are in nursery schools by contrast with 90% of the Jewish children in that age group. Furthermore, in the Ministry, there are no Arab educators in positions of influence (*Knesset Record*: 10/XII/1984). By then the Minister of Education was former President Yitzhak Navon, who simply replied that there were no funds for additional inspectors, and no funds for nursery schools. When he finished what he had to say, MK Meir Kahane,[36] intervened insisting that Darawshe's proposal be rescinded. He asserted that Arab education is a danger to the existence of the state of Israel. Unabashedly, he called on the MKs to "make their [the Arabs'] lives miserable, to cut off funds. Let them go to an Arab country" (*Knesset Record*: 10/XII/1984).

When the Labor Party[37] came into power in 1992 for the first time in over twenty years, with Yitzhak Rabin as Prime Minister, the Knesset passed a budget bill with increased funding for the Ministry of Education, on the understanding that there would be a concerted effort to improve schools, facilities, curriculum, and professional training in the Arab sector. During the 1990s, therefore, discussions on Arab education center on gaps which, though still unbalanced, are less alarming than those pointed out in the first forty odd years of the existence of the state. The changed policy was to affect the curriculum both in specifics and in general. In 2000, a new law was enacted in which, the aims of education were thoroughly revised. Instead of the anachronistic generalizations of 1953, the newly formulated goals of education included provisions for every community to study their own language, tradition, religions, and history (*Knesset Record*: 22/II/2000; see Chapter 7 this volume). Interestingly enough, the addition of the goal of having every community study its 'history' was inserted during the Knesset discussion on the first reading of the bill, after MK Y. Dayan pointed out that Arabs have a *history* as well as a *heritage* (*Knesset Record,* November 24, 1998).

Still, all has not been mended. As often happens among the legislators, the issues are brought up in candid detail at committee meetings. In November, 2000, at a meeting of the Committee for the Child, Yitzhak Kadman, Head of the NGO, the Council for Children's Welfare, quotes a report of the Brookdale Research Institute where their analysis of the provisions for Arab children shows that they are receiving only *one third* of the services that they are entitled to by law. In another committee session, the general optimism about the directions taken in Arab education is shown

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[36] Kahane's Party (Kach) was barred from participating in elections (and thus from representation in the Knesset) from 1988 on.

[37] The 1990s incarnation of the Workers' Parties of the 1950s (MAPAI and MAPAM), and of the Alignment of the 1970s.

not to be applicable to the domain of special education. As an inspector reports to a meeting of the Knesset Committee on Education (Dalia Paz: 9/II/2000), half the classes initiated for students with special needs throughout the state during the year 1999/2000 were classes for Arab students, but there were still very few teachers fully prepared to help children with diverse special needs. Furthermore, there is indeed a problem of cooperation with the children's families. Parents do not work together with the authorities in the placement of children with special needs because they fear a social stigma.

## 4.     TEMPORARY IMMIGRANT WORKERS AS A PARLIAMENTARY ISSUE

Temporary immigrant workers from abroad have come up for discussion in the Knesset since the mid-1980s. Four laws have been enacted to systematize the entry of immigrant workers and their employment (Kemp & Reichmann, 2003). The first of them, the Law for Entry into Israel was enacted in 1952. This law obliges immigrant workers to obtain permits from the Ministry of the Interior, in accord with the Employment Service of the Ministry of Work and Welfare. In all cases the law envisions temporary residence. Because of the many complaints about the treatment of immigrant workers, the Law for Entry into Israel was amended in 2001 after the Association for Civil Rights in Israel made several appeals to the Supreme Court. The amendments include the following stipulations:

> A worker who is to be deported should not be imprisoned if he does not have the means to pay for his ticket.
> Workers must receive notice in writing of the plan to deport him/ her, and the deportation can take place only three days later at the earliest.
> Undocumented workers can be detained for 24 hours on the evidence of an inspector of the Ministry of Work. A justice of the peace may approve of detaining workers longer, to a maximum of 14 days. An inspector may, after presenting himself and his credentials, inspect a place of residence to discover undocumented workers.
> An officer of the Border Police is deputed to hear the claims of the worker who is said to be undocumented, and decide whether or not the worker is to be deported.
> Undocumented workers may not be detained in cells together with criminals.

> Undocumented workers have the right to be present during all the procedures that relate to their deportation.

The Law of the Employment Service prohibits the employment of temporary immigrant workers unless the employer has a permit and sets the procedures for determining quotas of temporary workers. The Law for Foreign Workers — Illegal Employment and Securing Fair Practices (1991) details the illegalities of employing immigrant workers without a permit. Amendments valid since July 2000 require employers to provide decent living quarters, health insurance, a written contract. In addition there are articles that make it more expensive to employ temporary immigrant workers, among them a tax for each worker employed. Finally the Law for Employing Temporary Immigrant Workers via Contractors enacted in 1996 requires contractors to be licensed by the government.

The amendments to the 1952 law and the other pertinent laws were enacted to meet situations that were encountered with the growing number of temporary workers. Despite the declarations of efforts to enforce the laws, the problems have not disappeared to this day as the *Knesset Record* shows. Knesset discussions center on three themes: the large numbers of temporary workers, the exploitation of temporary foreign workers; and the influence of temporary workers on the 'character' of the state. The lack of attention to education for their children is a consequence of a general emphasis on the conception of 'temporary.'

## 4.1    Numbers

In 1985, two years before the first Intifada (Palestinian Uprising), Moshe Katzav (later President of Israel, then Minister of Tourism) answered parliamentary questions about people from abroad who were working in Israel without permits. The Minister admitted that there were "17,963 foreigners from twenty-six states", known to be tourists who "forgot" to leave the country and had been in Israel for a year or more. To the best of his knowledge, they were employed in different branches of the economy, ranging from manufacturing to agriculture and performing services in private homes. To top off his report, he asserted quite vigorously that the plan was to expel those without work permits immediately if his office were given an adequate budget. When an MK confronts the Minister with a newspaper report that temporary workers were "at that very moment" entering Israel, he admitted that indeed 1538 new temporary workers had recently received work permits. At the same time he noted that there were three criteria for handing out permits: a felt lack of skilled workers or

experts in a given field of work in Israel; the vocational expertise of the person applying for a permit; and the degree to which a particular type of work was necessary to the Israeli economy.

As the number of temporary immigrant workers grew over the years, the themes of the Knesset deliberations remained the same. Only the numbers noted kept changing. MKs were concerned with comparing the increase in the number of employed temporary immigrant workers with the rise in unemployment among Israelis. On October 29, 2002, the Minister of the Treasury, Silvan Shalom, announced that there were three hundred thousand foreign workers [sic!] employed in construction, in agriculture, and in personal services, while admitting that there were two hundred fifty thousand Israelis unemployed receiving unemployment benefits. Under pressure, he acknowledged that the government plan to expel workers at the rate of five thousand a month was not actually succeeding and that, moreover, there was still pressure to import more 'temporary' immigrant workers. The government had approved the migration of 6000 temporary workers for agriculture, and a Member of the Knesset in whose constituency there are many farms, MK Hendel, insisted that another five thousand were needed (November 13, 2002).

## 4.2    Exploitation

Knesset discussions in the late 1980s and the early 1990s often relate to how the procedures for bringing in temporary immigrant workers make for abuse in the workplace. Members of the Knesset protest the system of having contractors import workers pending approval by the Ministry of the Interior, and holding the workers bound to the employer that requested them in the first place. If they leave that employer, they immediately become lawbreakers. In sum, the peculiar regulations are indifferent to workers' human rights. It has often happened that workers who come to Israel legally find themselves imprisoned (MK quotes from newspaper story, February 13, 2002). The Deputy Minister of Labor protests that kind of abuse is seen only toward "a very few" and that he is arranging for their release (Waknin, February 13, 2002).  Among the abuses, MKs cite many cases where the workers have had their passports withheld (A. Gil'on, July 9, 2001); in general, their earnings are far below the legal minimum wage, and they are prey to criminal violence (Session, June 17, 2002). Moreover, because so many of the temporary immigrant workers are undocumented, i.e., are working illegally; they are afraid to report instances in which somebody has taken advantage of them. Many foreign workers, who have left dishonest employers, look for temporary employment on a daily basis. They wait on

street corners in groups, hoping for somebody to come by and hire them as day laborers for a pittance. Responding for the government, MK Blumenthal, Deputy Minister of Inland Security answers the objections. She explains that the police are aware of the "foreign workers' market" at busy street corners in the centers of Israeli cities, and they regularly carry out inspections (March 13, 2002).

The Knesset learns that there are a few small non-government organizations that do attempt to make certain that the immigrant workers — 'legals' and 'illegals' alike — are aware of their rights and find ways to realize them. In the Knesset, the Minister of the Treasury complains that although the government is willing to subsidize employers for employing Israelis rather than temporary workers from abroad, it is hard to expel large numbers of temporary workers because of "all kinds of NGOs that jump up to their defence." He was referring to voluntary organizations such as "A Line for the Worker" and "Doctors for Human Rights" who have assumed responsib ility for representing the temporary workers vis a vis the authorities when there are abuses (December 17, 2002).

## 4.3    Jewishness of the State in peril

Members of the Knesset resort to warnings about the menace that growing numbers of temporary workers pose to the nature of the Jewish state. According to the current array of constitutional laws, the workers cannot become citizens. Yet many of them remain in the country for years, bring their families, and send children to Israeli schools. The problem, as Z. Orlev, Chairperson of the Knesset Committee for Education, puts it, is not one of the "foreign workers", but rather of the "nation's perception of the entire structure of employment". Although he refers overtly to issues touching on education, social security, and "how to encourage people [meaning unemployed Israelis who receive government compensation] to work," all topics related to government budgeting; Orlev goes on to refer to the cultural and religious impact of the communities of foreign workers. In his view, the very soul of the Jewish democratic state is endangered because of the lingering, rather the malingering, of illegal foreign workers in the country (June 5, 2002).

## 4.4    Education of the children of temporary workers

Education for the children of the temporary workers is not a topic discussed in the Knesset although Israel is a signatory to the UN Covenant

of the Child (1990) and therefore has agreed to the provision that education must be provided for children no matter what the political or social status of their parents. It is feared, however, that working out an educational policy may contribute to legitimating extended residence of undocumented workers. As we have seen, the underlying assumption is that immigrant workers should be planning to return to their countries of origin. There is therefore no rational reason for drawing up an educational policy that might serve to undermine the definition of state education.

## 5.    SUMMARIZING REMARKS

In reviewing Knesset deliberations on Jewish immigrants, Arab citizens of Israel, and temporary immigrant workers who are not Jewish; we find that in the formation of policy, the parliamentarians assume a pre-given framework for understanding how to scale integration differentially. While it is incumbent on the country to integrate Jewish immigrants fully into the veteran Jewish community from the moment they arrive in the country, the foreign workers are to be kept at a distance even if they have been in Israel for several years and have settled in the country with their families. The Arab citizens of Israel, on the other hand, are seen as more or less integrated into the (basically Jewish) political scene and somewhat less integrated in the labor market. But according to Knesset policies, their diverse religious cultures set them apart from the Jewish majority and separate them from one another.

In reviewing the details of the policies that are held to be important we can see how the re-reading of the official ideology leads to differentiation that includes assessments of:

(a)  what is recognized as *rationality* in the framework of the official ideology;
(b)  how different groups in the Israeli population can be agents;
(c)  the nature of the social structures that provide a context for the exercise of agency.

Whenever Members of the Knesset discuss immigration, they rely on conventional arguments derived from official statements of ideology. In relating to Jews abroad, the MKs insist that the socio-political conditions in whatever country of the Diaspora is mentioned, are conditions of discrimination and oppression. As a minority in their countries of residence, Jews are, by definition, constantly in jeopardy. The 'good society', on the other hand, is Israeli society where the Zionist dream is being realized. This

is true even though there are, the MKs admit, failings in Israeli society as it is evolving. Knesset discussions are considered attempts to provide details of a viable strategy for overcoming the failings in Israeli society and for turning the state ideology into a glowing reality for Jews in Israel and for Jews abroad.

It is clear, therefore, that the Knesset operates on the assumption that it is rational to pursue the in-gathering of the exiles, which is *the* most important task of the state and has to be hammered into long range policy. Immigration from every possible corner of the Diaspora must be encouraged. The rationale for the act and the rationality of its implementation are embedded in a chain of logical arguments. The perception is that the larger the immigrating groups the better. The Knesset is keenly aware of the practical concerns of immigrants, and defines them in discussions of housing, employment, social integration, and education. There is a kind of magic in being exposed to schooling in Israel. MKs take it for granted that children are turned into full-fledged Israelis in schools and their inner change has a lasting effect on the families. Education for adults means enabling people to acquire a working command of the Hebrew language, and being able to train for an alternative vocation in their new country, as well as to be integrated into the veteran Israeli social order. Bureaucrats are exhorted, however, to treat groups differentially according to their origin and their perception of the cultural qualities of the country of origin, as well as according to gender and age. Differences can be overcome only through education.

The Knesset recommends the study of traditional sources of Jewish thought and Jewish symbolism because knowledge of this kind is taken to be the proven means to align the world views of immigrants from different Diasporas.

From the *Knesset Record* we learn that each group discussed is classified under a fairly stereotypical image. It is clear to the MKs that people from the "West" and from the Former Soviet Union have the highest capacity for autonomy. Because there is a fundamental respect for their capacity to take charge of their lives in the new land, these groups get financial support, are granted freedom of choice as to places to live, are invited to choose a mode of finding their livelihood. Although MKs reiterate the suspicion that there must be some intervention to prevent disorientation among the immigrants, they also express an understanding that the 'Russians' have a way of life that is their own, and that they must be allowed to find congenial solutions.

Ethiopians, on the other hand, are assumed to be pliable, like "material in the hands of an artisan". MKs demand that services be organized so as to enable them to fit into the Israeli milieu. Ethiopians are assumed to be passive, dependent, in need of guidance. They are held to project an image of Jewish 'primitives' who have to be brought up to date, for whom the

arrival in Israel means being catapulted into the modern world — having to come to terms with a world, as is often said, at least 2000 years ahead of the one they left behind. This approach echoes a history of disconnection from Jewish communities in Europe. Ethiopian Jews were periodically forgotten and rediscovered in the Middle Ages, in the mid-nineteenth century, at the beginning of the twentieth, and in the 1950s (Corinaldi, 1998). In Knesset rhetoric, they are associated with biblical terminology and in terms of their socio-economic development, with biblical times. The belief is that it is premature to recognize them as autonomous agents. It is intimated that eventually, they will know what it means to be a 'really' religious Jew. Eventually, they will know how to behave as Israelis. For now, the MKs imply, the immigrants from Ethiopia belong to a tribal community that does not command resources for exercising agency.

In the course of the 1990s there is a kind of tightening of the construal of what constitutes being an Israeli and the MKs assume that everybody knows what this means. All the recent immigrants are constantly being examined for their progress in becoming Israeli, usually confounded with progress in "doing being Jewish.". Because of the understanding that being Jewish means performing orthodox religious practices, progress is measured by the immigrants' knowledge about Judaism, by their way of life — is it Jewish? and by demonstrating loyalty to the Jewish nature of the state. Good "preparation" for aliya is having a Zionist past. Membership in a youth movement, activism in one's pre-aliya community, and so on, ensures one of being able to become an Israeli. MKs express fears that the Russian olim were not motivated by pre-aliya enthusiasm for Jewish nationalism, and are not informed enough about Judaism. They may remain non-Israeli strangers even though they are treated as part and parcel of the Jewish community. But the Ethiopians, despite their background of centuries-long loyalty to religious practices, are also constantly suspected of not having the right attitudes. Thus, it is important to check documents over and over again; it is necessary to institute mass conversion; and above all, it is necessary to ensure that the schools convey 'true' Jewish identity by teaching Zionist subjects and imparting the 'values' that can be recognized as Israeli by those in the know.

Because of the emphasis on the identification of 'Israeli' with 'Jewish', two groups who have no aspiration of belonging to the Jewish religion are defined by the Knesset as problematic. These are the Arabs who are citizens of Israel and the temporary immigrant workers who are definitely not citizens. The rationality that is expected of this population is to be seen in an acceptance of subordination, and a readiness to adjust to the precepts of Jewish nationhood.

The democratic rights of the Arab population in Israel were defined with

the foundation of the state in terms of citizenship (the right to vote and to be elected to office) and education — the right to schooling in their native tongue. However, as representative Arab Members of the Knesset point out from the very first Knesset, their autonomy is limited in terms of policy-implementation. They are subject to the authority of the Jewish majority. The flag and the anthem are based on Jewish symbolism. As the Knesset discussions show, screening of Arabs interested in positions in the civil service, among others, in education, is a deliberate policy. The scrutiny is based on an assumption of the likelihood that every Arab citizen might constitute a security risk. All together, then, there is a persistent struggle to prevent the Arab population from asserting its agency. It is interesting to see how their claim to being a national minority is considered ominous. Although in the early years of the state, the idea that the Arabs are a national minority was conveyed by MKs of all parties — of the Right as well as of the Left — today their recognition as a 'national minority' is beyond the pale in the eyes of the Jewish Members of the Knesset.

No attempt is made to convince the population of temporary immigrant workers to accept the validity of Jewish principles or to engage in Jewish studies. On the contrary, the Knesset is so concerned that they *not* become accustomed to life in Israel that MKs accept the abuse of foreign workers' democratic rights with relative equanimity. There is only fleeting discussion of their need for "some kind of decent housing, and no concern with whether they are employed or unemployed, except to identify them as the cause of the steadily rising rate of unemployment among Israeli citizens. Despite the fact that the number of imported workers is now seventeen times the number in the country in 1985, many of them undocumented long-term residents, the prospect of these workers remaining in Israel as permanent residents is an idea that the Members of the Knesset refuse to entertain, or to discuss seriously. For the Knesset, the "foreign workers" are to be temporary in perpetuity. Those who "forget" to leave and turn into "illegals" are aware that they are the legitimate objects of a concerted hunt, and that they will be deported. Expulsion is the watchword even as the Knesset repeatedly turns a blind eye to the government's stubborn distribution of visas and work permits to allow the importation of low paid workers. Under a variety of ruses, the Knesset allows entrepreneurs in agriculture and in construction to evade the legal measures the Knesset has instituted in order to protect workers.

In this review of Knesset debates related to Jewish immigrants, Arab citizens of Israel, and temporary immigrant workers, we have seen how the Knesset serves as the state's agency (mode of action) for defining policy. Knesset discussions combine into a process "in which statements of value and definitions of reality are constructed, asserted, [and] validated ....

[They] legitimize and reinforce particular views of reality, and grant those definitions .... institutionalized status." In its elaboration of ideology over the years, Knesset policy evolves as "part and parcel of how ... particular conditions come to be viewed as problematic, while others are ignored or normalized" (Rosen, 2001, p. 296). As product, the policy outcomes of Knesset discussion — resolutions and legislation — provide the infrastructure for the system of education that I am addressing in this volume. To follow the implementation of the policies formulated by the Knesset, I will go on from here to look at celebratory publications — publications that confirm the state's achievements.

Having grasped the overall shape of the state's intentions, I will be able to look at how the national ideology is transmuted into educational goals, inspect the mechanics of running the Ministry of Education, hear what officials at different levels of the education system say about diverse populations of students, and give some evidence of what actually happens in classrooms.

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Chapter 6

# CELEBRATING ACCOMPLISHMENTS – PUBLICIZING THE FULFILLMENT OF IDEOLOGY

This chapter examines the *acts* publicized as achievements, i.e., the fulfillment of ideological intentions (*purposes*) enacted into policies (*tools – agency*). Reports that are arranged to demonstrate that the policies have actually been implemented are provided in *Government Yearbooks* where every Ministry sums up its successes for the year as well as in special celebratory publications.

Published annually by the Office of Information and the Government Printer, the *Government Yearbooks* provide annual reports to the public on the activities of the administration that are considered worthy of commemoration.[38] Ordinarily, the *Yearbook* includes an introduction by the Prime Minister, specification of the principles that underlie the government's actions, descriptions of the organizational structures of each of the ministries, a survey of the activities of the different ministries during the year in which the *Yearbook* was edited, as well as details about the senior staff and occasional longer entries on topics of central concern. This show window explicates the official understandings of what national policies and practices are appropriate to the realization of the official ideology. Here we focus on significant information included in reports of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption from 1949/50 on as well as information published by the Ministry of Religions and the Ministry of Health. Most of the material cited relates to immigrants; some relates to the Arab population of Israel.

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[38] Unless otherwise noted, bracketed dates cite the year covered by the *Government Yearbook*. All the translations from Hebrew are mine (D.K.-F.).

# 1.    ABSORBING IMMIGRANTS

As a central issue, topics related to immigration (aliya) and integration (k'litat aliya, usually translated as the 'absorption' of immigration) are dealt with regularly at some length. Applying methods of content analysis, we collected and organized the *Yearbooks,* located all the references to immigrants and to absorption, as well as references to special activities that were designed for groups of immigrants and for groups of native born Israelis — the "absorbers". The data comprised seventy pages of key statements. To analyze them, we classified the activities according to topics, seeking to discover similarities and differences in the types of acts implemented at periods that differ in terms of the kinds of immigration and in their historical configuration. In the large we were interested in finding what is stressed in the treatment of immigrants, as well as differences in the treatment of groups according to countries of origin, age, or gender. We were also interested in whether or not the types of activities organized for immigrants (olim) over the years have changed, and if so, how and for what reasons. Ultimately, we mean to connect the data made public with their sources in the official ideology and their implications about power relations in Israeli society.

A detailed view of several of the projects that were carried out for the averred purpose of improving the absorption of immigrants as well as a global overview of the policies toward the constant influxes of olim are presented here (see Appendix A). Apart from programs for physical and spiritual well-being, the *Yearbooks* disclose the government's concern with social competencies in the form of acquiring control of the Hebrew language, broad geographical knowledge of Israel, the perception of Israeli history, and their explicit goals. The major thrust in each of the domains noted is to impart insights on what it means to be a 'true' Israeli. I will also look at the topics and themes considered to be of focal importance, and at the means adopted for impressing 'Israeliness' on different groups. But first let us look at the division of labor in regard to the absorption of immigrants among the government ministries, the audiences, the ideological basis and the practical goals.

## 1.1 Who Has the Responsibility? What Are the Functions?

The Ministries most involved in the integration of immigrants are the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption (aliya uk'lita), and the Ministry of Religions, as well as the Ministry of Education and Culture. Each of these Ministries has sub-divisions for

specific projects.

Mandated to provide ways and means for creating wide identification with the State, the Center for Information has undergone many administrative changes. The reasons for the changes often reflect the government's perception of the importance of integrating immigrants and their children, as well as of the type of information that is needed by the immigrants and by the citizens who are called upon to 'absorb' them. The Department for Cultural Absorption of Immigrants is cited in the Government Yearbook of 1950-51, as one of the departments in the Division of Culture of the Ministry of Education and Culture. This department includes a section for pedagogical supervision and 'branches' on: information, youth, instruction in the arts, and knowledge of the land (Israeli geography). In 1951-52, the Department for Cultural Absorption of Immigrants is not mentioned among the departments of the Ministry of Education and Culture, despite the fact that some of the branches do appear as sub-sections, such as the Division of Culture. Only in the year 1957-58, does the organizational function of the Administration for Information appear again as a unit in the main office of the Ministry of Education and Culture. Later it is listed under the Office of the Prime Minister. But in April, 1971 (1970-71), the Center for Information was transferred from the Office of the Prime Minister and responsibility for the Center was assigned to the Minister of Education and Culture who was also Deputy Prime Minister. The units that help the Center for Information carry out its activities, include:

(a) functional departments (publications, oral publicity, the Department of Excursions, and the Department for Special Events; the Unit for Films and Audio-Visual Aids);

(b) departments for liaison with different sectors of the public, among them, the Department for Students and Institutions of Higher Learning, and the Department for the Dissemination of Information to religious organizations;

(c) District offices in Haifa, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and in Beer Sheva (1976-77).

The functions of the Center as detailed in the Yearbook of 1975-76 (p. 169), are all oriented to the services that the Center renders the state vis-a-vis the new immigrants. They include:

- explicating government policy, decisions, and activities in the areas of foreign policy, security, economics, social services, and so on;
- disseminating information on the state and the nation and on

- events in the region and in the world that are related to Israel;
- promoting good citizenship, loyalty to the fundamental values of a democratic regime and encouraging 'caring', involvement, and efficacious social activity;
- managing central state events, holidays and memorial days.

In the Yearbook of 1991-92 (p. 218), there is a revised formulation of the functions of the Center for Information that emphasizes desired outcomes of its activities toward shaping individuals in the role of citizens:

> The most important functions of the Center for Information are to contribute to the reinforcement of citizens' identification with the state, its democratic regime, its national goals and struggles; to strengthen the readiness of citizens to participate actively in solving problems of the state and in shaping its political, social, economic, and cultural representations ... to promote personal involvement, assuming the burden (of absorbing immigrants), volunteering and pioneering; to deepen the mutual identification of Jewish citizens in the state with the Jewish people in the Diaspora.

This sheds new light on the Center's dissemination of information on the government and the state, on Zionism and Jewish history. The 13 sub-units and the ramified list of ad hoc committees discloses the extent of investment in the Center and the diversity of its activities.[39]

The *Yearbook* of 1993-94 reports on a Committee for the Absorption of Immigrants as a permanent inter-office and inter-institutional committee, to deal with planning and coordination of programs for disseminating information in the areas of the absorption of immigrants. Both government and non-governmental organizations take part in this committee. The Department of Religious Culture (initially part of the Ministry of the Interior and latterly a division of the Ministry of Religions) interprets its function very much in line with the goals of the Center. Independently of the Center for Information, however, they undertake the propagation of knowledge

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[39] In addition to the regional units, there are: the Publications Service, the Department for Excursions and Guidance; the Department for Special Events, the Department for Exhibits and Audio-Visual Aids; the Department for Institutions of Higher Education, the Unit for Lecturers, the Unit for Artists, the Department for Monitoring Activities, Publicity and Public Relations. There are also standing committees, such as the Committee for Independence Day Events, the Committee for Jerusalem Day Events, the Committee for Preventing Drug Abuse, or the Committee for Signs in Historical Places; temporary inter-office Committees, such as the Committee for the Celebration of the Year of 'Jerusalem, the Capital of Israel', or the Committee for Celebrating the Year of the 'Quality of the Environment'."

regarding the precepts and practices of the Jewish religion to people of all ages. In order to realize their objectives they too have set up several sub-divisions.

## 1.2    Who Are the Audiences that the Various Departments Target?

The audiences to whom information is disseminated are defined in diverse ways. From 1957-58 to date, different programs of the Center for the Dissemination of Information have been planned for new immigrants, for 'veteran' immigrants and for the 'old hands'. The general public is also a target audience when the idea is to encourage the socializing of immigrants and veteran Israelis. Specific audiences are pupils in post-primary schools and especially children in distressed areas.

Apart from its activities in Israel, the Center also takes on responsibility for disseminating information to potential immigrants in their countries of origin, as well as to former residents of Israel who have emigrated, and young people who come to Israel for a short time. The Center makes special efforts to bring motivating activities to places with a large population of immigrants. In the *Yearbook* of 1976-77 (p. 192), they explain that there are efforts to "reach people who, because of their role or because of their vocation and their social status, ... have an influence on their milieu" (1976-77, p. 192). The approach to implementing activities by means of key people in the immigrant communities continues the policy of the Office of Information that was consolidated in the 1950s. At that time Immigrants' Committees were set up to represent the different communities in the immigrant camps. The idea was to develop links between the immigrants and the government ministries. Information was disseminated to professionals — teachers and group leaders.

The Division of Religious Culture makes a point of preparing differentiated programs for men and women, for groups of different ages, as well as for teachers who train to instruct each group (1979-80; 1987-88). In addition, their presentation of religious culture is modified according to the countries of origin of the immigrants, making distinctions among the kinds of messages to impart, for example, to Russians, Georgians, Yemenites, or Ethiopians.

## 1.3    **Ideological Basis**

The *Yearbooks* do not leave the ideological underpinnings to speculation. The *Government Yearbook* of 1993-94 (p. 246), for example, presents a comprehensive ideological statement.

> The absorption of immigrants is predicated on the assumption that the State of Israel and the Jewish community in Israel are dedicated to the Zionist position, according to which every Jew, in every country of the world, always has the right, and is constantly requested, even required, to migrate to Israel and to live here. ... The dissemination of information is an inseparable part of the national effort to integrate immigrants socially. The department also receives a steady flow of information on what is done in the area of immigration and absorption, and adjusts the content and the method of dissemination to the diverse audiences to which it appeals. It distinguishes between information for immigrants and information for the host population, and within each of those two types of audience it inspects the kind of people for whom the activity is organized.

## 1.4    **Goals**

Operational definitions of the Center's aims are:

- attending to their [immigrants'] needs and giving evidence of the desire to help absorb them;
- mediating the difficulties attending the transition from the country of origin to Israel;
- imparting fundamental information and guidance about getting along in the actual conditions presented to them in Israel;
- providing support when there are questions or requests;
- fostering formal and informal initiatives for absorption;
- laying the groundwork among the immigrants for promoting an identification with Israel and her affairs;
- appealing to new immigrants to move out of the big cities to peripheral towns;
- preventing emigration.

This elaborate description of the Center's duties demonstrates that its responsibility is to provide cognitive input, to regulate affect, and thus to guarantee appropriate, fully 'Israeli' feeling, behavior, and social action.

With the mass immigration from Russia, the Center explicated the goal of educating the veteran public to a renewed consciousness of immigration as one of the duties of the State of Israel. The Center hoped to be able to create a fund of good will towards the new immigrants so as to foster in the veterans "a strong desire" to integrate immigrants, and a "readiness to bear the burden of absorbing immigration," both by collective action and by taking on tasks individually.

From the start, the Sub-Department of the Center for Imparting the Hebrew Language perceived its goals as going beyond teaching immigrants rudiments of communication. In their view the Department was "concerned with teaching basic cultural values to the masses of immigrants" (1952-53). In the pamphlet, "A Nation Learns" produced in 1967, the vital importance of teaching Hebrew to immigrants is explained in detail. "In order to enable every citizen, new immigrant or veteran, to enter into the state's economy, to bridge the social gaps between communities and classes, to raise the standard of living of all the residents in the country and to train them for good citizenship and for the on-going absorption of immigration, we have to 'raze' all the nests of ignorance in Israel in all its forms" (p. 1). The pamphlet goes on to explain the meaning of the goal of razing ignorance. This entails overcoming inadequate mastery of the Hebrew language as well as removing people's ignorance of acceptable religious practices.

> Most of those who are ignorant call themselves 'traditionalists' and say they are orthodox in their religion. True, most of the ignoramuses [sic!] do observe some of the religious customs in their homes and in public. However, since they lack knowledge and lack an ability to make distinctions [between important actions and those that are not], conceptions of what is forbidden and what is permitted are very vague in their minds. Many customs to which they are firmly, sometimes even zealously, devoted, are actually not part of Judaism, and some of them are even opposed to the spirit of the people of Israel. They are superstitious, take vows in a facile manner, crowd into the abodes of dazzling figures of the community and tribal doctors.... In the project of 'razing ignorance', the religious experience of this group is enriched. The actions they carry out in observing the commandments are refined and filled with new significance; faith is deepened and strengthens the heart (*Government Yearbook,* 1952-53, p. 9).

The rulings of the Department of Religious Culture are therefore assigned a central place in the initiation of projects for turning immigrants into Israelis. The Department has a conclusive influence on whether or not to preserve religious traditions of different groups of immigrants. In point of

fact, preservation is an explicit goal of the department, but only *if* the traditions are acceptable.


## 1.5     Promoting Immigrants' Well-Being

Over the years, the Center carried out programs dedicated to promoting the physical, spiritual, and social well being of the immigrants. They are celebrated in the *Yearbooks.*

*Programs for physical well-being.*     Programs for physical well-being disclose the ideologically acceptable conceptualization of the body. In the following I will describe two programs and their relevance to the official state vision of the nature of an "Israeli". These are: the project, "Milk and nutrition" and the project, "A sound mind in a healthy body."

One of the most thoroughgoing and most consistent projects of the early years of the state was the project: "milk and nutrition". This project was devised to confront obvious threats to the health of tens of thousands of new immigrants housed in substandard living quarters and earning very little. The mass immigration of the 1950s was, as noted above (cf. Chapter 4), a mission to populate the new state with jews and to keep them! This was a highly ambiguous task if only because of the precarious economic conditions in the newly established state. Immigrants who had been uprooted from a socially and culturally familiar terrain were housed initially in temporary camps, called ma'abaroth (transit villages). Some lived in barracks in army bases evacuated by the british; some in improvised housing — tents or corrugated metal huts. To ensure a minimum livelihood, most of the men were employed in public works projects – planting trees, repairing roads, and other kinds of labor that required stamina. Conditions in the immigrant camps and in the transit villages (ma'abaroth) posed problems of hygiene. Measures had to be undertaken to guard minimum standards of health and prevent the spread of disease.

'Project: Milk' was one solution. Its goal was to provide children with at least one glass of milk or cocoa a day. It was carried out as a collaborative effort of government ministries. Different offices of government were each assigned a specific responsibility for carrying out the project: recording needs, buying the foodstuffs, and distributing them. The Ministry of Education was entrusted with supplying powdered milk, sugar, cocoa, and the dishes needed for this scheme to schools. Between the years 1950 and 1964/65, 'Project: Milk' was funded for needy children throughout the country. In January, 1952, for example, the year when milk was first supplied to immigrant children and to children of poor neighborhoods, 22% of the children who benefited were from immigrant communities and about

60% were children of 'veteran' immigrants still living in temporary villages.

In 1953, two significant changes were introduced. At the beginning of the year, in January, 1953, a professional School of Nutrition was established, and training kitchens were set up in immigrant centers. They were designed to train new immigrant women in the principles of home economics and good nutrition. In 1955-56, twenty thousand immigrant women were taught in the training kitchens, and in 1959-60, intensive courses were organized to train immigrant women as teachers and instructors for work in their communities. In April, 1953, a separate Department of Nutrition was established with representatives of the Department of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry; the Department of the Ministry of Education and Culture; the Milk Project of the Ministry of Education and Culture; and the Project of Meals for children cared for by the Ministry of Welfare.

Ten years later, in 1964-65, the program had become "Project: Nutrition," for concern with good nutrition was still viewed as a government responsibility. In an agreement signed by Israel and the United States of America, food surpluses (powdered milk, oil, cracked wheat) were to be used as supplementary nourishment for children in elementary schools. This was not destined to continue for long. Presentations of the project in the *Government Yearbooks* during these years focus on the problems of budgeting, and on transferring responsibility for financing the projects for adequate nutrition to the local authorities. Difficulties are described in the *Yearbook* of 1967-68. "In the fiscal year 1966/67 the scope of the Milk and Cocoa Project was greatly reduced because of the rise in the price of milk and because of the financial circumstances of the local authorities." From that year on, immigrant children are no longer mentioned as recipients of supplementary nourishment. In 1980-81, the Department for Household and Nutrition Services is mentioned in the *Yearbook* again in connection with cutbacks. The financing was reduced by seventy per cent and this meant that the project closed down in most of the localities. As an alternative, arrangements were made to institute partially subsidized cafeterias in schools.

The slogan, *"A Sound Mind in a Healthy Body "* (mens sana in corpore sano), was the heading of a project carried out by the Sports Authority. In 1948, a short time after World War II, the slogan had a poignant significance. Immigrants from Europe were for the most part people who had been rescued from the Shoah. Immigrants from Arabic-speaking countries were city dwellers many of whom had to adjust to a completely unfamiliar rural way of life in Israel. All of the newcomers were in urgent need of physical and mental rehabilitation. From the point of view of the state, this rehabilitation was even more pressing. During the 1948 War, 6000 young Jews – most of them men — had been killed. In place of the volunteer

forces that had conducted the war, the government had decided on a policy of universal conscription for eighteen-year-olds and annual reserve duty until the age of fifty-five.[40] Sound minds and healthy bodies among the young were important to the needs of the army, which was conceived as the only means of defending a state that was "under constant threat."

The importance of physical training and sports for the new immigrants is described in the *Government Yearbook* of 1950-51 as follows: "The Department views the rehabilitation of immigrants, that is to say, their restoration to health, to a capacity for work, and normal social life, as one of its most important functions." Local Sports Clubs were an important means for strengthening immigrants physically and for turning them into 'tzabars' – natives. As the *Yearbook* of 1952-53 states: "A club is an educational and cultural factor in the life of the Ma'abarah (temporary transit village) and helps ensure that immigrant families will take root in their new setting."

From the foundation of the state, therefore, physical fitness was extolled and encouraged. In the year 1949-50, the government set up a Department of Physical Training (eventually to become the Sports Authority) with sub-divisions for: training and coaching; physical education and sport for youth and adults; disseminating information; developing spaces for physical training in schools as well as setting up associations and organizations; maintaining contact with public bodies for the implementation of physical training (acquiring tracts of land for sports centers, building gyms, installing swimming pools, and so on)" (p. 96). These activities of the department were all designed to promote sport as a pastime for the youth of immigrant towns. In most of the communities, several sports organizations, each affiliated with a political party – Hapoel (Labor Party), Elitzur (National Religious Party), and Maccabi (Liberal Party) – were partners to the activities. In the wave of immigration from the FSU many people with a strong background and interest in sport arrived in Israel. In preparation for their absorption, extensive arrangements were made in 1989-90.

- The dormitories at the Wingate Institute (for tertiary education in the realm of sport) were refurbished and enlarged.
- Plans for distributing scholarships to young people who showed promise were finalized.
- Trainers and instructors in physical education from Russia were integrated into extensive sports activity in communities throughout the country (1990-91; 1991-92; 1993-94).

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[40] Since then the age of required reserve duty has been lowered to forty-five, or forty, depending on whether or not the reservist is called up for combat duty.

The Wingate College for Physical Training now hosts intensive training camps for athletics, swimming, judo, and so on, with the goal of developing world champions in as many branches of sport as possible. (For further details, see Appendix D.)

*Programs for spiritual well-being.* As to the goal of ensuring "a sound mind," the *Yearbooks* are careful to show that the state is committed to investing resources in the spiritual well-being of immigrants. The conceptualization of spiritual well-being includes ensuring that immigrants become fluent in the Hebrew language and interlacing the acquisition of the language with enhanced religious participation as noted above. Acquiring a command of Hebrew is considered most important for integration into the country. Projects for ensuring an efficient system of learning have been the focus of efforts of several government units including the Center for Disseminating Information, the Division for Religious Culture, and the school system.

## 1.6 "From seventy tongues to one people"

The conception underlying the activities of all the departments was the idea that integration into society depends on the acquisition of fluency in Hebrew, the lingua franca of the Jewish state. Acknowledging the fact that immigrants felt at home in the languages of their countries of origin, the government was intent on having them exchange their figurative "seventy" native tongues for the language that symbolized the unification of a dispersed people. Learning to speak and read Hebrew demands the study of a novel alphabet, adjustment to a change in the direction of reading, an unfamiliar grammatical system, as well as a vocabulary constantly undergoing change because of the felt need to adapt the ancient tongue to deal with technological innovations and with evolving political situations. In 1954-55, the focus of the activity of the department for teaching Hebrew was the project of imparting Hebrew to the entire nation. The heart of the project was the recruitment of volunteer teachers who induced and persuaded large groups of immigrants to learn Hebrew (1955-56). Another volunteer project for the purpose of "razing ignorance" was implemented in 1957-58, when great emphasis was placed on teaching Hebrew to people in the ma'abarot and residents in impoverished neighborhoods. New immigrants are regularly offered opportunities to study Hebrew in language schools (ulpanim) of different kinds: in kibbutzim, in state supported schools in towns and cities, in short courses, and in ulpanim especially for youth of school age (1950-51; 1964-65; 1970-71; 1971-72).

Texts in simplified Hebrew were written to teach civics as well as

geography and Jewish history (1959-60; 1971-72). The media were inducted to cooperate by scheduling programs for teaching Hebrew as well. The "Voice of Israel" ("Kol Yisrael") radio network broadcast half hour programs at set times for those learning Hebrew. Those broadcasts included news in simplified Hebrew and lessons in Hebrew for immigrants who spoke Yiddish, French, of Ladino (1957-58). When television was introduced into the country, the educational television channel also prepared programs for teaching Hebrew both to new immigrants and to potential immigrants in Community Centers in the Diaspora (1971-72). Weeklies published for immigrants were and are an important means for transmitting information as well as a means for extending reading skills. The weeklies, published with vowels[41] to help beginners, were popular reading material. Even when the department decided to sell the weeklies (rather than distributing them free of charge), their circulation was not reduced. Furthermore, articles and stories from the weeklies mentioned in the Government Yearbooks were anthologized. Special weekly and bi-weekly magazines were also published for use in the language schools. (For details, see Appendix E)

In 1984-85, the Department for Teaching the Hebrew Language was especially active in setting up language schools for Ethiopian immigrants in the Absorption Centers and the hotels where the new immigrants were initially housed. These language schools (Ulpanim) lasted for ten months. Special materials were produced to teach reading and writing skills to these immigrants, a significant proportion of whom arrived with very little schooling or none at all. To build the curriculum, the authorities recruited the help of ethnographers, linguists, psychologists, and other experts. Studies covered basic concepts in Hebrew and the subject matter of an Israeli elementary education. In addition, a Hebrew-Amharic dictionary was published with pronunciation shown in both languages; as well as a special reader, Alpha-Beta Yisrael.

With an eye to the needs of immigrants from the FSU, the Administration for Immigration Absorption established a Center for Vocational Retraining (1989-90) and set up special classes for teaching Hebrew to people in different professions: engineers, nurses, book-keepers, doctors and teachers (1990-92; 1992-93) as well as Ulpanim for workers in the Kibbutzim. They designed language schools for converting non-Jews to Judaism, and in addition, opened special classes for elderly people and for the deaf. Ulpan classes for adults were held mornings and evenings (1990-92).

The Division attributes enhanced spiritual well-being to religious

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[41] In newspapers and books for adults, Hebrew is written without indications of the vowel sounds. A practiced reader will know how and where to insert vowels according to her knowledge of the structure of the language. For children and new immigrants it is possible to attach signs of the vowel sounds.

participation. Thus, in the Department for Religious Culture, a special Department for Teaching the Hebrew Language planned and implemented activities in imparting knowledge to new immigrants who lack an elementary knowledge of Hebrew. In language schools (Ulpanim) texts for students stress citizenship, but also stress the place of religion. The library of materials that emphasize Jewish values has grown steadily. A series of pamphlets that was among the first published, "P'sukim," provides a selection of chapters from the Bible and the holy Legends (Agadah) (1953-54).

According to the *Government Yearbooks,* many projects of the Division have centered on providing access to a comprehensive study of Judaism for the entire population, with an emphasis on study circles for people in distressed areas (1960-61; 1964-65; 1965-66; 1967-68). In 1976-77, the Department notes that 65% of its budget was allocated to basic courses in impoverished areas of the country and the remaining 35% to advanced courses for teachers. Work among immigrants had a high priority and in the immigrant settlements there were religious activities especially for women (1958-59; 1964-65). Local authorities in conjunction with voluntary organizations and private institutions, such as the Center for Preserving the Legacy of the Sephardim (Jews from Islamic countries), funded the activities (see *Yearbook,* 1978-79).

The Israel Defense Forces played an important part in overcoming the dearth of teachers over the years. Selected groups of soldiers were given intensive teacher training courses and sent to teach individuals and groups in settlements with relatively large numbers of immigrants. Reservists women soldiers who had been trained as teachers organized classes. In peripheral areas of the country, every settlement had at least one woman soldier-teacher who taught mornings and afternoons. Lessons were held in people's homes, clubhouses, in the secretariat of the settlement, in synagogues and in public institutions (1958-59; 1964-65).

Despite the many frameworks for encouraging immigrants to learn Hebrew, policy makers expressed their fears dramatically: "There are still tens of thousands of men and women in all corners of the country, who do not recognize a Hebrew letter, and will not get to an organized classroom, unless they free themselves from the shackles of total ignorance" (1958-59; 1972-74). These goals were, and are the focus of the Sub-Department for Teaching Hebrew in the Department of Religious Culture to this very day. Today, the Department of Instruction in the Division for Adult Education holds the main responsibility for the programs designed to "raze ignorance." These programs gradually evolved into an array of methods well-based in research. On the basis of extensive experience with adult learners of Hebrew as a second language, one of the first pedagogues in this field, Haramati

(1973), was able to propose a systematic approach while charting the obstacles. Among others, he reminds teachers that adult learners may encounter hardship because of new demands on seeing and hearing; they may be daunted by finding that they have to learn slowly, have difficulty remembering and are put off by childish learning materials. From these preliminary cautions, he goes on to analyze how learning may be retarded by conditions that are created in the classroom. But he also gives the government departments as well as the teachers concrete information about how to prepare materials, how to write texts for adults, and how to carry out effective instruction. In short, he presents a guide to overcoming illiteracy, i.e., to razing ignorance.

## 2.    MEANS

The Information Administration regularly disseminates written materials, takes care of oral publicity, audio-visual information, public excursions, and traveling exhibitions.

## 2.1    Written information

To date, written information comprises a considerable portion of the publicity activities, both among new immigrants and among native Israelis (1993-94). Among the publications, there are newsletters written in simplified Hebrew, pamphlets with practical information for new immigrants on how to get along in the country, as well as material such as songbooks for use in cultural activities. Some types of publication appeared on a single occasion and were never mentioned again. Others have become parts of a series. One of the latter is the "Know your Nation" series that provides information about Jewish communities in different parts of the world.

In the *Government Yearbook* of 1957-58, we have an initial indication of how extensive the range of topics dealt with in the written publications is. The publications reported on include *Ornaments* [*Takhshitim*], a series of pamphlets giving guidelines for decorating clubhouses in immigrant locales. *Views in Israel* is a bulletin board with photographs distributed throughout the country. *Dafshirim,* pages with popular Israeli songs, were disseminated in immigrant settlements to be sung in community meetings. The *Weekly Survey* with news about important events was compiled for those who coordinate cultural activities in villages and settlements. Except for the *Weekly Survey,* which was distributed for many years either as an

independent publication or as an addition to the evening newspapers, many publications were provided for a specific temporal context. All, however, touch on the issue of immigration. (See Appendix E)

## 2.2    Oral dissemination of information

Information was disseminated orally at meetings where people could ask questions. In the 1950s these activities were carried out by a "Mobile House of Culture" in regions where there were many new immigrants (1958-59). In the 1970s there was a major reduction in the number of Jewish immigrants, and the Department of Oral Information revised its approach and focused on attracting potential immigrants, preventing emiration, as well as on 'molding the exiles into a single nation' and building an exemplary society.

## 2.3    Visual information

Films were very helpful. Films produced beginning in the late 1950s were highly valued as "Visual information" (Hasbara Orith). Productions included films with news from Israel and the world. Special newsreels were produced in simplified Hebrew for immigrant settlements in the years 1957-1961 with selections from the newsreels of the commercial film companies ("Geva" and "Carmel"). There were films to accompany lectures, and when as the *Yearbook* of 1976-77 announces, the "audiences' interests have shifted", the Center turned to an intensive production of documentary films, among them films about the how the state is run and about how immigrants are absorbed.

Various exhibitions were sent to immigrant settlements with the aim of "enriching cultural life". Among these exhibitions were: "Man and Land" (history of agriculture), "Herzl and his Vision" (1959-60), "History of the Settlements" (1960-61), and so on. During the 1950s the exhibitions were sent especially to the temporary transit camps, and when the camps were replaced by permanent housing, the exhibitions were sent to peripheral areas of the country. In the course of time, the Center for Information collaborated with the Museum of the Diaspora in Tel Aviv, in order to put on some special exhibitions (1981-82).

## 2.4    Excursions

From the very first years of the existence of the State of Israel, the Department for Excursions in the Center for Information organized trips

throughout the country with learning objectives designed to fit the needs of different population groups (new immigrants, volunteers who had come to work in kibbutzim, professionals). Objectives were to impart information about Israel's geography, flora, and fauna. Excursions for school principals, teachers, farmers, and people of different vocations were organized so that "intellectuals would understand in depth the accomplishments and needs of the state in the domains of security, settlement, economics and science" (1958-59; 1959-60; 1973-74, 1975-76). During the 1980s the emphasis was on excursions to the new settlements in the area of Mount Hebron and the Jordan Valley, the Negev, the settlements in Judea and Samaria and the new Jewish communities in the Galilee (1980-81, 1987-88). In 1993-94, the Center organized trips for people to become acquainted with urban conditions, with commercial Tel Aviv and generally with daily life in the city (1993-94, p. 247). In 1997-98, when there were excursions to the relatively rural northern and southern sections of the country (the Galilee and the Negev), there were also excursions to familiarize participants with government agencies.

## 2.5    Comprehensive programs

When the Communist Bloc fell, intensive courses were prepared to groom Russian Jews for emigration from the former Soviet Union (1989-90). When immigration from the former Soviet Union reached 3000 immigrants per month, the Center for Information compiled a comprehensive program for transmitting information, describing experiences both of the immigrants and of those involved in activities to facilitate their integration. Additional activity for "Jews of the Diaspora" is mentioned in the *Yearbook* of 1991-92, when it was decided, together with national institutions responsible for contact with Jews in the former USSR, to begin the activity of absorption in education in language schools (Ulpanim) organized in Russia. Young group leaders were sent to conduct informal learning activities in centers sponsored by Israel.

At this time, the Center paid special attention to training people for carrying out the programs of dissemination. It was recognized that the persons imparting the information had to know something about the mentality, the spiritual life, the linguistic qualifications, the economic, social, and religious expectations of the immigrants. The new programs stressed the emotional appeal of "deepening the Israeli experience." To involve the immigrants, programs stressed that "all Jews are responsible for one another" is a central idea in the history of the people. It was assumed the immigrants could best understand the official narrative of the history of the

state and the War for Independence by grasping the full import of mutual responsibility. In the instrumental domain, the immigrants' understanding of norms and practices in Israel was facilitated by demonstration and explanation. Among the topics treated were: citizenship — rights and duties; state institutions; systems of government and their roles, and the structure of religious services in Israel.

To educate the wider public to "accept and embrace" the new immigrants, the Center disseminated information about what the "character of the group" implied for the process of absorption. Some material was compiled to impart an understanding of the difficulties of relocation from one country to another. The Center provided materials to guide veterans in face-to-face encounters with new immigrants. These materials featured information based on examining the lessons learned from Jewish history about the importance of the in-gathering of the exiles. The message was that since the establishment of the state, each wave of immigration had strengthened the nation and added a dimension of vitality. The immigrants themselves, it was explained, were undergoing many hardships in trying to learn about their new milieu. One of the tasks of the dissemination of information for the 'absorbers' was to teach how to show consideration when taking part in discussions where weaker groups in society, such as the unemployed, express their bitterness. (1989-90, p. 266).

## 2.6 Means for disseminating materials with a religious orientation

For the Department (later the Division) of Religious Culture, the basic texts are the Holy Books of Orthodox Judaism. Interpretations are provided, however, according to the target audience and their locales. In the 1950s, activities connected with the study of Judaism took place in synagogues, in places where texts of this kind are regularly studied (Batei Midrash), and in centers of culture in different communities. There were courses in schools and in evening classes, in departments of community centers, and in hostels where recently arrived immigrants were provided with living quarters for a limited time (1952-53; 1955-56; 1957-58). In addition, in the framework of the Center for Basic Education in Judaism, an institution launched by the Division especially for immigrants, there was a mobile school (Beth Midrash) that traveled among immigrant villages with teachers from the cities employed in the unit (1963-64; 1964-65; 1969-70; 1970-71). The department also organized seminars and conferences (1976-77).

The accessibility of the religious materials was enhanced by taking different tastes into consideration. The goal of the project, "Judaism for All"

(Yahel/ Yahadut Lakol), for example, is to attract secularists by combining the study of religion with courses of general interest provided by the Open University. These were also adapted to different strata of the population who showed an interest: women, men, youth, the elderly (1979-80; 1987-88). In the case of different groups of immigrants, the programs are attuned to the perceived needs of each community. Two examples of how different these groups are can be illustrated in the materials prepared for the immigrants from the Yemen, whose life style in their country of origin had been traditional; and those prepared for the immigrants from Russia who had immigrated to Israel from a country where religious observance was discouraged even to the point of repression.

*Yemenite immigrants*

The immigrants from the Yemen, brought to the new State of Israel in 1948 in a project called "the Magic Carpet," were perceived to be a unique community because of their devotion to Jewish tradition over the centuries. The *Yearbooks* of 1950-51 and 1952-53 describe how the Department of Religious Culture acted to preserve the traditionalism of the immigrants from the Yemen. A special school (Ulpan) was set up for Yemenite rabbis to help them integrate into the religious life of the country (1951-52). The *Yearbooks* also mention "Youth Camps" set up principally for the children of immigrants from the Yemen. In these camps the program was based on activities designed to impart knowledge of the Hebrew language as a mode of communication, together with a strong foundation in the "values of Judaism". There were also lessons on topics of general interest, and physical education (1950-51). A seminary for young people among the Yemenite immigrants was established, with courses classified as 'basic' or 'advanced' (1951-52; 1952-53).

*Activities for and with Immigrants from the former USSR*

Even before the mass aliya from the FSU, while the Soviet regime still flourished and opposed religion intensely, the Department for Religious Culture organized an inter-Ministerial project of distance education in Judaism. The course was conducted in Russian. The dissemination was carried out through people in Russia who were involved in the reception ("absorption") of immigrants, public organizations, and local authorities (1975-76). Among those committed to this kind of work was the Amana Institute, an institute for publications on Judaism in Russian and in Georgian. These publications served the Jewish population in the USSR as well as the few that were allowed to immigrate and had to spend time in transit camps in Austria and in Italy. Publications that reached the USSR

through the Iron Curtain included collections of material about the holidays of Israel, a series on the "Values of Judaism and Events in Jewish Culture," and a monthly on Jewish culture, *Menorah and Leaves* (1971-72, 1977-78, 1978-79, 1979-80, 1981-82). In 1982-83, the Amana Institute completed the translation of the Meir Encyclopedia, *Netiv-l'Halachoth, Minhagim, Darchei Mussar, uMaasim Tovim* (Path to Laws, Customs, Ethics, and Good Deeds) into Russian and Georgian. In this encyclopedia, all the items that are related to "Jewish consciousness" in the widest sense are explained and interpreted in the spirit of orthodox Judaism. The authors saw this encyclopedia as a tool to bring immigrants closer to Judaism and a call to them to clarify and to reinforce their awareness of what it means to be Jewish by "eradicating the alarming ignorance in relation to matters of principle in Judaism."

In the *Government Yearbook* of 1993-94, the activities of the Division of Religious Culture are summed up in this way: "It is responsible for imparting knowledge of Judaism and the Jewish experience to everyone who is interested, on every level of education" (1993-94, p. 225). To this end, the Division supervises evenings of study and seminars (1988-89) and produces many interpretative publications, among them monthly journals (1993-94). The subdivision, "Nahora" (1967-68) was set up to produce films on topics related to Judaism, among them: "Community traditions" (1967-68), "The pilgrimage, Jews of Jerba" (1971-72), as well as films on communities in different parts of the Diaspora (among others, Yemen, Iran, Egypt, and so on) (1979-80 and 1981-82), as well as films on selected topics in Judaism to illustrate acceptable practice (1977-78). The Institute for Religious Music of the Department has organized concerts devoted to motifs of the Jewish heritage from the East, produced records in this area of interest (1978-79), and published textbooks and research on musical subjects (1979-80, 1981-82). There are projects ("Renanoth" and "Renath-Yah") that collect traditional prayer melodies of different communities. Much of the material has been recorded and transcribed. Collections of music of North African communities (especially Jerba) and of Yemenite communities have been archived. These institutes also took part in recording Jewish songs in the Diaspora (see: www.renanot.co.il: reports in the *Yearbooks* of 1957-58, 1958-59, 1960-61, 1965-66, 1967-68, 1970-71, 1979-80, 1982-83).

## 3.    ISRAELI ARABS

In the *Government Yearbooks,* references to accomplishments among the Arab population of Israel are relatively few. Still, the trends are significant. We will look at entries in the early years of the state, notices published twenty years after the state's foundation, and some material from the 1990s.

In general, the Ministries record accomplishments during 1952-53 under sub-heads of "Arabs", or "Minorities". Among its endeavors, the Ministry of the Interior is proud of the fact that there has been some progress toward organizing the local authorities according to the legal criteria accepted in Israel (p. 155); the Ministry of the Treasury announces that they have enabled 5000 Arab families to rent 20 dunams of land for farming and add that this is an area adequate for a family's livelihood (p. 36); the Ministry of Agriculture has appointed instructors in modern agricultural methods to help the Arabs improve their levels of production (pp. 106-107). The Ministry of Labor asserts that there is practically no unemployment among the Arabs. True, they are knowledgeable, but according to the report, the reduction in unemployment has been accomplished because of the procedures that the Ministry has put in place. And the Ministry of Welfare proudly announces that it has prepared fifteen [sic!] social workers for the Arab population (p. 141).

In the year 1969-70, the Ministry of Religions (pp. 105-106) notes that for the first time, relations have been established with the Druze community as a population (ca. 30,000) separate from the Muslims. This entails support for holidays and for the construction of religious buildings. In addition the Ministry describes its contribution to the building of additional mosques for the Muslims. The Christian churches are cited as being able to finance their communities with their own resources. In the *Government Yearbook* of 1991/1992 (pp. 174-175) and 1993/1994 (pp. 189-190), the Ministry of Religions reports that it is supporting non-Jewish religions on both sides of the "green line." By this time, succeeding governments have made the official position on the place of the Arab "minorities" crystal clear.

## 4.    SUMMARIZING REMARKS

*Government Yearbooks* celebrate accomplishments that reflect the central mission of the Jewish state – the in-gathering of the exiles; and also impart information that bears witness to the state's willingness to observe equity in relation to the non-Jewish population. Most of the material delineates the most important project of the Jewish state – how the state manages the formation of Israelis.

As noted above, every formulation of the goals and tasks of the Center for Information as well as of the Department of Religious Culture says explicitly that they are organizations designed to supply acceptable explanations of what is going on in the country in the political, economic, and cultural domains. Furthermore, the programs they put into effect model actions and feelings that are central to doing 'being an Israeli.' In the large,

'absorption' turns into a giant project of instruction in what has to be done – mostly by the immigrants themselves in order to turn the goal into reality. The rationale for the ministries' reports is that the activities they celebrate are those that contribute to turning all immigrants into Israelis in the shortest possible time.

From our survey of what the government announces is important about and for new immigrants, we can deduce which of the ideas promulgated as part of the official ideology are perpetuated, what image of the Israeli is projected, and what interests are shown to be central to the state. The pride of accomplishment provides insight into the meaning of the "in-gathering of the exiles," on the one hand, and the meaning of democracy as equality of opportunity, on the other. Although the verbal message is one of democratization through sharing, the practical messages all emphasize what it means to be Jewish as the central experience of value, a type of ethnic domination that verges on the dictatorial. The essence of the democratization turns out to be the wide dissemination and imposition of the state's perspective.

The official activities undertaken in response to felt needs for programs that promote physical well-being among immigrants are explained in the *Government Yearbooks* as ways of ensuring integration into Israeli society. Immigrants — children, adolescents, and young adults — are characterized as people who are not only new to the country, but as groups that have to be coerced to adjust to conditions that may well, from their point of view, at best be awkward and often outlandish. The assumption underlying the projects is that immigrants are by definition under-developed and completely lacking in coping skills. Moreover, they were obviously passive, grateful recipients of verified valid knowledge. Only government authorities could supply the appropriate resources. Immigrants have to learn that in dealing with hazards generated by cramped living conditions and inadequate facilities, the only kind of diet that is defensible is one that receives the seal of approval of the officials of the relevant ministries. Helping people keep well was considered possible only by means of massive regimentation with programs for good nutrition all based on a reification of a standard European diet. This was especially significant at the time because during the 1950s, the state's decisions on nutrition were institutionalized in regulations of rationing. Every citizen received food stamps that provided what the government had decided were appropriate allowances of protein, fat, and sugar. The Government also undertook to provide authoritative knowledge about how to cook to women who have experience in preparing food. The entire process of training instructors, disseminating knowledge of the arts of nutrition, and providing on-going information was standardized in government-run courses, and genderized.

Similarly, the organization of sports is considered natural only when overseen by the institutionalized sports clubs, i.e., when they are organized so as to be presented as resources of political parties. The narrative of sports is one of a rational universalized legitimation of physical fitness, with government initiatives directed toward the promotion of excellence in sport. Given the popularity of spectator sports in Israel, however, the cultivation of competitive sports has several latent functions. As so often noted, the playing field is an arena for developing a culture of warfare; an arena that fosters an acceptance of militancy and defensiveness that go beyond the limits of ordinary everyday life. At the same time, sports provide a bounded site for expressing personal agency – an arena for achievement that is available without restrictions to representatives of minority groups who manage to develop a special talent (Semyonov, Hoyt & Scott, 1984). The very structure of the competition, with the many occasions for failure, however, invites the venting of stereotypical contempt and scorn. In sum, the very activities whose rules facilitate entrance into majority society also embody a threat of exclusion.

The exemplar projects for immigrants referred to here take for granted some conventions from the immigrants' background. The traditional sexual division of labor and ranking of genders is ensconced in a cultural framework that is at the heart of the definition of Israel as an independent state. Work on nutrition is reserved for women. The emphases in the sports projects shifted in the 1990s from training teachers for impoverished communities to providing adequate facilities for the Russians who were assumed to be bringing a highly developed culture of competitive sport into the country. But they were not to initiate their own frameworks; programs had to be located in an institute where they would have to learn about the Israeli approach to sports and athletics.

We cannot escape the conclusion that both the projects for promoting good nutrition and for extending sports activities express an assessment that immigrants are likely to constitute a threat to "Israeliness." These are people who require special attention and if they do not learn within a reasonable (government-defined) period of time how to do "being Israelis," they will continue to be outsiders, marginalized veteran residents.

Assumptions of the information program signal the perpetuation of ideological proclamations that were pronounced throughout the century. They were:

(a)  The State of Israel and the Jewish community in Israel hold to the Zionist position, according to which every Jew, in any place in the world, has the right and the duty to migrate (to ascend) to Israel and to live there.

(b)  The State of Israel and the national institutions are prepared to coordinate activities of integration for the different types of immigrants, in the domains relevant to absorbing immigration, and especially in the domains of housing, initial adjustment, employment, education, and learning the language, for as long as necessary.

(c)  Information is an inseparable part of the endeavor of social absorption of the immigrants.

(d)  Means of dissemination are adopted to different types of audience and characterizations by the appointed government authority are definitive.

   The *Yearbooks* insist, moreover, that acquiring the Hebrew language is the indisputable basis for 'social absorption'. In this case too two trends are evident: one practical and one ideological. In practice, a person who acquires Hebrew as the language of the country is immediately affiliated with the Jewish majority. The state deliberately cultivates the new immigrants' capacity to negotiate with bureaucrats, to gain entry into the messages of Israeli media. They have a good chance to feel at home and will therefore choose to remain in Israel. This is a concern that grows in intensity from decade to decade, probably because of the very diversity of the immigrant population.

   The Department for Religious Culture reinforces the implication that being an Israeli requires a particular orientation to the Jewish religion, a fund of knowledge, and the skills that enable appropriate performance of religious practices. These conventions, which had matured in different countries in Europe, are articulated in modes of study that have reference to the Bible and the Talmud (the written law and the oral law). But they embody spiritual values that are presented as being a continuation of the community traditions that had been left behind, and are now preserved in archives, on film, and on records. The entire project is delineated as uniquely a part of the Israeli way of life. Instructors are trained to carry out the mission of imparting this way of life to the 'ignorant', those that have had no opportunity to be part of a truly Jewish community, and to the 'superstitious', those who were practicing a form of Judaism that the state does not recognize as legitimate. It is significant that studying the tenets and practices of the orthodox stream of Judaism is among the most consistently funded projects of the state.

   The induction into a particular type of Judaism also reflects class distinctions among Jewish communities. Because the materials that the government offices disseminate as religious information is crowned with the distinction of being what must be taken for granted, East European communities can impose their customs on the Jews from the Islamic countries that are traditionalist or even ultra-orthodox in their orientation to religion according to their own lights. The practices of the Ashkenazi Jews

are the yardstick for labeling the practices of Mizrachi Jews as 'ignorance' or 'misbehavior'. Further distinctions among the immigrants grow out of the orthodox practices. They distinguish sharply between men (who know more by definition) and women (who, as we have seen, have to be guided even in housekeeping because they are likely to err), between the students of the holy books who are to be venerated, and the 'simple' people whose ignorance has to be 'razed'. In every case, the immigrants are among the disadvantaged.

In national politics, the insistence on practices of Judaism as the basis for Israeli culture justifies the dominance of the Jews in a country that has an autochthonous minority that constitutes about 20% of the population. It also justifies the growth of religious parties and concerns of religion in legislation.[42] On the international level the adherence to traditional Jewish religious practices is considered the basis for legitimizing the existence of Israel as a Jewish state "after almost 2000 years" of dispersal. It is also the basis for asserting that there is an indissoluble connection between the Jews in Israel and the Jews in the Diaspora. Jews from all over the world are potential immigrants and potential citizens invited to reinforce the Jewish majority in the country.

Ideological contradictions are overcome when the state undertakes to help the immigrant settle into the new environment. The immigrant for whom there is so much concern is constructed, however, as a type of malleable person, one that the state can form and re-form as an Israeli. Neither the immigrants nor their children are agents capable of deciding on actions that serve their interests. Luckily, the state not only knows what is needed for their well-being – physical and spiritual – both in the large and in great detail, but also acts to show the immigrant how his or her weaknesses interfere with the goal aspired to – of eradicating the past and being an Israeli. The centrally managed geographical placements of immigrants compound the campaign of national renewal. Locations where populations defined (from the 1950s on) as immigrants are consigned are labeled for decades as 'development' towns or areas. The reference to locale provides cues that these people are 'different' and 'less' part of the nation than those who live in a central setting. As such, the state creates persons who are constantly in need of guidance and leadership in the project of self-redefinition. Among them special care is allocated to people who are considered to be 'people of color.' Thus, whereas the later *Yearbooks* do

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[42] What is called the 'status quo' is a complicated set of religious rules and regulations that govern the private lives of all Israeli citizens. The parties that identify themselves as religious parties, furthermore, have the legitimation to press for further regulation in the direction of imposing more and more of the 613 commandments accepted by orthodox Judaism on the entire population (cf. Pines-Raz, 2002).

relate to the Russian immigrants as well as to Ethiopians, the earlier ones make a point of differentiating the relatively dark-skinned Yemenites from the Jews from Islamic countries and all of the latter from the Jews who are all (Europeans of every shade; Americans, Britishers or commonwealthers) simply non-adjectived Israelis.

The disparagement that underlies government handling of immigration is mixed with enticing privilege. Materially, the word, "oleh" (one who ascends, the Hebrew word for a Jewish immigrant to Israel), is both a privilege and a penalty. The oleh is a being to be nurtured and helped by the state apparatus. Because of this, too, immigrants are by definition not truly social agents. They are dependent economically, incapable of rational decision-making or of implementing agreed upon goals, not fully formed in relation to culture (language, religion), and in the throes of deformed patterns of behavior that cause their family life to be grasped as deviate.

In this extensive framework, the non-Jew is an almost negligible topic. Government services are scaled to fill – in part — the patent needs of the Jewish population. Central events are those planned for the Jewish population and for the Jewish immigrant. The needs of the "Arab," the "Bedouin," and the "Druze" are not examined apart from the concepts that infuse the programs for Jewish Israeli.

The entire structure of concern for the immigrant and what is implied for the non-Jewish minority, establishes several basic parameters that are without appeal.

(a)  Who is the AGENT? The agent is the state.
(b)  What is recognized as RATIONALITY? Rationality is accepting all the services, doing what the services are preparing you to do, and becoming the type of person who fits in with the frameworks provided.
(c)  In what STRUCTURE is it all embedded? The structures are the clear-cut classes, organizations, activities that the state funds and deputies ministries and their departments to carry out.
(d)  What is the SYSTEM? The system is a bureaucratic centralization of the hierarchic messages to be conveyed.

As the *Government Yearbooks* portray over and over again, the choice of information to disseminate imposes the state's narrative of the Israeli Way of Life and promises a reward for its acceptance. The promise is that if and when the main points of the narrative are taken in and made evident in daily behaviors, the immigrant may be included as a 'member', a dyed in the blue Israeli. But the combination of daunting requirements and extended nurturing are likely to lead to a deterioration of the very qualities that

distinguish the autonomous, brash, impulsive, creative native who is truly Israeli.

Apart from organizational means, the measures deployed by the Ministry of Education include the dissemination of information as well as extensive activities devoted to informal education. The accomplishments bruited in the *Government Yearbooks* are, of course, connected with the long-range goals of education that will be explicated in Chapter 7. Accomplishments of the Ministry of Education can best be understood in tandem with the specific instructions for running schools that the Ministry transmits monthly to "workers in education." The celebratory pronouncements related to specifically educational accomplishments will, therefore, be presented after an examination of the *Circulars of the Director-General* in Chapter 8.

# Chapter 7

# IDEOLOGY TRANSMUTED – PROCLAIMING EDUCATIONAL GOALS

The official ideology explicates national purpose and provides a basis for policies in every domain (*scene*) of public life in Israel. In this chapter I will examine how purposes are specified in the realm of education with special emphasis on the differentiation of groups of children in this sphere.

In Paragraph 3 of the Kinneret Pact (described in Chapter 4), the Forum connected with the Rabin Center reminds readers that education is a central project of the state *because* Israel is a Jewish and democratic state that relies on immigration. With that rationale, the Pact cites the principles that have to be transmitted to the younger generation as follows:

> The Jewish nature of the state of Israel is articulated in the expression of a deep commitment to Jewish history and culture; in its ties with Jews of the Diaspora, in the Law of Return, in encouraging immigration and absorption, in the Hebrew language which is the chief language of the state, the language of a unique Israeli creativity; in the official state holidays and days of rest, in its symbols and its national anthem; in Hebrew culture with its Jewish roots and in the institutions that foster that culture; in the Hebrew educational system whose role it is to promote — together with general education, education in science, as well as universal values, together with loyalty to the state and love for the country and its landscape – with the pupils' bond to the Jewish people, to the Jewish heritage, and to the Book of Books.

This statement about the tasks of education is not innovative. The writers seem to be summing up the import of legislation and regulations that have governed Jewish education during the last century, rather than attempting to introduce innovations. As a matter of fact, from the very beginning of the Zionist project, the schools were taken very seriously not only as the institution for raising an educated citizenry, but as the means for conveying acceptable ideas about nationhood as a historical reality and as a worthy cause. The ideology of nation-building and the in-gathering of the exiles was

the overarching message to be conveyed in pre-state schooling and schools were conceived of as the locale for transmitting the ideals and the perspective "from generation to generation" (Segev, 2000, pp. 389-392). Once established, the Jewish state quite consciously promulgated policies in line with the approach of the pre-state school systems. With its self-definition as 'democratic,' the state took a further step; it proclaimed its concern that schooling for the in-gathered exiles will extend the privilege of education to all children, newcomers and veterans, Jewish and Arab. At this point, the state avoids confronting the paradox of how children who are not Jewish can be linked to a Jewish society.

In the following chapters, what this ideology born of apparently irresolvable contradictions implies and what its transmission 'down' the hierarchy of the educational organization makes of it will be explored. The burden of this chapter will be to trace how the ideological issues are embedded in legislated goals and formal policies for the project of *national* education, that is, education that privileges a particular nation.

Principles founded on the national ideology, and basic to educational policy are the following:

- The in-gathering of the exiles is the central task of the nation.
- Integration of the olim (Jewish immigrants) into Israeli society begins with knowledge of Hebrew as an oral and written medium of communication.
- Preparation for citizenship in adulthood has to be based on the study of Jewish texts.

In addition, the state avows:

- All children in the state have the right to education.

Before going on to describe the kinds of projects that the educational system supports and furthers in realizing the goal of integrating children in Israeli society, this chapter will look at how the ideas are transmuted into goals at three points of development of the educational system: the introduction of free compulsory education under the aegis of the state to include all children between the ages of five and fourteen, the extension of access to secondary education at the end of the 1960s, and the comprehensive effort to extend tertiary education to a greater proportion of the population in the 1990s. At each of these stages, the principles listed above, with emphasis on providing 'better' education for immigrant children, are presented as justification for a revision of educational measures. Every one of the changes also resolves into a commitment to

rights for "all" children, including those who are not really a part of the nation.

## 1.    BACKGROUND

Until the state was founded, schools were organized by interested organizations, among them the government, religious denominations, community organizations, and political parties. The government schools, which belonged to the Ottoman Empire until World War I and to the British mandatory power from 1922 on, had the goal of preparing well-educated government officials. They therefore were run along the lines of schools in the mother country both administratively and in terms of curriculum content. Religious denominations provided clerical education according to the particular ecclesiastical tradition (Muslim, Christian, or Jewish). Despite the abundance of schools, education was not available to all children. Several factors prevented education from becoming a general good. First of all, schools practiced selectivity in admitting students. Secondly, although every type of school was interested in as large a student population as possible, tuition was not free of charge except for a few outstanding students, and thus many children were barred from advanced schooling. Moreover, youngsters who were not enrolled in schools could find work as unskilled laborers and contribute to the family income. Still, about 80% of the Jewish children did attain at least a primary school education. Among the Arab residents of the area, however, school attendance was probably no higher than 20% of the relevant cohorts (Nardi, 1945; Tibawi, 1956).

Setting up schools to serve the new Jewish community in Israel was a tortuous process. Until the end of the nineteenth century, religious Jews who lived in Palestine educated boys in traditional religious frameworks (heder, yeshiva) and had the girls taught basic household skills. Well-to-do families who had business connections sometimes took advantage of the state schools. With the initiation of fairly intense Jewish immigration to Palestine during the last two decades of the century, intellectuals and teachers were deputed to set up schools in the new villages. In the 1880s, the burden of diffusing Zionist beliefs and knowledge of the Hebrew language was incorporated into programs of Hebrew-speaking kindergartens in villages funded by the Baron de Rothschild in the south of the country. Apart from the exposure to new types of activities, the children were acquiring competence in the national language and would be able to help their immigrant parents develop linguistic skills. When teachers met to decide on primary school education for the children of the Jewish farmers (1892), they drew up a four-year curriculum, choosing materials from the traditional

study of the holy books with additions of arithmetic, language, and history to foster a nationalistic spirit. Realizing the reincarnation of an ancient people through the revivification of the traditional language of Judaism with its wealth of ancient, medieval, and nineteenth century literature was the underlying impulse. The integration of immigrant children into a Jewish society through education was conceived as a national task long before the state was a realistic possibility (Ben-Yehuda, 1973).

In the meantime, however, the number of schools associated with Hebrew education grew as did the number of teachers. Taking responsibility for ensuring the spread of Hebrew schooling, the Teachers' Union, founded in 1903, undertook all the tasks necessary to launching an educational system. With a view to the eventual establishment of a Jewish state with Hebrew as its official language, the teachers drew up curricula, organized courses for inexperienced teachers, and elaborated organizational procedures. Their initiatives were, however, not uncontested. In order to attract pupils, they had to compete with schools sponsored by foreign governments and Jewish NGOs. Among them were the popular schools sponsored by the Anglo-Jewish Association, the French Alliance Israelite Universelle, and the German Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden. In each network, the language of instruction, like the curriculum, was that of the country of origin of the organization. Soon, the language to be adopted in schools sponsored by the Zionist Organization became an issue of highly charged debate. Because many of the Zionist leaders were of German extraction, as were most of the more prosperous members, sessions of the congresses were conducted in German. It was argued that German should be the official language of education in the country. This claim was strengthened by the obvious fact that German was the lingua franca in many European countries. When members of the WZO proposed establishing a Technikum in Palestine, the insistence that German be the language of instruction was logical. After all, the vocabulary of the sciences was well-developed in German and close to non-existent in Hebrew (Alpert, 1982).[43] The subject of the most suitable language of instruction in institutions of secondary and tertiary education became the focus of a heated struggle that erupted into a "War of the Languages." This battle over cultural resources was interrupted in effect by the outbreak of World War I.

In the meantime, Hebrew education was taking hold. In 1913, while the War of the Languages was still going on, the Zionist Congress approved the plan of the General Zionist Party to set up schools under its auspices, schools

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[43] The Israeli Institute of Technology (the Technion) was launched as an institution of higher learning much later, in 1925. The delay had been caused above all by financial problems and by arguments about where to build it (see Alpert, 1982).

in which Hebrew would be the language of instruction. In 1920, the Mizrachi, the religious Zionist party, set up its Hebrew-speaking school system with a curriculum that emphasized religious studies but also included general secularist studies. These schools, where lessons were conducted in Hebrew and pupils of both sexes were admitted, deviated radically from the practices of the ultra-orthodox yeshivot where only religious studies were allowed and the pupils were all boys. The third Zionist system, the Workers' Stream, was established in 1924-25 by the General Union of Workers. In this network, the ideological orientation was socialist and the pedagogical orientation was progressive. The Workers' schools in urban areas were similar in curriculum to the schools being set up in the cooperative villages – the kibbutzim. As Gaziel (1999) points out, there was intense politicization of education as each stream insisted on having its own curriculum, recruited its teachers from the membership of the party, and insisted on its own pedagogical supervision. Even the shared enthusiasm for the Zionist vision of enlightened nationalism was not evidence of a consensus, for each stream had its own interpretation of how nationalism should be described and explained. Differences were so sweeping that some intellectuals feared that the identification with modern political movements was too far removed from the roots of the Jewish nation. They registered complaints that apart from the Hebrew language and [a love of] the Land of Israel, the young Jews in mandatory Palestine were being educated to distance themselves from Judaism and were left with "nothing but humanism" (Klauszner, in Ackerman, 1999, p. 239).

Still, a minimal common goal, the vision of a Jewish, Hebrew-speaking state provided some ground for agreement. After prolonged negotiations, the streams of Jewish education worked out a Constitution of Education in 1940 which defined in what areas they could collaborate and in which the different streams were to have autonomy. In 1948, after independence was declared, the streams were taken over by the state and the then Minister of Education, David Remez, intended to preserve them as the state system. In 1949, the government proposed the Law for Free Compulsory Education which obliged parents to register children of school age in one or the other of the streams on penalty of fines or even imprisonment (*Israel's Codex,* No. 26, 1949, p. 287). With enactment of the law, the government, on its part, granted equal education to all children living in the country for three months or more, regardless of sex, nationality, religion, or civil status, from kindergarten (age five) to the ninth grade (extended to the tenth grade in 1968).

The 1949 law caused a revolution in the conceptualization of education in the country and the legislation had several contradictory consequences. First of all, there was the radical idea that all the children were obliged to go

to school until the age of 13 or 14, and education would no longer be the privilege of the few. Secondly, schools were to be funded according to the number of students enrolled. Thus, whereas formerly schools had relied on the loyalty of a fairly stable constituency, they now had to engage in active recruitment of students in order to maintain their institutions. Inter-party rivalry was introduced into the domain of education which became fiercely competitive. The religious parties pressured new immigrants by playing on the fact that they had a positive orientation to tradition and should therefore naturally register their children in religious schools. Schools of the socialist stream pressured parents by citing the backing of a government headed by a socialist coalition.

Implementation of the Law for Compulsory Education law signaled a crisis for many families as well. Families that had relied on children's help for maintaining the household income were now constrained to give up this source of revenue. Rural areas, where only a few Arab children — overwhelmingly boys — had heretofore had access to schooling, now had to adjust to the idea that all the children, boys and girls, were actually obligated to go to school. For parents this marked a collapse of cultural norms according to which girls were kept at home to help with the housework and the care of younger children (Mare'i, 1972). In the children's experience, the assurance of education was a mixed blessing. There were not enough classrooms for all the children who were now students, and there was a dearth of teachers. This was a problem for all the sectors; but the situation was especially acute in the Arab sector after the expulsion of the intellectuals during the Israeli War for Independence (Morris, 1990).

Four years later, when the Law for State Education (1953) was enacted, a nominally centralized system of state education was instituted. Amalgamation was imposed on the schools owned by diverse interests. Instead of separate bureaucracies, the Ministry located in Jerusalem was to be in charge of all the schools and of every type of education. The internal structure of the Ministry shows that the unification was partial at best (see Appendix F). Although there is one director-general, there are two deputies — one for the secular state system, and one for the Jewish religious state system. In the non-religious state system, there is a separate administration of schools where Hebrew is the language of instruction and schools where Arabic is the language of instruction.

The Pedagogical Secretariat has the authority to make the final decisions on issues of curriculum and on educational projects. But for the religious schools that belong to the state system, a separate Council for State Religious Education has the authority to determine how educational decisions can be applied in state religious schools. At the same time, several types of schools remained outside the system. Ultra-orthodox Jewish schools

and, in the Arab sector, church schools, are classified as 'independent' educational institutions. Some sects choose to have state supervision; others may choose to be completely autonomous. Although the independent schools are not officially part of the state system, they can apply for state funding if they institute the teaching of subjects that belong to the core of the state school curriculum (*Israel's Codex,* No. 131, 1953, p. 137). In practice, many of the ultra-orthodox Jewish schools succeeded in receiving full support for their teachers even though the program that is carried out in the yeshivot evades instruction in most subjects that the Ministry sees as compulsory (Ginossar, 2000; Kleinberger, 1973, p. 60; Mosco, 2000).

## 2. STARTING POINTS

To understand the material points of departure for setting educational goals, it will be useful to look at the arguments made when the law for state education was presented to the Knesset. The Minister of Education in the early 1950s, Ben Zion Dinur, a professor of history at the Hebrew university, opened the Knesset discussion of the law for state education in a speech before the Knesset in the summer of 1953 *(Knesset Record,* August, 1953). Underlining the ideological basis of education, he describes the condition of the country's rapidly growing population, then reviews the ideas and ideals embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Combining facts and values he echoes Durkheim's interpretation of the functions of education, showing that to establish the dominance of the state in the field of education is logical in terms of the needs of the people as well as in terms of the state's historically rooted destiny. In his presentation, Dinur adopted the rhetorical strategy of defining concepts from the government's perspective, and building claims on those definitions. This enables him to emphasize the central significance of the state as a value and to establish the government's conception of the functions of the state. Quoting from this speech at length will enable us to understand the drift of continuity and change in educational policy over the years.[44]

> Begging your pardon, members of the Knesset, I will spend some time on things that are well-known. Everybody knows that the **state** is the organized unity of members of a **nation** who live together in their land, and who know, on the basis of on-going collaboration and mutual assistance, how to support themselves by their work, to pass laws appropriate to their way of thinking, to cooperate in making

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[44] The translation and the emphases are mine (DKF).

appropriate regulations, and to choose the mode of government they wish. A **state** is an organization of people who know how to organize their lives and to protect their land and their independence against external enemies; who know how to work together to improve their lives and to preserve their cultural heritage; the **cultural heritage** of a nation is the *aggregate of values in the realm of the true and the good, the beautiful and the useful that were created, collected and preserved by that nation* from generation to generation. And it is well known that every generation transmits this spiritual inheritance to the next generation, which introduces it into the life cycle, and adds it to the chain of generations, thus constituting the national covenant that is the foundation and the basis for the existence of the nation. **State independence** means that the responsibility for preserving this spiritual inheritance is in the hands of the state, in the hands of the organized union of the nation. There is a simple reason for this: in this **cultural heritage** are preserved *the cumulative spiritual achievements of the members of the nation in domains of will, thought, and feeling, in knowledge of the world and in knowledge of living, in beliefs and opinions and morals and etiquette, in art and in taste.* The best expressions of these achievements are: (a) the image of the person – as desired and as realized; (b) and the image of society, the society that is desired / desirable, and the society that exists. These two determine the consistent style of how the nation lives, they shape the appearance of the state, and they determine its fate.

That is why the state cannot relinquish – and it does not relinquish – its full responsibility for the basic goal of all education:  the development of the personal abilities of its future citizens (image of the person); to cultivate their social capacities (image of society), to shape their national image (spiritual heritage). The state must not allocate the responsibility for its future(s) to any other body, because the education of the state's citizens is the basis for ensuring its continued existence. What would a state look like if it transferred the guarding of its borders to somebody else? Just transferring this responsibility means giving up independence .... And in fact, it would mean suicide. [That is why] I say: The state does not carry out its obligations if it hands over the concern with the next generation, their qualifications and their social happiness, their moral, intellectual, and technical standards to some other factor.

After asserting that the state exists as the *agent* responsible for the geographic integrity and the historical roots of the nation, Dinur declares

that: "The primary goal is therefore to place full responsibility for education on the state …."

In recording his approach to the new law that undertakes to do away with partisan systems of education, the Minister feels called upon to establish an irrefutable claim. He develops the claim step by step – from definition to definition in the framework of the national narrative that was repeated as the cornerstone of official ideology (see Dinur, 1958). He first establishes the idea that the state is the logical product of the nation. Reciprocally, the nation is the natural root for the existence of the state. The nation is fulfilled physically as a state settled on a given territory and spiritually as the bearer of a cultural heritage. The nation knows how to organize itself as a state, that is to say there is a government that has full control of every situation. This was demonstrated in the recent (1948-49) war which showed that the nation knows how to defend itself with an army. Because the government knows what it is doing, the state is capable of preserving the unity, continuity, and sanctity of the ancient Jewish heritage. With a leap in logic, Dinur declares that to ensure the nation's independence as a state, there must be a centralization of responsibility. Only the state, with its careful organization can ensure that the cultural heritage will be transmitted in all its abundance. The capacity to carry out such a task will, furthermore, provide demonstrable proof that indeed the people of the state of Israel do constitute a nation. As he proceeds, Dinur does not leave anything to surmise. He explains that he is talking about a Jewish nation that "has been revived after tens of generations of persecutions" (p. 28). This is a nation that has a rich cultural tradition, but no political customs. "For two thousand years we were organized by facing outward, we have a tradition of adaptation to others. … an ideology of principles, schools of study, of opinions, and methods and therefore a tradition of no state responsibility." But now, the state must develop new working traditions and, he spells it out: "the school is the first cell of the state."

This diagnostic narrative is familiar. Having established that the Jews are a nation by virtue of their cultural heritage and that the state is the vehicle for preserving and passing on that cultural heritage, Dinur goes on to clarify why the state must take on the responsibility at this point in time. There is, however, a new twist to the tale designed to convince all the parties in the Knesset to accept the need for state education, replacing the conventional division into streams. Dinur argues that while the 'first' Jewish settlers of Palestine were fully cognizant of the nation's spiritual resources, now (after the Holocaust and after the war that the states neighboring on Israel waged against the establishment of the state), the new immigrants do not share the same kind of consciousness. Not only are the 'remnants', the survivors of the Holocaust, suspect; they have had no opportunity to internalize Zionism. But

this is also true of the new immigrants, the 'olim' from the Arab countries, who are unschooled in appropriate nationalistic values. As its demographic profile undergoes inexorable change, only the state can preserve and impart all the components of the cultural heritage and thus ensure that all the newcomers will become a fully cognizant part of the nation.

The summary argument is rife with paradox. On the one hand, the state cannot exist unless it continues with the "in-gathering of the exiles." On the other, the "exiles," the new immigrants, have to be supplied with the right kind of knowledge and induced into an appropriate orientation so that they will not, in their ignorance, harm the state. Subjecting the ignorant and unschooled masses of olim and their children to party differentiation (as embodied in the educational streams) is, to the mind of the government, a mode of undermining the development of the nation in its challenging task of building a state. After this rehearsal of basic definitions and the national narrative, Dinur explains the goals framed in the proposed law and the rights and duties that it entails. Because immigrant children are lacking in the necessary basis for becoming fully Israeli, it turns out to be especially important to combine the ideal of statehood with the ideal of equality for all students — veterans and immigrants alike. In his conceptualization, equality could be realized only by means of the strictest centralization of the system. The Ministry would make all decisions as to curriculum, learning materials, personnel, administration, examinations, and educational leader-ship.

## 3.      STATE EDUCATION

In approving the proposed legislation, the Knesset defined state education and set goals for directing the system's development for the next fifty years. The definition of state education specifies the extent of state responsibility as follows: "education is provided by the state according to a curriculum determined by this law without any connection to a political party, a specific community [of immigrant origin], or any other organization apart from the government, and under the control of the minister or of whoever the minister appoints to carry out the supervision." In Dinur's conception, the central government will dictate every aspect of the education that will be offered to the children of the "mass immigration." Nothing will be left to chance or improvisation. The kinds of learning that will be demanded of the children, the learning that will turn them into part of the nation and good citizens of the state are disclosed in the goals. These are specified in paragraph 2 of the law for state education, which managed to include all the topics that had heretofore been central to the distinct party-sponsored streams of education (see Lamm, 1973). Thus:

> The goal of state elementary education is to base elementary education in the state on the values of Jewish culture and on the achievements of science, on love for the homeland and loyalty to the state and to the Jewish nation, on training in agricultural work and in crafts, training for pioneering, and the aspiration to a society built on freedom, equality, tolerance, mutual assistance and love of humanity (Dinur, 1958, p. 26).

In the Hebrew, the terms translated here as 'Jewish culture' and 'the Jewish nation' appear as the 'culture of Israel' and the 'nation of Israel'. In this context, these are pre-state terms, expressions used in the Old Testament when the group being described is unarguably that of the Jews (Silberstein, 1999). As formulated in this extensive law, therefore, the state of Israel is unequivocally Jewish. In 1955, the Minister of Education and Culture (the third Minister since the foundation of the state in 1948) confirmed this inference when he asserted that the most important thing that "our generation" has to impart to students is a "Jewish-Israeli consciousness."

> ... And if I were asked: what the content of the Jewish-Israeli consciousness is, I would respond thus: The younger Israeli generation must recognize their ultimate responsibility for the existence of the Jewish people in the world with everything that that implies for the vision of the emergent nation: in Israel, her commands, and her deeds (Aranne, 1971, p. 103).

This conception was indeed the source of his insistence on fostering projects for the development of a "Jewish consciousness" in all the state schools. Paragraph 2 of the Law for State Education also includes universalistic goals for state education; but these are framed as 'aspirations' to the realization of democratic values.

Probably because of financial considerations, the 1953 Law for State Education applies only to primary schools. That meant that jurisdiction over secondary education was left to the local authorities. Every locality could decide on the type of school (college preparatory or vocational), on the staff and the conditions of employment, as well as on the modes of administration. In 1973, the word 'elementary' was removed, thus extending the applicability of the Law for State Education to secondary education through the twelfth grade. In 1980, three years after the election of a right-wing government for the first time since the foundation of the state, the paragraph of goals that lay out the areas in which the strategy of state education will be deployed was amended again. This time the

"consciousness of the Holocaust" was added as a learning goal. Only in 2000 were the goals revised to include the background, culture, heritage, and history of all communities of Israeli citizens (see below).

Going back to the 1953 presentation of the Law for State Education to the Knesset, it is important to note that apart from explicating the different sections of the law, the Minister of Education also lists the kinds of activities the Ministry will carry out in order to ensure the success of the new strategy of centralization. The Ministry will provide curricula and textbooks, recommend didactic methods and determine an approach to pedagogy that will serve the cultural heritage and the preparation of citizens worthy of the new state. There was no question in Dinur's mind but that the organizational structure of education under the British mandate, the modes of supervision and types of evaluation, could be continued. This was to be the organizational framework of state education.[45]

Among the organizational features that were preserved were the divisions into primary (kindergarten plus eight years of study) and secondary education (four years of post-primary study). In addition, the state system preserved the custom of so-called 'survey' examinations of 8th graders. In the pre-state systems this examination was a mechanism for screening candidates for secondary schools that prepared students for study at the university. As was demonstrated during the years following the introduction of state education, the instrument designed to be a fair way of selecting students for secondary education turned out to be a means for excluding a majority of immigrant pupils from advanced schooling. Children of the immigrants, who had filled the primary school classrooms during the 1950s and the early 1960s, consistently earned low to failing marks in the state-wide examination. In profiling the children who failed, it was found that there were correlations with residence and socio-economic status. Statistically, children who failed were found to be living in peripheral areas of the country and in the poorer sections of the cities at the societal center; they were found generally to come from large families where the father's education was relatively low. In the assessments of the Ministry of Education, these were the very children who lacked the cultural background that would enable them to confront the learning materials successfully. They

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[45] In principle, every educational activity has to receive the approval of the Minister or of an inspector delegated by him/her. On penalty of fines, parents are required to register their children for elementary school. A section of the law specifically allows parents to decide on school programs that cover no more than twenty-five percent of the curriculum. If parents wish to realize these rights, however, the programs have to be planned in consultation with the school principal, and the local initiatives cannot be implemented until approved by the Minister. These provisions are still in place as hearings held by the Education Committee of the Knesset demonstrate (see below).

were defined as disadvantaged children, suffering from cultural deprivation and therefore "in need of fostering" (*teunei tipuach*) (Frankenstein, 1972; Ortar, 1956).

These outcomes demolished the image that Dinur had painted of centralized state education as the means for imparting the national heritage and for ensuring equality of achievement among all the children. The inescapable conclusion was that the educational system was not fulfilling its ideologically oriented goals. For fear that schools were not preparing the kinds of citizens that the state needed, the Ministry of Education sought solutions in several different directions. Attempts to improve school accomplishments of the masses of immigrant pupils included measures for preferential treatment, special learning programs, and improvements in the educational environment. Researchers relied on psychological theory to raise issues about gaps that were cognitive, affective and social. Some theorists suggested that a re-organization of students' careers was likely to bridge at least some of the gaps (see Inbar & Adler, 1977; Passow, 1963). This was a corrective measure that also made economic sense. To examine it as a possibility, the Minister (Aranne) set up a committee headed by a university professor; later the Knesset set up a committee headed by a Member of the Knesset, and after five years of hearings and debates, the Knesset adopted a key piece of educational legislation with subtle shifts in the articulation of educational goals, the "Reform".

## 4. THE REFORM

The rationale for seeking a Reform in education were (a) the notion that children would benefit if compulsory education were extended for a year, and (b) the perception that few teachers in the elementary schools had the professional competence necessary for ensuring pupils' effective progress. Discussion began in a non-partisan committee appointed by the Minister of Education (Aranne) in 1963. For over two years, they discussed the possibility of extending free compulsory schooling by a year or two and participated in intensive discussions with officials of the Ministry. The Minister was interested in having the committee conclude that in order to extend schooling as needed, there would have to be a major revision in the school structure. Indeed, in analyzing the conditions of learning for children from deprived sections of the country, the committee asserted that the primary causes of school failure were to be found in the way the system was organized. In its report, the committee recommended a redistribution of the years of study between primary and secondary schooling. Elementary school education would end after six years rather than after eight years as had been

the custom. Secondary schooling could then be divided into two sections of three years each: junior high school and senior high school. The minimal student career would include six years of primary school and three years of junior high school.

The Teachers' Association vigorously opposed the proposed change, claiming that it would deprive its members (most of them teachers in primary education) of the intellectual challenge of teaching the upper grades of elementary school. Parents' associations expressed concern that the proposed junior high schools would be "heartless" oversized institutions. The religious parties opposed the change because it threatened to reduce the enrollment of Yeshiva high schools, four-year boarding schools that had a selective enrollment beginning in the ninth grade. Because of the brisk opposition, a parliamentary committee was set up in June 1966 to carry out a full-scale investigation in the name of the Knesset.

The Knesset committee headed by MK E. Rimalt of the Liberal Party, again investigated the structure of the school system in order to decide on the changes that would be helpful to the pupils who were not likely, under the existing system, to complete their secondary education. The committee held hearings to which they invited Ministry officials, inspectors, principals, teachers, and representatives of the two teachers' associations (the Teachers' Union and the Organization of Teachers in Post-Primary Schools [*Histadrut Hamorim* and *Irgun Hamorim Ha'al Y'sodiim*] to testify. The issue was their perception of what constitutes an adequate education. After many hearings and heated discussion, the parliamentary committee compiled a document that was enacted into law by the Knesset in the year 1968 and printed in the *Codex* a year later (*Knesset Record, Volume 52,* No. 36, p. 2929; pp. 3037-3039; *Codex — Book of Laws,* No. 563). This document is divided into eight sections, each of which deals with a different aspect of the "Reform": the reapportionment of the stages of education, the extension of free compulsory education with no country-wide screening, introducing variety into the post-primary curriculum. The document also includes instructions on priorities; as well as on how to introduce changes. Of central importance are the sections that specify the type of additional teacher training that the law envisions and explicate what steps would ensure that education at every level of schooling could be improved. Finally, the law requires that the Ministry must appoint a council for consultation on carrying out the required steps. In a word, the law attempts to ensure that in the implementation of the Reform, the public, civil society, will have a say.

Among the important changes instituted by the "Reform", were changes in zoning and in the size of schools. The law instructs local authorities to define zones so that the catchment areas of each junior high school would include poorer neighborhoods (areas with a high density of immigrant

residents) as well as neighborhoods with a middle-class population. The law provides for how to divide groups of pupils among classes and how to decide on the subjects to be taught. In addition, it provides for a scaling of teachers' qualifications.

Underlying the legislated changes were several educational and social psychological assumptions. On the understanding that contact between groups of pupils of different social classes and different ethnic origins would spur weaker pupils to significant academic achievement, the proclaimed over-arching goal of the Reform was to facilitate the meeting of native-born pupils and children of 'veteran' immigrants with pupils who were relative newcomers. Moreover, in larger schools, where children from several neighborhoods were enrolled, it would be economically feasible to provide for better facilities and more sophisticated equipment. With more learning resources and a richer educational environment, it would, furthermore, be possible to institute a more varied curriculum. In order to enable pupils to discover their inclinations and disclose their talents, the programs of the junior high school would, moreover, include both academic and vocational subjects. Every pupil was to have experience in a variety of practical workshops, among them metal, woodwork, and home economics. The proposed agenda for academic study was ordered according to accepted disciplinary practice with a division into humanities and sciences. In short, the Reform seemed to promise enhanced benefits for all the children.

Further, it was assumed that streaming in the most important subjects as defined by the weighting of matriculation examinations (i.e., mathematics, Hebrew / Arabic, and English) would accomplish a double purpose. It would cultivate excellence by enabling pupils to study in homogeneous classes where they would be able to move forward at a suitable pace; furthermore, schools would also allow mobility between the streams according to pupils' achievements. In subsidiary subjects, such as physical education and crafts, but also in the study of history and geography, it would be possible to promote social integration. In these subjects there was less concern about academic achievement, so classes could be heterogeneous, with both 'weak' and 'strong' pupils meeting daily. Most important was the requirement that all teachers in the junior high school were to be university graduates holding at least a Bachelor's degree. For those who had studied in teachers colleges and those who had only minimum certification,[46] university tuition was subsidized and their salaries were not docked for hours taken off from work in the schools for purposes of study.

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[46] Among the teachers who had been inducted into the school system in the 1950s, some had been prepared for teaching in courses that lasted between three and six months.

Despite the fairly rigid guidelines for organizational changes, the Reform is lenient in a significant area. The Committee gave in to the demands of "specialized schools" (among them the religious boarding schools and agricultural schools) and allowed them to continue selecting pupils for the ninth grade, rather than the tenth. Furthermore, because of vociferous opposition and the split of financial responsibility, local authorities were allowed to decide when to put the Reform into effect. In many locales, the organizational changes were postponed for as long as possible. Among the reasons for the delay is the legally regulated duty of local authorities to finance the maintenance of school buildings and their construction. Changes in zoning and in the distribution of students in schools are, therefore, procedures that require a special investment of local resources. Despite the fact that the adherence to the pre-Reform organization causes confusion for students and their families, thirty years after its institution, in the school year 1999-2000, the Reform had been implemented by only 75% of the local authorities. In the meantime, the promise of promoting equality in achievement, and facilitating social integration has not actually been realized. Apart from advancement in the standards for granting a license to teach in the re-organized schools, most of the assumptions proved to have been inaccurate (Chen & Addi, 1995; Dar & Resh, 1995).[47]

## 5.    THE THIRD VAULT

In June, 1996, the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sport published a 320 page book called *The Third Vault: Changes and Reforms in the Educational System in the Nineties.* This is a collection of papers explaining how and why educational policies in the 1990s were governed by a new set of ideals. The situation in the country had changed significantly. As in the 1950s, the state was again dealing with large numbers of immigrants and the schools were absorbing students, thousands of whom arrived monthly from the Former Soviet Union as well as from Ethiopia. The Ministry was concerned with avoiding the mistakes that had caused widespread educational failure in the 1950s and intended to approach the task insofar as possible with a new orientation. The conclusion was to promote more local autonomy.

By contrast with the unyielding principles of centralization that had characterized educational policy in the 1950s when the mass immigration

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[47] Currently, with the explanation that there is a need to save money, the Ministry is weighing the possibility of doing away with junior high schools and instituting a structure of seven-year primary schools and five-year secondary schools (*Ha'aretz,* 14/I/04, p. A5).

from North Africa and the Middle East was at its height, the Ministry stressed diversity in the 1990s. The pressures for local 'self-determination' had won a major victory. As a matter of fact, lobbying had begun two decades earlier with accumulating evidence that a centrally planned curriculum was not meeting the needs of pupils in many localities. Increasingly schools requested that the staff be allowed to develop local curricular projects. Already when Ministry officials felt obliged to provide operational channels for realizing the 1953 goals of education (Eden, 1973), many voices were raised in opposition to the rather confusing terminology that disclosed internal contradictions. Indeed in the early 1970s the Ministry began to consider these appeals seriously, when it allocated funds for creative programs initiated by teachers in their own schools, thus encouraging civil servants to use their practical personal knowledge of the school's milieu (Kleinberger 1973, p. 68).

The first hesitant steps toward granting more comprehensive pedagogical flexibility were elaborated in the 1980s. Initially, however, openness to autonomy, a fundamentally changed relationship between the Ministry and local schools was concomitant with a real reduction of twenty-four percent in the budget for education during the first seven or eight years of the Likud government that was elected in 1977 (see Sharkansky, 1987). With the reduced budget, school principals were granted the right to be flexible in allocating hours for the "less important" subjects, and urged to make full use of the Ministry's indulgence. Parents were encouraged to make use of twenty-five percent of the allotted study hours, suggesting topics that they felt were important, and to undertake at least partial funding of extra-curricular activities in schools.

During the succeeding decade the Ministry of Education added an ideological dimension, adopting the stance that the best education could be made available by maximizing school autonomy, promoting "community schools"- schools where parents and other members of the community were to play an active role. These changes are explicated in the introduction to *The Third Vault* written by the then Minister of Education, Amnon Rubinstein (formerly a university professor of law) (1996, pp. 13-21). Praising the 1969 policy of integration that had facilitated access to secondary education for many pupils from peripheral areas, Rubinstein insists that the Reform could only have taken place through a concentrated and centralized nationwide effort. Thanks to these efforts, he notes, the system of education was much improved by the 1990s. In retrospect, however, he sees that the efforts were not crowned with complete success. To his mind, it had been somewhat naïve to assume that every student admitted to junior high school (all the graduates of the six-year primary school) would be capable of completing courses of study in secondary

schools effectively. Since the rate of success in matriculation examinations among children descended from immigrants of the fifties and sixties as well as the children in the Arabic-speaking schools did not show satisfactory gains, he concludes that the model of centralization has to be replaced. The very idea that some central authority is capable of providing education for people with widely different kinds of talents from communities throughout the country that are distinguished by different cultural resources cannot be countenanced. Rubinstein enunciates the view that this patronizing attitude had undermined efforts at integration in the schools where Arabic is the language of instruction; it had prevented children from North Africa from making full use of their potential, and had led to busing in Tel Aviv that in the final analysis had actually harmed the pupils who were bussed from the less prosperous neighborhoods instead of helping them to advance in their studies. In his view of local autonomy, only a minimal core curriculum should be required. Educational leadership in each community has to be enabled to make decisions on the organization of the school, the peripheral subjects to be taught and even more important, the kinds of in-school training courses that teachers should have. Emphasizing the worth of the individual, Rubinstein states and re-states his view that schools must develop the potential of each child, and must facilitate the financial and professional advancement of teachers. Since good education can ultimately benefit the entire country in the form of economic progress, the comprehensive goal is to make every effort to cultivate outstanding achievement.

It is exactly to this end, in his words, that the Ministry compiled some practical objectives for the "third vault." These are in the form of five 'mores'. In the 1990s: *more* pupils are to complete twelve years of study; *more* people are to succeed in matriculation examinations; *more* students are to be included in institutions of tertiary education, *more* economic success is to be attained for the collective and for the individual, and *more* equality of opportunity is to be patent. Breaking away from the format of the educational aspirations stated in the 1953 Law, a committee that included representatives of minority communities proposed that state education be driven by eleven goals as follows.

The goals of state education are:

(1) to educate the person to love humanity, love his [sic!] people and his country, to be a citizen loyal to the state of Israel, who has respect for his parents and his family, his heritage, his cultural identity and his language;

(2) to impart the values of the State of Israel Declaration of Independence, and to develop an attitude of respect for human rights, for basic freedoms, for democratic values, for abiding by

     the law, for the culture and the viewpoints of the other, for the drive toward peace, for tolerance in interpersonal relationships and between peoples;

(3) to develop the personality of the child, his creativity and his various talents in order to enable him to fulfill his potential to live a life of quality and significance;

(4) to establish the pupil's knowledge in different scientific fields, in the humanities (human creations) of different kinds throughout time, and in basic skills as needed in his life as an adult in a free society, and to encourage physical activity and a culture of leisure;

(5) to strengthen the ability of the pupil to think clearly and critically, to foster intellectual curiosity, independent thinking and initiative, to develop awareness and alertness to changes and to novelty;

(6) to grant equality of opportunity to every child, to enable him to develop in his own way and to create an atmosphere that encourages diversity and supports it;

(7) to foster involvement, a desire for mutual assistance and a drive for social justice in the state of Israel;

(8) to develop an attitude of respect and responsibility for the natural environment and a love for the landscape of the country, its flora and fauna;

(9) to teach the history of the Land of Israel (Palestine) and the state of Israel;

(10) to teach the history of the Jewish people, Jewish heritage and Jewish traditions and to pass on the consciousness of the importance of remembering the Holocaust;

(11) to gain an acquaintance with the special languages, cultures, heritages and the traditions of the different population groups in the state of Israel and to recognize equal rights for all the citizens of Israel.

    Enacted into law in 2000, these goals were approved on their first presentation to the Knesset in 1996. The revised goals marked a radical change of approach. The new list is centered on the individual as a person and as a citizen. The system undertakes to maximize the potential of every student and assure equality of opportunity. The document promises that schools will impart knowledge, cultivate the skills that promise a high quality of life, and foster the ability to think critically. For the first time in any educational document, the goals include reference to environmentalism. There is also a commitment to teaching the languages, traditions, history and

heritage of groups other than the Jewish majority. The obligation of all children to learn about Jewish history is still central, and there is special emphasis on learning about the Holocaust. Still, this formulation of educational goals recognizes that the school population is multicultural; establishes that the state is democratic; and asserts that the potential of each and every pupil is the focus of education.

As Brandes (1996) points out, these goals are detailed, relate to core values that are proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and enacted into the 1992 constitutional law: Human Dignity and Freedom. They specify that schools must attend to the pupil as an individual and enable every person to develop to the best of his or her ability. Most important, they accord recognition to the groups that contribute almost twenty per cent[48] of the school population as full partners in the efforts at educating citizens.

Still, there are some significant lacunae. The 'different population groups' are not named specifically, and their 'languages, cultures, heritages, traditions' are lumped together in the last of the eleven educational goals. Moreover, the only specification of required educational themes is related to Israel as a state of the Jewish people, its geography, Jewish history, and the obligations of citizenship in a Jewish state. Apart from this, most of the goals are formulated for individuals as if group affiliations are irrelevant and unproblematic in the pluralistic society that Israel has become. There is, furthermore, no sign of the possibility that masculine dominance and domination are to be relinquished. The individual whose potential is to be developed is the third person masculine singular and there are no reservations about the linguistic convention.

A further sign that the new formulation of educational goals is not completely satisfactory can be seen in the "Report on Education and Higher Education" submitted to the Prime Minister after the clashes between the police and Palestinian citizens of Israel in October, 2000, when the Second Intifada was getting underway. Despite the presumed progress of the Ministry in recognizing the rights of the population whose mother tongue is Arabic, the report cites over-familiar insufficiencies that are still to be corrected. There are seven cardinal points:

- Significant cultural autonomy instead of inegalitarian integration;
- Three streams: state-secular, private independent, and increased technological education;
- Re-formulation of objectives;
- Development of an infrastructure of personnel;
- Suitable provisions for populations with special needs;

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[48] Almost fifty percent of the Palestinian citizens of Israel are under the age of eighteen.

- Massive investment in physical infrastructure; and
- Revision of higher education to facilitate meaningful study, as well as the establishment of a university with high standards where Arabic is the language of instruction.

These are points that are addressed only haphazardly by the Ministry of Education. Even more significant is the fact that neither the changes promulgated by the Ministry of Education nor the demands of the Arab sector, are, after all, clear to all the branches of government. While the up-dated goals of education indicate a fundamental revision of the official ideology by strengthening local autonomy, the ideal of centralization has not disappeared. It is enlightening here to note how the Knesset endeavors to ensure its continuity.

## 6.    PARLIAMENTARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATION

Although the laws discussed in this chapter were all enacted by the Knesset, their viability is rarely discussed. The members of the Israeli parliament seem to accept the laws first of all because they embody a policy that is appropriate to consensual statements of national purpose. In accord with this, there are occasional fleeting references to schools as part of the package that the state owes immigrants. As noted in Chapter 5, however, statements about the importance of giving immigrant children a good education so that they will want to stay in the country are appended to discussions of housing and employment (*Knesset Record,* 13/X/99). There are, however, a few topics that are held to be of major significance to the general policy concerns of the Knesset. In connection with the reiteration of concern that people do not value "the in-gathering of the exiles" enough, the Knesset Committee on Education has become more and more involved in comments on educational goals as they are revealed in the curriculum.

In November 2000, the committee passed a resolution to the effect that a textbook on history that was prepared especially for the junior high schools of the state system should be scrapped. The basis for proposing the veto was the position that the book did not contain enough information about topics of Jewish history, such as the Holocaust, and the War of Independence. A few months later, on the 12th of March, 2001, the Knesset Committee for Education held a meeting to discuss a proposal that there be a law requiring schools to include instruction in the topic, the aliya from the former Soviet Union as part of the history curriculum. In the proposal it was specified that the theme should cover all the stages of the immigration, starting from the

period when emigration to Israel was refused, expanding on the struggle to institute courses in Judaism and in the Hebrew language throughout the Soviet Union, and going on to a detailed exposition of the wave of immigration that led to the influx of more than a million Russian immigrants to Israel. Designed to amend the Law for State Education, the provision that it was required to study the history of activism for aliya to Israel in the Soviet Union, included, as an afterthought, the idea that pupils must study Zionist activism in other countries as well. This proposal was formulated by five MKs, all immigrants from the Former Soviet Union.

At the March 12 meeting noted here, the members of the committee were represented by two people — the chairperson and one of the MKs proposing the law. Among those invited to the session there were: officials of the Ministry of Education, a representative of the Organization of Teachers in Post-Primary Education, a representative from the Ministry of Justice, the legal adviser of the Committee, and the committee's coordinator. There was also a stenographer. The discussion, which lasted almost four hours, developed into an impassioned debate between the chairman of the committee, Zevulon Or-Lev, an MK who had served as Director-General of the Ministry of Education under the Minister Zevulon Hammer (Religious Zionist Party), and Dr. Ilana Seiler, a veteran official who held a prominent position in the Pedagogical Secretariat and was the head of the Ministry Department for Primary Education. In the course of the debate, Dr. Seiler reiterated that the Ministry had prepared programs on aliya and these were available to the schools. However, she reminded the Committee that the policy implemented by the Ministry was one of allowing the schools autonomy in choosing which programs to introduce, which to teach in depth, and which to introduce as supplementary programs.

The Chairman of the Knesset Education Committee objected to this approach and insisted that it should be made crystal clear to all schools that in studying the history of Israel, two salient themes must be required. They are: "the struggle for the establishment of the state," and "the in-gathering of the exiles." As he understood it, without such a directive the program on the aliya from the FSU might very well exist as a "pile of paper" with none of the schools choosing to use it as learning material. Representatives from the Ministry countered that such specification was not necessary because history is taught from the sixth grade on and there is no doubt that topics related to aliya are covered even though the schools have autonomy in deciding on sub-topics. When, however, Dr. Seiler said that she could not say which schools were using the program that deals with the Russian aliya, nor could she describe *how* it was being used, MK Or-Lev demanded that the committee be advised within a month about the *what* and the *how* of the program's distribution in the system. In his view, 'autonomy' for Israeli

schools is an indefensible policy in relation to topics that shape "a Zionist consciousness." A moment of doubt steals into the discussion when he apparently suddenly realizes that if there has to be a law for including the study of the in-gathering of the exiles, there might have to be a law requiring the study of English, a law requiring the study of geography, and so on. This is patently unreasonable because, as he knows from his experience at the Ministry, the Knesset would have to enact 160 such laws.

At this writing the law requiring that history teachers use the program on aliya activism has not been enacted. But intervention by the Knesset committee is still a possibility. There is increasing evidence of a desire on the part of political figures to institute periodical ideological reviews of schooling in terms of personnel and learning materials.

## 7.    SUMMARIZING COMMENTS

Changes in educational policy have consistently been justified as new measures that will once and for all enable the state system of education to provide students with the ability to fulfill the purposes embodied in the national ideology. This is presumed to mean that children from all population groups – veterans and newcomers to the country – will have equal prospects for realizing their potential. The understanding is that if the principles cited at the beginning of this chapter are followed, then both individual and collective aspirations will be fulfilled.

Each of the principles cited at the beginning of the chapter has served as a criterion for assessing the effectiveness of education since 1949. The Law for Compulsory Education (1949) was found wanting because the perpetuation of streams according to party politics did not really enable education to turn the in-gathering of the exiles into a national task. The Law for State Education (1953) with its emphasis on uniformity under centralized control disclosed that educational integration, i.e., comparable school achievement among groups of children of different ethnic, religious, linguistic, or socio-economic origins was elusive. The Reform (1969) attempted to fulfill moral directives of integration in dimensions of both learning and sociality by revising organizational and administrative arrangements. The most recent formulation of the goals of education (2000) can best be seen as efforts to fulfill all the criteria by individualizing the goals and assuring that all the children in Israel enjoy the main benefits of education. It is assumed that if the revised goals are valid, there will be an expansion of the student population of institutions of tertiary education, as well as in the attainment of training for satisfying work that pays adequately in adulthood.

   In an analysis of specifications in enacted legislation we find evidence that failings to realize full equality have been conceptualized in different ways. Relating to Jewish immigrants and to autochthonous population in the state, it is intimated that the pupils themselves and their parents are somehow to blame because they lack the cultural capital necessary for getting along in a modern westernized society. Another type of conceptualization looks at the system itself and finds that the failings of large numbers of pupils to achieve an acceptable level of education may well be the outcome of inappropriate organizational frameworks that present obstacles to pupils' access to knowledge. Among the organizational obstacles is the inadequate professional preparation of teachers and principals.

   Each of the critical periods that we have examined in this chapter represents a renewed attempt to achieve goals implied by the national ideology, by revising the definition of what constitutes a good (national) education and devising a more realistic characterization of how this can best be administered.

   In order to apply these revisions, the Ministry maintains on-going contact with the schools through the *Circulars of the Director-General* where goals are translated into practical guidelines. Spelling out specifics, the *Circulars* instruct teachers and principals in the school regarding the day to day application of the goals for state education, and thus move the operational responsibility for doing education to the field. Specification of the required *acts* will be analyzed in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8

# IMPLEMENTING POLICIES – DISSEMINATING INSTRUCTIONS

As the agent for carrying out tasks that preserve a nation, the state works through deputies that are located in different *scenes* and command diverse *agencies* (ways of doing things) re-contextualizing articulated *purposes*. In relating to the Ministry of Education, the scene has shifted from the comprehensive historical overview of the nation as a whole to the government, the body in power for a limited period of time. Against the complex of the government's political, economic, and social activities, the Ministry of Education steers its course in different ways. In this chapter, the focus will be on the Ministry's acts of circulating instructions according to which schools learn how immigrants are to be integrated and how Arab Israelis and non-Israelis are to enjoy the benefits of an egalitarian education.[49]

By law, the Minister of Education is responsible for every aspect of school life (see Chapter 7), among them:

- organization and administration of primary and secondary schools;
- distribution of pupils to different grades;
- modes of evaluation that decide pupils' educational careers;

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[49] The Ministry of Education is a government office that is highly desirable in the eyes of the parties that have made up the various ruling coalitions in power since 1948. Yitzhak Navon became Minister of Education when he retired from the office of President of Israel. With every election that took place in the 1990s (1992, 1996, 1999, 2001) a new Minister of Education was appointed. In the last twenty years a Minister who represented the centrist-to-left Alignment was followed by a member of the Religious Zionist Party. When Yitzhak Rabin became Prime Minister, he appointed a Minister from the left-wing Meretz Party. After the elections of 1996, Netanyahu appointed a Minister of Education from the Religious Zionist Party. In 1999, Barak appointed a Minister from the left of the political spectrum, but he was hounded out of office, among others, by the pressures of Shas, the Sephardi ultra-orthodox Party that refused to accept his authority over the finances of their school system (cf. Kalekin-Fishman, 2003). Under the Likud Government that came into power in 2000, a rightist party stalwart, Limor Livnat, became Minister.

- curricula including the hours of study in every subject and for each grade;
- conditions of employment and ranking of teachers, principals, and inspectors;
- professional training of teachers.

The operationalization of these functions is delegated to the Director-General and carried out by a ramified bureaucratic apparatus. A sub-department of the Ministry is responsible for supervising specifics in the education of immigrant students in Jewish schools. In each of the five educational districts, an inspector is appointed to oversee the actual implementation of these directives. As currently organized, another sub-department (Pedagogical Administration) has units each of which is responsible for the education of Arab, Druze, or Bedouin pupils (See Appendix F).

In order to examine how the system of education positions itself toward pupils affiliated with different groups of immigrants and toward pupils from minority groups, I will discuss some of the documents regularly produced in the Ministry, among them guidelines, programs, and celebratory publications. First, data will be presented from the *Circulars of the Director-General.* The monthly *Circulars* issue instructions about the day to day management of schools, the maximization of children's safety and security, the organization of formal educational activities, the publication of textbooks, and requirements for informal activities, such as class trips, as well as reminders about holidays and festivities that are to be marked by ceremonial assemblies. All of the *Circulars* convey information and cite the kinds of practices required of the schools — their principals and their teachers. In addition to the monthly messages, the Ministry distributes *Supplementary Circulars* each devoted to an issue of salient importance. In these communications selected topics are explicated at some length, administrative procedures are spelled out in detail, and educational objectives, formulated or reformulated by the Pedagogical Secretariat, are specified. In addition, the Ministry regularly produces publications that summarize trends in educational theory. From the instructions that the Ministry circulates, educators learn not only what to do and how to do it, but also how to characterize children from different population groups.

In the following, I will first relate to some of the instructions regarding immigrant children and regarding children who are enrolled in schools where Arabic is the language of instruction. Then I will examine the messages conveyed by the *Supplementary Circulars.* The degree to which the activities of the Ministry of Education are seen to be successful will be shown by quoting from presentations in the *Government Yearbooks* and

other celebratory publications. This survey of diverse data will enable us to see what practices are crystallized as legitimate norms of the state school system.

# 1.    IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

Many of the activities of the Ministry of Education together with those of the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption (that shares responsibility for the Ethiopian immigrant students) are geared towards fulfilling the demands for "normalizing" the educational achievements and the homeland experience of immigrant pupils. Together with some more details from the *Supplementary Circulars* (see below), a study of the monthly *Circulars of the Director-General* discloses the extent of the specific investment. The instructions relate to perceived needs: educational achievement, identification with Jewish values, identification with democratic values, social integration, and individual adjustment.

## 1.1    Educational achievement

Educational achievement is the core aim of the Ministry of Education, though achievement is defined in a variety of ways. The monthly *Circulars* devote considerable space to organization and re-organization of the curriculum explaining that the goal is to encourage educational achievement among immigrant children. The Director-General expresses concern with the plight of many of the children and grandchildren of 'Asian-Africans' who came to Israel in the 1950s and still are not "fully integrated". This concern is based on statistics: an untoward proportion of children who come from Mizrachi families of low-SES (families whose countries of origin are 'Asia' or 'Africa') are over-represented in groups with low academic achievement by comparison with children whose parents are of 'European-American' or of 'Israeli' origin. The *Circulars* recommend remedial projects that were prepared by Ministry officials and promise to facilitate the educational advancement of the children of immigrant pupils of the 1950s and the 1960s (*Circular of the Director-General, 44/7,* March 1, 1984). Having assessed the extent of the Ministry's failure to date, the *Circular* goes on to provide thoroughgoing instructions that, it is hoped, will prevent the state from making similar mistakes with new immigrants likely to arrive in the future.

Among the lessons learned from past experience, the Director-General emphasizes that since a good command of Hebrew is necessary, the schools have a special responsibility to adopt up-to-date techniques to help

immigrant pupils acquire the ability to make efficient use of the lingua franca. The *Circulars* also direct schools to provide supplementary classes in Hebrew even for those immigrant students who can take part in most of the studies together with a regular homeroom class. While persistently emphasizing the centrality of learning Hebrew as both a sign of achievement and a vehicle for ensuring scholastic success, the Ministry has relaxed some of the strictures of the language policy over time. During the 1950s and the 1960s, Jewish pupils whose families had immigrated from Arabic-speaking countries were denied instruction in their mother tongues. The schools were instructed to impose Hebrew as the sole language of communication. For students from the former Soviet Union who immigrated in the 1990s, the acquisition of the Hebrew language is no longer grasped as requiring the exclusion of their culture and language of origin. Thus, the Ministry of Education has issued Russian-Hebrew dictionaries for children to use in schools, and allows new immigrant students (up to five years after their arrival in the country) to opt for instruction in their native language in some subjects. Students who choose to do so can sit for a few of the matriculation exams in their native language. If they write exams in Hebrew, they are allowed extra time. Instructions were issued to teachers and principals to allow students to talk to one another in their native tongue without interference or criticism on the part of school personnel (*Circular, 51/*5, January 1, 1991).

In keeping with this policy, *Circulars* announce that learning materials have been translated for students in secondary schools. Most of the translations are into Russian. General dictionaries as well as glossaries for physics, were translated into Russian (*Circular 51/*5, 1/1/1991; *Circular 52/*8, l/IV/1992). Glossaries in Russian are also provided for mathematics, biology, physics, chemistry, civics, Judaic studies, and geography (*Supplementary Circular,* 14, 7/1991). The Director-General informs the schools that "In the glossary there is a translation into Russian and English. The possibility of adding a translation into Amharic will be examined." In practice, however, the materials on history and geography, as well as readings in social studies are all prepared for the Russian-speaking and Russian-reading immigrant pupils.[50]

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[50] In addition, textbooks were published in Russian in order to ensure that the immigrant pupils would have access to the official history of Israel with emphasis on the beginnings of the Zionist movement. Texts considered to be of national significance were translated into Russian and disseminated. The Declaration of Independence, for example, appeared in simplified Hebrew with a free translation into Russian (*Supplementary Circular,* 14, 7/1991); Passover Hagadot in both Hebrew and Russian were also distributed (*Circular 51/*10, June 1, 1990). There are also books on geography and tales of biographical experiences. The *Circulars* regularly announce books planned to describe different areas of the country. Published in Russian in 1992, these included material on the Sharon Plain, as well as on the

The *Circulars* of the Ministry of Education impart information about efforts made by other divisions of the government to foster educational achievement among immigrants, especially immigrants who are understood to need special "fostering." Enrichment courses in problematic school subjects are provided at community centers, in extra-curricular activities, as well as in summer camps. These types of programs are financed by the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption, for Ethiopian students and for students who have immigrated from the Caucasus and other Asian republics of the former Soviet Union.

Having accepted the principle that non-Israeli languages are a legitimate means of communication, the Ministry has also encouraged teachers to make an effort to understand the languages of the immigrants. In order to facilitate teachers' acquisition of at least a rudimentary knowledge of immigrants' languages there are several publications: a Hebrew-Russian conversational dictionary ('sichon') for kindergarten teachers with basic sentences required for daily contact with children and with parents; a Hebrew-Spanish dictionary to the same end; a tape with children's songs in three languages: Russian, Spanish, and Hebrew (*Supplementary Circular* 8, 6/1990, pp. 16-17). Since coping with the challenge of teaching recent immigrants requires

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middle, south, and north of the country (*Circular 52/*5, 1/I/1992). In addition, practical guides for taking trips in Israel were printed in Russian (*Circular 53/*3, 1/XI/1992). Among the biographies, the Ministry recommends "Dear Lena" — a collection of letters by immigrants of the earlier waves of immigration and from the current wave was published (*Circular 53/*3, 1/XI/1992).

Two *Supplementary Circulars* were devoted to information on materials, courses, and methods to be deployed in relation to immigrant children. The Director-General notifies the schools that the channel of educational television has prepared films for teaching new immigrants about their new home. These are dubbed in Russian, or performed in Hebrew with Russian sub-titles ("Rainbow and cloud") (*Supplementary Circular,* 14, 7/1991, p. 18); "Motherland — 100 Years of Jewish Settlement" and "Sweet Butterfly" (*Supplementary Circular* 8, 6/1990, p. 21). The Ministry also encouraged artistic activities designed to promote the integration of immigrant children. An educational initiative that deals with language, expression and openness of immigrant children (the Ofarim Project) was carried out in schools where immigrant children were studying. Drama lessons were conducted as an experiment in classes with children from the former Soviet Union as well as in integrated classes with Ethiopian children (*Supplementary Circular,* 14, 7/1991, p. 58-59).

In this field local Pedagogical Centers supported by the Ministry of Education, were active. Booklets designed to facilitate parents' participation in the children's activities were prepared in several different cities. The Pedagogical Center in Beer Sheva prepared two booklets on "Our Kindergarten" in Hebrew with a translation into Russian and Amharic (*Supplementary Circular* 14, 7/1991, p. 30). In addition, the Pedagogical Center in Beth Shean set up three exhibitions on the yearly theme: "Immigration and absorption through the generations; Ethiopian Jews; Jews from the Soviet Union" (*Supplementary Circular,* 14, 7/1991, p. 18). The Pedagogical Center in Jerusalem exhibited pictures and newspaper articles on the "Immigrations from Russia and from Ethiopia" (*Supplementary Circular,* 14, 7/1991, p. 18).

more skills than a minimum vocabulary, the Ministry organized in-service courses to impart information about the background and cultures of the immigrants, about difficulties in absorption, and about the various services available to immigrants (*Circular, 51/*6, 1/II/1991). Informational materials supplied for these courses include a historical survey of Russian Jewry; a historical survey of Latin American Jewry; discussions of how children can be absorbed; information about different cultures; and theoretical material on the difficulties of learning a language. Still, the pedagogical rationale of the training programs is the conceptualization of classes with immigrant pupils as heterogeneous classes in a rather hidebound didactic tradition. Recognizing that students have different ways of learning and different needs, the courses generally emphasize a psychological approach to individual differences as the basis for pedagogical decisions.

## 1.2    Identification with Jewish values

Until the 1990s, identification with Jewish values was not perceived to be a problem. The assumption was that the overwhelming majority of immigrants had come to Israel for "ideological reasons", that is, because they wanted to live a more or less traditional Jewish life. Again, the immigrants from the former Soviet Union were identified as 'different.' Under the Communist regime, they did not have access to any Jewish education and children were not raised with an awareness of Jewish values. Throughout the 1990s, therefore, the Ministry of Education issued instructional material in Judaism for adults, as well as for children in schools. Encyclopedias were written as a resource for understanding religious terminology and as a source of reliable information about Judaism (*Circular of the Director-General, 51/*7, 1/III/1991; *Circular, 52/*5, 1/I/1992; *Circular, 52/*8, 1/IV/1992; *Circular, 53/*3, 1/XI/1992). Some of the reference books were written in Russian (*Circular, 52/*3, 1/XI/1991; *Circular, 52/*5, 1/I/1992) to ensure that the information would be understood and internalized. As an important part of the Judaizing program, field trips, as well as visits to museums and exhibitions were organized to demonstrate Jewish folkways. There is emphasis on field-trips to sites of perceived national importance, such as historical landmarks, and settlements in the Occupied Territories (*Circular, 52/*7, 1/III/1992). The *Circulars* do not recommend special attention to activities in the Ethiopian languages. The reasons given are, for one, that the number of Ethiopian children is only about ten per cent of the number of children from the Former Soviet Union. For another, since few Ethiopian parents had had more than a basic education, they were not likely to demand consideration for the cultural

resources of the country of origin. Most important, it was well-known that the Jews from Ethiopia have a highly developed consciousness of their Jewish roots and so are not in need of special care in this area.

## 1.3    Identification with democratic values

Since most of the immigrants to Israel, from the 1950s on, come from non-democratic countries (North Africa and the Middle East, republics of the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia), neither the parents nor their children have had significant exposure to principles or practices of participatory democracy. During the 1990s, the Ministry of Education designed and disseminated programs on democratic procedures. The program, "Ascending to Democracy" and the simulation, "The rules of the game" were designed to provide experiential training in democratic behaviors (*Circular, 51/7, 1/III/1991; Supplementary Circular* 14, 7.91, p. 30). A summer seminar was run for immigrant youth at Midreshet Alon (a school for informal education on the Sea of Galilee) to emphasize the meaning of living as "A free nation in a democratic state". In the words of the Director-General, there is a realistic "fear that [pupils from the FSU] will get to the army without adequate preparation for citizenship" (*Supplementary Circular,* 8, 6/1990, p. 68).

## 1.4    Social integration

The "social absorption" of immigrant students, the promotion of social relations between immigrant students and their native-born peers and the attainment of an Israeli worldview, is considered equal in importance to language acquisition. As such it was highlighted as a major goal of the Ministry of Education in the 1990s. By then the Ministry was convinced that there is a strong correlation between scholastic achievements and social absorption (Brandes, 1996). An indication of how important social integration is can be found in how a student is likely to perceive her future. As a Ministry official understands it, "a student who is acclimatized to Israel's school system talks in terms of 'the sky is the limit' instead of talking about feeling stuck" (Symposium, *Hed Hachinuch,* 1991, p. 10). According to the Ministry, social 'absorption' can be accomplished deliberately in three different ways. One is to activate the host community. Thus, The Ministry of Education urges community leaders and retired educationists to acquire some of the skills of social workers and to volunteer as tutors for students who have difficulties in adjusting to school. Campaigns

were conducted to encourage "veterans to adopt immigrants" (*Circular,* 50/10, June 1, 1990; *Circular, 51/*6, 1/II/91). Another means is to disseminate information among the immigrants through the media, with video-tapes, theater, and telecasts to familiarize immigrants with various aspects of life in Israel (*Circular, 51/*4, December 2, 1990; *Circular, 51/*6, 1/II/91). If successful, immigrant students will be "part of a significant group, a football team, a rock band, or a computer team in class, where he/she can express his/her strong ability" (Brandes, 1996, p. 26).

A third method is indirect. The idea is to inform veteran students about the cultures of the immigrants. In fact a great deal of material was prepared by individuals designated by the Ministry or by local Pedagogical Centers, to teach the 'absorbers' how to understand the background of the immigrants who are studying with them in their schools (see Appendix E). The Ministry organized essay competitions on the topic of "how to absorb" immigrants. A recommended classroom activity was to have pupils write papers on their own interaction with immigrants. Video-cassettes and theater presentations are shown to students in order to show the entire process of immigration from the children's perspective. Portfolios were prepared. In a portfolio called "This is How we Migrated (Ascended) to Israel", for example, there are seventy-six pictures, newspaper articles, and cartoons on the topic of aliya from both Russia and Ethiopia (*Circular* 50/5, 1/1/90). The idea is to encourage veteran children to identify with immigrants' stress and hence to make an effort to help them "feel at home" (*Circular, 47/*6, February 1, 1987; *Circular, 51/*4, December 2, 1990; *Circular, 52/*6, 2/II/1992; *Circular, 56/*3, 1/XI/1995). The Ministry also recommends that schools organize extra-curricular activities (hugim) and "it is possible to have instructors from Russia who came to Israel in the previous wave of immigration from the USSR" in the 1970s (*Supplementary Circular* 14, 7.91, p. 36).

In most of the publications, the Russian immigrants are taken to be the core immigrant group. In the *Circular 51/*6, the Pedagogical Center in Beer Sheva is praised for a series of pamphlets that all relate to the Russian aliya. In one of them, the story of immigration, "Grandfather Israel is not a new immigrant," by Aryeh Avigur (1994-95, Ministry of Education and Culture, Southern District, Pedagogical Center, Municipality of Beer Sheva), a pamphlet for the lower grades, there is a clear explanation of purpose: "We will tell the story of the mass immigration after the foundation of the state and some important chapters in the history of the state until the *Russian* immigration *in our time"* [my emphasis] (*Circular 51/*6, 1/II/91). Primary school teachers are instructed to present the history of the state of Israel as beginning with the epos of the mass immigrations of the 1950s and ending with the epos of the immigration of the Jews from the former USSR.

There is at least one other chapter of Jewish history, the importance of which must be established without doubt. As part of their integration into the Israeli nation, the Jews of the former USSR must understand that they belong to the nation that suffered in the Holocaust even though their community did not experience it. "Schools in which new immigrants from the former USSR are studying are called upon "to initiate projects on 'Roots' with the immigrants; in the project there will be interviews with members of the family who are survivors of the Holocaust" (*Circular 52*/3, 1/XI/1991). There is also recognition of the particular traumatic experiences of the immigrants. In one of the *Circulars,* the Director-General asks: "How can we transmit to the native-born Israeli pupil the feeling of how hard and embarrassing it is to study in Hebrew?" and responds that it may be worthwhile to do this "by giving a lesson in Russian (or in another language) to the entire absorbing class" (*Supplementary Circular* 8, 6/1990, p. 25).

## 1.5    Personal adjustment

Alert to the risk of psychological crises among immigrant children as well as among adults, the Ministry set up an information center that could be reached by telephone, with a team of volunteers "who speak Russian and other languages" (*Circular 51/*6, 1/II/1991). The Ministry calls on professional probation officers to prevent dropout (Brandes, 1996) but assumes that they should enter the field only after teachers have taken note of children's anxieties. In in-service training courses for teaching immigrant students, professional teachers are expected to learn basic diagnostic skills (*Circular 51/*6, 1/II/1991).

## 2.    REFERENCES TO SCHOOLS IN WHICH ARABIC IS THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

*Circulars of the Director-General* are distributed to all state schools, implying that instructions are generally applicable While, however, issues related to integrating immigrant Jewish students are constantly on the agenda in the *Circulars,* the State schools in which Arabic is the language of instruction are mentioned relatively rarely. For the first several years after the foundation of the state, the *Circulars* have little more to say to the Arab schools than providing a list of holidays that will be observed in these schools throughout the year. Starting from the school year 1959-60, the *Circulars* make a point of noting which guidelines apply to *all* schools —

including the state schools in which Arabic is the language of instruction. Many of these are administrative measures and technicalities such as safety rules. Thus, principals and teachers are reminded not to plan school/class trips on days when the weather is hot and dry (sharav/khamsin — because of desert winds). Instructions are given for collecting tuition for secondary education, for how to give children marks, and when to distribute report cards. Specific guidelines for the Arabic-speaking schools include references to activities that are not meant for them. The Arabs are *not* required to study selections from the writings of the first Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion. Nor are the Arab children expected to write pen-pal letters to soldiers in the Israel Defense Forces. In the school year, 1961-62, the *Circulars* explain that in the Arabic-speaking schools there is no requirement to have a picture of Theodor Herzl (the founder of political Zionism and the first head of the Zionist Movement) in a prominent place. Similarly, Arab schools were excused from a conference that focused on Jewish religious music.

Ministry of Education publications leave no room for doubt as to how the two official languages (Hebrew and Arabic) are weighted. From the *Supplementary Circular* (see below) that deals with "The structure of studies, the principles of teaching and the organization of hours in the primary school," we learn, for example, that in the basic curriculum the section on "the symbolic-linguistic approach" requires study of the mother tongue as well as of additional language(s). The supplementary languages are: English for schools in the Jewish, Arab, Druze, and Bedouin sectors (as an elective in the fourth grade, as a requirement from the fifth grade on); Hebrew for schools in the Arab, Druze, and Bedouin sectors (an elective in the second grade and a requirement from the third grade on); Arabic for Jewish schools (only as an elective from the fifth grade on) (*Circular, 52/7,* 1/III/l992, paragraph 2.1).

During the 1980s and the 1990s, there is a distinct rise in the number of guidelines in the *Circulars* that specifically include the Arabic-speaking schools. The Director-General writes at length about the celebration of a Druze Culture Week, and also about devoting a week to becoming acquainted with Bedouin Culture. Still, the events remain optional school activities. Purportedly planned to encourage the cultural groups to value their unique heritage, the recommendations also underline the deliberately stressed differences among the Arabic-speaking groups in Israel. During the school year, 1984-85, when the Ministry issued a *Supplementary Circular on Democracy and Co-Existence,* the monthly *Circulars* extended the project by including pointers on how to organize meetings of Arab and Jewish children. To promote mutual understanding, the Ministry recommended organizing schools in clusters and having teachers meet to prepare encounters of pupils. They also recommended introducing courses on co-

existence into the curriculum of teachers colleges. Furthermore, a prize was offered for the best term paper on the topic of Jewish-Arab relations.

In 1981, the first of three committees was appointed to draw up plans for improving the conditions of education and schooling in the Arab and Druze sectors. At the start of the 1990s, the Ministry announced a "Five Year Plan" that included a commitment to building six hundred (600) new classrooms, extending the selection of courses for teachers' in-service training courses, expanding psychological services for Arab schools, and so on. When, in the school year of 1991-1992, *Supplementary Circular* 28 lists all the stations of the Psychological-Counseling Unit of the Ministry, we discover that for the first time, the list of one hundred seventy-six (176) stations includes stations in eight large Arab towns. Special readers, as well as textbooks for mathematics and the subject "native land," were prepared by the Curriculum Division of the Ministry of Education for primary schools in which Arabic is the language of instruction (*Supplementary Circular* 6/2-3, 1997-8 ). The texts for the subject, "native land", are built on the theme of the family — *Every Person and His Family,* and, like the readers, *On Myself* and *Poetry about Children,* focus pupils' attention on their immediate surroundings.

Again, in July, 2000, a "Five Year Plan for Advancing the Education System in the Arab and the Druze Sectors" was publicized on the internet site of the Ministry (www.education.gov.il). The components of the plan include: improving students' achievements in Arabic and mathematics; training teachers so as to improve standards of instruction as well as techniques of assessment in these subjects; increasing the rate of success in attaining matriculation certificates; certifying teachers and training additional guidance counselors; developing special curricula for schools in which Arabic is the language of instruction (to replace the awkward adaptations of curricula originally compiled for Jewish schools); allocating additional hours for classes in special education; up-dating computers and equipment in kindergartens and school laboratories; finding ways to discover gifted pupils and helping them to advance. In addition, the Ministry's Sub-Division for Assessment and Research undertakes to develop valid instruments for evaluating both the process and the outcomes of the Plan's application, among them: tools for testing children's mastery of Arabic and mathematics in primary schools; for assessing the rate of success in matriculation; and for measuring the degree to which the schools, the educational district, and the local authorities are satisfied with the counseling that the Ministry is providing.

To overcome the perennial problem of dropout at all levels of state schooling in the Arab sector, and to provide enrichment at the secondary level, the *Circulars* distribute information about projects for and with adolescents. Under the heading of "Social Education and Informal

Education", a *Circular* dated June 2, 2002 describes the activity of the Scouts Youth Movement that is supported by the Ministry. Goals include developing a cadre of young leaders, imparting scouting skills and a love for the outdoors, as well as extending support to Arab students "to develop their identity and their culture as Arabs, and as part of Israeli society." But first and foremost, according to the Ministry, the youth movement is the site for educating toward "a love of the state, toward respecting its values and its symbols, and toward guarding its resources". Apart from details of goals and technical organization, the *Circular* outlines a course for group leaders in the Arab sector and notifies the schools that for further information there is an "Office for Society and Youth in the Arab Sector" with an Arab official at the head.

## 3.    SUPPLEMENTARY CIRCULARS: INSTRUCTIONS FOR ALL STATE SCHOOLS

The *Supplementary Circulars* (see Appendix G), a few of which are referred to above,  are special issues of the *Circular of the Director-General,* all devoted to topics that the Ministry has decided are of major importance to all schools, principals, and teachers of the state system. They relate to a variety of issues, among them administration, plans for development, curriculum content, and pedagogical principles with programs that will help improve teaching.

Administrative procedures are detailed in a *Supplementary Circular* at the start of every school year. Perennially, the Ministry provides the schools with all the relevant instructions regarding the organization of the school year: registration of pupils; textbooks approved for use in the classrooms and books recommended for enrichment. Additional details refer to safety regulations, in-service courses and regulations regarding bonuses on the successful completion of such courses, criteria for appointments in the system hierarchy, contracts and incentives for all those employed in the school system, the school staffs and inspectors, all referred to as 'workers in education'. Another issue is parent-teacher relations; parents' obligations and the payments that schools are permitted to ask for from households. All of these issues have implications for the education of immigrant pupils and for schools where Arabic is the language of instruction.

## 3.1    Focus on ....:

Among the on-going projects that the Ministry provides for in *Supplementary Circulars* is the definition of the annual 'central theme.' This is embodied in a slogan that is unpacked in a *Circular* at the beginning of the year into a series of classroom activities and projects for pupils. In-service courses are usually organized for teachers to equip them with background knowledge on the theme; and to encourage them to suggest various alternative didactic methods for elaborating on it in different grades. Binding on all schools, the annual themes are chosen with a view to conveying messages about Israeli values. Subsidiary themes dealing with values are mentioned in the course of the school year. Among the themes are topics chosen to communicate educational messages about immigrants and their absorption into the school population.

Two types of themes can be identified: themes dedicated to the promotion of solidarity and social integration, and themes with a corrective orientation. Promoting solidarity is a long-range project. When the first group of Ethiopian children appeared in the schools in the early 1980s, the central theme propounded by the Ministry was the "Unity of the Jews in Israel" (July, 1983). This slogan highlighted the perception that although Jews may look very different from one another, they are still one religious community and one nation. In December 1983, an additional *Supplementary Circular* supports this thesis by reference to a variety of learning materials in order to promote the incorporation of the heritage of Sephardi (Mizrachi) Jews in school curricula. This topic is dealt with again four years later (January, 1988). It takes a rather ambiguous turn after another four years when the schools are reminded in May 1991, that the central theme for the following school year will be a commemoration of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. Forty years after the mass immigration of the 1950s, long after educators first became acquainted with children from Mizrachi homes and cultural background, teachers are called upon to show respect for and develop an appreciation of materials that had never been included in the curriculum heretofore. The Ministry's extraordinary attention to issues related to the Sephardi Jews was an admission of failure in the guise of a reminder that people from every country of origin bring with them cultural capital that should be recognized as integral to the national heritage. The Ministry admits that because their cultural resources had been ignored, a large population of students had not had realistic access to a well-rounded education during the first twenty years after the foundation of the state. Further treatment of the cultural legacy was detailed in what was called the "Month for the Celebration of the Heritage of Judaism," the month of the High Holidays (the two days of New Years, the Day of Atonement [Yom

Kippur], and the Feast of Tabernacles) in October 1993. Thus, the unity of the Jewish people is to be established in terms of different traditions that can all be assimilated to common religious customs — and beliefs.

There are annual themes designed to highlight the fact that the Diaspora, the two thousand year dispersal of the Jewish people, was temporary and has been "defeated" by and in the Jewish state. The figure of David Ben Gurion, the first Prime Minister, is taken to symbolize that achievement twice in the course of the 1980s. In June, 1986, schools are instructed to mark the one-hundredth anniversary of his birth; and in October, 1993, they are instructed to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of his death. He, however, is the only individual to be treated as a symbol. In June, 1996, schools are directed to devote time in the following two school years (1996-97 and 1997-98) to celebrating the First Zionist Congress that took place in Basel, Switzerland in 1897, and to the fiftieth jubilee of the State of Israel. The emphasis here is on the organizations rather than on individual historical figures.[51]

Special attention to the cultivation of place is called for in the central theme, the "Quality of the Environment" in 1993, and in the symbolic use of "Jerusalem," that was treated in two *Supplementary Circulars* in June and October 1992. An institution of government that was necessarily neglected by Jews in dispersion, the judiciary, is singled out as a means for curing the ill effects of the Diaspora (*Supplementary Circular* on "Deference to the Law and the Courts" in June, 1988). Social projects highlighted are: "Manufacturing and Industry" in June 1995; and "Israeli Films" in July 1994.

Although the language of instruction in the Jewish schools, Hebrew, is studied in all state schools (either as the language of instruction or as a second language) the Ministry thought it fit to announce in January 1988, that the "Hebrew Language" would be the next annual theme in Israeli schools. This theme, too, was selected to assert that the Zionist Movement and the state of Israel have achieved unique success in turning the language of the Holy Books into a living tongue. A *Supplementary Circular* on this topic was disseminated in July 1990 and a second one in July 1991. As the pressures of immigration seemed to be winding down toward the end of the 1990s, the annual theme for 1998-99, namely, "The right to be respected and the obligation to respect others," turns from a focus on the collective to a focus on interpersonal relations.

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[51] The first person to propose a Jewish state was Theodor Herzl, who wrote a Utopian description of the future Jewish state, convened the first Zionist congresses, and conducted negotiations with the rulers of the Ottoman Empire.

## 3.2     Improving education as an on-going process

Themes with a remedial function are also treated in *Supplementary Circulars.* Some of them lay out procedures for long-range school programs. These dispatches usually summarize the conclusions of ad hoc committees set up by the Ministry to investigate particularly pressing issues. Such committees hear testimony from members of the public who represent relevant interests, and, after laying out their conclusions, work out the procedures that will facilitate their application. Programs published in *Supplementary Circulars* include a document dealing with "Programs for planning and equipping kindergartens and primary schools" (August 1987). Two highly significant publications drawn up in an attempt to make amends for long-term inattention to the needs of the non-Jewish public presented a "Five-year plan for the educational system in the Arab sector" in June 1991 and a "Five-year plan for improving education among the Druzes" in March 1992. These operational plans for developing resources in schools where Arabic is the language of instruction were especially important because they were allocated funding in the budget of the Ministry of Education.

There are two documents on "Computers in Education" in the early 1990s (January, 1991; August, 1992). A committee headed by the President of the Weizmann Institute (a research organization in the fields of physics, biology, agriculture, technology) presented a blueprint for fostering "excellence" by promoting science education and introducing computers into all state schools. In their program for a better 'tomorrow,' they define computers as the key to raising the scientific and technological literacy of all pupils (*Supplementary Circular,* "Mahar 98 — Computers in the Education System", February, 1994). The Ministry therefore insists that teachers of every school subject have to be capable of using computers and have to be able to impart an understanding of the principles underlying modern technologies to their pupils. The practical steps are detailed in the last two *Supplementary Circulars* on "Computers in Education" (October, 1994; January, 1996) (see also, Kalekin-Fishman, 2001).

A pedagogical problem selected for remedial treatment in *Supplementary Circulars* is violence in schools (May 1987; February, 1992) and more specifically the abuse of minors and the defenseless (January, 1993; September 1997). These are problems that, among others, are seen to have their origin in the growing disillusionment of immigrant youths and in the hazardous conditions of many immigrant families. In July 1994, the Ministry disseminated a program that specified how "Preventing violence in schools" could be accomplished. Further reports on how to prevent violence in educational institutions were published in circulars under the heading of "Order, routine, and ways of life in schools" (July, 1997; March, 1999).

## 3.3    **Specifying didactics**

The regular monthly *Circulars of the Director-General* include hints and suggestions about teaching from time to time, but *Supplementary Circulars* deal specifically with ways and means in didactics that require a broader view than that of a single classroom. There is particular emphasis on learning difficulties. Among the topics dealt with extensively are administrative and methodological issues in special education (April, 1992; May, 1994; June, 1996). In September 1996, the topic is presented as an issue of theory and practice, under the heading: "Learning difficulties: Definition, principles of diagnosis, and treatment." A similar orientation is apparent in "Preventing drop-out and improving pupils' school achievements" (December, 1994). Getting down to the nitty-gritty of how pupils can indeed be helped to make progress in a domain of schooling, a *Supplementary Circular* on "Homework" was published in June 1996. A letter on "Honesty in examinations" (May, 1988) refers to individuals' behavior, while the letter on "Examinations and evaluation in primary schools" (November, 1995) reports on standardized tests that the Ministry has implemented throughout the country. The results of these tests are used to indicate the extent to which learning difficulties are evident among pupils in the first years of primary school, and hence hint at how to cope with them.

Of special interest is the *Supplementary Circular* mentioned at the start of this chapter: "The structure of studies, principles of teaching and scheduling in the primary school" (*Supplementary Circular,* March 1, 2000). This document presumes to be an operationalization of the new goals of education enacted into law in 2000 (see Chapter 7). With its eight sub-divisions, this *Circular* attempts a thorough specification of how primary schooling is to be organized henceforth. Section 1 lays out principles of flexibility in scheduling, in dividing up the subject matter, in developing the potential of the pupil, according to the Ministry's "image of the good student." Section 2 lays out the framework for the Basic Curriculum, the program of studies that is a *sine qua non* for all state primary schools including, as the *Circular* specifies, the Jewish, Arab, Druze, and Bedouin sectors. According to the Ministry, the Basic Curriculum has to cover six approaches to knowledge: symbolic-linguistic, symbolic-logical, the approach to heritage, the social-humanistic approach, the scientific-technological approach, the aesthetic-artistic approach, and the kinesthetic-bodily approach. Differentiation of the materials for each sector are accounted for in relation to the heritage and the social-humanistic approaches. In discussing 'heritage', the Ministry declares that "Islam as a Religion" and the "Druze Heritage" are required subjects in their respective

sectors, but "additional programs for the study of the Arab heritage are still being prepared."

Section 3 is devoted to describing the underlying significance of restructuring the studies. The first subsection, "Granting autonomy to the school," exhorts educators to develop curricula that suit the needs of their community and their pupils, to impart community values, to enable pupils to collaborate in defining goals and subject matter. Sub-paragraph 3.1.6 sums up the guidelines by reminding the educators that "the school must find room for the seven approaches to the world of knowledge" that were detailed in the previous sub-head. The second sub-section, "Helping pupils make progress instead of classifying them," considers the dangers of labeling, of ignoring children with special needs, of streaming, and of imposing time limits on learning topics. The last sub-section describes the kinds of literacy skills that every pupil must acquire. Section 4 proposes that subjects be linked to broader disciplines, but the Ministry strongly recommends an "interdisciplinary" organization of the subject matter by combining clusters of related subjects. Section 5 suggests different modes of assessment and feedback, and the combination of alternative modes. Section 7 discusses scheduling, Section 8, an appendix, presents a list of programs that the Ministry has prepared for the different subjects taught in the primary school. The last three sub-paragraphs of this section talk about how the child learns, what the learning environment should look like, and how computers can be integrated into classroom learning. Of greatest interest is section 6, headed "Principles of Teaching." From this section it turns out that the role of the teacher is multiple. "He"(sic!) [52] is the one to plan how to teach; he has to organize the learning environment; he has to adopt different didactic methods; he has to diagnose, assess, and evaluate each child's learning; and he has to further his own professionalism."

We have described this *Supplementary Circular* in detail because of the blatant contradictions that it demonstrates. On the first two pages, there is a list of no less than fourteen points that outline a view of education as flexible and decentralized. Among them are calls for flexibility in structure, sensitivity to changes in the perception of what constitutes knowledge, autonomy of the school, increasing pupils' opportunities for choice and showing initiative, and flexible scheduling. These are the very points that are elaborated in the rest of the document. By contrast with the proclamation of openness and flexibility, however, the elaboration of each point turns into a description of the limitations the Ministry is placing on the initiatives of the school staff. By the end of the document, it has become clear that the only

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[52] In a system where 80% to 90% of the teachers are women, didactic instructions are transmitted in masculine form.

aspect of schooling that is still offered as a field for local inventiveness is the micro-distribution of time. How much time to spend in class on a given topic and how much time to allow a child to have for learning a subject are the only important questions that the highly detailed document leaves to the teachers' discretion. Instead of ensuring a liberated professional autonomy, the alternative pedagogical approach is presented as an inflexible set of rules.

## 3.4  Characterizing pupils

From the monthly *Circulars* and the *Supplementary Circulars,* we can deduce how the Ministry of Education characterizes children who are affiliated with different groups. In some contexts, the pupil is defined as active and capable; in others, the pupil is perceived to be passive and even apathetic. The conception of pupils' characteristics is grounded in most cases in a presumably factual description of the group culture.

*Immigrant pupils in general:* Immigrant pupils can be active in many class activities, among them, for example, the annual school theme (*Circular* 57/1, 1/IX/1996). Moreover, it is understood that "the pupil takes part in advancing his study in Hebrew, in building his profile for the teacher's assessment." This conception is connected with the novel modes of evaluation that the Ministry has introduced. The teacher's evaluation of the pupil has to take the pupil's self-evaluation into account, as well as a portfolio and "an evaluation encounter" in which the pupil, the teacher of Hebrew and the home room teacher take part (*Circular 55/2,* 1/X/1994).

In some areas, the immigrant pupil knows things that other pupils do not. He can give information to his native-born peers. In lessons on moral education it is possible to have immigrant pupils take part by telling about the country of origin, about their preparations for the aliya to Israel and on the climate of school life  and social life in their countries of origin (*Circular* 54/7, 1/III/1994). The immigrant pupil is likely to be a person with an artistic background. One of the proposals for having the immigrant participate in class is "to see whether among the immigrant pupils there are pupils with special talents in art, music, acting, singing, or sports." Teachers are encouraged to take advantage of these talents as soon as possible for decorating the school for parties, for holidays, for playing on a school sports team, for inviting pupils to sing in the school chorus, and so on (*Circular* 54/7, 1/3/1994). In the domain of "enrichment", the immigrant pupil should have the chance to do as much as possible. There is even a suggestion to avoid embarrassing the immigrant pupil whose reading of Hebrew is not yet fluent: "in order to make it possible for immigrant pupils to take part in a

community sing, it is a good idea to write a few of the Hebrew songs phonetically." That same circular insists that immigrant pupils can be included in student committees of the class or the school.

At the same time the *Circular* points out that the immigrant pupil needs help. Immigrant pupils are likely to need help in their studies. It is a good idea to pair immigrants with veteran pupils in carrying out learning tasks. Teachers can ask veteran pupils to prepare a dictionary for the immigrants. Thus there will have to be collaboration while learning the topic of preparing the dictionary and elaborating texts in easy Hebrew. Immigrant pupils may need psychological support. The Ministry suggests grouping new immigrant pupils with veterans from the same country so as to create empathy among the veterans for the new immigrants — just as "we all came out of Egypt"[53] (*Supplementary Circular* 14, 7/1991, p. 13).

*Characterizing groups:* The Ministry of Education explicates differences among pupils that stem from the cultural development of the immigrants' countries of origin. The most salient differences are those between the immigrants from Europe and those from Asia-Africa. The dominant European group is modern, active, and rational; the marginal Asian-African group is traditional, unrealistic, docile, and lacks the capacity for logical reasoning. The perception is that the cultures of the non-Europeans, are opposed to Israeli culture. This observation is based on a description of the culture in terms of folkloristic elements, elements that are irrational and based on fantasy. It is considered a generous gesture, therefore, to set a goal of "strengthening the pupil's learning about different cultures in our country, where the dominant culture and style clash with the cultures that reach us from the Diaspora" (*Supplementary Circular* 3, 12/1980, "Integrating the heritage of Eastern Jewry").

A *Supplementary Circular* (14, 7/ 1991, p. 52) informs the schools that the Center for Information has produced documentary films with descriptions of groups from different countries of origin for use in school programs. In each film, the unique characteristics of some group of immigrants are highlighted and annotations of the films disclose the Ministry's approaches to different groups. Thus, there is a film showing Georgian Jews who have difficulty adjusting to the Israeli milieu. The implication is that the group's maladjustment causes the high rate of school dropout among Georgian youth. Similarly, the immigrants from Morocco that arrived in the 1950s are presented in a film that shows how difficult it can be to achieve integration. The story is one of a family that is not yet "sorted out" in Israel and still bears the scars of the trauma of immigration.

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[53] The quotation is a reference to the biblical story of the flight of the Children of Israel from bondage in Egypt under the leadership of Moses.

The chronicle of the Jews from Cochin (India) is also full of hardship as is the current experience of the Ethiopians. By contrast, there is a film demonstrating how a group of Western doctors are making a contribution to improving the health of residents of Safed. Other films describe the effects of the influx of Russian musicians, with praise for an orchestra of immigrants set up in Beer Sheva. Jewish immigrants from the Argentine have also made themselves a home and a career since their immigration according to the film-makers. To modulate the impression somewhat, the Ministry reminds teachers of the fact that while immigration to Israel may well be associated with suffering, the very presence of immigrants is evidence of heroism. This thesis is supported by films produced by the Museum of the Diasporas (Beth Hatfutsot), which also sponsors mini-conferences on Ethiopians. One film describes the heroism of those who "made aliya" on the ship of the illegal immigrants called "You Will Not Frighten Us, 1947." Another film, "Leaving Ethiopia, 1985" highlights similarities in the trials of groups "then" and "now" (*Circular 50/3*, 1/11/1989).

Diversity of cultural background is the reason cited for differential treatment of each group. Ethiopians are recognized by their religious piety, and therefore it is rational to enroll Ethiopian children in the state religious educational system. This is explained at some length in the *Supplementary Circular, 8,* 6/1990, p. 28, "Beliefs and religious customs of Ethiopian Jews." In line with this perception, the publication "Getting to know the community and its customs (proverbs, stories, the road to Israel)" treats the Ethiopian experience as a wondrous legend, and therefore a phenomenon beyond history. In the modern world legends have no place, so clearly Ethiopian Jews should be meticulously assimilated to the Israeli way of life. That explains why it is possible to ignore their languages — Amharic, Ge'ez (the Ethiopians' language for the holy books).

Bias in portraying immigrants in leaflets and circulars of the Ministry is not unique to Jews from Ethiopia. Examples of stereotyping are evident in relation to Yemenite Jews as well as in relation to Sephardi (Mizrachi) immigrants. Among the topics that the Ministry recommends for emphasis in school, is that of "the culture of the Yemenite Jews." Yemenite Jews evidence special devotion to the customs of their forebears; they speak Hebrew with a unique accent and use many expressions from the Bible. In pre-state history, the Yemenites played an important part in the "Jewish conquest of work" and in agricultural settlement. They have made contributions to the Israeli scene through the arts of dance and song (*Circular* 42-43/2, 1/10/1982). In the detailed description, the Ministry expresses approval of the Yemenites and their contribution to the collective, but what is stressed as their most important characteristic is their orientation

to the past. As a group, according to the information disseminated by the Ministry, the Yemenite Jews can boast of no literature and no philosophy; they are steeped in folklore. Since the Ministry depicts the Yemenite "way of life" as committed almost exclusively to traditional religious practices, this group obviously lacks an appropriate orientation to the future.

Another example is that of the Eastern (Mizrachi or Sephardi) Jews. In general, the Ministry recognizes that these groups have a "heritage" (central theme for the school year 1979-1980 — "Integration of the Eastern Heritage in Educational Institutions," 1.2.80). In connection with these groups, the Ministry is willing to turn pupils' attention to an illustrious past, but there is no mention of contemporary creativity. The Mizrachi Jews are associated with the accomplishments of Jewish intellectuals in Spain of the Middle Ages. If the schools go back far enough, beyond the time of the Inquisition and the exile of the Jews in 1492, it is possible to find a culture worthy of esteem, the "spiritual production of Spanish Jewry" (*Circular* 51-52/3, 1/11/1991). The same *Circular* announces that their culture is described in an audio-visual portfolio produced by the Ministry of Education "On culture and art among Sephardi Jews." Publicizing this information is considered an important step toward remedying past failures, notably with children of Moroccan origin. According to one *Supplementary Circular* (No. 3, December, 1980), second and third generation Jews of Mizrachi extraction lack self-confidence. With the publications, it is presumed that the group will have a better self-image, and that will "undoubtedly" help overcome problems of absorption in the second and third generations.

By contrast with the Ethiopians, the Yemenites, and the Mizrachim, the Ministry of Education makes it clear that the Jews from the USSR are on a different plane. The Ministry provides information on "The Jewish intelligentsia in the USSR" and their wide range of achievements in the sciences as in the humanities. In the pamphlet they point out that the activities of the intellectual elite sparked the national arousal of the Jewish community in the USSR. Most important are the conclusions of the Ministry as to the methods that must be adopted for promoting immigration from the Soviet Union (*Circular 39/*9, 1.5.1979). In the 1990s, the message is pinpointed even more clearly. *Circulars* remind principals, teachers, and pupils that the people reaching Israel from the FSU have struggled a great deal to realize their Zionist aspirations. Having arrived, they are contributing to the country in the economic and cultural domains. As a community in Israel, the people from the FSU are active in intellectual production in Israel as well as in community organizations. The Jews from the former USSR have, for example, an association for studying the Jewish Diaspora and a public Council for helping Jews of the FSU. By 1992, these councils had

translated and published about 220 books in the domains of Jewish religion and Hebrew literature (*Circular* 52/3, 1/XI/1991).

In relating to groups whose mother tongue is Arabic, there are few attempts to characterize the groups apart from the classification as loyal citizens. For some groups army service is the guarantee of loyalty; for others the relationship to the state is taken to be somewhat precarious. Educational efforts are therefore directed toward ensuring that loyalty will indeed be the rule. Usually, the concern of the Ministry is to cite the importance of co-existence. It is understood that friendly co-existence is a premise in regard to the Druzes. Druze men serve in the army, often undertaking hazardous missions, and there is a "covenant of blood" between the Jewish state and the Druze citizens. Because many Bedouins volunteer for army service, their group is also presented as "somewhat different." In regard to Muslims and Christians, the problematic is rarely explored.

*Processes of Marginalization:* Differential characterizations of groups lead to differentiated processes of marginalization. Among the Jewish immigrants there is a subtle grading — from those that are "civilized" to those "in need of fostering." All the Jewish immigrants from Europe and Europeanized Western countries have a history and a rational past, while the weak groups emerge from fantasy and have problems in adjusting. This assessment has implications for understanding cognitive functioning as well. While the immigrants from Eastern Europe came with rational intent, Yemenites arrived in Israel on a "magic carpet," Ethiopians brought a biblical calling to fruition. Like the children and grandchildren of the immigrants from North Africa, the Ethiopians especially suffer from culture shock. They have problems of identity, and problems of self-image. These are to blame for his/ her not being absorbed. Still, extra-curricular activities planned for immigrant pupils demonstrate the Ethiopian invisibility. The Section for Education in the Settlements held summer camps in Youth villages where students had lessons in Zionism, lectures on historical topics, studied geography, and went on hikes (especially to historical sites). The lectures were in Hebrew and were translated into Russian. Thus new immigrant children from Ethiopia were at a disadvantage (*Circular 50*/10, 1/6/1990). A similar procedure is followed in regard to excursions.[54] In the

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[54] The Ministry makes a point of publicizing activities for *Russian* immigrants. The Department for New Immigrants of the Museum of the Ghetto Fighters (Kibbutz Lohamei Hagettaoth) offers guided tours in Russian for visitors (*Circular 51/*3, 1/11/1990). Trips around Jerusalem and its environs were organized in *Russian* by the Ben Zvi Foundation (1/1/1992); guidance in *Russian* for pupils' trips was organized by the Society for the Protection of Nature (1/1/1992). Special theater performances have an appeal especially for *Russian* adolescents. One example is a monodrama presented by an actress who emigrated from the USSR (*Supplementary Circular* 8, 6/1990, p. 36). Another is a play called "The

Ministry's recommendations to schools, the same bias appears. When school libraries are counseled to do their part in integrating immigrants, for example, the Ministry allocates resources for setting up collections of books in languages other than Hebrew. The idea is that the school library can serve the immigrant pupil as an informal framework for support and counseling. It is taken for granted that the funding should be used for collections in English, Russian, and French (*Supplementary Circular* 8, 6/1990, pp. 41-42). In one of the *Circulars (50/*9, 1/5/1990), the Director-General implies that the relations between Israel and Ethiopia are problematic. Making the Ethiopians invisible is therefore doing them a service. For the schools, however, the sub-text is also that they are less important than the immigrants from the Soviet Union. For after all, "The central topic for the year 1990-1991 is the fruit of a joyful reality and an event of tremendous dimensions that is going on in the State: a mass immigration of Jews from the USSR to Israel" (*Supplementary Circular* 8, 6/1990, p. 6).

Because of the weakness of Ethiopians as a group, the Ministry of Education collaborated with the non-governmental organization, Youth Aliya, to design a program for social integration, in which the goal was to "create good relationships between immigrant pupils from Ethiopia and veteran pupils from Israel (*Supplementary Circular* 8, 6/1990, p. 61). By helping pupils analyze, discuss, and experience diverse issues such as: stereotypes and prejudices; intercultural encounters; community customs; community culture as seen in proverbs and stories about aliya; social integration; and self-identity; the program was supposed to help veteran Israeli pupils act more favorably toward the Ethiopian peers (*Supplementary Circulars* 8, 6/1990, p. 61). Together with the declaration that a group is to be distinguished from the native-born Israeli pupils by some additional educational assistance, the advocates of the new program also agree that Ethiopian children lack the capacity for networking and in some ways the group is responsible for being marginalized.

*Structural Segregation:* The structure of the school system explains segregation as a comprehensive factor. Although the introduction of a state system of education was heralded as an opportunity for all children of school age to have the "same" education, the school system encompasses many different kinds of institutions. Schools are segregated according to the language of instruction: Hebrew or Arabic. Within the system of Hebrew-speaking schools, there is segregation according to the school's orientation to religion. At the secondary level, there are boarding schools as well as day

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Maya Operation — Immigrants from the USSR," produced by Shalchin Productions (*Supplementary Circular* 8, 6/1990, p. 68).

schools. Separate schools were also set up for pupils who are diagnosed as having special needs. Thus, although the avowed purpose of the 1969 Reform amendment to the Law for State Education was to step up social integration (with multi-neighborhood schools enabling more contact between new immigrant pupils from different countries of origin and their native-born peers in the Jewish sector, as well as between pupils of different socio-economic statuses in all sectors), the variety of schools has in fact made ethnic segregation easier. In the Jewish educational system pupils of different cultural origins were separated into different types of secondary school studies when the reform was implemented. For the most part, the Ashkenazis were channeled to university-preparatory frameworks; the Mizrachi Jews to vocational frameworks and to special education (Swirski, 1990). The fate of Ethiopian children has been similar. Enrolled in the State Religious system when they first arrived in Israel, an undue proportion of Ethiopian children found their way to special education because their mother tongues and their behavioral traditions were understood imperfectly if at all. For similar reasons, a large number were enrolled in agricultural boarding schools (State Comptroller, 1994). Today, the separatism is continued via the trend toward decentralization in education and with the foundation of special schools.

In the schools where Arabic is the language of instruction, segregation is based on the fostering of each sub-sector's unique heritage; this began when the Reform in education was applied to their educational system. In Arab education, different communities have different curricula. Thus, programs of Druze education were separated from Arab education, and in the 1990s the project of curricula for Bedouin education was developed.

The mechanisms for ensuring structural and cultural separation can be seen as a mechanism for solving conflicts (Elboim-Dror, 1980). Also a means for imposing the principle of "divide and rule," they can be seen in the broader sense to have been done in order to weaken the orientation toward Pan-Arabism.

# 4.     PROCLAIMED ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Having traced the types of instructions that the Ministry of Education disseminates in relating to immigrant and minority pupils, we can now see the accomplishments proclaimed in the *Government Yearbooks* and in Ministry publications in perspective. Above all, the publications proclaim the success of the Ministry in ensuring that almost all the children of school age in the country do indeed have access to state education (see Appendix H). Beyond this general accomplishment the state assesses the degree to

which the application of ideological principles is consistent. Here the emphasis will be on the principles relevant to children from immigrant communities and children who belong to the autochthonous national minority.

There are several criteria for assessing the absorption of immigrant children: identification with Jewish values, acquisition of the Hebrew language, educational achievements, social absorption, and overcoming anxiety and psychological crises (Horowitz, 1976). Criteria for assessing educational success in schools where Arabic is the language of instruction center on rates of attendance in secondary school and achievements on examinations set by the Ministry including matriculation exams. Clearly, the work of the Ministry of Education is on-going, but the projects and programs that are considered to be accomplishments are chronicled in the *Government Yearbooks,* and in special celebratory publications of the Ministry.

## 4.1     Accomplishments related to immigrant pupils

For the younger generation, the Ministry of Education[55] has the major responsibility. As we expect, the reports in the *Government Yearbooks* provide details about what the Ministry, as the arm of the government, considers its successes. Projects that serve different population groups are carried out by the pedagogical and administrative departments and sub-departments, among them: the Section for Information, the Department for Imparting the Hebrew Language, the Department of Secondary Education, the Division of Settlement Education, the Department for Teacher Training, as well as the Unit for Education in the Arab Sector, the Unit for Education in the Druze Sector. Each of the Departments elaborates on what are considered the central educational tasks as they relate to the different age groups and to the stages of their integration in Israeli society.

As indicated by the Knesset legislation, the goals of activities with immigrant children are formulated first and foremost in administrative terms. Organizational measures should enable immigrant pupils to enter 'regular' classes as soon as possible, and, in the twelfth grade, to matriculate and be accepted into institutions of tertiary education. Sub-divisions of the Ministry of Education and Culture elaborated methods for realizing additional educational goals. One example are the projects undertaken by the Division of Settlement Education.

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[55] Depending on the particular distribution of available Ministers and their parties, this Ministry has borne different names. Basically the Ministry of Education, it has also been the Ministry of Education and Culture, and even the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport.

Among the most important organizational accomplishments publicized are the changes instituted in the state schools in order to accommodate new immigrant children. As a rule, immigrants study in a separate framework ('absorption' classes, Ulpaniyoth, small groups, or a central Ulpan) in order to learn Hebrew as quickly as possible. Later they are placed in regular classes in all subjects, but are given supplementary lessons in the Hebrew language and in subjects that are perceived as having to be taught in Hebrew (Bible, geography and history of the country, written composition, literature) (*Government Yearbooks:* 1958-1959; 1959-1960; 1970-1971; 1974-1975; 1977-1978). These lessons are provided during the regular school days, and during the school holidays (Hanukkah, Passover) and the summer vacation) (*Government Yearbooks:* 1965-1966; 1970-1971; 1972-1973; 1974-1975). In schools in immigrant towns, centers were opened for supervising the preparation of homework with help from the teachers of the school (*Government Yearbook,* 1967-68). Beyond assistance in studying, the supplementary lessons were instituted to prevent dropout (*Government Yearbook,* 1959-60). In 1991-92, regional summer schools (Ulpaniyot) were organized for immigrant pupils. Intensive tutorial systems were instituted as community intervention, among them the caravan sites where Ethiopian immigrants who had been brought to Israel under the aegis of what was called the Solomon (Schelomo) Mission, were living.

For secondary school pupils from the Former Soviet Union, the Ministry of Education together with the Ministry for Immigration and Absorption organized summer camps and boarding schools that could introduce them to the Hebrew language and prepare them for entering Israeli schools. Special arrangements were made to help young people complete their secondary school education. First of all, they did not have to pay for school services, including the privilege of sitting for matriculation examinations (*Government Yearbook,* 1970-71). Beginning in the 1970s, immigrants were given extra help in preparing for matriculation examinations. These programs were carried out with each wave of immigrant pupils. Throughout the 1990s the *Yearbooks* also mention many ways of making it easier for immigrant pupils to sit for matriculation exams.

In the period of the mass immigration from the former USSR (from September 1989), when 80000 pupils were absorbed in the educational system, and at the peak 600 pupils per day, hundreds of women soldiers and volunteers were recruited and trained to assist in the schools. There was also a program of formal Jewish Zionist education in the former USSR (Hefzibah). Teachers were sent from Israel to teach Hebrew subjects, according to the curriculum for immigrant pupils in Israel, in Jewish day schools and preparatory Sunday schools. This program prepared at least 350 pupils who came to Israel from the former USSR, completed their high

school studies in the framework of the program, "Na'aleh", and planned to stay in Israel permanently. In 1997-98, the Hefzibah program doubled the number of Jewish day schools and Sunday schools in Russia and in other republics of the Former Soviet Union. Furthermore, teachers were trained in Israel and sent to different republics of the FSU to hold seminars for local teachers.

## 4.2     Promoting learning

As early as 1950-1951, the *Government Yearbook* reports on a supplementary textbook, *Pages in Hebrew,* published for immigrant children. At the beginning of 1952-1953, a curriculum was drawn up for younger people who were learning Hebrew in the language schools (Ulpanim). This curriculum also served as a basis for series of texts adopted to the new curriculum in the Language Schools in Summer Camps (Ulpaniyot) (1953-54).

Apart from developing curricula for language learning, the Pedagogical Secretariat of the Ministry of Education and Culture collaborated with the Szold Institute for pedagogical research in kindergartens and in the lower grades of primary schools. The research findings were cited as showing how to foster achievement among immigrant children by developing appropriate teaching methods. Research findings were applied to preparing textbooks and learning materials that would make it easier for immigrant children to succeed in Grade I where they were taught the first steps in reading and writing. It is reported that on standardized tests the children in experimental classes made greater progress than most of their peers (*Government Yearbooks:* 1958-1959; 1959-1960). In the year following the research, supplementary teaching techniques were devised for kindergartens where children who had immigrated from Islamic countries were in the majority. The new teaching methods were designed to strengthen pupils' self-confidence, to arouse their curiosity, and to help them learn the Hebrew language (*Government Yearbook,* 1959-1960). The work of the Authority for the Absorption of Immigrants continued to be guided and monitored by teams of university researchers in education who developed special achievement tests for gauging immigrant children's command of the Hebrew language and of fundamental concepts.

In reports on the formal curricula in state religious schools, the *Yearbooks* describe programs designed for young people in immigrant settlements. In the school programs, three subjects related to religion were required: Bible (Torah), Law (Halacha) and the History of the People of Israel (1957-58). In connection with the curricula compiled by the

Department, we are told: "Lesson plans were developed for lessons in Torah and for the encouragement of basic education in original [Jewish] culture, and to ensure the continuity of a tradition of the study of the Torah. It is also stressed that "these studies are especially important in the immigrant settlements" (1958-59). In the *Yearbook* of 1967-68, the Department announces that it has published a series of instructional materials for use in lessons related to basic education. Among them are "Teaching Portfolios," additions to the curricula of the Ministry of Education for use only in the state religious schools.

## 4.3     Education for settlement — Agricultural education

The Division of Settlement Education, initially organized to provide services for youth from the cooperative farms (moshavim), expanded its activity to include youth from the lower socio-economic strata in cities and development towns, and youths who could not attend school because they were the principal breadwinners in the family. The accomplishments cited among these youths, 'veteran immigrants', were that they were enabled to receive a basic general education along with a knowledge of agriculture that prepared them for living in villages (1965-66). Accomplishments had also been mentioned in the 1950s. In 1951-1952, the *Government Yearbook* proudly announces that lessons in agriculture were actually provided "for at least two hours per week for every class". In addition to the hours allotted to the study of agriculture in schools, agricultural clubs were opened (*Government Yearbook,* 1966-1967). These educational activities were for pupils in the transit villages (ma'abaroth) that had not yet been replaced by permanent housing, and for pupils in permanent settlements with large numbers of relatively new immigrants. Agricultural education in the immigrant settlements was considered very successful because pupils grew vegetables, planted orchards, took care of decorative gardens, and even succeeded in developing nurseries that supplied plants for residents of the immigrant settlements (*Government Yearbook,* 1955-1956).

Although the Ministry of Education did not consistently fund agricultural education, its importance is attested by the fact that the Division of Settlement Education and Agricultural Education in schools was supported by the Ministry of the Interior, which is mentioned as a partner in the foundation of agricultural centers in several transit camps in 1958-1959; the Jewish Agency (Youth Immigration [Youth Aliya] and the Department of Absorption), the Jewish National Fund (Teachers' Council), the Center for Culture and Education (*Government Yearbook,* 1957-1958), the offices of Work and Education of the Union of Working Youth (*Government*

*Yearbook,* 1965-66). Collaboration with the project of Youth Aliya was perhaps most important (*Government Yearbooks:* 1952-1953; 1967-1968). In 1979-1980, when there was a large aliya from Iran, hundreds of young boys and girls from Iran were enrolled in boarding schools that belonged to the Division of Settlement Education; In 1983-1984 pupils from Ethiopia were also enrolled in a school ("Hofim" — "Coasts") which belonged to the Division.

Occasionally, agricultural schools, most of which have a small student body, have problems with providing social leadership and with offering a suitably diverse course of study for their pupils. The year 1965-66, is mentioned in the *Yearbook* as a year in which new ideas were introduced to increase pupils' motivation for studying by adjusting the studies to their interests and capabilities, while paying special attention to raising standards. At the same time efforts were invested in promoting the social integration of pupils in need of fostering (as they were defined in the Ministry of Education) in state schools with standards approved by the Ministry (*Government Yearbook,* 1976-1977). In most of the schools, there were pedagogical experiments and initiatives in learning activities, and in imparting values related to Zionism, [agricultural] settlement, and the amalgamation of immigrant communities of different origins (1977-78). Special committees of inspectors and teachers of the Division regularly brought curricula up to date and planned the topics so that they were appropriate to pupils of different age groups. Pupils that came from distressed areas and suffered from "cultural disadvantage and a feeling of inferiority" received, in the framework of these projects, "reinforcement for [developing] their personality" (*Government Yearbook,* 1978-79, p. 172). There is also a program called "Second Chance" which provides tutoring for students who have failed matriculation exams and are willing to undertake intensive study so as to be able to sit for the examinations a second time. Data show that Ethiopian students who have participated in programs such as "Second Chance" have had high rates of success (*State Comptroller Report,* 48, 1998, p. 339).

In addition to work with youth from distressed areas, the Division of Settlement Education promoted a project of absorption of well-to-do youth from the West[56] (*Government Yearbook,* 1978-1979). These youths studied in agricultural boarding schools in different parts of the country. "In order to

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[56] In the Government Yearbook of 1973-74, there is a list of the countries of origin of the "well-to-do youth", and they are: the USA, England, France, Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina. In the other yearbooks, there are no details of the countries of origin and the expression used is simply the "well-to-do countries". The schools involved in the project were a school in Kibbutz Kfar Blum in the Huleh Valey, Kfar Silver in the south, and schools near Mount Tabor and in Kibbutz Gan Shmuel just north of Hadera.

ensure successful integration," school staffs were instructed on how to implement study programs based on curricula of the countries of origin with additional classes in Zionism and nationalism, as well as extracurricular activities (*Government Yearbook,* 1983-1984). This type of activity, with youth from "the well-to-do countries", is presented in the various yearbooks as a way of both maintaining good relationships with Jews abroad and of encouraging young people to stay in Israel, i.e., encouraging *desirable aliya* (*Government Yearbooks:* 1979-1980, 1980-1981, 1981-1982, 1982-1983).

## 5.    CHILDREN FROM MINORITY GROUPS

As we have seen, the problem of egalitarianism in education is treated most carefully in relation to immigrants, and the successes are carefully noted in the *Government Yearbooks.* In relation to the non-Jewish population, there is relatively little; the most important register of successes is the official publications of the Ministry of Education. There are three publications that are relevant to this survey: *Education in Israel* (Ormian, 1973), *The Third Vault* (Brandes, 1996), and *A Jubilee of Education in Israel* (Peled, 1999).

### Accomplishments noted in schools where Arabic is the language of instruction

In the *Government Yearbook* of the year 1952/1953 (pp. 94-95), the Ministry of Education and Culture announces that an advisory council for Arab education made up of Jews and Arabs has been formed. The council will work through four sub-committees. For the time being, accomplishments in Arab education can be noted in school upkeep, textbooks, and teacher training. Like the Jewish communities, local councils of Arab communities will finance school maintenance. For the time being, the contribution of the central government will still be 75% of the costs, but local governments have begun levying an education tax and this is important progress.

In this *Yearbook,* the Ministry notes the publication of a reader for the first grade that "is based on the new methods of teaching reading to new pupils," and other textbooks are in preparation. There are also 54 new teachers with certification who, we are informed, will be paid according to the same wage scale as that of qualified Jewish teachers. It is considered an accomplishment that Arab children are to study Hebrew beginning in the fourth grade, though for the time being there are not enough instructors.

Comparing the current accomplishments with those of 1949, the first year of the Law for Compulsory Education, the *Government Yearbook* of 1969-70 (pp. 160-162) cites that the number of pupils has risen to ten times the 6,766 pupils, registered in 45 schools in 1948, and the number of schools is now 202. The ten kindergartens with 637 pupils in 1948 number 166 in 1968/1969 and there are 9, 538 kindergarten pupils. The 1,100 Bedouin pupils in 15 schools are cited separately. An important datum is the fact that the proportion of girl pupils in Arab schools has grown from 18% in 1948 to 42% with a very low rate of dropout. The explanation is that the government has set up special schools for girls in communities that demand this kind of education, and also has introduced crafts "suitable for girls" in the upper classes.

That same year, the Ministry announces the establishment of a Teachers' College in Haifa with 348 students (162 men, 186 women). They also announce the opening of five Arab classes with 184 students in a Jewish secondary school. Two hundred forty classrooms are under construction in different communities. Further information is provided on studies in the newly occupied East Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank. The Yearbook takes care to sketch the educational provisions of Jordan and Syria, and the changes that the Israeli occupation is about to institute.

Four years later, in the book that celebrates educational accomplishments in Israel twenty-five years after the establishment of the state, thirteen pages are devoted to a description of "Education in the Arab sector — Facts and problems" (Kopelevitch, 1973, pp. 321-334). The author, a Jew, is identified as the Ministry official responsible for education and culture in the Arab sector. Kopelevitch contextualizes the situation of the schools where Arabic is the language of instruction. He cites the changes that have become evident since the establishment of the State of Israel in the structure of the community and in the authority of the family. Emphasizing the progress made in the Arab sector since 1948, he summarizes the situation in this way: First of all, there is no village without a school and most of the children do get an education. The chronic lack of classroom space is well known, but many classrooms have been built. Courses of study in the schools are based for the most part on textbooks translated from Hebrew education. But a committee has been appointed to revise the curriculum in the Arab schools, and he is confident that after the committee submits its report within another two years [sic!], work will begin on new textbooks for those schools. In addition he praises the progress made in educating teachers for the Arab sector even though the number of teachers certified each year does not meet all the needs. Although there are signs of progress, Kopelevitch admits that the situation in the Arab system is still far behind that of the Jews.

*The third vault* was published in 1996, when the Minister of Education from the left-wing Meretz Party was about to be replaced by a Minister from the Religious Zionist Party.[57] By contrast with the earlier publication, this volume announces that educational programs stem from a world view according to which it is necessary to work to advance egalitarianism (Rubinstein, 1996, pp. 13-21). From the description of the situation in the state schools where Arabic is the language of instruction the Ministry can report little progress beyond the accomplishments alluded to by Kopelevitch in 1973. By 1996, however, the Ministry views Arab education in the context of society as whole in order to define its responsibility.

## 5.2    Narrowing some gaps

Brandes (1996, p. 102) begins the chapter on "Equality for all — Narrowing the gaps between Jews and Arabs" thus:

> The gaps between Jews and non-Jews in Israel are large and are to be seen in almost every domain — in the economy and in the realm of economic development, in conditions for study and in achievements, in the attainment of senior positions, etc., etc. The gaps in education are *both* the consequence of gaps in the other domains — economic and social — *and also* one of the central factors in the persistence of these gaps. Thus, a vicious cycle is created, but an opportunity presents itself, namely that a reduction of the gaps in education will lead to a reduction of gaps in other domains.    [translation and emphases, DKF]

Brandes (1996, p. 103) documents the gaps, noting that there are differences between "Jews and Non-Jews" in the average size of the family (3.4, 5.3 respectively) and in the mean income as of 1994 (NIS 7,500, NIS 5,100 respectively). There are also gaps in the proportion of students studying for matriculation (Jews: 84%; Arabs: 57%; Bedouin: 33%; Druzes: 65%) as in the proportion that have attained a matriculation certificate (44% vs. 22%, 6%, 29% — order as above). An important accomplishment is the narrowing of the gap in the mean size of classes in primary education (30-32 per class). In secondary education, the largest classes are in Jewish education (43), while the means are 39, 40, and 41 for Arab, Bedouin, and Druze

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[57] The Labor government that had been headed by Yitzhak Rabin until his assassination in 1995 and Shim'on Peres (who took over as Prime Minister after his death) lost the 1996 election to right wing parties headed by Benyamin Netanyahu.

schools respectively. In the allocation of hours of study and resources for each class, there have been significant increases since 1980, but there are still important differences. Thus, in 1980, according to the data of the Ministry, Arab primary schools received 89% of the resources that Jewish schools received and 92% in 1996; junior high schools received 77% in 1980 and 93% in 1996; and senior high schools received 62% in 1980 and 91% in 1996. Some of the differences can be explained by the lower proportion of technological streams in Arab education where the emphasis is on preparatory studies for tertiary education. Some of the gaps can be explained by the fact that the calculation of benefits is more generous for Jewish schools than for Arab schools (Brandes, 1996, pp. 104-105). The message of the Ministry is that the gaps are narrowing and with the plans that are being developed, will narrow further in the very near future.

In the course of the twenty-three years between the two publications, the voice of the Ministry has changed. Brandes is writing from the vantage point of a Ministry that can point to significant accomplishments in enriching the resources of the school system for the Arab minority. The Ministry no longer takes refuge in a sectorial perspective according to which schools for Arabs are necessarily different. It is assumed that the inputs and the outcomes should be comparable in every sector of the state education system.

The publication called *A Jubilee of Education in Israel* (Peled, 1999), celebrates fifty years of state education. In the volume with almost 1300 pages, there are three articles that deal with schooling for children whose mother tongue is Arabic, all of them written by members of the relevant community associated with the Ministry. Felach (1999) writes about education for the Druzes; Abu Sa'ad (1999) writes about schools for the Bedouins; and Sarsour (1999) writes about Arab education. Each sees the educational accomplishment in a different light. In relating to the schools where the Druzes constitute the majority of the student population, Felach reports on the benefits of the introduction of a special curriculum. He shows that there has been a remarkable rise in the proportion of Druze pupils who receive matriculation certificates. The number of university students has multiplied by thirty. Druze girls have taken their rightful place as about fifty percent of the student population at every stage of schooling. There are new and better schools.

In his report, Sarsour confirms that progress has been made, but only in the 1990s. The lack of classrooms has been reduced by about two-thirds; more than fifty percent of the teachers have academic degrees. There are now new curricula for key subjects such as literature and history. The requirements for studying the Jewish heritage have been modified and reduced. There is a steady rise in the number of students who manage to matriculate even though only about sixty percent of the age group actually

completes a secondary education. The advances are especially impressive in his eyes when compared with the delays and postponements and sheer deprivation of earlier decades.

By contrast with the rather optimistic reports of Felach and Sarsour, Abu Saad tells a dreary story about Bedouin education. Thus, although the publication is meant to be celebratory, the tale of no-accomplishment is given a voice. As Abu Saad tells it, the new towns built for the Bedouins in the Negev are distinguished by modern school buildings with fairly good equipment and some facilities, but in terms of achievements, the Bedouins have the lowest achievements of any group in the country. This is true of their scores for reading comprehension and arithmetic at all stages of schooling, as well as of their scores in matriculation. The rate of success in completing the requirements for matriculation is consistently under ten percent. As Abu Saad sees it, schools do not serve the needs of the Bedouin community nor do they act as a stimulus to social change.

The Ministry's 2001 *Report on Facts and Figures* summarizes accomplishments for all sectors of the educational system. The *Report* asserts that affirmative action is indeed being implemented in the Arab and the Druze sectors (Sprinczak, Barr, Seguev, Pitterman & Levi-Mazlom, 2001, p. 29). For one thing, the construction of 585 new classrooms was promised for Arabic-speaking schools (Sprinczak, Barr, Seguev, Pitterman & Levi-Mazlom, 2001, p. 37). For another, it is possible to see progress in achievements. The percentage of Druze secondary school students who sat for matriculation examinations rose from 39% in 1990 to 80% in 1999. In the same period, the proportion of Muslim students who sat for matriculation examinations rose from 41% to 65% (Sprinczak, Barr, Seguev, Pitterman & Levi-Mazlom, 2001, p. 65). These figures include the Bedouin schools. The Ministry admits, however, that the rate of dropout in Arab secondary schools is still high — as much as 11.8% in 1999 (Sprinczak, Barr, Seguev, Pitterman & Levi-Mazlom, 2001, p. 64).

## 6.    IMPLEMENTATION OF IDEOLOGY AS A MECHANISM OF EXCLUSION

As we have seen above, the implementation of instructions and the celebration of educational successes disclose which groups are most visible and therefore most important and which groups invisible in different kinds of context.

Theall (quoted in Blackmore, 1993) distinguishes between three types of exclusion that are bared by the distribution of (in)visibility:

- Exclusion occurs when discussions about general themes proclaim that members of all cultures are equal, but the distribution of resources is managed by the dominant group, or there is total omission of the weak groups.
- Pseudo-inclusion includes the weak groups, but turns them into a supplementary case, and thus places them at the margin … relative and peripheral.
- Exclusion /alienation occurs when weak groups are included as subjects but their lives are failures by contrast with the lives of other groups.

In reviewing the *Circulars* and the celebratory publications having to do with education, we see how the official ideology is translated differently for schools in which Hebrew is the language of instruction and those in which Arabic is the language of instruction. Both in the instructions disseminated to schools for native-born and immigrant Jewish pupils and in the summaries of accomplishments, the message of building a nation of and for Jews is explored in every possible dimension. For the schools with pupils who are not Jewish, exclusion is imposed by the very fact that they are released from having to identify with every detail of the official ideology. For the time being, recognition of Israeli Palestinians' demands for equality is realized through the slow if positive advancement of instrumentalities. Let us summarize how this works.

The *Supplementary Circulars* of the Director-General of the Ministry of Education are sent out to make principals and teachers take notice of the most important issues that concern schools. As we have seen, there are circulars that focus on specific programs and plans, on problems of teaching-learning that are met in the classrooms, and on values. The points of reference in these dimensions are different for each group. The specific programs are revisions of organizational and administrative procedures in light of felt failures, and the circulars that deal with specifics of didactics relate to adaptations of research to the basic purpose of schooling — ensuring learning. A good example is the concern with computerization. Technological progress is naturally of universal interest. Discussions on children with special needs also reflect universalistic educational norms, or, at any rate, an inclination of the Ministry to monitor the need for changes in the system and to seek ways to introduce them. In the realm of values, however, there is a stubborn dedication to the Zionist notions that are considered to be the raison d'être of the state. The "central themes" expounded by the *Circulars* are all derived from a point of view about the Jewish nature of the nation-state. References to history and legacies, to

symbolic figures, and to institutions in Israeli society all emphasize a rational reality that is Jewish and constantly growing thanks to the in-migration of people who, and that can be taken on faith, are just "like us". The reification of this reality in school themes and in procedures provides a normative foundation for this unity and conveys a vision of what is natural and eternal for the collective as well as what kinds of behaviors are required of individuals and communities. Such a foundation excludes the schools where Arabic is the language of instruction.

The ideology of nation-building determines the status and differential educational policies toward groups in schools where Hebrew is the language of instruction as well. In the most general terms this means that Jews of whatever origin and whatever 'color' are to be granted equality in education. In the realization of egalitarianism among the Jews, however, educational policies are translated into treatment, which varies according to cultural group. The Ministry differentiates among pupils according to context as: associated with a particular ethnic group, affiliated with particular religious practices, having been born in a particular region or country, or being visibly of a 'different' color. By attaching typologies of personality and cultural behaviors in different domains of living to these distinctions, the Ministry of Education and its associated non-government organizations (Youth Aliya, the Jewish Agency) provide educational opportunities honed to their definitions of the groups and thus fix succeeding groups of children in pre-defined niches of the social structure. Initial differentiation and consequent throughputs prejudge group rankings in outcomes. In sum, the instructions, like the celebratory pronouncements of the Ministry of Education disclose a ranking that relegates groups of pupils to varieties of marginalization: from textual invisibility to practical exclusion to structural alienation.

The practices are definitive in regard to minority children. Despite the fact that the situation in schools for children whose mother tongue is Arabic has been on the agenda of the Knesset discussions from the very foundation of the State of Israel, the Ministry of Education pays only minimal attention to the sub-department for Arab education, itself sub-divided by fiat as Druze, Arab, and Bedouin.[58] Schools for minority children are party to information about how the Jews are building the nation and excluded from observing all the practices that contribute to this national project. For their own use, as the articles on education for Palestinian Israelis show, the major interest becomes whether or not the government has made good on its promises to supply enough classrooms, adequate resources for special education, enough

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[58] Christians constitute about six percent of the Israeli population. In the framework of state education, they belong in Arab state schools. In point of fact, however, the greater proportion studies in private schools sponsored by church orders.

probation officers and skilled teachers; whether or not the schools can show that their pupils have passed matriculation examinations and go on to studies at the university. *Circulars* give notice of serious intentions to improve the sectorial education and to bring it up to date from 1990 on. Yet, as late as 2000, the training of educational personnel, and the preparation of programs of study appropriate to the Druze and the Arab schools were presented as goals that were yet to be realized. Still, to the extent that the structural inputs and the practical outputs are satisfactory, the Arabs are encouraged to accept the official ideological messages and to center their own efforts on attaining instrumental goals.

In its realm, the agency (modes of operation) of the Ministry of Education has many forms. Instructions embodied in the *Circulars* are brought to fruition and achieve success only with the mediation of officials in the field, as well as the performance of teachers in schools. Chapter 9 explores some of the modes of mediation as formulated by officials who are entrusted with bringing the messages of the Ministry to the field.

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Chapter 9

# INTERPRETING POLICIES — FROM THE MINISTRY TO THE FIELD

In Chapter 8, I surveyed written channels of policy implementation — directives, announcements, guidelines referring to immigrants and minorities — that appear in the monthly *Circulars of the Director-General* of the Ministry of Education, as well as publications that celebrate the Ministry's accomplishments. The written materials purport to provide a common guide for running schools. But in the hustle and bustle of school life, the generalizations have to be fleshed out. Ministry-appointed officials in the field are charged with the task of interpreting the necessarily schematic instructions of the *Circulars* reliably. Their interpretations constitute a type of dual agency, a means to convey the intentions of the state as crystallized in the Ministry accurately; and a sounding board for life in communities. Chapter 9 introduces statements of these "street-level / school-level bureaucrats" — inspectors, supervisors, coordinators, heads of schools — with their understandings of the kinds of varied school populations they encounter in their work. Because they are in contact with particular school populations, officials have to reinterpret the guidelines as they endorse or reject proposals to adapt instructions to needs and conditions of a specific milieu. The discourse of officials is a pivotal stage in the translation of ideology into practical activities. It is through these official representatives of government that teachers, instructors, and aides in the field learn the meaning of different aspects of state education. They learn what is expected of them and how to categorize the pupils in their care. Thus, the officials' conceptions of what has to be done in schools are key factors in understanding how the ideology of solidarity and egalitarianism is revised, re-visioned, and mediated.

In this chapter we have chosen to examine messages conveyed by officials who have key functions in the education of immigrant pupils and pupils from minority groups. Among them are: the national inspector for coordinating the education of immigrant pupils and two district inspectors responsible for immigrants — one for state secular schools and one for

state religious schools in the north of the country, a national inspector for Druze education, a district supervisor of Arab education, a district inspector in the state religious system and an official responsible for providing extra assistance to Ethiopian immigrant pupils. In addition we look at the approaches of the Director of a Youth Village whose concern is the absorption of immigrant pupils in a rural boarding school, and those of coordinators and principals of schools in cities and villages concerned with immigrants, minority children, or children from families of temporary immigrant workers. Each of the people whose perceptions are presented interprets the responsibility of the schools in a context that is different both geographically and culturally. Each of them relates to issues of cognition, social integration, and affect. Both the similarities of their perceptions and the differences in the practical orientations they uphold shed light on variants to be expected in classroom performance, some of which will be evident in Chapters 10 to 13.

## 1.     NEW IMMIGRANTS AS A NATIONAL CHALLENGE

The national inspector for coordinating the education of immigrant pupils deviated very little from the vocabulary of the *Circulars of the Director-General.*    She explained the population of students for which she is responsible, cited what the category "new immigrant" means in terms of Ministry funding, and went on to describe the types of learning that make for integration.

In order to explain the priorities of the Ministry — and of the inspectors who go out into the field, she reminded us first of all that there were 140,000 immigrant children in primary and post-primary schools; 80% from the FSU, 10% from Ethiopia, and 10% from Spanish-speaking countries, the USA and Western Europe. The populations are distinguished from one another by categorization that serves as the basis for deciding on rights and privileges. The category "new immigrant pupil" signifies a calculation of an extra 1.75 hours per week of tuition for each pupil. This privilege is applicable to most of the immigrants for four years from September 1st of the year immediately following their arrival in the country. Exceptions are the pupils from Ethiopia. Because pupils from Ethiopia are considered "new immigrants" for all twelve years of primary and secondary schooling, they receive a good deal of supplementary support.[59]

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[59] Funds for covering the costs of books and extra-curricular school activities are supplied to the family as part of their 'adjustment basket' during the first year of their stay in the country.

As to the acquisition of cognitive competency, the inspector's chief concern is that of imparting Hebrew to new immigrant pupils. Presenting the official plan for ensuring that immigrants do in fact learn the language, she explains that studios (Ulpanim) for imparting the Hebrew language are conducted in one or two places in every town and city as well as in rural regions where immigrant communities are concentrated. As the inspector in charge, she instructs the schools to include special coaching in the Hebrew subjects (literature, composition, grammar, Jewish history) in the Ulpanim, to enable children to acquire a comprehensive command of the language through an appreciation of various genres.

Social integration has at least two dimensions: the dimension of face-to-face relationships, and the dimension of acquiring culturally appropriate ways of thinking. The official point of view is that social integration begins when immigrant children are capable of participating in regular classes. At first, they participate only in the classes in which they can get along even if they do not have a full command of Hebrew — physical education, shop, the arts, and later, science and English as a foreign language. The indicator of full inclusion, the ability of a child to join a regular home-room class, often requires additional cognitive support in the form of separate tutoring when the Hebrew subjects are being taught. In the opinion of the national inspector, the achievement of social integration depends in the last analysis on children's progress in acquiring Hebrew and "Jewish subjects". For these are the keys to realizing the national goal of 'absorption.'

Because the Ministry is aware of how tearing children away from their familiar habits may cause emotional havoc, new regulations have been devised to smooth immigrant children's assimilation into Israeli schools. *Circulars* instruct educators to tolerate the use of native tongues, i.e., languages other than Hebrew on the school grounds. In the perception of the inspector, this regulation defines a norm that Israeli teachers find difficult to obey. For decades, schoolteachers had acted on the uncontested conviction that they had to get all the children to speak Hebrew in and out of class as quickly as possible. From her contact with the field, the inspector understood that the non-judgmental attitude now promulgated by the Ministry is perceived by many teachers as a kind of transgression. They wonder at the Ministry's submitting to what they see as the illegitimate pressure of immigrant organizations. It was her responsibility, she said, to persuade the principals and the teachers that by allowing children to 'escape' into their

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From the second year on, the funds are provided by the Education Departments of the municipalities and resources are conveyed directly to the pupils. Ethiopian children receive additional funding and benefits from the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption.

mother tongues, the schools were actually helping them integrate into Israeli society.

Our attempt to engage the inspector in a more lengthy discussion on the arrangements for Ethiopian children, was politely but firmly rebuffed. On the whole, we were reminded, the measures in the realm of cognition are similar to those for other immigrant pupils, except that the Ethiopian children are considered 'new immigrants' for a long time. Since there are Ethiopian communities in only a few sections of the country, Ethiopian children are likely to be in the majority in neighborhood, and even in regional schools; therefore there might be some problem in social integration. Calling us to order rather impatiently, she stressed the point that pupils of Ethiopian origin constitute only ten percent of the total number of immigrant pupils in the schools. All told, she could not understand why researchers were so interested in them. The quantity of research invested in this group is, to her mind, "out of all proportion." It is "a political project led by a belligerent group detached from realistic needs." What is more, immigrant pupils from Ethiopia are not the exclusive responsibility of the Ministry of Education. There is a Department for Ethiopians in the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption and they have responsibility for social integration.

In the Department for Ethiopians, the Head had nothing but praise for the progress that he could observe among Ethiopian youth. He felt that their achievement was especially admirable because most of them had come to the country with no schooling at all. The Ministry of Immigration and Absorption concentrates its efforts on the social aspects of their integration, providing programs of social activities and introducing immigrants to Jewish culture and religion. Under the aegis of the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption, there are community activities, among them, programs for training young Ethiopian immigrants to be active in youth movements. Since the Ministry knows that Ethiopians are immersed in tradition, the Department sees no need for religious indoctrination, but, in the words of the official, the young people do have to be "helped to modernize" their religious practices. This, however, could only be done through long-range consistent education. In his conception, therefore, state-religious schools provided the most 'natural' environment for them, and in his view, the Ministry of Education is contributing a great deal to their integration by advising parents to register children of school age in schools of the state religious stream.

## 2.    DISTRICT INSPECTORS CONFRONT LOCAL PROBLEMS

As noted earlier, for the schools in every district of the country, there is a special inspector responsible for the integration of immigrant pupils in each sub-system of the state  —  the state secular sub-system and the state religious sub-system. Here I will present views of an inspector for state secular schools and those of an inspector for state religious schools in two districts in the North of Israel. Both inspectors are connected with immigrant pupils in primary schools as well as in junior and senior high schools.

## 2.1    Immigrant pupils in state secular schools

The District Inspector for immigrant children's education in the state secular system in a large urban district is responsible for the integration of more than twenty thousand immigrant pupils in about one hundred schools. Most of the pupils are from the FSU with a small number of Ethiopian pupils and a smaller number of pupils from the Caucasus and from Latin America. Because of the large number of schools in the district, the supervisor collaborates with mentors who regularly meet with teachers. Every mentor is a professional who has taught immigrant children and has had experience coordinating the work in a school.

The District Inspector emphasizes the central place of affect in the adjustment of immigrant pupils. Recognizing that immigration is a traumatic experience for all immigrants and especially for immigrant adolescents, she finds in this the psychological justification for the Ministry's new implementation of open-mindedness vis-à-vis cultures of origin. Because of the trauma, she explains, it is important to combine the cultures of the immigrant children with the local culture, rather than to insist on replacing the cultures of origin. This will be possible, of course, only if the immigrants keep up their knowledge of the mother tongue and identify with the habits, customs, and traditions they were familiar with before.

Social integration is intimately connected with affect in the view of the District Inspector. Immediately after the pupil's arrival in the country, a great deal of effort is needed to promote the welfare of each individual child. These endeavors can help the immigrant child "adjust socially and academically" so as to minimize dropout among adolescent immigrants. To this end, school guidance counselors deal with the problems of immigrant pupils on an individual basis. In a more lyric vein, she continues, there must, on the part of the schools, be a "hopeful, supportive atmosphere, one that fosters growth through a positive relation to difference, creating meaningful

situations of learning" and inviting the involvement of immigrant parents. For additional support, "the system believes in having veteran children 'adopt' new immigrants. [It also believes]  in promoting 'mixed' social activities, 'mixed' recess activities, and peer teaching; and it does its best to encourage these types of activities." As part of the effort to integrate immigrant pupils into the macro-society in the long term, the Ministry has developed several programs that can be carried out in class. "Circles" is a project for pupils of junior high school that is sponsored by the Ministry of Education and a teachers college. Providing learning materials about the different "life circles" to which children have to adjust, the idea is that the simulated experiences lead to a crystallization of the children's Jewish identity as well as a unique personal identity. There are programs to help immigrant children cultivate interactional skills as well as workshops on significant aspects of Jewish history and tradition.[60]

In relating to the domain of cognition, the Inspector describes some modifications of the rather rigid formulas of the Ministry of Education as they are applied in the district. There are differences between primary schools and post-primary schools. Primary schools admit immigrant children to home room classes immediately after they register, releasing them from their homeroom classes for learning Hebrew separately in small groups. The schools provide support for new immigrant pupils according to "the needs, talents, and abilities of the children". In the areas of study in which pupils need reinforcement, tutors are available to help and guide them. The educational system solicits assistance from the army and young women soldiers who have been trained especially for this type of work take an active part in the programs.

In post-primary schools, the study arrangements are more formalized. The first stage of absorption is that of acquiring the Hebrew language. There are several Ulpanim for learning Hebrew in different parts of the city and its environs, depending on the number of immigrant pupils who need the service. At the Ulpan, pupils from different schools and sometimes of different ages, study together in small classes. "Most important," says the Inspector, is that pupils be taught Hebrew in the right way, according to the methods that the Ministry has developed on the basis of experience with immigrant pupils." As far as materials are concerned, teachers may pick and choose according to their own assessment of the children's competence.

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[60] The project, "Shalhevet", centers on helping immigrant children feel at home when they meet and socialize with native-born peers. Still another project is run at an institute for continuing education in the center of the country (Ramat Ef'al) where immigrant students in their junior year of secondary school come from different parts of the country to attend workshops. Here they study topics significant in Israeli society. A workshop of major importance is devoted to the study of the Holocaust.

Once Ulpan pupils have acquired a good command of Hebrew, they are admitted to regular homeroom classes. In this second stage, special attention is given to pupils who have immigrated from Ethiopia or from the Caucasus. Together with organizations such as the Centers for Community Education and NGOs devoted to the absorption of immigrants, these pupils have assistance in preparing lessons in the afternoons, and are invited to participate in extra-curricular activities for "widening their horizons."

In general, the Inspector conveyed great optimism about absorption. She is convinced that in the schools in her district there is a climate favorable to absorption; the teachers have empathy for individual students and an awareness of the difficulties that the immigrants face. "The biggest problems are behind us," she asserts. Supervision is direct, close, and on-going, and altogether schools "know how to do it." The only persistent problem she would talk about is the problem of finding teachers who are adequately prepared for teaching immigrants. The Ministry is unwilling to grant tenure for the specific specialization of teaching immigrant pupils; therefore teachers do not train for this type of teaching and have to apply their common sense.

## 2.2  Immigrant pupils in state religious schools

Because of concentrations of immigrant Ethiopians in the Northern District, the General Inspector for state religious schools there spoke at length about their problems. He highlighted the problematic social background because that, to his mind, is the source of many diagnosed learning difficulties. He is conscious of the fact that in Israel, the children have to adapt to new kinds of "taken for granteds", a different climate, different types of housing, a new language, a different status for their parents, and the fact that their skin color is different. In point of fact, these children have undergone immigration several times over: first, the big step, from Ethiopia to Israel; and in Israel moving from one absorption center to another, then to a temporary caravan site and finally to a stable neighborhood. In these moves, the child may have had to change schools quite frequently, meet teachers who have different approaches and thus, again and again finds herself misunderstanding what is happening in class. In every case, her prior experience turns out to be irrelevant. That is why she may give the impression of having a problem in cognition while that is actually not the case. The inspector is convinced that with extra hours of tutoring, a well-trained teaching staff, and the provision of suitable learning materials, as well as engaging the collaboration of parents in the children's

school experiences, the learning problems of the Ethiopian children can be solved in the long run.

The Inspector with specific responsibility for the education of immigrant pupils in the state religious subsystem in the Northern District oversees the education of about 2,500 pupils in forty state religious schools. Of them, 2,115 are immigrants from Ethiopia. She emphasized the great investment of resources for fostering the advancement of these children in their studies and in their social integration, as well as for taking care of their physical and psychological well-being. Knowing that the government transmits significant sums of money for this goal to the local authorities, the inspector and her team of mentors are on guard, seeing to it that the money is not appropriated for other community needs instead of being handed over to the people for whom it is intended. Apart from the extra hour and three quarters of instruction (see above, national Inspector) for the study of reading and language allocated to students of Ethiopian origin, "schools do their best to give the children one hot meal a day, or a snack." In some schools special arrangements are made to enable the children to participate in extra-curricular courses for "enrichment."

In describing what is done to steer the Ethiopian students toward social integration, the inspector described programs funded and promoted by the Ministry of Education. One project is devoted especially to preserving Ethiopian traditions, creating bridges between cultures, and teaching "modern" orthodox Judaism. In the participating schools there are on-going exhibits about the various cultural elements and the classes rotate in making use of the materials. A second project involves entire schools in absorbing immigrant students. In the framework of this program there are systems for 'adopting' new immigrant students, inviting them to visit the homes of their peers, and finding ways to involve immigrant students in the school's social activities. A project that focuses on obstacles to cognitive learning is run by teachers trained at the Feuerstein Institute[61] in Jerusalem. Groups of fifteen pupils receive intensive tutoring in the basic skills that facilitate the acquisition of reading and of concepts in mathematics until they reach the required standard of their grade at school. All the programs are carried out in participating schools for three or four years. After that period of time, the school goes on to a new project.

Until 1999, the Ministry of Education also funded the employment of Ethiopian coordinators who acted as social workers, bringing the immigrant community into the schools. The coordinators held meetings with parents

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[61] The Feuerstein Institute was founded by Professor Reuven Feuerstein who has devoted a lifetime of research and practice to fostering the capacity of apparently backward children to cope with the challenges of the modem world, by developing their control of basic concepts (see Feuerstein, Rand & Rynders, 1988).

and saw to it that the funds allocated for education were indeed spent on pupils' needs. They checked the children's attendance records as well as the socio-economic conditions of the families. When funding was discontinued, the work was taken over by volunteer organizations. Like the instructors in the Ministry projects, most of the tutors and volunteers came to Israel from Ethiopia some time ago and all of them have received special training for the type of work they are doing. Veteran immigrants from Ethiopia are involved in the "absorption programs," in tutoring, and in simply befriending the new immigrant pupils. The District Inspector pointed out that there was an Ethiopian inspector in the Tel Aviv District of the state religious educational system.

The Inspector in the state-religious schools agrees that the policy of preserving cultural resources is of primary importance. Adapting this policy means not only allowing children to speak to each other in their native tongue but also maintaining children's ways of thinking about themselves. Thus she makes a point of children keeping their Ethiopian names instead of adopting a Hebrew name.[62] This relaxation of demands for "instant adaptation" is, in the eyes of the inspector, a contribution to the children's positive self-image and self-respect. Like the General Inspector, the inspector for immigrant education asserts that she believes most in absorbing the children and their families into social and cultural life in Israel. It is important to support them and help them feel that they can achieve "higher goals". The higher goals are, of course, success in secondary and eventually in tertiary education which, in her view-is connected with whether or not the immigrants are actually socially integrated. "This", she sighs, "as we all know, is quite difficult to get going because of the low starting point and also because of the bias and antagonism of the general population."

## 3. EDUCATION OF CHILDREN FROM MINORITY GROUPS

While the educational programs for the children of Jewish immigrants, or of immigrants admitted according to the provisos of the Law of Return (see Chapter 5), are all based on the notion that the children should be merging

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[62] An important issue is that of the first names of children from Ethiopia. When large groups began to arrive from Ethiopia, the automatic responses of those who were in contact with them was to pressure them to change their first names. Continuing the policy of the 1950s toward the immigrants that then came from Arabic-speaking countries, the authorities — from the Prime Minister down to the teachers in the schools — promoted the idea that when new immigrants adopt names familiar to the speaker of Hebrew, they are contributing to their own smooth assimilation into veteran Israeli society.

into the school population as quickly as possible, the approach to children who do not belong to the majority (even though they are citizens of the country) is based on the assumption that some distinctions are insurmountable. Each of the officials connected with education in the schools where Arabic is the language of instruction emphasizes the achievements and the particularities of the group he supervises: Druze, Arab, or Bedouin. In these streams, concern with affect and social integration is subsidiary to concern with academic achievement.

## 3.1    Druze education as a separate stream

According to the national Inspector for Druze education, the Ministry gives this sector special consideration because Druze men serve in the army. In his view, it was all to the good that Druze education was separated from education in the Arab (Muslim and Christian) sector in 1976. At that time, in the wake of intensive lobbying by leaders of the community, two committees — one of academics and one a parliamentary committee — studied the issues and concluded that the segregation would be useful. As a result, the Ministry of Education set up a "Committee for Druze Education and Culture" which is responsible for examining the needs of schools in communities where Druzes are in the majority. The committee recommended improving facilities, adding equipment, and reforming curricula. As a result, and this is the point, as the Inspector stresses, over the years, the Druze community has made noteworthy progress, even in comparison with Arab education (which was introduced twenty years earlier) and with Jewish education (which has a history in the area from the beginning of the twentieth century).

Thanks to the independence of the committees involved in planning and developing Druze education, it has been possible to develop special programs for Druze schools. In formal studies there has been, we are told, a steady rise in the number of students attaining matriculation certificates, and going on to tertiary education. While only eleven [sic!] Druzes completed university studies in 1967, by 1988 almost 600 were studying in universities in Israel and overseas, and the number is steadily rising. Like the Inspectors who work with teachers of immigrant pupils, the Inspector for Druze education sees a connection between the improved educational attainments and the courses of study based on the Druze heritage; programs that cultivate the students' consciousness of their unique traditions, customs, and symbols, and promote community solidarity. In the realm of informal education, Druze pupils are active in the Scouts movement, and there is a growing number of initiatives in sports and in the arts.

## 3.2     Arab education

The official who spoke to us about Arab education reiterated complaints that have been discussed at length in several important publications (see Al-Haj, 1991; 1996; Ibn-Asbah, 1997; Mare'i & Daher, 1976; Sarsur, 1985). The problems of inadequate facilities, curricula biased in favor of Jewish content and depriving Arab children of knowledge of their own heritage and history, a lack of professional teachers, the influence of local politics, and so on are well-known from the *Knesset Record.* Many of the failings seem to be disappearing, in his view, but far too slowly.

Two important points have to be noted. One is that the Five Year Plans of the 1990s have made a significant difference in the conditions and standards of the Arab schools. Teachers now have opportunities to introduce methods and approaches similar to those that have made for advances in the schools where Hebrew is the language of instruction. Moreover, there has been progress in revising the curricula of subjects such as literature and history, so that children have access to materials that can "help them discover their own identities." Secondly, the Inspector is discomfited by the fact that although the Ministry assumes that the state schools in the Arab sector serve the interests of Muslims and Christians alike, state schools have to compete for students with the unofficial "independent" schools, the schools organized by Christian orders that have a tradition of high academic standards. They offer a longer school day; their curriculum is not limited to materials approved by the Ministry of Education and students are introduced to cultural resources that the state schools do not provide. Thus, parents are often willing to undergo financial hardship in order to enable the children who are good students to transfer into those schools. As a matter of fact, of the approximately twenty thousand students in those schools, about forty percent are not Christians. Consequently, in many cases, the pupils left in state schools are those whose academic potential is poor. The Inspector is not overly optimistic, for to his mind, the state system in the Arab sector has a long way to go to overcome these comparative weaknesses.

## 3.3     Education for Bedouins in the south

The persistent centralization of education for schools in which Arabic is the language of instruction takes its highest toll in the Bedouin schools in the south of the country, says the Ministry Inspector. Although the schools in the new Bedouin towns are outwardly quite impressive, they are still beset by many of the problems of the poorly equipped huts that served children in their desert encampments. There are still too few local teachers, and the

school staffs suffer because of high annual turnover. The curricula are not relevant to many of the children, neither serving to introduce them to their unique heritage, nor preparing them for a highly competitive labor market. Among the issues that interfere with the progress of Bedouin education is that of political opposition to the Israeli government's measures. For the Bedouin communities, the seven new towns signal the expulsion of the Bedouin from the familiar encampments and from the types of work — herding and desert farming — that have been the basis for Bedouin culture and values for centuries. The communities' resentment is exacerbated by the lack of reasonable alternative sources of a livelihood, and the entrenchment of a new kind of poverty (Bailey, *Ha'aretz,* July 27, 2003, p. B2).

## 3.4    Children of temporary immigrant workers

By contrast with immigrant children and with the children of citizens of Israel who belong to minority groups, the children of temporary immigrant workers, are not part of the purview of government inspectors. Two organizations have shown interest in their fortunes: the municipality of Tel Aviv and the non-governmental organization, the Council for the Welfare of the Child. Their concern is primarily with the physical well-being and the psychological security of the children of temporary immigrant workers. According to the head of the services for foreign workers appointed by the municipality of Tel Aviv, there are between 3,000 and 5,000 children of temporary workers in Israel. As far as the municipality knows, there are about 1800 in Tel Aviv, with about 310 attending schools in the city. Because their parents have no claim to Israeli citizenship, the children do not have identity cards, i.e., they are not counted as part of the population of Israel. Although the authorities have known about children of school age since the early 1990s, only in 2000 did the then Minister of Education find a way to get around the limitation by assigning each child a number that can be listed in the database of the Ministry. In Tel Aviv, however, the municipality is alert to the importance of making it possible for these children to have schooling. It is not, as the head of the department explains, a matter of charity, but rather a matter of simple logic. Without schooling, these children turn into a risk to society at large.

Although the State of Israel ratified the UN Covenant of the Child that requires governments to provide basic services of education, health, food, and shelter for all children no matter what the civil status of their parents; the only organization that is directly involved in working out a way of providing the children of the foreign workers with the kinds of privileges all children would normally have a right to is the NGO, the Council for Children's

Welfare. An interview with a representative of the Council disclosed that the Council was seeking ways to institutionalize these children's rights to education. The topic was being prepared for preliminary treatment in legislation, although, as the representative put it, it was clear that the rights of the children of foreign workers would not be enacted into a specific law. An alternative approach was to present formal questions in the Knesset in order to force the Minister for Health and the Minister of Education to respond in detail. The frail hope was that in the wake of their need to explain, the Ministers would perhaps be pressured to authorize regulations for providing health services to these children, and with this precedent, adequate educational services. Realistically, the Council was not optimistic about bringing about a fundamental legal change; but they are sustained by the hope of appealing to the courts for rulings that would oblige the state to generalize provisions of existing legislation so that the laws would be applied to children no matter what their legal status.

## 4   INSPECTORS AS BUREAUCRATS

From what the inspectors that we contacted say, we can see how the Ministry's implementation of educational ideology is shaped differentially for new immigrant children, minority children, and the children of temporary immigrant workers.

In relation to the integration of immigrant children, the inspectors' explanations of policy implementation each operate in a different context. Despite this, they share a vocabulary, a perception of situations, and an analytical logic. All the Ministry interviewees refer to the numbers of immigrant students and proportions of students from different countries of origin; they all refer to the rules and regulations instituted by the Ministry regarding new immigrant pupils. The terminology for classifying groups (Ethiopian, Western, 'new immigrant', 'veteran', general population) and the terminology for what is to be done with and for them (absorption, advancement, raising standards, integration) is uniform. The inspectors know exactly how to use the terms and how to phrase the requirements of the system. They belong to that system and measure their professional achievements by the perceived success of projects promoted by the system. In fact, they see these projects as *the* means for ensuring that new immigrant children will indeed feel at home in the country.

Homogeneous, too, are the inspectors' declarations in favor of preserving cultures of origin. As they all stress, the Ministry now permits the preservation of Diaspora cultures and they carry this message into the field. When listening to each of them, however, one cannot escape the impression

that like the teachers they mention, they, too, perceive the guidelines on this score to be something of a capitulation. The melting pot ideology sneaks in through the persistent assessment that the good that comes out of this permissiveness is, after all, the 'mixing' of cultures. Still, by contrast with the assertions of Jewish unity in official ideological statements, the inspectors explain that their job is to deal with problems that arise in getting the cultures, i.e., getting the people from different countries of origin to mix into a 'veteran' culture that is 'truly' Israeli. A basic stumbling block to creating a homogeneous Israeli culture is the perception they all share of the differential cognitive potential among pupils of different groups. While the Ministry has the obligation to allow immigrant pupils of every country of origin the right to preserve their cultural resources, the privilege seems to have a particular urgency for the pupils from Ethiopia who are assessed as especially in need of support. As formulated by the Inspectors, the Ethiopians are 'different' in current achievements, and are in danger of remaining behind.

In relation to immigrant children, the national inspector and the district inspectors are of one mind in that the most important tasks are acquiring a command of the Hebrew language and becoming participants in "regular" classes. There are, however, significant differences in how these tasks are visualized. For the national inspector, there is a clear chronology — from learning the language to achieving integration. Thus, she implies that the immigrants have to meet the challenge. The district inspectors, on the other hand, see acquiring proficiency in the language and becoming part of the peer group as simultaneous processes. The challenge in the schools is, therefore, to facilitate pupils' on-going cognitive and social advancement. Moreover, they take responsibility for providing affective support. In their eyes, success depends on the degree to which schools manage to moderate the traumatic effects of the aliya.

The concerns related to Jewish groups clarify the extent to which the system marginalizes children who are not categorized as 'olim' — legitimate immigrants. Among the inspectors in the Arab sector, there is satisfaction with courses of study that make a cultural contribution, but overall, the inspectors in this stream of state education are not concerned with subtleties of affect or of social integration. Apparently in line with the intentions of the Ministry of Education, they interpret educational equality in terms of inputs — physical and academic, and outputs — academic and economic. They examine the schools in which Arabic is the language of instruction to remind the public and the Ministry that they have to be designed for maximizing learning. They ask if facilities, equipment, staffing are adequate and if the curriculum enables pupils to attain high academic achievements. They assess outputs in terms of proportions of graduates in

institutions of tertiary education. Ultimately their complaints are based on the fact that at the university level and in the work force, the integration of Arab graduates is not satisfactory. Thus, the praise for progress in their schools is relatively muted, and unswervingly oriented to approaching the uncritically perceived standards of Jewish education. These are standards to which they have a right because they are citizens.

While the education of Jewish immigrants is the object of intense planning, and careful follow-up; and the education of Arab minority children is monitored by informed educationists who belong to the minority communities; education for children of immigrant workers is left, for the most part, to chance. Like the immigrant children, they have undergone traumatic experiences of immigration, but their experiences are simply ignored by officials at this level of the bureaucracy. Like the minority children, their background and their heritage(s) are distinct from that of their Jewish peers, but there is no official provision for relating to their cultural needs. Their voice remains unheard because no officials of the Ministry are charged with responsibility for their education. Provision for their education is, in practice, dependent on the good will or the self-interest of authorities.

## 5 CONCERNS AT THE LEVEL OF THE SCHOOL — SCHOOL PROFESSIONALS WITH AN EDUCATIONAL MISSION[63]

So far we have looked at how officials at an intermediate level, those appointed by, or in contact with the Ministry of Education, relate to issues that arise in the field. In this section of the chapter we will look at what administrators in the schools have to say about education of children from different cultural groups.

### 5.1 Immigrant children in the eyes of the school bureaucracy

The messages about arrangements recommended for immigrant children pass from the national inspector to the district inspectors to local mentors and hence to principals, coordinators, and teachers in schools. All the schools that found they had to admit a significant number of immigrant pupils were directed to appoint teachers to oversee the children's studies, and to coordinate the relationship of the school and the parents. Their job, as

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[63] See Eden & Kalekin-Fishman (2002b) for a discussion of the tension between bureaucracy and professionalism.

one coordinator described it, is to help the children and their parents "rise above" the rough spots.

Like the inspectors, coordinators and principals are bureaucrats in charge of ensuring that Ministry instructions are carried out. Their approach, however, is dynamically influenced by life in specific schools. Whereas the inspectors work with teachers and with organizations that care for immigrant children, the principals and the coordinators cannot escape daily encounters with the children and their parents as well as with the teachers and counselors that do the work. Again, there are some significant differences between secular and religious frameworks. In the following I will review the approaches of a teacher who coordinates efforts made to absorb immigrant pupils in a large urban post-primary school, and the Director of a religious youth village with a post-primary school in a rural environment. I will also quote the views of a principal of a school where Druze pupils are in the majority, and of one where Muslims and Christians are in the majority. After that I will look at the orientation of the principal of a primary school where currently about sixty percent of the pupils are the children of foreign workers. She looks upon their education as her role responsibility and integrates her understandings into the school's curriculum. My intention is to show how school leaders orient themselves to domains of cognition, affect, and social-integration as central to the educational project. In every case, I will quote some statements as well as examples that the interviewees chose to give.

## 5.2 Coordinating studies of immigrant children in secondary school

*In an urban secondary school.* Among the schools we observed, the teacher-coordinator of studies for immigrant pupils in a secondary school in the north stressed the fact that she has been working with immigrant children since 1974. Thus, she had had contacts with pupils whose parents left the Soviet Union in the 1970s; she was familiar with small groups of students whose parents had immigrated to Israel from different countries in Europe, South America and North America throughout the last thirty years; and she has also become familiar with pupils from Ethiopia.

H.'s role is both administrative and educational. Among the administrative duties are tasks such as organizing the Ulpan for teaching the Hebrew language at the school, diagnosing the level of knowledge of the immigrant pupils, assigning pupils and teachers to classes. She hires teachers for the language classes and takes care of the contacts with the parents. She is also responsible for classifying children who complete the initial course of

study in order to determine whose achievements indicate that the new immigrant will fit into the academic high school as a regular pupil. Apart from her administrative tasks, she is involved in determining the curriculum of the various frameworks for immigrant pupils and actually teaches immigrants for a few hours a week. On the basis of her own pedagogical training, H. was able to compile the course of study used in the school for the children who are beginning to learn Hebrew.

After summing up her responsibilities, H. talks about the central problems of new immigrant pupils as problems of affect. She asserts that her job is to guide the pupils through the inevitable stages that follow on the trauma of immigration. From her experience with succeeding 'generations' of immigrant pupils, she has discovered that there is a predictable process that leads to adjustment. All the pupils she has observed have an initial experience of "euphoria". But the euphoria gives way rather quickly to "slight depression." Children express anger at having been torn away from the world they knew and thrust into a world that is completely foreign. In this new world, the parents they knew also disappear. The father they knew as an engineer works at sweeping streets; the mother who had a responsible position in a large industrial plant, is lucky to find work caring for some elderly person. The parents are so embroiled in solving their own problems that they have no energy to invest in attentive care for the children. "Make no mistake," she says, "all of them are neglected to some extent." Finally, according to H., "after about three years," the immigrant children settle into "calm acceptance or even happiness." As she sees it, by that time, they begin to understand themselves as individuals in their families. They begin to see the advantages of living in Israel, rather than in the FSU, because of the chances to build a career through interesting work. To her mind, this process cannot be hurried; the challenge for the school is to "go along with the children" so as to ensure a satisfactory resolution. She finds analogies to her theory in the social psychological literature on grieving.

Social integration is of course, a major concern. To her mind, there is a major difference between the Russian-speaking immigrant pupils of the 1970s and those of the 1990s in their capacity for social integration, so to speak. In her perception, those who were allowed to leave the Soviet Union in the 1970s were "all Jews" who had made the difficult decision to apply for permission to emigrate because of a deep identification with the Jewish people. They had weighed their steps carefully and the children were aware of the significance of their migration and cognizant not only of the sacrifices but also of the advantages of the move. That was, to her mind, the source of their great motivation to study Hebrew and to become a part of Israeli society. By contrast, most of the immigrants of the 1990s have come to Israel above all for practical reasons. Having witnessed the breakdown of the

communist regime, they were appalled by the decaying socio-economic conditions of the new capitalist government and came to Israel seeking a better quality of life. In many families, a Jewish grandfather in their history made it possible for them to be accepted under the conditions of the Law of Return. But they come from homes where there was no awareness of what it means to be Jewish. In her understanding this is the source of the rather lackadaisical attitude of many Russian pupils toward studying in an Israeli school and particularly toward learning Hebrew and the "Hebrew subjects". Somehow, as a group they tend to locate themselves "outside" Israeli society.

But from the point of view of cognition, the immigrant pupils from the FSU are motivated and overall make good progress. After they have gone through the three formal introductory stages of learning the language and catching up on the material taught in the senior high school, the students with high marks keep on at the school. Most of them are assigned to a tenth grade class for immigrants, although in every group there are one or two outstanding pupils who are admitted to a tenth grade class of native-born students. Students whose achievements are not considered capable of continuing with a university preparatory course transfer to a vocational stream in a comprehensive school or to a vocational high school. From the point of view of the school, the important thing is to find the students who are best suited to stay on. Thus, in the narrow definition of her role, H. is obliged to discover those who fit and those who do not fit into the academic framework. She, however, says that she cannot bear the idea of performing the tasks as a *"mere administrator"*.

Rather, H. feels that she can best carry out her role by applying her *professional* skills as a teacher. Her professional viewpoint is that every pupil has to be valued, both for themselves, and for their background. She is convinced that it is important to accept the students' ways of living as equal in every way to "our own." There is no reason to look down on any culture, to assume that "we" have to cut the new immigrants off from their own modes of thinking, their concepts and values. Guided by a caring point of view, she says, "I want every one of the pupils to be content." In her vision, a person who is not content "will not give of himself; s/he will not be able to be a good influence on every square meter of his environment." Related to her concern for the individual, her caring for each and every pupil, H. is opposed to the notion of a melting pot. To model the approach and to satisfy herself that it is viable, H. takes the time to single out one or two pupils for special attention in the course of the year. One example is that of a girl who was almost expelled from the school because she was impertinent to her teachers. Complaints about her behavior came to a head when she refused to stand at attention during a ceremony in memory of the Jews who perished in

the Shoah. H. is especially proud of the fact that by paying attention to the girl, and trying to understand her point of view, she helped her get to the point where she felt at home in the school, identified with school activities, got good marks in all her subjects, and completed her studies with honors. At the same time, she relates the story of a boy pupil who is living with grandparents because his father died and his mother returned to the FSU to work. Despite her efforts to help him, he has failed in almost all his subjects and will be leaving the school. H. fears that out of despair, his next step may be to become a delinquent.

Although her school is secular, two classes of students whose country of origin is Ethiopia are studying Hebrew in the preparatory classes. There are fifty-one students aged 13 to 18, who live in one of the suburbs of the city, but have to be bussed to this school in town because there is no suitable school in their area. As H. puts it, "all together there were 55, but at the last moment we heard that four went to a religious boarding school. They were snatched away from us!" The description of their studies at the school is quite different from that of the students from the FSU. These students have a deep bond to religion "according to their lights" and the school respects that. The job here is to help them learn how to learn. Most of them had never been to school. So teaching them has meant taking into account all the "tricks" of teaching the first grade. About the pupils currently studying, she says, "They needed guidance in adjusting to fine movements, in directionality, in the connection between eye and hand. Little by little, we discovered more of their needs: connecting them to western culture, through instructional television, through the use of the computer. Among other things, they had to learn about spaces between words — something that is not self-evident from speech." The school has also introduced this group to art education and athletics, including aerobics and swimming. As to social integration, their studying in this secular school may be a spur. After all, the fact that the students from Ethiopia seem to need help in very basic elements of the school environment attracts the support of volunteers. Some children from the FSU help in the class of Ethiopians. There are also volunteer tutors from outside the school. H. quotes the school principal as saying "This is a group that is sexier than the Russians!"

Still, the issue of social integration remains problematic. From her observations of what happens in the school, H. has concluded that school can contribute very little to ensure long-range contact. Obstacles turn up in many aspects of school life. Despite the many difficulties that they have to deal with, the group from the FSU has the comfort of being a group. In the classes where the overwhelming majority of pupils speaks Russian, however, those who have come to Israel from other parts of the world are snubbed. In every class of new immigrants, there are one or two pupils from

the USA or from Western Europe. These children are located as outsiders twice over. They are not at ease with native-born Israelis; they have to learn Hebrew and get a handle on how the school is run and what is demanded of them. But while they are uncertain of their position, they are also marginalized by their classmates, the speakers of Russian. The problems are exacerbated because for the most part, children from western countries may have an opportunity to return to their countries of origin, a possibility that seems ever more impossible to the children from the FSU.

On their part, the speakers of Russian are confirmed as outsiders by their Israel-born peers. Very few native-born students are willing to meet and have activities with new immigrants. In this connection, H. tells about how a school plan to send two classes to a seminar for eleventh graders — one a 'regular' class of juniors and one a class of immigrant pupils was almost immobilized by opposition. The students of the 'regular' class did not want to join the immigrants on the trip. Parents telephoned the principal and voiced active opposition. The plan was carried out in the end only because the coordinator of the upper classes made special efforts to convince the parents and insisted that the Israeli-born pupils lay aside their prejudice, if only for a short time.

The immigrant pupils from Ethiopia have not been exposed to this kind of reception because they are definitively excluded. They are not likely to be admitted to the selective high school. They study introductory Hebrew in separate classes. Having attained a minimal competency in the language, they will 'naturally' go on to study in a vocational school. While they study at H.'s school, they are the objects of compassion rather than candidates for social relationships. It seems that the goal that H. defines as most realistic in the secondary school — to help immigrant students achieve contentment as individuals and hope for the future — is a goal tailored to the sophisticated interests of immigrants from the FSU, and ultimately, perhaps, to the interests of the few immigrants from western countries. The children from Ethiopia are perceived as a group that has no potential for joining any of the in-groups. H. is convinced that all the groups — new immigrants from different countries and native-born pupils — will develop friendships and collective solidarity only when they all meet in the army.

## 5.3    Immigrant pupils in a religious youth village

In Israel there is a tradition of Youth Villages (see Gottesman, 1987; Kerem, 1988), restricted rural communities where adolescents live and study. Students also do whatever work is necessary. In some villages, the work is agricultural, sustaining a farm with branches such as viniculture,

sheep-growing, cattle-growing. In others, the tasks are connected to maintenance, with instructors overseeing the performance of daily chores.

In 1933, Youth Aliya (Youth Immigration) was set up in Berlin with the goal of helping groups of adolescents immigrate to Palestine where they would complete their education and join socialist communes (kibbutzim). After World War II, this objective became less important as the organization shifted its emphasis to providing a home and an all round education for orphans. As the number of villages grew, they became a haven for children from disadvantaged communities in Israel, especially for those with problems in keeping up with the usual demands of study. The discourse of the Director of the Youth Village we interviewed is pitched at a level of idealism as he is concerned to highlight the advantages the village has for immigrant youth over school life in the city. From his point of view, the central issue is social integration under the enabling banner of religious observance. Proud to be part of the Youth Village tradition, he emphasizes that the most important aspect of immigrant pupils' integration is learning to live and work together. Nowadays, students are not required to work for their maintenance. Still, the social climate is unique; schooling, with demands for achievement, is only part of what is accomplished in the Youth Village. The focal accomplishment is helping people learn how to get along together.

As the Director puts it, the school is simply an establishment dedicated to preparing pupils for matriculation examinations; it shuts down at 3:00 p.m. The village, on the other hand, never closes. Situated on the slopes of a beautiful mountain, the Director insists, "The place where the students live is far more beautiful than the school side. And beautiful people develop in beautiful surroundings." In these surroundings, there were, at the time of the interview, five hundred student residents, of them forty per cent new immigrants from Ethiopia, thirty per cent from the FSU, and thirty per cent from other countries. Among the residents, there are regularly adolescents from England and the USA whose parents pay a steep tuition fee to enable the children to experience Israeli schooling in this village. Only eight per cent of the youths come from broken homes in Israel. In the residential organization there is no segregation. Thus, immigrant adolescents from Russia or Ethiopia who come from impoverished families sleep in the same room with children who come from middle class families in Great Britain. There are also many volunteers from abroad who work with all the youths. Arrangements for foreign students and for recruiting volunteers are programs that have been on-going at this village for the last fifteen to twenty years.

For many of the local students, residence in the village replaces the homes that were snatched away from them whether through immigration or

impoverishment. According to the Director, most of the students are therefore people who exist in a shattered world. Such a personal situation is an overwhelming obstacle to bonding. The members of the village staff all understand that pupils who come to the village often leave behind a highly stressful background and, if only for that reason, each has what the Director calls "a tiny Zhironovsky"[64] in his heart. All of the adults responsible for the pupils are aware of the blocks to normal human relations. So they invest special efforts in creating situations that smooth the way to connections among pupils of different origins.

In the words of the Director, the Youth Village is a healing environment for all those who live there. In order to accomplish this, the village structures space and time so as to enable a warm supportive relationship not only with the students but also with the graduates. In the village budget, for example, there are funds for helping graduates in financial straits. Graduates are also encouraged to visit and take part in village activities. Sometimes, they have their weddings in the village, and some couples even come back to work as house parents.

The physical layout is an expression of the principal's vision of how students can be supported. On every side, the village has symbols of many different communities of the world. The Director points to an Ethiopian synagogue (Gouj) surrounded by other elements of Ethiopian culture in the center of the residential area. In the common rooms, there are pictures of important people from Russia, such as Pushkin and Tolstoy; there are pictures of Ukrainian landscapes, views from countries in Europe and Latin America, along with pictures of outstanding figures in the history of Israel. The underlying idea is that the "ecology" has to convey respect for the different cultures represented in the village population. This is true in the yearly cycle during which special holidays of different communities are celebrated. The *sigd,* for example, a holiday that was celebrated by Jews in Ethiopia, has been observed by the entire village for over twenty years. But the village does not restrict itself to honoring symbols. At a local event, such, for example, as the anniversary of the death of the British soldier whose services to the Jewish people are commemorated in the name of the village, the key speaker was the Ethiopian ambassador to Israel. Thus, in every possible connection, the residents' affiliations are recognized and intertwined with the village activities. Over time, the village becomes a distinctive home town for those who live there.

In the Director's conception, pupils can overcome their stressful circumstances as they are drawn together. In part, this is a consequence of

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[64] Zhironovsky is the notorious leader of an ultra-right wing party in Russia, known as a rabid anti-Semite and racist. He was prominent in the 1990s and was elected to the Russian Duma.

young people's studying together. Teachers are given to understand that "multi-culturalism is the banner of the whole complex" and they are sensitized to the cultural differences among groups of children from different countries of origin. High achievements on external exams are desirable and, in the words of the Director, often attained. Conflicts between people of different cultures are taken note of, however, as educational failures. In the life of the village, pupils learn to appreciate one another through the celebration of holidays, as well as the group leaders' implementation of a special approach to group dynamics. "As a religious institution," says the Director, "we have a system of 'Torapiah'" [a play on the Hebrew word for the Old Testament (Torah) and the word for therapy (terapia)]. He explains this as bringing people together through religion. When there are differences in the traditions of different groups, all the students discuss them, learn about the background for each type of custom and decide on what custom will be observed in the village (see Chapter 11). In the vision of the Director and the staff, the supreme test of the degree to which multi-culturalism has succeeded is the hike "from sea to sea" from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Galilee, that the senior class takes part in just before graduation from school — and their conscription into the army. In spirit, this hike is preparation for the hard knocks that await them in the service. Most important is the recurring experience that when the highly diverse graduating class spends several days in a difficult hike, remnants of any separatist inclinations are swept away.

## 5.4     Visions of integration in a Druze school

There are at least a dozen 'mixed' towns and cities in Israel with a population of Jews and Arabs. In most of them, there is a Jewish majority and an Arab minority. All told, however, 62% of the Israeli Arab population lives in towns and villages with populations under 20,000 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002). In most of the smaller localities there are almost no Jewish residents, but there is diversity on the basis of religion. The Arab population is made up of Muslims, Druzes, and Christians, albeit not in the same proportions in every area. In order to learn about what "school-based bureaucrats" have to say about education, we decided to talk to the principal of a school that serves one of the smallest cultural groups in the country, the Druze. This secondary school serves the student population of two towns. The school has about a thousand pupils, most of them Druzes, mirroring the population of the catchment area; but the principal is highly aware of the fact that there are Muslim and Christian pupils who come from groups that are a minority in this part of the country. On the staff of about a hundred teachers

only half are Druzes, while the rest are Jews, Muslims, and Christians. In this institution, therefore, the principal, himself Druze, has to deal with subtle forms of multiculturalism in the school against a social background that is generally thought of as homogeneous.

The central concern of the school is achievement and the principal announces that the staff is "trying to catch up with the quickly changing times" by teaching according to the same curricula of mathematics, English, science and technology as those prepared for the schools where Hebrew is the language of instruction. In addition, he attaches great importance to the unique Druze values and customs that are part of the school curriculum. The distinctive elements of Druze culture are evident especially in the programs for history and literature. In the course of a Druze student's secondary school career, she studies chapters in the history of the Druze community from its beginnings in the eleventh century. Students also study the writings of Druze intellectuals in Arabic. They read Druze folklore; and become familiar with the poetry of at least one Druze poet. As part of the particular orientation of the Druze in Israel, the school program also includes exemplary works in Hebrew of Druze authors.

References to the mutuality of the Druze and Hebrew literatures are not purely 'spiritual', he explains. The school functions in the context of a given political and social reality. Druzes are distinguished from other Arabs by the fact that at the age of eighteen, Druze men are recruited into the Israeli army by law. It is therefore incumbent on the secondary school to prepare the students practically and psychologically for this experience. Every Druze secondary school student has to internalize multiculturalism. At one and the same time, the Druze are immersed in Arab culture — share many of the symbols, enjoy the poetry, and the beauty of the language, but are also deeply emotional about their country, Israel. In his words, Druze are imbued with a "love of the land" that is as fervent as that of the Jews, or even more so.

This idyllic image is somewhat marred by the pragmatic realities of schooling for a diverse population. Groups of Muslims that attend the school come from a Bedouin village on the outskirts of the Druze townships. As a group, their difference is blatant among the Druze majority: in achievements and to some extent in dress. The boys dress more or less as do the Druze boys, but the girls wear head shawls as a sign of their commitment to Islam. As to achievements, the group as a whole is known for being among the weaker pupils of the school. The working premise of the principal is that they, like "all minorities" cannot help but be dissatisfied. That is why the principal himself, and with his encouragement, the entire staff, make every effort to do "more" for the pupils that come from that neighborhood.

As one might expect, the dilemmas of multiculturalism are highly evident among the teachers. On the one hand, the principal is proud of the fact that turnover is very low in the school. Jewish teachers have been part of the staff since the school opened almost twenty years ago. There are Muslim teachers who could find work closer to home but over the years, have preferred to commute to the school. In carrying out school projects, members of the staff work well together. Yet, "who knows what a person says when he gets home." In a word, the principal is sensitive to undercurrents that he tries to defuse by listening carefully and showing consideration for all — the Catholics, the Maronites, the Greek Orthodox, the Bahais, and the Achmadis, as well as the Jews and the Druzes.

## 5.5 Concerns of a principal in an Arab school

The principal of a secondary school in a mixed (Arab and Jewish) city where 95% of the pupils are Muslims thinks of multiculturalism as an issue reserved for projects of co-existence. The bread-and-butter of school life is academic accomplishments. There is, he fears, a connection between the minority status of Muslims in the town and the consistently low achievements of both Muslim and Christian students in his school. Attributing the difficulty of attaining respectable academic standards to the situation of the population in the city and to the low socio-economic-status of the neighborhood that most of the pupils live in, he resorts to a description of administrative impasse. The predicaments he describes are: inadequate facilities, lack of a budget for supplementary tutoring, and generally low pupil motivation. The balance of social relations among the different cultural groups in the school is, to his mind, a consequence of real-life tensions, and not at all an educational puzzle.

## 5.6 Realizing an educational mission: Children of foreign workers in State schools

In order to learn about how officials in the field relate to children of temporary immigrant workers, we interviewed the principal of a school where currently sixty percent of the pupils belong to the families of temporary immigrant workers as well as the principal of the secondary school where there is a sizeable group of students whose parents are temporary immigrant workers.

The principal of a state secular primary school in the center of the country deals with an unusual assortment of children of diverse cultural origins.[65] Here the school population includes the children of veteran Jews and Arabs as well as new immigrants, the children of Palestinians from the West Bank who were granted a haven in Israel, and a large number of children from the families of temporary foreign workers, many of whom do not have valid visas. The headmistress sees her role as that of helping the children of this multicultural population adjust to Israeli reality. Many of the families are impoverished. The families of the temporary immigrant workers live in fear that they may be deported. The school must, therefore, in her view, be a stable substitute for home for many children.

As she sees the pupils, every child in the school has personal, social, cognitive, and emotional needs that cannot be generalized. The staff has the same obligation to each and every one of them, and this means that teachers have to cultivate what she calls a multi-cultural pedagogy. There is a wide range of requirements. Above all, teachers have to love children and to be capable of expressing that love under difficult circumstances. They have to have a good command of at least two languages. They have to be expert enough in the subject matter that they bring to the children so that they can guide them in the complicated paths of learning. Moreover, the principal demands that they also serve as gender role models. Therefore, they have to be well-groomed and dressed in good taste.

As administrator, the principal has to deal with unique problems. A sphere that demands "financial creativity" is the complicated domain of language. Children at the school have a variety of mother tongues, among them Spanish, French, Arabic, and Hebrew. Yet, as the principal explains, because the school is an Israeli state school, the only language that is taught formally is Hebrew. Discontinuing classes in Arabic was a way of saving money even though it is also an official language of the state and the mother tongue of at least 30% of the pupils. The headmistress explains that the school is part of the state secular Jewish system and therefore the Hebrew language has to be the lingua franca. Still, in the regular classrooms, there is room for translation into the languages of the pupils in the class when they have difficulty understanding the Hebrew.

Because the children of the temporary immigrant workers (like some of the new immigrants in the school) do not have identity cards, that is, they are not recognized as legal residents by the authorities, the Ministry of Education does not fund the costs of their education. One of the on-going tasks of the headmistress is therefore to find donors either in the municipality or in non-governmental organizations. The principal steadily

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[65] The material in this section is from Eden & Kalekin-Fishman, 2002b.

engineers informal agreements with possible sponsors. She lobbies the municipal council to 'extort' (her word) financial assistance for needy individual children. She contacts volunteer groups of doctors and nurses to ensure medical care for the children who have no legal right to enjoy the benefits of the National Health Law unless their parents pay a monthly sum to one of the Sick Funds. She has an agreement with the police that they will not arrest undocumented workers near the school. Faithful to her educational philosophy, the principal asserts that she uses an important slogan to convince those who do not want to help the school: "a child is a child is a child" and the objective of education is "the child."

In regard to the pupils from families of temporary immigrant workers, the principal of the urban secondary school that many of them attend sees his task as primarily that of helping the students in his school achieve a matriculation certificate. This is far from trivial because matriculation is the minimum equipment for a young person who expects to be able to find a job or to go on to learn a trade. The best use for a matriculation certificate in his eyes is, of course, for the high school graduate to be accepted to an institution of higher learning. This is where he cannot help the graduates from his school. For the children of the temporary immigrant workers, "a brick wall" prevents their admission to the university. They get what he calls the treatment of "three slaps in the face." When they discover that their parents, who work very hard to support their families, are 'illegals' and hunted by the police for deportation, they experience their first great disappointment. If the family manages to avoid the shame of expulsion, the children can study in a metropolitan secondary school. After three or four years in a relatively protected environment with all the pleasures of adolescent social life, they are taken aback when they discover that they cannot get a driving license because, as foreigners, they do not have identity cards, i.e., they do not appear in the Register of Residents. Third, having lived most of their lives in Israel, studied in state schools, speaking Hebrew more fluently and more efficiently than they do the tongues of their countries of origin, identifying with their friends of both sexes, they discover that they will not be recruited into the army together with all of them — again because they do not have identity cards. Children who have grown up in Israel and been educated in Israeli institutions discover that, having come of age, as adults, they themselves are full-fledged candidates for expulsion! The principal sees it as his duty to shield his students from full awareness of the demeaning situation that awaits them. But he knows that he can do nothing to ease their pain.

# 6  SUMMARIZING COMMENTS:  THE OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY AS MEDIATED BY SCHOOL BUREAUCRATS

From their own descriptions of their work, and from their statements of purpose, we learned that educators who work in Jewish schools tend to develop a pedagogical philosophy that in their view can further the social integration of immigrant pupils. In most cases, their approaches are driven by a conviction that the needs of *each and every pupil* have to be taken into account. The presumed qualities of the group with which pupils are affiliated are 'known' and taken seriously, but the impact of the view of the community is muted by the aspiration to unmediated contact with individual pupils. This same approach is adapted by principals of the (Jewish) schools where the children of temporary immigrant workers are enrolled. In schools where Arabic is the language of instruction, educators demonstrate a heightened sensitivity to political and economic factors that influence the structure of learning in the school and have consequences in pupils' accomplishments. Principals' statements showed that they have a basic respect for differences to be found among the pupils of their schools, but the analysis of the significance of difference derives from an overview of Israeli society and the place of their communities in the 'scheme of things.'

In following up on how national inspectors, district inspectors, officials, headmasters, and school coordinators talk about acts, we find that the bureaucrats develop points of view that are not of one cloth. In the different communities, the more involved the middle-range bureaucrats are with actual schools, the more varied their interpretations of the official educational ideology and the more varied their descriptions of the required acts. The agency they embody is far more responsive to actual behavioral differences of pupils and of communities. As we have seen, inspectors and coordinators relate differently to immigrant pupils from different parts of the world. It turns out that principals who deal with diverse student populations develop what one may see as disproportional concern for those who are not part of the majority population of the state. I can best summarize the points raised in this chapter by reviewing the arguments in terms of agent and agency, rationality, structure, and system.

*Agent and Agency:* There is no argument in the state system of education about the fact that the state is the agent, deciding on a multitude of components of schooling. The Druze principal takes the state law into account as the focal 'agency' when he reviews relations between cultural groups in his school. The principal of the almost all Muslim school takes the state's inegalitarian distribution of resources into account in coping with educational dilemmas. The principal of the multicultural primary school,

who stresses the importance of children's mother tongues, decides that agency is conveying 'Jewishness' and that is the criterion for deciding on the school's lingua franca. For the Coordinator in the urban secondary school and the Director of the Youth Village, the state is evident in the drive toward integration — making of the many different immigrant groups, a single united, if 'mixed,' society. Through the eyes of the officials, however, we also learn that at the level of the community, they cannot conceptualize children and their parents as passive objects of educational projects, indifferent to their present lives, or future expectations. Whether or not they actively participate in decision-making, their ways of life are 'there' to be dealt with, to be appreciated.

*Rationality.* The state and the government offices invest enormous resources in imparting a rational assemblage of knowledge and hence, a rational mentality, Israeli ways of thinking, in the language of the country's Jews, Hebrew. The exceptions overturn the careful reasoning. The apparently innocuous acknowledgment of the fact that immigration is a traumatic event in the life of the individual, a perception that was emphasized by almost all the interviewees who deal with immigrant pupils, leads to some startling conclusions. Rationality cannot be expected of people who are suffering from trauma. Emerging from the stress of trauma is not a matter for the short term and can be furthered only if immigrants are well-loved and permitted to act in familiar ways. Thus, despite the discourse of cultural mixing and fitting in as the rational end of immigration to Israel, it is understood that these ends can be attained only indirectly by allowing irrational practices of preserving difference. In general, officials connected with all the schools — Jewish, non-Jewish and mixed — look for support to irrational sources. Although the formulation of the concern is not standardized, what is evident in all the educational frameworks is the interest of these leaders in the affective well-being of the pupils who belong to a minority. They proceed on the basis of a currently acceptable belief that — pupils with a sound self-image and a healthy self-respect can and will enjoy academic achievements.

*Structure.* The structures are the well-known elements of schooling — classes, curricula, extra-curricular activities run by principals, coordinators, and teachers, along the lines that the Ministry of Education lays out. Yet, in every school these structures are altered, and even distorted, to suit what the school leadership and the staff perceive to be the nature of the school population. The structure is also subject to effects of chance that are likely to multiply as variance increases in the backgrounds of the educators and in that of the pupils.

*System.* The centralized system is the backdrop for all the talk, as is the setting shaped by the directives of the *Circular Letters.* The latter provide

terms of reference for all the school-level bureaucrats. In the meantime, the coordinators and the pupils adjust to the fragmented moment and the particularistic environment that they necessarily create.

In all of these statements the official ideology is not questioned. The prevailing socio-political conditions are described in the same way as they are described by the Ministry. Even the officials in schools, who are disposed to view the ideas in terms of the concrete needs of their own pupils, voice their disagreement conditionally and with great caution. The view of the good society includes the two adjectives — Jewish and Israeli. By contrast with the complex intellectual arguments cited in Chapter 4 about whether or not the two concepts can be joined, the people who provide a bridge between the authorities and the field express no skepticism on the conceptual level. The contradictions become visible when officials recognize that the collective that bears the ideology is the state school system and the collective for which the ideology is developed is a highly diverse school population that does not slip easily into the prepared niches. Interviewees assume tacitly that the possible inconsistencies can be resolved by their proclamation of allegiance to a vision of educational professionalism. While the ideology is accepted, the strategy for achieving a desirable situation is related to pedagogy — the pedagogical philosophy that is interpreted as a personal strength of the respondent.

In order to see how this renewed interpretation of the official ideology actually works, I will, in the following chapters look at the performance of education directed toward the integration (into Israeli citizenry) of specific groups of children. Each chapter will survey the background attributed to each group, the kinds of research that have been carried out, and will present data from observations of actual events of schooling.

# PART III: DIFFERENTIATION AND PERFORMANCE

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Chapter 10

# PUPILS FROM RUSSIA AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION IN THE ISRAELI SCHOOL SYSTEM

> *I say to you: Get out of control,*
> *Tear down these walls,*
> *Sing what you want, not what you're told*
> *Get out of control, we can be free.*
> (from Easton, 1989, p. 60)

> Russian Jews in Israel are a Returning Diaspora ... *What distinguishes a Returning Diaspora from other immigrant groups is, firstly that its members see themselves in one way or another as exiles in their countries of origin and exhibit feelings of home-coming upon immigrating. Second, this is also the way the dominant culture of their target society sees them, which accounts for its accepting the newcomers into membership, on arrival and unconditionally. ... While RDs do not suffer the same plight as other immigrants, they may, however, encounter hardships of their own.*
> (from Ben-Rafael, Olshtain & Geijst, 1998, p. 333)

> *The musician works here and is saving money for a ticket to Germany. He wants to try one more place. Maybe there things will be better.... An intellectual in the hotel is a poet and a philologist with a doctorate in aesthetics. ... "I'm a serious researcher," he tells me. I know that he is a serious researcher, but both of us understand that nobody here needs a serious researcher whose topics are Gogol and Dostoyevsky and aesthetics.*
> (from Limonov, 1997, pp. 27, 29 [Hebrew])

In his paper on "The Rock Music Community" in Russia in the 1980s, Paul Easton (1989, p. 60) gives many examples of the "process of

disassociation from official culture [that] often begins in the late teens. Young people rebelling against being hemmed in by Soviet norms and the deficiency of space, of privacy, of material enjoyments. Although these attitudes were not given full expression by 'everybody', there was enough of it in the air to explain the imminent fall of the USSR and the problems that Russians are encountering as immigrants. The combination of rationality and satisfaction, cunning and despair that are expressed in the other two passages quoted above, disclose some of the contradictions that immigrants from the Former Soviet Union experience when they decide to leave their country of origin in order to take advantage of the magic offerings of Israel (the country that is "gathering in its" exiles), or, alternatively, of the plenty that seems to be available in the West (where Limonov wrote). The vexing questions of what the person is worth in the new milieu and what is actually gained by "returning" are resolved only after a long period of residence in the new (old?) country. Children's contact with schools has a vital part to play in expediting the outcome or delaying it. In this chapter, I will sketch the background of the massive Russian immigration to Israel in the 1990s, then I will look at some of the relevant research, and present data from observations in different kinds of schools where the children of Russian immigrants are studying.

## 1.      BACKGROUND

Between 1990 and 2000, about a million immigrants entered Israel. Of them 42,000 came from Ethiopia, 19,000 from the United States, 16,000 from France, 9,000 from Argentina, a few hundred from other countries, and *875,000* from the former Soviet Union. Among the latter, 81% came to Israel from the European republics: Russia, the Ukraine, Moldava, Beloruss, and the Baltic countries; and the remaining 19% from Georgia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and other Asian republics. With the 170,000 immigrants that had received permits to emigrate from the Soviet Union in the 1970s, the number of Israeli Jews born in the FSU and their offspring numbered well over a million, or about 16 % of the total Israeli population by the beginning of the twenty-first century (CBS, 2001, Table 2.25). It is common knowledge that the immigrants of the 1970s had had to struggle in order to leave the USSR when, after the Six-Day War, the Russians were denouncing Zionism as the root of all evil, even going to the length of accusing the Jews of having caused the mass murders at Babi Yar in World War II (Evron, 1974, p. 174). People who applied for a permit to leave the country for Israel were dismissed from places of work, and had to wait on the possibility of refusal while unemployed. Most of them were sustained by their belief that

immigration to Israel was the realization of a national ideal. The emigrants of the 1990s were not exposed to the same pressures. Inspired to seek immigration because of the internal situation in the FSU, they were able to carry out their decisions without interference from the state. The disintegration of the Union, and the socio-economic instability in the newly capitalistic Russia and its satellite republics as well as the rise of anti-Semitism together with strong nationalist movements in the various republics were the factors that pressured Jews to emigrate from Russia. The impact was exacerbated by the catastrophe at the atomic energy plant at Chernobyl, and the lurking fear of civil disorder (Jones, 1996). The 'push' factors were matched by the eagerness of the Israeli government to receive these immigrants. Many emissaries (*shlichim*) were sent to Russia to encourage aliya. At first, Israel found itself competing for immigrants with the United States of America, the preferred objective for many of the emigres. In response to Israeli petitions, America limited the entry of Russians to 50,000 per year and thus, most of the Russian emigrants with some claim to a connection with the Jewish people did indeed reach Israel during the 1990s (Shaffir & Peled, 2002, p. 308).

The arrival in Israel of Russian Jews was heralded as one of the most important events in the history of the state. For one thing, their influx was the fulfillment of a historical pledge. Russian Jews had been among the theoreticians of Zionism (cf. Pinsker, 1935/1882). Members of the Russian movement, Love of Zion, the Bilu'im (acronym for "Sons of Israel, Go and We Will Go [with you]") became farmers in Palestine sixteen years before the First Zionist Congress. The much-storied Second Aliya (1905) was made up of Jewish socialists who, after a series of anti-Semitic pogroms, despaired of the possibility of carrying out a socialist revolution in Czarist Russia and hoped to realize their aspirations in Palestine. Many of the most active Zionists, including the socialist Ben Gurion, the liberal Ussishkin, and the right-winger Jabotinsky, had been born in areas that were part of the Russian empire. For Israelis with a background in Russian schools and with memories of the Russian landscape, the hope that Israel would be able to 'absorb' hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews was an ideology in its own right. A veiled motivation was the desire to repair the balance between the Sephardi population and the population that claimed Ashkenazi ancestry. After the mass immigration from Islamic countries in the 1950s, and the relatively low birth rate among Ashkenazi Jews, more than fifty percent of the total Jewish population in Israel was Sephardi. Immigration from countries where Ashkenazi Jews resided had been sparse at best. Large numbers of Russian immigrants were an important addition to the population because they were "our type" and considered to have a modern westernized Weltanschauung.

Support for this preference could be found in the experience with the olim from the USSR in the 1970s. Lissak (1995, p. 6) describes them as among the "best" of the waves of immigration. Over seventy percent of the immigrants were academics and twenty percent had trained as engineers and technicians. He has only a few reservations. Despite the combination of impressive human capital and the many demonstrations of good will on the part of the veteran hosts, the immigrants from the USSR had not become an indistinguishable part of Israeli society. Instead they had created a kind of cultural ghetto. Because of the characteristics of the 1990s immigrants, this tendency was accentuated. By 1995, there were fifty publications to serve the Russian-speaking community, among them daily newspapers as well as monthlies and bimonthlies. Russian language programs were allotted a few hours on the public stations and on the educational television channel. In 2002, a cable channel broadcasting only in Russian was launched. Israeli sociologists debate the question of whether the insistent promotion of Russian culture is an expression of "agency for integration" or "agency for isolation and segregation" (Lissak, 1995, p. 12). "Isolation and segregation" were indeed encouraged by the state of affairs that surrounded the "absorption" of Russian immigrants.

As Shafir and Peled (2002, p. 310) explain, the most recent "immigration 'wave' had four distinct and unusual attributes that, in combination, have shaped its mode of incorporation into the society and its effects on it…." First of all, the wave was very large. Secondly, as a group, the Russian immigrants are distinguished by human capital above that of the average Israeli (1990s: 55% with tertiary education by contrast with 40% veteran Israelis, 60% engineers and technicians by contrast with 25% among veteran Israelis). Third, the motivation of most of the Russian immigrants is avowedly non-ideological, that is to say, they make no pretense to identifying with traditional Zionist ideologies. This may be explained in part by the fourth factor, namely the fact that at least a quarter of the Russian immigration of the 1990s is made up of non-Jews whose entry into the country is legal because of family ties — marriage to a Jew or descent from one Jewish grand-parent — that allow them entry and citizenship under the revised Law of Return (see Chapter 5).[66]

Any analysis of the Russian community in Israel has to take into consideration the peculiar configuration of religious demands, housing

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[66] Their recognition as Jews, however, depends on rabbinic law; those who were not born to a Jewish mother, or were not converted according to orthodox rabbinical practices, are not recognized as members of the Jewish community by the Ministry of the Interior. Such non-recognition has far-ranging effects on the personal status of the immigrants and on the status of their children. Although they have the same civil obligations as do Jews in Israel, they are barred, for example, from marriage with a Jew and from burial in a Jewish cemetery.

locales, and economic limitations that encourage the Russian immigrants to maintain themselves as a community apart.

The government approach to absorption seemed, on the face of it, to meet the needs of the immigrants who saw the collapse of communism as a blessing. Incorporation of the Russian immigrants was assisted financially by $10 billion dollar loan guarantees from the US to the Shamir government in 1991.[67] Instead of the traditional procedures of providing the immigrants with shelter in Immigration Centers before distributing them to state housing projects; the government then followed a policy of "direct absorption".[68] Except for immigrants with special needs, Russians were allotted an "absorption basket" for the first year. There were eight different ways of calculating the sum that they were to receive, depending on the composition of the family and the age of children if any. For a family of four, for example, the allotment was about $10,000 for the year, with rental subsidies, and a mortgage equal to about fifty percent of the price for purchasing an apartment. The immigrants also had free health insurance and free instruction in the Hebrew language for the first six months of their stay in the country (Adler, 1997). In many cases immigrants decided to live in an extended family unit and thus could combine the "baskets" of the young nuclear family with those of the pensioner parents in order to rent relatively expensive flats in the big cities, usually clustering in homogeneous neighborhoods. The Central Bureau of Statistics reports that in 2001, Russians lived in ten cities throughout Israel,[69] and constituted more than a third of the population in four or five new towns.[70] In general, in the course of five to eight years after reaching the country, the average standard of living of the Russian immigrants, as measured by ownership of apartments, household goods and per capita expenditure approaches the levels of the veteran Israeli population (CBS, 2002, Tables 5.8, 5.11, 5.12). The improvement is connected of course with a rise in employment, although often not in the area of the immigrant's expertise.

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[67] According to Shafir & Peled (2002, p.313), the rationale for agreeing to provide support for absorbing Russian immigrants in Israel derived from the fact that the US had pressured Soviet authorities to allow the emigration of Jews from the USSR and the fact that the US had agreed to apply restrictions on their entry into the US. These limitations, although they did not interfere with American interests, had, after all, been deployed at the express request of the Israeli government!

[68] As noted, this was most appropriate to the failure of the government to provide accommodation to the waves of immigrants.

[69] The largest number, fifty-eight thousand, live in Haifa, 55 thousand in Ashdod, and so on in descending order, in Beer Sheva, Bat Yam, Nathanya, Rishon le'Tsion, Tel Aviv, Petach Tikvah, Jerusalem, to thirty thousand in Ashkelon.

[70] These are towns in the north and center of the country: Ariel, Carmiel, Upper Nazareth, Orr Akivah, and B'nei Ayish.

The new Russian olim organized under the political leadership of 'veteran' immigrants who had arrived from the Soviet Union in the 1970s. In the elections that took place in Israel in 1992 and 1996, almost the entire electorate of Russian immigrants voted for the candidates of the two ethnic Russian parties. During those two elections, the Russian vote was controlled by the immigrants' immediate interests in housing, employment opportunities, recognition of credentials, placement in vocational courses. For the first time, in the elections of 1999, the distribution of the Russian vote was quite similar to that of the general population (Arian & Shamir, 2002). This trend was accentuated in the elections of January, 2003. The vote for parties dedicated exclusively to the interests of the Russian immigrants decreased to such an extent that one of them disbanded after the elections and joined the Likud.[71] A prime goal of the Russian vote is still that of changing regulations connected with the listing of individuals as Jews in the population register. During most of the decade, the Ministry of the Interior, with authority over the register was in the hands of the Sephardi ultra-orthodox party, Shas, and the Ministers were adamant about applying rabbinical criteria as the standard for recognizing an immigrant as a Jew. Their policy led to blatant injustices. In several instances, for example, Russian immigrants who had been drafted into the army and were later killed in action, had to be buried in a special plot outside the military burial ground because their mothers were not Jewish (Barkat, 9/03/03, pp. 1 A, 11A) Only the intervention of the President of Israel prevented the deportation of the non-Jewish mother of a young woman paralyzed after a suicide bombing in a hotel in Nathanya, April, 2002 (Passover Seder) when her tourist visa expired (Galili, 10/03/03, p. 4B). For the three years when the Ministry was headed by a Russian Zionist activist (Nathan Shcharansky), procedures for finding compromises were instituted and these are currently being extended under a Minister who is from the liberal Shinui party.[72]

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[71] After its representation of seven MKs in the outgoing Knesseth, the party, "Yisrael be'Aliya" headed by Israelis who had been Zionist activists in the Soviet Union, won only two seats in the 2003 elections.

[72] Considering the size of the non-Jewish component of the Russian-speaking community, there are probably gales brewing. That is why in preparing for the elections of January 2003, the Labor Party named Shim'on Peres head of the staff for contact with the Russian immigrants, fifty-four percent of whom had voted Labor in 1999. With the outbreak of the second Intifada, and because of fears of the impending Second Gulf War, the prognosis of public opinion surveys for the 2003 elections was that less than two percent of the Russian immigrants would vote for Labor. In an attempt to present a convincing argument when meeting with immigrants, Peres proclaimed that the Labor Party would strive to redefine "a Jew" in Israeli law. "It doesn't matter whether his mother, father or quarter grandparent were Jewish; what matters is only how he educates his children. If his children are educated in Israel, go to the army and some of them even get killed in battle — he is a Jew in my eyes,

The new immigrants have had to deal with many other obstacles to absorption. In the Soviet Union there had been no problem in finding work. In Israel, on the other hand, many of the types of work that the immigrants had been doing were irrelevant. Israel, a country with no mines had little room for mining engineers. A country that had work for 22,000 engineers and architects before the wave of Russian immigration could not absorb another 90,000. A country with 11,000 doctors and dentists in 1989, found it difficult to place another 20,000 medical practitioners. Many of the immigrants could not, therefore, find employment in the vocations they had trained for. Indeed, for several years after their arrival in Israel, unemployment among Russian immigrants was 40% higher than among veteran Israeli Jews (CBS, 2002, Tables 5.8-5.10). Employment was scarce and the available jobs did not make full use of the immigrants' credentials. For several years, Russian immigrants to Israel were either unemployed or underemployed (Jones. 1996).

In addition, Russian immigrants have had to contend with suspicion on several levels. Older and better educated than the veteran population, the new immigrants aroused apprehension among various cultural groups in the country. The fact that there were among them many skilled professionals raised the specter of competition for jobs in a steadily declining labor market. Oriental Jews whose climb to positions of responsibility had been long and hard perceived the danger of losing the advantages they had gained over the preceding three or four decades. Arab citizens of Israel were party to similar misgivings. Low-income Jews and Arabs resented the opportunities and benefits offered uniquely to the immigrants from the FSU, among them the "absorption basket" and the chance to choose where to live (Isralowitz & Friedlander, 1999). Both groups were concerned with the threat that government investment in an infrastructure for the Russians would undercut resource allocations to their communities. As part of a campaign of de-legitimation, evidence of juvenile delinquency, prostitution, and criminality were widely quoted. Among the Palestinians, the manipulation of construction in the occupied territories carried out by the Minister of Housing who was also the Minister in charge of the Inter-Ministry Committee for Absorption at the beginning of the 1990s, was interpreted as a deliberate effort to disperse the Russian immigrants throughout the West Bank to prevent the crystallization of a viable territory for a Palestinian state. Neighboring Arab countries saw the very existence of the immigration as a product of collusion between the FSU that had formerly

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and if the rabbinate wants to determine who is a Jew, we will decide who is to be a rabbi!" (*Ha'aretz,* 22/XII/02, p. A4).

been supportive of the Arab states in the region, and the United States of America (Jones, 1996).

## 2.      STATISTICS ABOUT THE CHILDREN

By the end of 1999, 87.4% of the immigrants from Russia were living in urban environments, cities and towns with a population of 20,000 and more. Of the total immigration between the years 1990 and 1999, 26.2% are children and youths up to the age of 19 (CBS, 2001, Population, Tables 2.23, 2.25).

Like all the citizens of Israel, Russian immigrants can choose whether to register children of school age in state secular schools, state religious schools, or in the independent stream. The overwhelming majority have tended to choose state secular schools in urban and in rural environments. In addition, the concern of the Russian-speaking community for preserving Russian culture led to the founding of private schools open afternoons and in the early evening for children up to the age of fourteen.

## 3.      RESEARCH

Research on the education of Russian immigrant children relates to studies of their academic attainments and to investigations of the modes of absorption and the success or failure of integration into "mainstream" society.

Educational attainments have been assessed in relation to conditions in the country of origin, in relation to school organization, and in relation to personality traits. Researchers have established that the academic, like the social, integration of immigrant pupils is linked to social and educational conditions of the countries of origin (Aronson, 1994; Shteinhart, 2000). It is, therefore, important to note that in 1970, 40% (forty per cent) of the (total population of) Jews in the Soviet Union had attained tertiary education. Later, a deliberate quota policy was introduced and the proportion of Jews with higher education dropped to under 30% (Grant, 1987). This covert discrimination did not extend to pupils with exceptional talent in the arts or in sports, who were to help build the new society envisioned by the Soviets (Riordan, 1988, p. 118; Shteinhart, 2000, p. 230). Institutions for the specially gifted were few,[73] however, and located for the most part in the

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[73] According to Dunstan (1988, p. 31), special schools represented at most three percent of the general secondary day schools: schools for fine arts — 0.23%; sports boarding schools —

larger cities. Moreover, the system for enrollment in special schools, such, for example, as language schools, was first to enable the registration of pupils living in the district, or neighborhood, and only then to open the lists to pupils from outside the area (Dunstan, 1988, p. 53). Thus there were few opportunities for the children from workers' settlements (Dunstan, 1988, p. 33).

As part of the policy, however, Jewish students were regularly channeled to study science. The underlying idea was that the humanities, embodying the cultural resources of the general population, should be studied, researched and transmitted by full members of the Russian nation.[74] When they immigrated, therefore, pupils from Russia had an advantage over the native-born Israelis in the subjects that are of the highest prestige in the Israeli schools, those related to scientific fields. They also had an advantage in competitive areas such as sports.

As to the progress of the new immigrants in the subjects that bore a specific Israeli stamp, subjects relying on knowledge of the Hebrew language, Eisikovits and Beck (1990) discovered that the ability of Russian immigrant children to meet requirements for achievement in Israeli schools was associated with how the school organized classes in the Hebrew language and how the teachers involved in the Ulpan, the class for language teaching, were integrated in the staff. In their study, they found that in schools where the language teachers were considered an essential part of the school staff, and where pupils' performance in the language class was monitored and discussed by all the teachers, the immigrant pupils learned the language more efficiently and had higher achievements than in schools where these classes and their teachers were considered a unit apart.

The importance of scholastic achievement is underlined because satisfactory performance is usually thought of as an indicator that processes of both acculturation and psychological adaptation have succeeded (Berry, 1994). On the assumption that personality variables affect school performance, researchers hypothesized that high achievement is likely when pupils have an internal locus of control, high self-esteem, and strong motivation, whether intrinsic or extrinsic, to make progress in their studies (Cohen, 1996). Studies demonstrate that high self-esteem of the Russian immigrant pupil was correlated with motivation for studying, and their motivation for studying was found to be higher than that of veteran Israeli

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0.04%; and foreign language schools — 1.36%.
[74] Personal communication of a student of teaching at the University of Haifa, 1998. This channeling of Jewish students was presented as "common knowledge" although there were no official Soviet guidelines that made the bias explicit.

pupils. When asked, Russian pupils attributed their motivation to factors external to the situation (Cohen, 1996).

## 4.     STUDIES OF CLASSROOM INTEGRATION

Researchers have chosen to look both at how Israeli schools act to ensure the integration of immigrant pupils and at how the immigrant pupils view the new environment. Already in the 1970s, researchers discovered that the official tenet about "absorbing" immigrants with openness is not necessarily reflected in classroom practices (Horowitz & Frankel, 1976). In the classrooms there was evidence of persistent formal and informal segregation. When, in the 1980s, the Ministry of Education called upon educators to compile a formal Credo for their school, some of the contradictions came to light. From the documents spelling out what educational messages are to be conveyed, it is possible to see whether the actual performance of immigrant education in the classrooms is congruent with the declaration. This was the focus of some important research.

Several studies show that there are still disparities between schools' declarations of commitment to integrating immigrant students and what is actually done to promote their integration. In their study of two elementary schools — one a state school and one a state-religious school, Shoham and Resnick (1998) found that the realization of integration fell from the promise. In both schools, the Credo enunciates support for the integration of olim in general. There are also pronouncements of concern for each new immigrant pupil. Yet neither of the schools actually created the conditions necessary for making the children or their families feel part of the school organization. According to the researchers, immigrants from the FSU, who had a thoroughly secular background, were especially marginalized in the state-religious school even though they had been warmly invited to enroll. For one thing, the organization of the Ulpan and its scheduling were haphazard. For another, in every group activity, the new immigrants who had very little knowledge of religious customs, were made to feel inferior to students from religious homes who were held in higher esteem. These findings from an observational study, confirmed that little had changed since an earlier study of the integration of pupils from the FSU in primary and secondary schools throughout the country (Tatar, Kfir, Sever, Adler & Reguev, 1994). There have been several proposals of programs designed to help schools fulfill their obligation. One such program for "bridging gaps," recommends procedures for working in partnership with intermediaries whose mother tongue is Russian. Because of the Ministry's support for local autonomy, programs of this kind could be adopted by individual schools

according to their perceived needs. This program was tested, elaborated, and disseminated in many schools (Sever, 1997).

By contrast with a general admiration for the ability of Russian immigrant children to match and even outdo the achievements of native Israeli pupils in the high prestige subjects of mathematics and the sciences; there is much concern with their capacity for social integration. No correlation was found between self-esteem and motivation for adjusting socially. Research shows, indeed, that adjustment to the social milieu presents difficulties (Schwarzwald et al., 1996). This indifference to socializing demonstrated by new immigrant youth has often provoked friction between the new olim and their veteran peers. Immigrant children's reservations about the behavior of Israeli students are undoubtedly a contributory factor. Immigrant pupils were astonished at the lack of restraint that Israeli pupils show in expressing their feelings in class, in the general carelessness about how to treat school property (Manberg, 1996; Mirsky, 1991). In the realm of social relations, students from the FSU found it difficult to accept the fact that Israeli teachers could be addressed by their first names and that it was possible for pupils to talk to one another in class — whether to chat spontaneously, or in response to tasks set by the teachers as part of a language learning situation. Moreover, they deemed it peculiar that students could approach teachers freely between classes (Shteinhart, 2000).

Despite their outspoken criticism of the country and of the schools, the immigrant pupils grasped the social customs of the native born Israelis as normative (Aronson, 1994). Thus, pupils who came from the FSU, and especially the adolescents among them, did not question the perceived codes that dictated how boys and girls relate to one another, how to become friends, how to 'hang out', and how to dress so as to be just like the reference group, the Sabras. They also were found to be sensitive to codes of study and achievement. In post-primary schools, students from the FSU actually expected of themselves more exact adherence to the prevailing codes than did their peers or teachers. Even when veteran students and teachers alike assessed the learning and social behaviors of the immigrants as normative, students from the FSU were not satisfied that they were fully realizing them (Aronson, 1994, p. 43, p. 45). Researchers explain the self-doubt as an outcome of the immigrants' sensitivity to the reservations of their peers. Their overriding desire to adhere to norms so as to be integrated ("absorbed") into social life was not rewarded with full affirmation by their classmates.

In Israeli schools, pupils from the FSU are grouped together as "Russians." It has often happened that the "Russian" pupils in a given class come from different republics in the FSU. Furthermore, they had not

necessarily lived in exclusively Jewish areas. Thus, not only had the atheistic communist regime encouraged a de-emphasis of distinctive 'Jewish' behaviors, but friendship circles of school children had naturally included non-Jews. They do share a common language, but not all the immigrants from the FSU are interested in being 'friends' and their classification as a unified group creates a world quite different from the one they left behind. Among others, the perception of what it means to be accepted as an equal was overturned in Israel. Finding that it is important to be Jewish and, furthermore, to be Jewish in the style of the native-born Israeli "Sabra," as a precondition for establishing one's place among native-born Israeli peers and for finding friends was shocking for many.

In our contacts with schools where immigrant Russian students are enrolled, we talked to coordinators, teachers, and native-born pupils in schools to learn about how the pupils from the FSU fit into the school. Educators showed that they were following the reactions of the Russian immigrant pupils carefully. Coordinators talked about the resources that schools invest in the absorption of the Russian students, about the teachers, and then characterized the students. Teachers and native-born pupils shared their impressions about how the immigrant students fit in with the atmosphere of the school. We also observed lessons in different subjects. In the following I will discuss interviews and observations in an urban secondary school belonging to the state system, a youth village with a program for the absorption of Russian pupils, and a school where the language of instruction is Russian.

## 5.    URBAN SECONDARY SCHOOL

The secondary school we observed is set back from the main road. Modern in design it is an imposing building with rooms surrounding an internal courtyard topped by a skylight. On entering the school, the visitor is taken with the structure of the three-story building and the hum of student life. During recess, students fill the interior and the exterior courtyards. It turns out that in order to see the Russian immigrant pupils, I have to leave the pleasant hall, walk up one flight of steps and down another to get to the caravans where classes are held for immigrant pupils. The caravans are surrounded by a stretch of brownish grass, presumably intended to be a lawn, but sorely neglected. The area is littered with plastic bags and papers that are scattered near a large refuse bin; there are also a few empty bottles and soft drink tins. The classrooms in the caravans are furnished with pupils' desks in pairs; the teacher's desk is on a small platform close to the blackboard. In one corner of each room there is an overhead projector.

As in all schools, here, too, pupils enroll very soon, even a few days, after they arrive in Israel. The secretary speaks Russian and she can explain to the parents and the pupils exactly what they have to do and what the arrangements of the school are. The school also provides a guidance counselor who knows Russian for those students. There are four graded Ulpan classes for learning Hebrew, and only the students with the highest achievements in the Ulpan are accepted to a tenth grade class for olim . This class is part of the school with the same courses of study and obligations as the other tenth grade classes. Once students are accepted to an 'immigrants' class', they are required to take part in all the educational and social events that the school organizes. They include scouting, hiking, festivities in honor of holidays, and so on. When students' grades are not high enough to meet the criteria for admittance to the immigrants' class in this college preparatory high school, they transfer to another secondary school — a comprehensive school or a vocational school — in the area.

Teachers tell me that the school devotes many resources to teaching immigrant pupils Hebrew, introducing them to the subjects that are taught in the regular junior and senior high school, and helping them adjust to the Israeli world. Among the resources is the careful choice of teachers. Not every teacher in the school is capable of understanding the needs of immigrant pupils. Teachers in the Ulpan are responsible for getting to know the children, for reporting on problems and relating to the children with empathy. For the most part, the teachers are experienced and try to be sensitive to unique needs. Not only are the pupils immigrants, but they are also adolescents and subject to the same kinds of tensions as are adolescents throughout the world. Many of them are moody, angry with their parents, uncertain of their own abilities. A teacher of grammar in both the academic high school and in the classes for immigrant pupils gets to know the pupils quite closely. That enables her to single out pupils who are having serious problems and try by means of personal attention to help them make good progress.

Talking about practical steps toward integration, one of the teachers tells us that immigrant pupils serve on school committees together with veteran peers. These include: the student council, the school newspaper, and ad hoc committees for organizing school activities. There is even a committee of pupils from the tenth and eleventh grades with a mandate to plan cooperative parties and projects, but there is a great deal of opposition, mostly on the side of the native-born. They are also troubled by uncertainty. An example that she describes is a meeting where people in small groups told one another about 'life passages.' The veteran students were put off by the fact that the immigrants had stories that were far more interesting than the ones that they could tell!

## 5.1      **Observations during recess**[75]

Recess provided opportunities to talk to pupils and teachers, as well as to observe how the pupils choose their friends. From a position near the pool during recess it was possible to observe the general picture. Two students were talking Russian in a corner not far from where I stood, but at first sight the groups of pupils seemed to be talking Hebrew among themselves. The coordinator's policy of accepting immigrant children "as they are" and encouraging them to "be themselves," to realize their talents in their own way was not shared by all the teachers in the school. In talking to a sports teacher who was nearby, for example, we learned that "by exercising my authority, I manage to get them all to talk Hebrew." She said that her goal was to see to it that the immigrants accept the fact that they are in a Hebrew-speaking school and that they act accordingly. This conversation took place while pupils were running, sitting, playing in groups that were quite clearly mono-ethnic, where they talked in their native tongues.

There was, however, some variation. In one group of boys speaking Hebrew, two were immigrants from the FSU who, I was told, were 'part of the gang'. They told me that they hang out together, go to malls together and are friends in "everything". One native-born girl that I talked to told me that she was especially interested in getting to know immigrant girls; but she realized that this was not the attitude of most of her peers. She knew of pupils who were unwilling even to begin an acquaintanceship with Russian immigrants and about parents who refused to let their children go on a school trip together with the immigrants' class.

During another recess, groups spilled out into the courtyard near the caravans and near the main building. There was a sharp demarcation between those who came from Russia, those from Ethiopia (see Chapter 11), and the native-born children. Immigrant pupils from Russia banded together in mono-gendered groups of four or five, speaking rather loudly in their native tongue. Four Russian-speaking boys sat and smoked outside the fence that surrounds the yard. Not far from them was a group of (apparently native-born) Hebrew-speaking girls. There was almost no interaction between the groups. Near the swimming pool, an Ethiopian boy looked on as Russian boys sparred outside the pool and dove and swam.

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[75] I am grateful to Ronli Paran for her aid with the observations in the secondary school. Here they are translated from the Hebrew.

On another day, I observed students sitting on a low wall, chatting in a mixture of Russian and Hebrew. Several groups of girls were scattered nearby talking in Russian, and one youth who looked older was smoking. They all looked bored. Some of the Russian boys improvised a soccer match. Talking to one of the girl students, I asked how she was getting along. Her response was "Things will be ok," the expression that has been the motto of Israeli immigrants since the 1950s.

## 5.2    In lessons

Lessons in different types of classes, or rather, in classes defined as having different objectives, evoked a range of reactions from the immigrant pupils in this school. I will describe some moments from a beginners' class, a more advanced immigrants' class, and one where the pupils have been accepted to the regular class for 'olim' at the school.

At the bell, I entered a classroom of thirteen year olds learning Hebrew; this was Class A (the introductory class). Twenty-four children sat in two's, and spent most of the lesson repeating sentences in chorus after the teacher. Two boys sitting near the window ignored her and looked out the window. A girl and a boy at the back of the class concentrated on scratching messages into the desktop. The teacher, a speaker of Russian, translated when the pupils seemed to require help, but did not interfere with those students who were indifferent to what was going on. The lesson was based on mechanical drills and no audio-visual aides were used. Between periods, the teacher explained to me that there are four stages (classes A to D) to the course for acquiring Hebrew. If the pupils manage to get to school regularly they can complete the course in one school year. Unfortunately, many pupils are often ill during their first year in the country. Having to adjust to changes in climate and in food, they find they are susceptible to all kinds of sicknesses. They may have to stay in these preparatory classes for a third semester.

In the more advanced classes, pupils are introduced to standard school subject matter. During one of my visits, I saw the young student who was certain that "things will be ok" in a class preparing for the tenth grade "immigrants' class." Here pupils were studying the Bible, Hebrew literature and grammar, as well as the history and geography of Israel / Palestine in simplified Hebrew. The teacher explained that the idea is to enable the students who are not yet ready to cope with advanced Hebrew, to gain knowledge of the topics required in the ninth grade. In the lesson we observed, students were studying the Bible. Participation was sporadic and the pupils looked apathetic. The teacher read the text, explained painstakingly, and reminded the pupils of how important it was for them to

follow, to do their homework, and to be extra careful with it because it was based on 'thought' questions. After mastering the material in the preparatory class, the students will have completed the preparation for full integration into a senior high school. Despite the presumed importance of getting high marks so as to keep on at this school, the students in the class did not seem to be interested at this point in whether or not they would make the grade.

In an immigrants' class of thirty seventeen year old students that is officially part of the school, on the other hand, the tension was patent. The teacher was explaining the topics to be covered in the matriculation examination in history. Many students tried to raise objections; a good deal of the material was new to them, and they were worried. There was a lot of talk in Russian, some nervous questions. The teacher promised that they would get 'reinforcement' lessons during the Passover holiday. But the anxious chatting went on. One girl put her head down on the desk and sniffled.

## 6.    A YOUTH VILLAGE

The Youth Village has a large campus with the school housed in a compact group of buildings not far from the entrance. Beyond the school there are the dormitory buildings where the students who lodge there are housed. And to the side over a large area there are some agricultural facilities. These include a barn, a chicken run, a vegetable garden, and a small field where barley and wheat are grown. Learning to do agricultural work is part of the official curriculum of this youth village, and there is a regular schedule for assigning pupils among the different types of tasks in rotation.

The student population of the Youth Village observed includes day pupils who commute, resident students most of whom come from families of low socio-economic status, and immigrant pupils from the FSU. The resident pupils develop modes of community life, often according to their distribution in classes. One of the results of the style of life in this kind of school, therefore, is that the immigrant pupils are thrown together and become a solidary group at least as long as they are relatively isolated in their studies. Because of the structure, moreover, teachers are exposed to all the satisfactions and all the difficulties of getting to know their pupils in every aspect of daily living.

The coordinator points out that there are many obstacles to social integration because the student body is so varied. Among them, for example, she names the problem of dress. There is constant competition in choosing the most up-to-date styles and brands between the commuter students whose

parents can afford the expense, the resident students from families of low socio-economic status, who do their best to keep up, and the immigrant pupils, whose lack of resources makes it impossible for them to live up to the middle class standards. For the new immigrants, this competitiveness is especially frustrating in her view because they come from places where the standards of dress are totally different from those of the Israeli youths (Shteinhart, 2000, p. 271).

In their attempts to expedite the immigrants' social integration, the teachers worked out what they saw as a helpful pedagogical approach. Their carefully thought out orientation was rejected out of hand by the resident pupils from the FSU. The idea had been to choose didactic methods that would develop pupils' autonomy in learning. Early in the school year, however, students sent a letter to the principal, complaining about the lessons. The students described the system of teaching Hebrew, as a series of lessons pitched to the level of kindergarten children. They refused to take part in activities such as role play and guided conversation, insisting that only drills would enable them to gain true mastery. The teachers were very disappointed and felt that these objections were insults to the "principles that were most important to us as professionals" (Shteinhart, 2000, p. 196). Ultimately, however, they had no alternative but to give in to the pupils' demands. When the teachers accepted the situation, they saw that the students did make progress and felt more conciliatory. As one teacher said:

> I am not a Don Quixote and I don't see any sense in fighting windmills. Those pupils have never encountered any form of teaching except that of frontal lessons. So, it's true that if those methods [the ones we tried to implement] had succeeded in giving them different habits, they and we would have enjoyed the lessons. But what can we do when we try from time to time something different and you see that the teacher and the students all suffer? I can tell you what I've done. I simply gave up looking for all kinds of special methods and I go on with the frontal approach that they love. So, first of all, I don't have to waste energy on power struggles with pupils who have no motivation, and secondly, they now listen in class and it's possible to go ahead with the material!
>
> (translated from Shteinhart, 2000, p. 201).

On his part, the principal explained the pupils' objections as deriving from the gaps between the systematic way of imparting the four language skills (speaking, writing, listening, reading), and the relatively insipid content that could be discussed with a limited vocabulary (Shteinhart, 2000, p. 172). The teachers said they felt that they had had to 'surrender' their

professional integrity because students from the FSU were highly anxious about attaining full matriculation certificates and being accepted to the university. The teachers realized that their situation is really quite complex. According to one teacher, the students are in a bind. On the one hand, they are terribly ashamed of not knowing some of the material. On the other hand, they do not want to be known as being overly conscientious in their studies. At the same time, they are willing to do 'anything' to succeed. Because she does not want to embarrass her students, this teacher collects the homework and goes over the papers in the privacy of her home. In this way, she protects the pupils from ridicule when they do not do work that is up to par, and allays students' fears that their classmates will "discover" how diligent they are (Shteinhart, 2000, p. 274). At the same time, she realizes that these very students will do anything to get good marks. They have no compunctions about copying, preparing sheets of answers in advance, signaling to one another in the course of exams, and so on (Shteinhart, 2000, p. 199).

## 6.1    Acting as pupils

Shteinhart (2000) interviewed students and observed them in class in the Youth Village both when they began their studies and six months later. He found out about hardships that were not evident in a city school.

In class: When they first arrived, the immigrants from the FSU acted according to the rules they had learned in their country of origin. They were observed to enter the classroom immediately with the sound of the bell. Some stood beside their seats and waited for the teacher to enter the room. They did not speak to one another in the course of the lesson. They also stood up when asked to respond to a question that the teacher asked. They sat quietly until the bell signaled that the lesson had ended.

After a few months, most of these behaviors had disappeared. During a lesson in Hebrew, pupils were observed reading books in Russian. One pupil actually fell asleep with his head on the desk while the class was doing drills. Like their Israel-born classmates, they tended to reach the classroom somewhat late; they chatted in the course of the lesson; took advantage of the fact that it was possible to remain seated when answering questions in class and began to pack up pens, books, and notebooks several minutes before the lesson was due to end. When a teacher reacted in anger, the pupils explained that it was too cold to keep sitting quietly. In other words, as Martin (1979) hypothesized, the immigrant pupils quickly caught on to what deviations from acceptable school behavior and "good order" could be implemented without negative sanctions. Shteinhart (2000) sees this as the

development of an understanding of the real world in which they now lived. Some of the pupils were taken aback by what had happened to them. One girl was quite open about this:

> ... It's true that things are a bit messy and mixed up here, in a way that they weren't there [in the FSU], but here I am not at all afraid. That's a very good thing — that I'm not afraid. But when I don't feel like studying, that's not so good .... Sometimes we have to be at least a little afraid so that we will want to study. Yes, yes, that's the way children are. Don't you know that? ... Some kids will always make trouble in class if the teacher does not bawl them out. There's no way out of this .....

<div align="center">(translated from Shteinhart, 2000, p. 146)</div>

As Shteinhart reports, even though the immigrants behaved more freely after having been in the country for six months, pupils were energetic in class, showing they could learn Hebrew in what they called "a mature way". Learning "paradigms", drilling vocabulary, practicing the mechanics of writing, all of these were carried out with a will. During the lessons, it was clear that the students can count on one another for help. With a nod of the head, students indicated that they needed support in finding a response to the teacher's question. Fellow students whispered, some called out answers in Russian. The rather long period of time that is required to gain reasonable control of the new language (Shohami, 1995) appears to rouse new kinds of stress and anxiety. The copying and cheating observed during tests were examples of the stress as well as of the desire to help one another even though there is ardent competition for first place in the class. The immigrant pupils strove to attain the highest marks in order to enjoy the success they had been accustomed to in their places of origin.

## 6.2    Social integration

Amongst themselves, the students demonstrated a lively camaraderie. Between the two periods of Shteinhart's observations, the behaviors of the pupils in groups underwent subtle changes. The hesitant shyness of the immigrants during the first days in the village gave way to brashness. The quiet gathering in small groups that was typical of the immigrants when they were completely new to the village was replaced by loud jostling and joking on the lawns near the classrooms. Among themselves, the students talked mostly in Russian, but there was an admixture of Hebrew expressions from

the adolescent lingo popular in the Village. After six months, adolescent couples spent time together during recess. All the pairs seemed, however, to be mono-cultural.

In his many conversations with the pupils, Shteinhart found that responses were quite uniform. He asked the students to compare their schooling in Israel with schools in the FSU, and heard about the discipline 'there' and the laxness 'here'. When asked about their experiences at the Youth Village 'then' and 'now' — after six months, the students usually explained that they now felt feeling at home in many ways. When asked about whether they missed their former homes, the pupils mentioned friends and places that they loved. One of the interesting findings from these conversations was that pupils from the FSU were embarrassed when the researcher asked their names. After a while, Shteinhart discovered that they were suspicious for if a stranger knew their names he might use them to their disadvantage. In Russia, the children had known fear because somebody asking their names probably wanted to find out whether or not they were Jews. They all knew that being Jewish could often, even if not always, invite abuse. In Israel, being Jewish according to orthodox requirements was the desirable situation. Through their names, it was possible to discover that the student belonged to a family where one of the parents was not Jewish. There was uncertainty about whether this discovery could be used against them. Only after some time in the Youth Village were they reassured that disclosing their names was not dangerous.

## 7.    EXTRA-CURRICULAR SCHOOLS

There are schools where the uncertainties and the tensions that attend integration into Israeli schools are put on hold. They are the afternoon schools especially for children from Russian families, and in them at least some of the habits and norms are familiar from the educational system in the country of origin.

The school for intensive learning in the Russian language that I visited is housed in a community clubhouse.[76] The classrooms are small. One room has movable chairs and they are arranged in the form of an open square. Another room is crowded with four rows of seven seats in each row. Equipment is minimal: a blackboard on the front wall, and just enough room for a map of Israel. Above the blackboard there is a shelf with labeled jars of spices. To the left of the pupils, on a raised platform, there are the teacher's desk and chair. In the back of the room, there are pictures of the President of

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[76] Field notes of DKF.

Israel (Ezer Weizmann) and the Prime Minister, (then Ehud Barak). In order to use an overhead projector, the teacher has to book it in advance and bring it to class when she gets it from the janitor.

## 7.1 The mission

I could get a picture of the purposes of this type of school from I.R., an immigrant from the FSU who had been in Israel five years. She heads this school for Russian children between the ages of four and eleven that meet two afternoons a week in a community clubhouse in a big city. Her school is one of four in a city with 58,000 people of Russian extraction out of a total population of a quarter of a million. Because she had had trouble finding a location "this year," she could publicize the school only at the end of the summer vacation and that was why there were only thirty pupils all together. The authorities praise the effort, but there is almost no support from either the national government or the municipality, so parents pay a small sum for tuition. As a result teachers' salaries are very low; but even the pittance attracts good teachers with experience because new immigrant teachers find it very hard to find full-time employment.

To her mind this type of school has an important mission. Here, the children are given a chance to learn subject matter that the Israeli school ignores. As a teacher of literature in the FSU, she is astounded at the limitations of the literature curriculum in Israeli schools. In her afternoon classes, she gives the pupils a chance to read and analyze works of Mark Twain, Victor Hugo, Hans Christian Andersen, Alexander Pushkin, and Shalom Aleichem, so they get a taste of a wider culture than that of Israeli literature or the one Balzac novel that is taught in the state secondary schools. Another important feature of the school is its pedagogical approach that emphasizes play as a way of learning. She explains that everything is introduced in a way that makes study pleasurable for the children. This is possible in astronomy, physics, mathematics, language study. The school teaches both Hebrew to the new immigrants and Russian to the Israeli-born children of immigrant parents. "Psychologists say that it is very important to know the mother tongue — it is important for self-confidence, and for the ability to learn." In the summer, several of these afternoon schools cooperate to run a camp with different kinds of outdoor learning in a spot on the outskirts of the city.

According to the principal, the parents are involved in every aspect of the program in the afternoon school for Russian children. Although there is no homework, the children are constantly doing projects that they bring

home to show the parents, and in most of the projects the parents are asked to work together with the children. The headmistress  assures me that this is most important. "I read in a Hebrew newspaper that Israeli parents spend 14 minutes per day with their children. In our school .... the parents do things together with the children. They have shared interests, understand one another better, and that is important throughout life." She points out that because of the school's advantages, many of the pupils are not really immigrants. They were actually born in Israel, but their Russian immigrant parents feel that this  kind  of  learning is so valuable that they are willing to invest in providing extra hours of learning.

## 7.2     Observations in the Russian school

I observed a class in mathematics with eight children aged about ten. The teacher distributes some cardboard cutouts and the children are asked to combine them into "interesting forms." There is a lot of excitement as they discover how to match according to color and shape to form cylinders and spheres of different thicknesses and lengths. Then she hands out a worksheet written in Russian with sketches on which the children summarize what they have found and apply numbers. At the end of the lesson, the teacher distributes more cutouts and asks the children to bring them back in different shapes for the next lesson. For all the activities, the teacher speaks only in Russian, while the children often talk in Hebrew both to her and to one another. The teacher explains to me that all the games are goal-directed. The class is playing in order to learn formal logic.

Between lessons most of the children stay in or near one of the classrooms always with an adult. Most of the players call out instructions to one another in Hebrew. In a corner, I happen on two of the older children apparently sharing secrets; they are talking Russian.

## 8.     CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the *Jubilee of Education in Israel* that celebrates fifty years of state education, Yogev (1999) describes the history of education in Israel as evolving from uniformity to fragmentation. The first forty years of the new state were characterized, to his mind, by a consensual ideology that enabled all the schools in the system to be run as a unified state project (mamlachtiuth). From the 1980s on, however, Yogev describes a polarization of state education and state religious education, a distancing of

the independent streams from state education, and a heightened awareness of the rising demands for the cultural rights of a national minority in the state schools in which Arabic is the language of instruction (see Chapter 12). This polarization of different educational streams is, to his mind, in tune with post-modern social developments. The organizational changes constitute official recognition of the importance of knowledge and information, and the institutionalization of changes in the relationship of the individual to society, changes in the formations of social classes, as well as a consequent all-encompassing social fragmentation and polarization. Having granted schools autonomy in regard to subsections of the curriculum, and in regard to administrative planning and the implementation of in-service teacher-training, as well as in formulating local credos, visions of education for the needs of each particular learning community, the Ministry has actually confirmed the inevitability of post-modernism.

The importance of this diagnosis for us lies in the fact that by 1996, just as the conditions implemented in the late 1980s were presumably maturing, 103,000 pupils from Russia and the former Soviet republics, were enrolled in 2,271 schools at different levels in many areas of the country. This number includes the 8,370 pupils enrolled in state religious schools. In addition, 17,000 Russian children were registered in kindergartens (Tsameret, 1996, p. 778). In a word, the evolving post-modernization of Israeli education just as the schools were confronted with the challenge of integrating large numbers of pupils whose families had witnessed the break-up of the communist regime, was highly suitable. While these measures were interpreted as radical changes in the conventional grasp of the meaning of state education in Israel, the overt trend to pluralism was peculiarly in tune with the individualistic social orientation that is widely understood to characterize these new immigrants. Their indifference to overtly nationalistic messages and their keenness to take control of their school progress, their conscious desire to retain contact with the cultural resources of their country of origin — all fit in with a view of education as a domain in which there is a tolerance of difference rather than an insistence on uniformity. It is rather odd then that descriptions of how the Russians relate to educational materials derived from Jewish traditions, how they insist on talking Russian among themselves, and their tending to live in Russian enclaves find fault with them. If we accept Yogev's interpretation of the developments in the educational system, the fact that the Russians of the 1990s are somehow 'different' from the immigrants who arrived in the 1970s and from their compatriots, the Ethiopian immigrants, is a sign that they are well able to cope with a system evolving in terms of post-modernism. Yet, neither researchers nor practitioners praise this "wave of immigration" for their adaptability.

True, the researches that deal with Russian immigrant children in schools pay lip service to the need to understand that on their arrival in Israel the immigrants bring with them a consciousness structured in and by the Soviet world where they grew up and that they should be encouraged to express this world-in-them. But apart from general references to the fact that the past is part of the present, none of the studies cited here explore specific interactions of this past with the present conveyed by Israeli schools. Even Shteinhart (2000), who discusses the past explicitly, does no more than ask the pupils about their memories of studies and the social milieu at two different points of time (when they first enter the school and again six months later). Researchers recommend cultivating continuities insofar as possible, yet essentially ignore what really went on there. This is not for lack of sources. In the nine papers that make up the book edited by Avis (1987), there are thorough treatments of different types of education in Soviet schools, among them: moral education, political education, education to atheism, education for work, peace education, and multicultural education. The collection relates to the continuities and changes in the centralized Soviet educational system until the reforms introduced by Gorbachev in 1984 and revised by the Ministry of Education in the following two years. Here the components of the educational system up to and including the innovations of the 1980s — the years just before the collapse of the regime — are described in detail. There are passages from textbooks, examples of lessons, discussions of how the curricula, teacher education, school programs, youth movements, the media, and popular culture all combined to impress the central principles of the ethics, the aesthetics, and the acquisition of knowledge held to be central to communist existence. All seem to have a clear vision of the new Soviet (Russian) man or woman that the child will grow to be. According to Muckle (1987, p. 19, in alphabetical order), pupils are educated to be:

- Able to find fulfillment working in a team
- Conscientious at work and study
- Conventional by Soviet norms
- Courageous and adventurous
- Disinclined to seek material wealth
- Forward-looking and technologically minded
- In favour of stable marriage and respectful of elders
- Incorruptible
- Internationalists
- Mindful of war dead
- Patriots

- Respectful of manual labour and the craft of the artisan
- Respectful of the environment, of state property and resources
- Sober
- Supportive of Soviet industry
- Understanding in treatment of the opposite sex
- Well-behaved in public and considerate of other people in general.

The list embodies the Soviet view of socialist morality and political progress, the consequence of what Muckle (1988, p. 15) identifies as the "Marxist troika of man- nature — society". Researchers of Soviet education show how examination methods, as well as structures of education for the gifted (Dunstan, 1988), and the unique contributions of Soviet educationists to 'defectology' and the teaching of the handicapped (Suddaby, 1988; Sutton, 1988) are all grounded in a comprehensive social and educational philosophy. According to the reports, all the topics were debated at length in conferences and journals by Soviet educators and researchers. From the documentation of the debates it was possible to discover some of the gaps between the aspirations and objectives and the actual performance (Riordan, 1988). In regard to higher education, researchers discovered that the ostensibly highly organized and much lauded Soviet system was not in fact successful in achieving the continuities that the Party considered desirable. Summarizing a series of investigations of what was actually happening in the universities, Avis (1988, 184) reports that "too many students, ... lose interest in their specialism and after graduation abandon the professions for which they have been trained at great cost to the state. And too many are dismayed by the gulf which they readily perceive between the Marxist-Leninist theory and scientific communism they are taught on the one hand, and the realities of Soviet life on the other." As a result, suggestions formulated by university students in 1978-79 and again in 1982-83 for making their studies more interesting and more relevant have "the smell of revolution." In 1988 the students' initiatives had "found their way into the Party's basic guidelines for a radical reform of the country's higher education system" (Izvestia, 21 March, 1987, quoted in Avis, 1988, p. 184).

It is against this background in USSR education in the late 1980s that the approaches, interests, aspirations, and behaviors of immigrant pupils from the FSU should (have been) understood. Yet, as our survey of Israeli studies and practices shows, neither researchers nor educators seem to take Soviet educational ideology seriously enough to explore how it may have "condensed" into the children's identity (Bauman, 1973). Furthermore, from what the coordinators and the teachers say, it is clear that for the school personnel, there is a sense of loss, even failure, when they are mandated to encourage the maintenance and development of immigrant pupils'

distinctiveness. Officially the goal is to integrate the Russian immigrants on their own terms. In practice, although the pronouncements insist that the "mistakes of the 1950s" will not be repeated, assimilation to the conventional tenets of Israeli ideology is the driving force behind the educational efforts. The fact that the authorities do not support the work of the Russian school substantiates the suspicion that the state is not entirely convinced of the viability of permissiveness in the realm of education. In a sense, the adolescents themselves 'collaborate' with the state's covert tenacity in pressing for assimilation. Observations show that new immigrant pupils tend to "go native" after a few months in the country. It is important, however, to distinguish between the behaviors that come to light in the milieu of their peers, and the persistent attachment to modes of conceptualization (see preference for "real" learning) and to the types of long-range world views (motives, attainments, long-term goals) that they were socialized into in the country (or countries) of their origin.

Chapter 11

# IMMIGRANT PUPILS FROM ETHIOPIA: PERPETUATING DIFFERENCE

*A monk leaning on a staff and carrying a large cross met a robber on his way. When the robber tried to steal his shoes, the monk hit him hard with his staff. "Father," said the robber, "is that the way of a monk? The good book says: If somebody strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other cheek." "True," said the monk," but sometimes the heart tends toward the words of the Torah, where it is written: an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."*

(from Wormbrand, 1990)

*My son now we have our own land, so we are free. Now we are free. From now on we have to work hard. And you? You must study. Study is the key to your future. But most of all, love your land, because the land is life — the land is of our fathers and our fathers' fathers. That is why, after you complete your studies, come back to your land, to plough and cultivate it. This is the commandment of your fathers and your fathers' fathers.*

(from Gudeta, 1990, p. 92)

*Managashe (46) — married, mother of four, and grandmother of two ... immigrated to Israel at the beginning of the 1980s. She worked and began her studies toward a masters degree in social work at the Hebrew University. [She has worked in many different frameworks for helping Ethiopian youth make progress. Now she is a candidate for the Knesset.] "I am a professional," she says. "The time has come for a Knesset member that comes, like me, from the field, from the daily contact with the weakened strata. I can work for children at risk, for single-parent families, for immigrants and for veterans, and for Jews and Arabs."* (from *Ha'aretz,* December, 2002, p. A6)

   Stories that Ethiopian Jews have transmitted from generation to generation capture the flavor of the close connections between the symbolic universe of Jewish life in Ethiopia and that of their Christian compatriots (see Zegeye, 2001). These links have caused difficulties for the Beta Israel to be accepted in Israel as a truly Jewish community, even though the differences were quite evident in the country of their origin. But interwoven with the symbols there is the eternal dedication to the "land" as the symbol of freedom, and learning as the mode of preserving freedom. Given that she is the owner of the land (of her fathers), the Ethiopian professional in Israel rediscovers the possibilities of work with and for people. In this chapter, we will review some of the specific conditions that led to the immigration of Ethiopian Jews to Israel, go on to look at the placement of Ethiopian children in schools, and to examples of how they have been or are being integrated in educational frameworks.

## 1.     BACKGROUND

Beta Israel — Ethiopian Jews: Although the group's history is not documented, the oral tradition of Beta Israel has it that the Jews in Ethiopia are descendants of the tribe of Dan that reached Ethiopia either during the reign of Solomon or after the destruction of the First Temple (built by Solomon) and the exile of the Jews to Babylon.[77] In the Beta Israel community, the modes of prayer and customs are those that were common among Jews prior to the development of the Oral Law — the Mishnah and the Talmud (Corinaldi, 1998). Their scriptures, however, are written in the ancient Ethiopian tongue of Ge'ez. Some scholars therefore suggest that they were actually translated from the Septuagint, and hence that the Beta Israel were converted to Judaism only in the Common Era (Zegeye, 2001). Despite many similarities between the customs of the Beta Israel and those of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, the Jews sustained a separate community existence in Ethiopia and held to a mystic belief in the possibility of 'returning' to Yerushalem, the Holy Land. For a time, especially during the dynasty of Queen Gudit, or Esther, the Beta Israel were influential in the Ethiopian government. After her fall, in the sixteenth century, an official policy of segregation was instituted toward the Jewish community even though there is evidence that in the Solomonic dynasty of Ethiopia there was

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[77] Tradition tells that Solomon sent members of the Tribe of Dan to accompany the Queen of Sheba to her home in Ethiopia after she bore him a son that became Menelik I, Emperor of Ethiopia. An alternative hypothesis is that when the Temple was destroyed and the Jews were banished to Babylon, the Tribe of Dan managed to get to Egypt and from there to Ethiopia.

marriage from time to time between the ruling class and women of prominent Jewish families.

As part of the strategy of discrimination, Ethiopian emperors forbade the sale of land to the Beta Israel who lived in approximately 490 villages scattered throughout the provinces of Gondar and Tigray in the northeast corner of Ethiopia. There were only small groups of Jews in urban centers where they lived in separate neighborhoods (Safran, 1987). Apart from a very few wealthy families, the Beta Israel extracted a livelihood from work as masons and craftsmen in metal and wood. This economic necessity had widespread consequences for intercommunity relations. While masons and joiners were well-respected, the crafts associated with metal work were considered the domain of the devil by Christian and Muslim neighbors who therefore shied away from contact with Beta Israel whenever possible. Mirroring the repugnance, the Jews practiced purifying immersion after every association with gentiles. For some, adopting the Ethiopian Orthodox religion, at least outwardly, was one way of evading discrimination (Corinaldi, 1998).

For a long time, the dream of reaching Tsion-Yerusalem, the Beta Israel name for the Holy Land, remained a myth both because the community was cut off from contact with Jews in Europe and North Africa and because they harbored a fear that anyone who left the country of their birth would die (Faitlovich, 1910). The integration of the Beta Israel into the Jewish community in the world was a long process. Only after visits by a British explorer (James Bruce) in 1770 and by a representative of the Alliance Israelite Française a century later (Joseph Halévy, 1867), were the Beta Israel recognized as Jewish outside Africa. When, however, their religious practices were scrutinized by the European rabbinical establishment they were found wanting. By contrast with accepted practice in Europe, the Beta Israel prayed in Ethiopian languages (Ge'ez, Amharic) rather than in Hebrew. They did not use prayer shawls or wear skull caps. The boys' initiation was a ceremony of offering gifts to the community's rabbis (kessoch) at the age of fourteen, rather than reading the Law at the age of thirteen. And the practices attending marriage were different from those instituted by the Jewish Establishment. The Beta Israel did, however, abide by the Sabbath as the holiest of days, and observed the traditional holidays rooted in ancient pilgrimages to Jerusalem (Passover, Pentecost, and the Festival of Booths) (Wagaw, 1993, p. 18). Moreover, they opposed the practices of their Christian neighbors and rejected contact with missionaries (Zegeye, 2001). Because of what they saw as the peculiarities of Ethiopian Jewish life, the Alliance directors were skeptical of the advisability of setting up modern Francophone schools such as those the Alliance had founded in northern Africa. Their doubts were reinforced by reports of another Alliance

envoy, Nahoum, later the Chief Rabbi of the Ottoman Empire, who insisted that the Beta Israel were too 'primitive' to benefit from 'modern' education (Parfitt, 1999, p. 11).

Overcoming the isolation of Beta Israel was in many ways the project of one man, Dr. Jacques Faitlovitch, a student of Halévy's, who knew Amharic as well as French, German, and Hebrew. French circles financed two visits to Ethiopia and he lived with the Beta Israel for well over a year. Apart from his interest in mapping the community to provide reliable information, Faitlovich wanted to develop native Jewish educational institutions. He tried to convince philanthropists to contribute to setting up schools in the villages, but the Alliance remained unresponsive. Eventually, Faitlovich chose a few boys and young men of the Beta Israel to be educated in religious Jewish schools in Europe. Their story is one of failure and heartbreak. Depending on irregular grants for their support, the boys lived in boarding schools. They were lonely, some fell ill, and none of them grasped what was considered acceptable behavior in European Jewish circles. A few, who completed some systematic training in France, returned to Ethiopia to set up the first Jewish school in the country in 1913. This was to be the cradle of community rebirth in the image of European Jewry. The school had minor achievements at best. In 1932, there were only eighty pupils in the Jewish school, and only one or two of the graduates had decided to leave Ethiopia for the Holy Land, for further education.

The establishment of Israel as a Jewish state with the agenda of promoting the in-gathering of the exiles spurred further interest in the Beta Israel in Ethiopia. But probably because of Rabbi Nahoum's recorded disapproval of the group and because of the well-publicized failures of the young people that Faitlovitch had sponsored, there were delays in encouraging the immigration of Ethiopian Jews to Israel. Attempts of the Jewish Agency in the 1950s to set up schools in Ethiopia under the auspices of the Organization for Rehabilitation and Training (ORT) were aborted after a year because of a lack of funds. In the 1960s, volunteer organizations that had been set up in the United States (the American Association for Ethiopian Jews) and in England (the Falasha Welfare Organization) funded the visits of Israeli advisors to Jewish villages during the 1960s (Safran, 1987).

After 1948, debates centering on the issue of whether or not the Beta Israel practiced true Judaism were a convenient excuse for not expediting a wide-ranging aliya of the impoverished community. An exception was made for a small group of boys who reached Israel in 1955 and were sent to a religious Youth Village. Only in 1973, was the path to the in-gathering of the Beta Israel as a collective smoothed by the ruling of the Sephardi Chief Rabbi that they were indeed Jews, a ruling confirmed by the Ashkenazi

Chief Rabbi two years later.[78] These decisions were based on precedents from the rabbinical literature in the Middle Ages as well as on the call issued by the Chief Rabbis of Palestine in the 1920s to support the work of Faitlovitch because he was working among Jews (Corinaldi, 1998, p. 109). Following these decrees, an Israeli government committee could decide that the Beta Israel were eligible for immigration according to the Law of Return and that they would enjoy all the privileges that the law stipulates (Ben-Ezer, 1990). This decision was important because it provided a means for overcoming the dwindling numbers of olim.[79] For the community suffering from exclusion in Ethiopia, the possibility of living in *Tsion-Yerusalem* was for the first time a realistic alternative.

## 1.1    Ethiopian politics

The strength of the Beta Israel drive to leave Ethiopia can be understood practically in terms of the stormy politics of the area. In the twentieth century political turmoil characterized the Horn of Africa. Most of the events were detrimental to the position of Beta Israel as Ethiopian citizens. For centuries there had been mutual exclusiveness of the three foremost religious groups — the Christian Orthodox, the Muslims, and the Beta Israel. In highland Ethiopia, however, where the church was strongly identified with national patriotism, there was heightened suspicion of those who practiced different religions. There, the Beta Israel who adhered to Jewish practices suffered social and economic discrimination (Wagaw, 1993, p. 20).[80] Increasingly, moreover, the situation in Ethiopia was entangled with the European political scene. During World War I the then emperor Iyasu sided with the Central Powers and armed Muslims against Europeans and against foreigners. Only an arms embargo by the allies and the intervention of the church scotched his plans. Haile Selassi's rule as Emperor, begun in 1930,[81]

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[78] At the time, the Sephardi Chief Rabbi was Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, who later became the spiritual leader of the ethnic ultra-orthodox political party, Shas. The Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi was Rabbi Shlomo Goren, who was known for his readiness to accept compromises in religious matters. In the 1920s, during the time of the British mandate, the Chief Rabbis who had recognized the Beta Israel as Jews were Rabbi Kook and Rabbi Meir.

[79] Most of the communities in North Africa and the Middle East who were eligible for aliya had immigrated. The USSR was allowing only a small number of Jews to leave the country.

[80] The Falashmura assert that they are members of Beta Israel who were forced to convert to Christianity in order to get along under various oppressive governments. The claim is that they are members of the families of Beta Israel immigrants and therefore have the right to immigrate to Israel by right of descent. The religious requirements imposed on them are more stringent than those imposed on Beta Israel. For fuller details of the rabbinical debates, see Corinaldi, 1998.

[81] As the Regent Ras Teferri, he had been ruling since 1916 (Tareke, 1991, pp. 44-45).

promised liberal government, but, troubled by external interventions, remained highly autocratic. Throughout the 1930s, Italy attempted to subjugate Ethiopia and between 1936 and 1938 waged a full scale war of conquest. In the course of World War II, the Allies, who wanted to secure control of the Suez Canal, liberated Ethiopia from the Italian occupation. Indeed, after the war, there was a relaxation of tension. Emperor Haile Selassie persisted in furthering centralization in order to modernize of the country through the spread of trade and commerce, the cultivation of modern techniques in agriculture, and the establishment of a wide net of educational institutions. All of these measures encouraged the Beta Israel to feel part and parcel of the Ethiopian nation (Wagaw, 1993, p. 22). From the 1960s on, however, the emperor's rule was challenged by a succession of military coups that resulted in the establishment of a dictatorship under Mengistu Haile Mariam in 1974. Instead of the promised democracy the junta instituted a dictatorship. "[The new regime] posed as its peoples' savior and envisioned their prosperity and happiness within the Socialist motherland that it was building for the so-called broad masses ….. [but] grew increasingly authoritarian and intrusive" (Marcus, 1994, p. xii). Forming an opposition to the military regime, students led civilians in the organization of the Ethiopian People's Democratic Party, a party that many young people of the Beta Israel joined. At the same time, the Ethiopian army was involved in clashes with Somalia, the Sudan and Eritrea. As the various military cliques juggled for power under the dictator; the wars with neighboring countries were useful to the junta for keeping the populace under iron rule (Marcus, 1994). The EPDP plan to overcome despotism by guerilla tactics within the country was crushed by a government-initiated terror campaign against the Party and its sympathizers in 1977-1978. When Beta Israel were massacred, tortured, and imprisoned in the Red Terror campaign, the importance of Israeli recognition for the Ethiopian Jewish community was underlined (Zegeye, 2001, p. 16). Several hundred young activists who had collaborated with oppositional groups were eager to escape.

## 1.2    Education

The development of public education in Ethiopia was slow and halting, and this, of course, had effects on the educational accomplishments of the Beta Israel. Until the twentieth century, all education in Ethiopia was conducted in ecclesiastical institutions. The goals were to prepare Muslim or Christian clerics and to provide for educated groups that could be employed by the government. In 1908, Menelik II (the father of Haile Selassi) founded several secular primary schools where English or French were the languages

of instruction, again with the aim of educating capable government officials. His son, Haile Selassie, extended the project after World War II, when Ethiopia was freed from Italian rule. In the 1950s he set up a university in Addis Abbaba. But by then, in a country with a population of over forty-five million, there were only forty-three secondary schools, and less than a million students in all the schools, primary, secondary, and tertiary. Among the Beta Israel in the villages, schooling was haphazard. Children were generally taught ritual behaviors and practical crafts.

The institution and expansion of state-wide education was conceived as a means to counter political unrest that became evident in the 1970s. A wide-ranging reform was therefore begun in 1971 with the participation of the Teachers' Association and associations of university students. Very little had been accomplished, however, before Haile Selassie was banished in 1974. Sensitive to the backward technological situation of Ethiopia, the new government announced that it would extend education to all Ethiopian children and provide salary incentives to teachers so as to ensure progress. In practice, however, nothing was done to carry out the plan, despite the continued agitation of students and teachers. The Ethiopian Teachers' Association organized a series of strikes that seemed to have some effect. In 1976, reformers were authorized to prepare a new basic curriculum that would be formulated in collaboration with local peasant associations, But their work was stopped summarily by a highly placed official who blocked the transfer of control from the central administration (Ottaway, 1978, p. 175). Ultimately, although some improvement was made in the 1980s, the progress could be seen in the cities for the most part. In the 1990s universal education had still not been achieved in Ethiopia (Marcus, 1994).

## 2. EXPERIENCING ALIYA

Shortly after the coup d'état, Beta Israel Ethiopians came to Israel in small groups between 1977 and 1984. Under the new regime, however, Ethiopia cut off diplomatic relations with Israel and emigration of Beta Israel was made possible only when Israel secretly agreed to supply Ethiopia with military equipment. With the tacit agreement of the Sudanese government, an airlift — Operation Moses, was partially carried out in 1984. When news of the action was leaked, however, the Ethiopian government immediately stopped the exodus. Operation Queen of Sheba was initiated a little over a year later to rescue the Jews who had been detained in refugee camps in the Sudan when the operation was halted (Ben-Ezer, 1990, p. 184). The last big operation, Operation Solomon, was launched in November 1990. By 1991, ties were renewed and it became possible to enable large

groups of Beta Israel, mostly from Gondar, to fly directly from Ethiopia to Israel. Since then, hundreds of Ethiopians are brought to Israel every year. Although almost the entire community had reached Israel by 1997, Ethiopians are still immigrating to the state five years later, under agreements between the two governments to allow family reunification. About fifty immigrants — mostly of the Falashmura (see below) — arrived weekly during 2002 (*Ha'Aretz,* December 20, 2002, p. A11).

The operations cited above are usually called 'waves' of immigration. If truth be told, however, by contrast with the tranquil connotations of the word 'waves', the experiences of Ethiopian immigrants to Israel can only be understood as tales of struggle and hardship. Leaving their villages, the Beta Israel had to escape the vigilance of government police, and hide from the Christians and Muslims who might inform of the Jews' whereabouts to save their own skins. Barred from migration by the threat of imprisonment, many thousands had to hide their identity. Because they feared to be seen on public transportation, they walked for hundreds of kilometers. Water and food were commonly in short supply and over 4000 died while making the journey.[82] Managing to find supplies often was conditional on disguising oneself as a non-Jew, and hiding one's knowledge of a craft. Although there were also Christians among the political refugees, there was no bond between the groups, for the Christian Ethiopians held to a traditional belief that the presence of Jews in their vicinity was likely to cause illness.

The dangers did not disappear when diplomatic relations were reinstated. Even after changes in the socialist government in 1991, the emigration of the Beta Israel was problematic for Ethiopia. The fact that large groups of Ethiopians were leaving the country was something that the government did not want to publicize. Moreover, Ethiopia wanted to preserve good relations with her Arab neighbors and insisted, therefore, that having arrived in Israel, the Beta Israel would not be accommodated in the occupied territories. At the same time, Ethiopia needed USA aid and, because of the on-going clashes with Eritrea, was dependent on Israel for attaining arms. On her part, Israel insisted that there be screening of potential immigrants to check whether or not they were Jewish. Thus, even though throughout the 1990s, the Beta Israel and their families have been allowed to immigrate to Israel, the international scheming and the complicated stratagems deemed necessary created situations of stress and uncertainty (cf. Ehrlich, 1986, pp. 249-259).

There was, however, at least one significant difference in the way they prepared for aliya. While awaiting permission to leave Ethiopia in the 1990s,

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[82] Only in 2002 (*Ha'aretz,* February 14, B3) was there a decision to put up a monument to those who died in the trek through the desert.

potential olim were housed in camps set up by the Jewish Agency in Addis Ababa. There the Agency conducts courses in Jewish subjects and in Hebrew until there is an opportunity for olim to leave for Israel. Among others, the Jewish Agency tries to introduce the Beta Israel to Israeli perceptions of health, nutrition, and styles of living. Never certain of when they would indeed be allowed to leave, however, the residents of the camps could study only patchily and the studies were not easy to take on board. What the Beta Israel found was that the upheaval accompanying the move to Israel, analogous to the biblical exodus of Israelites from Egypt, includes a demand for new self-definition. At the same time, there was a promise of improved quality of life in Israel (Ben-Ezer, 1990).

But in point of fact, the emigrants had only a vague idea of the radical changes they would have to undergo and the difficulties with which they would have to cope in attempting to be 'absorbed' in the motherland (Wagaw, 1993). The concerns imposed on the Ethiopian arrivals in Israel through their placement in Immigration Centers, the cultivation of dependence on the bureaucrats who were appointed to care for, instruct, and organize their lives in the new surroundings, have to be seen as the culmination of a shattered reality (Hertzog, 1990). Having escaped one type of discrimination in a Christian state, the Beta Israel found that they were not accepted easily in their own Jewish state. The suffering of the mass departure was exchanged for the cold practicalities of living in an urbanized Jewish state uncompromising in its ardor for modernization with enormous economic and social gaps between the well-established veterans and the newcomers, and in its pedantry in the interpretation of Judaism and Jewish practices. The Chief Rabbinate required that all the Ethiopian religious leaders (the *kessoch*) participate in courses of study connected with religion. Despite the rabbinical rulings that Ethiopians are Jews, the males were required to have a symbolic circumcision and persons who want to marry must undergo immersion in a ritual bath as signs of a full "return" to the faith. These procedures of conversion, or of re-conversion as the Ethiopian immigrants see it, are mechanisms of segregation that have caused much bitterness and cynicism.

Even housing arrangements that seemed to be a contribution to their well-being often turned out to reinforce segregation. From the hotels where the Beta Israel were first housed, they were taken to caravan sites built on the edge of older settlements and cities, close but not close enough to benefit from the better schools and job opportunities. One report notes that the initial gratitude for space and air (after the close quarters of the Centers and the hotels) gave way to despair as desert sands and the cold winter rains penetrated the fragile plywood. The men could not find jobs and the children were transported for many miles to schools that were overwhelmed with the

burden of so many new immigrant pupils all at once. Early on, there were spontaneous demonstrations; families streamed to Jerusalem to demand permanent housing (Lehrer, 1993).

Apart from the imposition of new designs for living because of the types of housing available and the types of food on hand, many Ethiopian immigrants were constrained to radical changes of identity when renamed in the Israeli style for bureaucratic purposes. Names that parents had chosen for their personal meaning were often indifferently replaced with Hebrew names familiar in the Israeli milieu. Family names that did not exist in Ethiopia, were now required. Speaking Hebrew also required giving up the subtle differences in forms of address to people of different ages and different degrees of familiarity that soften face-to-face communication in Amharic (Anteby, 1999). Their own modes of describing the body were put in question. It has been shown that Ethiopian olim are misunderstood when they complain of pain or illness and require medical attention (Reiff, 1999). Insidiously the most basic "taken for granteds" are overturned in the new milieu.[83] Despite vigorous opposition in the form of public demonstrations and covert evasion of imposed structures, the Ethiopian Jews in Israel are forced into a world of duality: an intra-community world where people carry on a revised version of familiar relationships and an inter-community world where formal Israeli relationships are inescapable.

## 3.    IDEOLOGICAL DECLARATIONS AND POLICY POSITIONS

As we have seen (see Chapter 5), the Minister of Immigration and Absorption is often called upon to clarify the government's position on the specifics of assimilating groups of immigrants. This is especially important when a large number of olim from a heretofore unfamiliar location are brought to Israel. In connection with the Ethiopians the Ministry took the possibility of misunderstanding into account and regularly funded research and organized conferences as part of its efforts to find an approach suitable to the group. One such conference was held in 1994, with the aim of proclaiming how well absorption was proceeding. The Minister of Immigration and Absorption (Y. Tsaban, a member of the leftist Meretz Party) discussed the funding of social integration for the Ethiopians and

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[83] Wagaw (1993, pp. 119-120) explains that in Ethiopia children are known by their given names and the name of the father, and therefore, the family name changes from generation to generation. A married woman attaches an introductory Woizero (Mrs.) to her names from her family of origin. Furthermore, the forms of address for close relatives are distinguished from those for acquaintances, and there are distinctions in the forms of address for old and young.

cited progress among the younger people. He had a practical goal in view. To his mind, it was useful to ask whether the Ministry should go on investing large sums of money in the community as a whole. He wanted researchers to suggest solutions for residual problems that would help the Ministry and the government in their making decisions on funding. The Minister proceeded to raise the issues that are at the heart of the official ethno-national ideology of Israel. Pronouncing that the immigrants are "the generation of the desert,"[84] he asked whether the community should be encouraged to preserve its own customs and traditions, or taught to adopt Israeli ways immediately. He reminded his listeners that the issue is a general one of whether Israeli society is a melting pot, or a pluralistic society. As so often contended, he too insisted that what is not arguable is the immigrant's need to learn Hebrew. Since by 1994, it was well-known that mistakes had already been made with the community or communities of Jews from Ethiopia, Tsaban implied that the mistakes indicated that these ideological maxims had to be posed as dilemmas. He was not happy about having the official beliefs put in question, but it was clear that "these people" are special: they are polite, quiet, accepting, and disciplined. As one highly placed official of the Ministry, says, "the conclusion was that these are good immigrants" (Gdor, 1994). Their difficulties place what was formerly taken for granted in question.

The details reported at the conference are far from encouraging. Officials from the Jewish Agency and from the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption disclose that policies had been implemented under serious constraints. In housing, for example, in the few places where it turned out to be possible to allow immigrants from Ethiopia to move into apartments and fend for themselves, they were pleased with the arrangements and had managed very well. In fact, in the 1980s, the Jewish Agency had introduced the method of immigrant hostels as a provisional measure in order to pressure the government to supply permanent housing in a very short time. What changed the schedule was the fact that immigrants were organizing themselves in Gondar at about the same time as there appeared large numbers of potential immigrants from the Former Soviet Union. Officials had decided on housing Ethiopian immigrants in hostels / hotels until some reasonable temporary quarters were constructed. As a result, the mode of absorption implicated the immigrants from Ethiopia in a dilemma of "dependence versus autonomy." There was a policy decision to give them ever greater autonomy and support by social workers and officials so that

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[84]This is a reference to the Children of Israel who, as the Old Testament bears witness, left Egypt and wandered in the desert for forty years before they reached their chosen area of settlement. During this time, most of the older people died, and the new generation had to be inducted into the community for life in the Promised Land.

they would succeed in reconstructing their lives. But in practice the initial reception in hostels with all services supplied undermined the prospect that the new immigrants from Ethiopia would learn how to deal with all the challenges of independent living under conditions created by Israeli bureaucracy.

Because for the most part the skills of the immigrants could not be applied in the Israeli labor market, Gdor (1994) proposed to "absorb them by raising their standards" instead of slowly supplying them with "training course A and then training course B, then sending them to work in a factory. Then coming back after three years to see if they can be advanced.....," Gdor insists that the Ethiopians have to be pushed to realize their full potential. Obliquely he reminds the audience that the Ethiopians enrolled in vocational courses soon realized that the courses were preparing them at best for low status work, and they felt that this was subversion of the promise of education (Wagaw, 1993, p. 205). The tensions of Ethiopian experience in *Tsion-Yerusalem* are compounded for the children in the schools, who constitute sixty percent of the Ethiopian community in Israel with five children or more under the age of eighteen in about a quarter of the families (*Knesset Record,* February, 1998).

## 4.      DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

According to Swirski and Swirski (2002), the commitment to integrating immigrant pupils was carried out by means of a policy of distributing the immigrants to as many different places as possible. Repeatedly, the ideal image of an integrative class is sketched as consisting of no more than forty percent new immigrants and sixty percent native-born or veteran immigrant pupils. In the case of the Ethiopian children, however, the decision to enroll children of Beta Israel in the state religious system actually prevented the achievement of the *goal* of integration as well as the application of the presumed legitimate *means* of allocating the pupils to different classes according to what appeared to be a rational structural criterion.

As part of coalition policy, the Religious Zionist Party succeeded in having Ethiopian children of school age enrolled in state religious schools. From the point of view of the system, the addition of Beta Israel children to the state religious system was a useful boost to its student population. At the start of the Ethiopian immigration, only 19.4% of Israeli pupils were registered in primary schools of the state religious system and 22.2% in its secondary schools (*Statistical Yearbook,* 1981, XXII/17). The possibility of choice was not presented to the parents on the assumption that the Beta

Israel, with their long tradition of commitment to religion, would want children to be pupils in religious schools. In 1999/2000, almost seventy-four percent of the pupils born in Ethiopia were enrolled in state religious schools (Swirski & Swirski, 2002)[85]; but for the country as a whole enrollment in state religious primary schools was still low, 19.2%, and in state religious secondary schools, 18.2%. Indeed, the tactic of placement of Ethiopian children succeeded in strengthening the state religious school system but this succeeded only for a short time and at the expense of a serious distortion of rationality in structuring schools and classrooms. With such a distribution of pupils, it was impossible to hold to the presumed optimum quota of 40% Ethiopian children in any given class. A further obstacle was the relatively small number of state religious schools. Most of the Ethiopian pupils had to be bussed to district schools at some distance from their homes. As a result there was a high concentration of Ethiopian students in the schools they attended. In the Northern District of the state religious system, for example, well over eighty percent of the pupils are Ethiopian (see Chapter 9, Interview with District Supervisor). In the long run, this addition to the school population did not really make a difference in the proportion of enrollment in the state religious schools. Between 1989/90 and 1999/00, enrollment in the ultra-orthodox system of Independent education grew from 11.9% of the children in primary schools to 20.0% while the percentage of enrollment in state religious schools dropped (Sprinczak, Barr, Seguev, Pitterman & Levi-Mazlom, 2001, pp. 61-62).

In relating to adolescents of the Ethiopian Jewish community, the decision was to enroll all of the immigrants of Operation Moses who were between the ages of 14 and 18 in Youth Villages most of which followed the curriculum of the state-religious system. Here, too, their distribution was skewed. In 1985, Ethiopian students were enrolled in six Youth Villages and constituted 70% of the student bodies in those villages. In one village Ethiopian students made up the entire student body (cf. Adler et al., 1995). The villages trained teachers, compiled special programs of study, and invested educational know-how in integrating or absorbing the new immigrants, that is, in turning them into "Israelis." But pupils were provided with a significantly less prestigious education. For several years only 18% of the students from Ethiopia were placed in vocational streams that would lead to a matriculation certificate by contrast with 58% in the veteran population (Swirski & Swirski, 2002).

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[85] According to figures published by the Ministry of Education, Culture & Sport in 1998, out of 11,297 pupils of Ethiopian origin who reached Israel after 1980, 8,266 students were enrolled in state religious schools. Only 2,987 were enrolled in state secular schools and forty-four in schools belonging to the ultra-orthodox independent system.

# 5.    RESEARCH AND REPORTS IN THE MEDIA

Researchers have investigated the background of Ethiopian immigrant pupils, their achievements, their potential, special needs, and what has been accomplished. Some research was done to understand specifics in the background of the children of the Beta Israel. Rozen (1989), for example, relied on anthropological studies in order to shed light on the way of life that the Beta Israel knew before their immigration in order to understand better how Ethiopian immigrants can be educated. Elements that he explored include the use of fables, language, and food, as well as Jewish education.

A steady stream of research on achievements in external examinations has been funded since the first wave of immigrants from Ethiopia. As early as 1986, a study that surveyed educational achievement and adaptation to the school environment of 1442 pupils in forty-eight primary schools, disclosed that 73% of the students, including the older children, had not attended school at all in Ethiopia. Another 12% had had a year or two of schooling, and only a little more than two percent had attended school for three to six years. To their surprise, however, the researchers found that after only a year to a year and a half in the country, about a third of the researched population had reached the average level of attainment of Israeli students. About a third had low to very low achievements and about a third showed achievements that were well above average. These conclusions were based on measures of the children's general level of intelligence, their ability to work independently, their capacity for concentration and for taking initiative, as well as their ability to follow instructions. In addition, the research examined the children's control of specific skills, among them memorizing, speed in grasping arithmetic, as well as their capacity for retaining information, their capacity for understanding reading material, their command of vocabulary, their capacity for self-expression in writing, and accuracy in relation to material studied. Although the pupils encountered difficulties in original writing and in analyzing written texts, these were problems that were to be expected among children learning a new language. In tests of memory, grasp of arithmetic, capacity for concentration, and general intelligence, the mean scores of the Ethiopian pupils were far above average. In areas of practical education, over 70% of the students had accomplishments far above average in sports and in the arts. The researchers noted the importance of allocating special tutoring to groups of children whose test results are low. Despite the encouraging results for the sample as a whole, they concluded that some pupils were not performing up to par because teachers are not yet relating to immigrant children as individuals (Golan-Kook, Horowitz, & Shefatyah, 1986).

A study carried out in a religious kibbutz focused on evaluating a teaching program that deliberately undertook to help individual children realize their potential. Using validated intelligence tests, the researcher focused on the children's spatial intelligence and their aptitude for solving puzzles that require a translation from two-dimensional planes to three dimensions. As an expert in occupational therapy, her goal was to discover (a) what differences there were between native-born Israeli children and Ethiopian-born Israeli children; and (b) given that there were differences, what caused them. She found that questions that native born Israeli children could solve in several minutes, puzzled Ethiopian-born children for as long as half an hour. She explained this in terms of the lack of experience with this type of puzzle in institutions such as kindergarten and nursery school. Thus, the most important aspect of the research was that it included an analysis of specific sources of difficulties and provided guidelines for helping each child overcome his or her own 'impediment'. Rosenblum discovered that with an accurate analysis, she could indeed help the children make strides in school achievement (Rosenblum, 1994). Results showing that Ethiopian born students could and did demonstrate achievements on a normal curve were replicated in on-going follow-up surveys until 1997 and researchers show that the trend toward a normal distribution of capabilities and accomplishments is steady (Weil, 1997; Lifschitz, Noam & Buzaglo, 1997; Lifschitz, Noam & Segal, 1994). All the studies indicate that there has been a steady rise in the number of Beta Israel children who succeed in attaining high school matriculation, and that the ranges of teachers' assessments of pupils' intellectual abilities were similar to the ranges of assessments of the intellectual abilities of native-born Israelis.

Yet, five years later, in 2002, Swirski and Swirski (pp. 31 ff.) point out that schools for special education are over-populated with children of Ethiopian descent — between eight percent and fourteen percent by contrast with four to five percent of the general population. They also cite Lifschitz, Noam and Habib (1998, p. 5) to the effect that until 1995, the rate of dropout among 14 to 17 year olds was about double that of the general population. Between 1996 and 1999, there are two distinct trends. Among the recent immigrants from Ethiopia, the rate of dropout rose to 16.5%. Among the Ethiopian immigrant students who had been in the country longer, the rate fell to 5.4% — a rate even slightly below the national rate. In regard to tertiary education, in 1994, 153 students of Ethiopian extraction were enrolled, most of them (82) in the first year of study for the bachelor's degree. By 1999, the number had risen to 553 with 176 in the first year of tertiary studies, and 39 enrolled in studies for a doctorate (Swirski &

Swirski, 2002). Encouraging as they are, these numbers are still below the proportion of the group in the population.[86]

## 6.    SOCIAL INTEGRATION

As to social integration, findings are far less satisfactory. Weil's (1997) research included a section on social integration. She compiled a questionnaire and distributed it to 120 people who had graduated from Israeli schools in the late 1980s. In order to learn as much as possible about the contribution of schools to social integration she planned in-depth interviews with about a dozen of the respondents. The schedule for the interviews coincided with what became known as, the "blood affair," an affair that showed how little the schools had in fact achieved toward this end. During this affair, the community that had heretofore presented itself as calm and collected, erupted in noisy demonstrations. The uprising occurred when it was learned that the Red Magen David (Star of David: the Israeli parallel to the Red Cross) was accepting donations of blood from Ethiopian Jews, but simply spilling the blood without screening because there were many AIDS-carriers in the community; In the framework of the study that was being conducted at the time, candidates for interviews refused to meet interviewers whether they were veteran Israelis or even veteran immigrants from Ethiopia. From their point of view, what had been done in the schools was irrelevant. Social integration had obviously not been accomplished. Weil (1997) quotes one interviewee as saying:

> The absorbing society has to be patient in dealing with the immigrants who succeeded in reaching the land of their dreams. In every government office, in every institution, [veteran] Israelis are the ones who have the jobs and are supposed to offer services. They don't make the smallest effort to understand the Ethiopian and his difficulties. There are even some who call us names, curse and make us feel inferior; they encourage us to be different in the negative sense of the term.

There have also been cases of outright discrimination in schools. As early as 1985, the Ministry of Education attempted to take drastic measures against an ultra-orthodox (Habad) school in the south that refused to register

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[86] In the year 2000 there were 24,000 people of Ethiopian origin between the ages of fifteen and twenty-nine. Of these: 14,100 were of ages appropriate for tertiary education. All together, 1,700 were born in Israel; 6,800 had arrived in Israel before 1889; 15,600 had come to Israel in the decade of the 1990s.

'any more' Ethiopian pupils. The excuse was that already more than a third of the pupils at the school were from Ethiopia and admitting more would lead to the deterioration of school standards. Furthermore, veteran parents had raised objections. Directives from the Ministry of Education made it clear that there was no legal basis for refusing to enroll Ethiopian children. Yet when the school appealed to the High Court of Justice, the judges upheld the right of the school to autonomy in the realm of receiving students because it belonged to the independent stream and was not officially part of the state system. The ruling asserted that "By law only the Director-General of the Ministry of Education has the obligation to provide education for all children." All the people involved insisted that racial discrimination had nothing to do with the story, because after all, "we are all Jews" (Wagaw, 1993, p. 223).

Since then, there have been incidents in state schools where parents have refused to register their children because a school has a large population of Ethiopian children. A local newspaper reported in 1997, for example, that a state school in a nearby town south of Tel Aviv would soon be closing down because of the trend. From a population of 506 children in 1992, registration for the school had dropped to 274 in 1997. Furthermore, of the 32 children enrolled in the first grade, 25 were Ethiopians. The Head of the Education Department of the town is quoted as saying, "We don't want to maintain a school where all the pupils are of Ethiopian origin. Today the condition is ok, but I don't know what will happen in the future, and how many of the veterans will run away in the future from the second through the sixth grades [leaving a population of 100% Ethiopians] . … I am afraid that the school will have to close" (*Nes Tsiona Weekly,* 9.05.1997). Cases in the south, in the city of Ashdod, and in the north, in Haifa, show that prejudice still abounds. In both places, veteran Israeli parents insisted on transferring their children from a state religious kindergarten because they did not want their children to remain in a class with many children of Ethiopian parents (TV, First Network, 9:00 p.m., December 15, 2002).

Incidents have also been caused by decisions of the school staffs. In 1998, a school in the north was closed to children coming from a site where Ethiopians were housed in temporary caravans because of an unconfirmed rumor that tuberculosis had broken out in the camp (*Knesset Record,* February, 1998). There is also prejudice in secondary education. At a relatively prestigious religious high school for girls, students complained that an all-Ethiopian class had been set up for special tutoring for matriculation exams. The girls were assigned to a separate class even though their marks were as good as those of veteran students. When they remonstrated, the principal explained that *because the Ethiopian girls were entitled to some easier conditions in the matriculation exams, it was actually*

*to their advantage to be in a separate class.*[87] "We couldn't put veteran pupils in the class because they don't have the same rights to extra hours of study. We did what other schools have done and the inspector approved." Still, after the protest, he promised that there would soon be a test and those girls who were capable of studying in a regular class would be transferred (*Kav Ha'ofek*, October 4, 1997, p. 3).

The grievances have not been allayed. In January 2003, students from among the Ethiopian immigrants studying at universities and colleges throughout the country demonstrated in Jerusalem, opposite the offices of the Ministry of Education. They were protesting repeated incidents of segregation in schools at every level and demanded the elimination of separate classes for Ethiopian pupils. The demonstrators added examples of their own — from their non-integration in a religious secondary school to their being assigned to preparatory classes "especially for Ethiopians" at the university. As they experience it, the separation imposes expectations of a low level of achievement and those anticipations are usually fulfilled. The long-range outcome of what is turning out to be educational deprivation will be, to their minds, the mushrooming of crime and gang wars in neighborhoods populated by Ethiopian immigrants (Wasserman, 2003). The New Economic Program of Sharon's second government (2003- ), which has institutionalized extensive cuts in welfare as in education, is taking a toll in the integration of Ethiopian immigrants (Elgazi, 2003, p. B4).

But this incident and many others show that Ethiopian parents and children have been confronted with actions that are dangerously close to racial discrimination. Decision-makers have been called up sharply by evidence that the laws do not take into account all the obstacles to the integration of Ethiopian children in the schools. Officially, the Ministry of Education denounces racism and any situation that breeds inequalities. No wonder, then, that the account of how the system reacts to children of Ethiopian origin is more diverse when specific educational organizations are examined. From interviews and observations, we learned that people who come in contact with immigrants from Ethiopia revise derogatory tags in line with their interpretation of particular school events. In the following we will describe some school environments, note how Ethiopian pupils are perceived by teachers in different schools, sketch events related to teaching and learning, and how schools perform the social integration of immigrant pupils from Ethiopia.

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[87] The easier conditions include the right to be tested on 70% of the material in Bible Studies without having to study the hermeneutic interpretation, and the right to be tested according to a questionnaire prepared by the teachers of the school in the humanities.

# 7.    SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS

School environments where immigrant pupils from Ethiopia are received during the first year after their arrival in Israel vary from settings whose neglect conveys the message that the new immigrant children are outsiders, to carefully cultivated grounds where they are part of the whole. Here are some examples.

a. In a large urban post-primary school in the north, the 'absorption' of immigrant pupils is a mission that is taken very seriously. Like all newcomers, Ethiopian pupils are enrolled in introductory courses for learning Hebrew. They are placed in all-Ethiopian segregated classes "for their own good." The school is a relatively new building, with a sophisticated architectural design of an inner courtyard and classrooms leading off it. Adjacent structures house an assembly hall, a synagogue, a pool and sports fields. The new immigrants (Russians and Ethiopians alike), however, have their classes in shabby poorly constructed buildings outside the grounds of the main school building. Their classrooms are surrounded by unkempt, cluttered grounds. Once used for activities of a youth movement, the building is now only used for the classes of new immigrants, to which pupils from Ethiopia are bussed from a suburb of the city. After class, they are immediately bussed back.

b. A youth village associated with state religious education, presents a contrasting picture. The surroundings are dotted with trees, shrubs, and flowers. There are no distinctions between the accommodations for newcomers and those for 'Israelis' or foreign students who pay tuition, for that matter. In the dormitories, the three or four children in every room represent at least two countries of origin. Thus, Ethiopian children share rooms with residents from Israel, the United Kingdom, or Latin America. Similarly there are no distinctions in terms of the structures or the attention given to them between the classrooms of the newcomers and those of the veteran children.

c. A primary school we visited in a town in a rural area has an asphalt courtyard where all the children play during recess. For considerations of security, the school grounds are enclosed by a metal fence in which there is a narrow entrance with a guard. Children from Ethiopia are enrolled in regular classes from the start. For most of the day they are in class with veteran peers. Paraprofessionals are in the classroom to help newcomers in lessons in crafts or sports where the instructions for activities are given in Hebrew that they may not yet understand. Tutoring is available for newcomers in separate classrooms only during selected lessons. All the rooms are in the same building.

# 8.     PERCEPTIONS OF ETHIOPIAN PUPILS IN INFORMAL TEACHER TALK

a. Early impressions: On visiting schools in the late 1980s, Wagaw (1993) heard highly positive reactions from the principals he talked to, and pained reactions from the teachers. The principals of primary schools and youth villages that he met saw the Ethiopians as "good people". Most of the interviewees had been immigrants from Morocco in the 1950s, and they were quick to see the similarities between their experiences as children and those of the Ethiopian children then in their care. They insisted that the cultural practices that the Ethiopians had brought with them have to be respected. The teachers, on the other hand, had to cope with the hardship of dealing with children unaccustomed to the demands of schooling, including the daily habits that, to their minds, school attendance requires. They complained that Ethiopian children came to school in rags, often unwashed. They usually did not have notebooks or writing utensils, so the teacher had to take the time to distribute materials. Often they came late with excuses, such as "I had to go and buy bread" or "I had to mind the baby." And they were so shy that they almost never participated in the lessons.

Since integration was the most important educational goal in the eyes of the school staff, the dilemma of the community's resistance to the new immigrant children was already a constant concern. Probably because they wanted to make an impression on the visitor from an American university, teachers told Wagaw that social integration of the Beta Israel children was proceeding apace and that "in a couple of years" veteran parents would overcome their fear that Ethiopian pupils were hindering progress of their own children. On his part, Wagaw was disheartened by what he observed in the classrooms. The children had a wide range of learning problems; they lacked motivation; and their appearance was extremely untidy. It seemed as if the children were in need of more attention and more individual tutoring. Although they asserted that they were eager to do more, the teachers felt that they were helpless in the face of administrative obstacles.

b. The situation of the Ethiopian pupils does not seem to have changed since the interviews that Wagaw conducted. More recently, a teacher in a youth village recalled mishaps that had attended her immigration as a child and talked about the Ethiopian students with empathy:

> I am one of those who think that we never knew how to absorb immigrants. I can talk about myself and my family … nothing remains of our heritage. I wanted so much to be exactly like the red-headed Sabar, that only now ... do I understand what a loss that was

.... We must not let that happen again to this nice wave of immigration from Ethiopia.

(translated from Shteinhart, 2000, p. 178)

The sentiment is not always translated into actions in the school. Despite dissemination of research findings (Eisikovits & Beck, 1990) and the explicit instruction from the Ministry of Education, many teachers do not allow pupils to refer to what they experienced on the way to Israel, or to speak Amharic among themselves. As one teacher put it, she is convinced that "the faster those pupils forget what they went through and overlook the family problems that they have in the caravan villages, the more successfully will they be integrated. And that, after all, is exactly what they themselves want." Overall, teachers who work with Ethiopian pupils in the schools agree that they are obligated to the instructions of the Ministry as they are channeled through the *Circular Letters* of the Director-General. However, the daily contact with pupils enables them to draw conclusions of their own about "what Ethiopians are like" and about the kinds of appropriate teaching-learning.

c. Characterizations of the pupils from Ethiopia are varied even in a single school. In a primary school in the state religious system, where we conducted observations, for example, the homeroom teacher talks about some Ethiopian boys as "very problematic" but she asserts that she has been successful with them because she creates a relaxed atmosphere in the class. A remedial teacher who meets with children in groups of three makes more wide ranging assessments. She knows that "the Ethiopian children are culturally disadvantaged and need fostering ... They have shallow modes of thinking, without depth, without intensity. Their memory is not sharp enough. ... They lack the characteristics of Israeli children: the sophistication, the ability to manipulate materials. ... " In summing up her reactions, however, she is quite content to cite the official slogan, "you have to relate to all of them as equals."

In the same school, the sports teacher proclaims that he "loves Ethiopians" and thinks that they should be integrated through their talent for sports and for crafts ("they are wonderful at ceramics, aren't they?"). Having taught children from Ethiopia for twenty-three years, this teacher "knows their character very well" and he is convinced that he can explain why their scholastic achievements are not high. In academic studies the children in the school have problems because they all come from a neighborhood where the residents are almost all Ethiopians. "They keep their tribalism. They don't have anybody to learn from." Ethiopian children are also different from native-born children in the way they demonstrate anger. "Israeli children get annoyed and yell and curse. Children from Ethiopia don't do that. They keep

everything in their belly and when they break out, they are violent 'until they see blood'."

   d. In a primary school of the state (secular) system in a town with a population of about 30,000, about twenty percent of the pupils are from Ethiopia. The principal explains that immigration has been "very traumatic" for the Ethiopian pupils "because they come from a different world." That is to say, from a world in which westernized ways are unknown. Yet, for children from families that came to Israel during Operation Moses (ca. 1985), it is a little easier because many are "from an urban environment". In this school, the rule is to help the children feel at home by having everybody study about their land of origin. The principal stresses the importance of building mutual understanding and good relations between native-born Israelis and the Ethiopian immigrant children. There is also an institutionalized acceptance of the principle that learning about Ethiopia makes an important contribution to the pupils' self-image. Ethiopia is a topic in the formal curriculum in the fourth, fifth and sixth grades. In the fourth grade everybody learns about families in different countries and through the stories of families they learn about life in those countries. In the fifth grade, all the pupils have "a wonderful reader with stories from and about Ethiopia". N. is careful not to talk about parents' education or lack of it, but explains that it is important to stress reading "because when children come from different homes, you have to promote literacy." In the sixth grade the curriculum includes a geography project about Ethiopia. There are also lessons in the Russian language that some Ethiopian children attend. "We are thinking about providing lessons in Amharic. It is difficult because the teacher in our school who knows the language doesn't know how to write it." Showing how the school is fostering self-confidence among the Ethiopians in the community, N. describes a school event where Ethiopian parents saw their children dance and sing Ethiopian songs. In her words, they "were radiant."

   e. In an urban post-primary school, a teacher of children who arrived from Ethiopia only a few months before, explained that teaching them Hebrew was like teaching children with special needs. "You need to make everything concrete. We invest a lot of 'blood, sweat, and tears' in explaining simple things. Most of the pupils never went to school; maybe some did go through the first and second grades." She discloses her pedagogical principle: "You need a lot of patience to provide them with the basic skills of understanding what they read and all the rest...." A teacher in the junior high school has nothing to say about problems of learning, but thinks that the Ethiopian children who have been in the country for some time are very friendly and outgoing.

f. Teachers in a youth village are frustrated by what they see as paltry outcomes of their pedagogical efforts. Because they see excessive adherence to technical instructions and to orders, teachers of Ethiopian pupils in the ninth or tenth grades conclude that "these pupils," who show no inclination to be autonomous, "will not be able to cope with the matriculation examinations" that are required in the eleventh and twelfth grades (Shteinhart, 2000, p. 192). In their assessment, Ethiopian immigrant pupils must not be allowed to make progress too quickly because they can't be relied on to recognize gaps and to fill them in themselves (Shteinhart, 2000, p. 212).

As we have seen above, teachers in different school settings describe Ethiopians according to the experiences they themselves have had with them. As it turns out, although almost all of them have some reservations about the academic potential of the Ethiopian students in general, there is, when all is said and done, no single image of 'the Ethiopian pupil.' Moreover, all the teachers who describe the behaviors of children who belong to the Ethiopian community agree that the children who were born in Israel to immigrants from Ethiopia are "different". They are "almost" like the mythical 'Sabar' who is rough and tough and direct, but sweet inside.

What is actually carried out in the school settings depends on the physical surround, the definitions of the teaching tasks, the classroom situations that develop, and the perceived behaviors of the pupils.  It turns out that the performance of integration is a conglomeration of varied actions.


## 9.    TEACHING-LEARNING

As one might expect, in schools the greatest efforts have been invested in advancing new immigrant pupils from Ethiopia in the cognitive domain. At the same time, educators are aware that pupils who are integrated socially are likely to have higher achievements in learning. We will look at observations of teaching and learning carried out in primary and secondary schools of different kinds both in the past and in recent times.

a. In the late 1980s, Wagaw found secondary school students mostly apathetic and uninterested in the types of lessons in which they had to participate. The teachers seemed to him to be teaching them the rudiments of arithmetic and of the Hebrew language valiantly. Not only did the material not interest the pupils, but while the teachers attempted to instruct them, the students were busy talking to one another about events outside the school. Much of the talk in class was in broken Hebrew interspersed with Amharic. In his view, the apathy was the result of their difficulties in adjusting to life in Israel. When Wagaw asked students about their lives, he discovered that

the "Operations" that had brought thousands of Beta Israel to the country were impressive, even spectacular, as projects, but were far less colorful when examined in terms of individuals' ordeals. Many of the pupils were still traumatized by the experiences they had undergone in the course of their aliya. They had walked hundreds of kilometers, seen death at close hand. Some of the young women had been married off on the way; some had been raped, and there were cases where girls had given birth while they were in the middle of the trek. Some of the pupils had reached Israel by themselves. They were pursued by guilt feelings for having abandoned grand-parents, parents and siblings. In the meantime, their families thought that the olim had reached a place where resources were abundant. Some of the pupils showed Wagaw letters in which the parents described conditions of impoverishment, even destitution, and pleaded with them to send money. The constant worry threw a pall over the rather childish obligation to sit in classrooms.

The traumas of the 1980s are not part of the immediate experience of the pupils who have been entering the schools since 1991. Thus, decisions as to what pedagogical measures to adopt were now made on the basis of justifiable educational considerations. Often, however, attempts at good didactic practice fall flat.

b. In one secondary school, for example, an observer noted that the teacher was investing efforts to help pupils make progress at their own pace. She distributed task cards to individuals or to pairs on the understanding that when they completed the task, they would go on to the next, more advanced, one. What happened was that those pupils who completed the task waited for the teacher to approach them. Since she did not always notice this, the pupils resorted to coloring or decorating their notebooks instead of going on to some new challenge (Shteinhart, p. 216).

c. In an urban high school, a teacher trained in special education is deputed to teach a class of almost thirty fourteen year old pupils, only one or two of whom had attended school before. Thus, as they learn Hebrew, the children are also learning what it means to go to school. The classroom is decorated with pictures of objects and the words that go with them. There are 'corners' with simplified reading books and work pages. In imparting vocabulary, the teacher points to objects, pronounces the appropriate word, sometimes in a sentence, and has children — either singly or as a group — repeat the word after her. For instruction in writing, the teacher spends time demonstrating the directionality of writing Hebrew (right to left), articulates the words emphatically to signal that each word has an end, and to indicate that in writing it is important to leave spaces between words. Children fill up the pages in their notebooks without leaving room for margins either at the sides or at the top or bottom of the page. They seem to have a "horror of a

vacuum" even though the teacher reminds them that spaces are necessary if anybody is to understand what they have written. Here, as in the other schools observed, the learning materials available for the pupils who are making progress emphasize Israeli norms and patterns of living. The experience of immigration is overlooked in the teaching. Ethiopian students are encouraged, however, to prepare songs and dances to perform at a school show that will be put on shortly.

d. At an elementary school, the staff approaches integration in several different ways. First of all, children are spurred to become 'Israelis' by acquiring a command of the Hebrew language as soon as possible. But the cultural origins of the pupils are recognized in an additive approach to the curriculum (see Banks, 1981). Ethiopians are given special recognition in a fourth grade class where the class is drawing maps and sorting pictures of typical village houses in Ethiopia. The point is to emphasize the unity of the Jewish people. There is some effort to assign meaning in a broader context through appropriate readings as well. On the wall, for example, there is a poem about friends of many colors. In unrhymed translation, it says:

**Friends of Many Colors**
I have a friend who is chocolate brown.
When I am sad, he is always so nice.
Sure he is very different from me,
But how can I give up a friend like that?
I have a friend with eyes of blue.
She's the one I tell all my secrets to.
Sure she is very different from me,
But how can I give up a friend like that?
I have a friend with red hair and freckles.
He is always lots of fun.
Sure he is very different from me.
But how can I give up a friend like that?
I have lots of friends, what fun!
Many different colored friends:
Brown, orange, black and white -
How lucky I am to have such friends!

e. In another primary school we visited in the north of the country, we observed classes working on the Ministry of Education project, "Combinations (Shiluvim)." This is a project that focuses on learning with the object of helping Ethiopian children catch up on the types of learning and the materials they would have acquired had they attended an Israeli kindergarten. Observation in one class showed that materials of the project

are systematically graded work sheets in arithmetic and in the Hebrew language — vocabulary and reading comprehension. The teacher explained how to analyze the arithmetic questions on the sheet, what was to be done and the children worked individually at their desks. After the frontal explanation, the teacher walked from desk to desk to give help where she saw a child having difficulty. When a child completed the work sheet, she could go on to the next. There was a buzz of activity in the room. No child seemed  stressed.

f. Schools in several towns south of Tel Aviv[88] have been funded by the North American Association for Ethiopian Jewry to provide two hours of "learning activities" after the regular school day. Participants are Ethiopian children whose achievements are not on a par with those of their homeroom classes. With a teacher for every group of eight children, the materials are designed to impart efficient learning habits and apply them to the regular curriculum. After the tutoring, the children disperse to enrichment classes in music, art, and sports. We are told that the special attention has enabled eighty per cent of the children who evidenced learning difficulties to reach the level required of their grade and even surpass it (*Educational Channel,* March 2001, p. 4).

g. An instance of how social integration can indeed help immigrant Ethiopians to advance as Israelis can be seen even in an extra-curricular project that demands high involvement.  In the community center of a town in the south, Ethiopian adolescents who are dropouts from secondary school participate in a project of community theater. Weekly practice includes work on improvisations and on scenes from well-known plays. When observed they were taking turns practicing monologues and critiquing one another in preparation for a competition the following week. The director, an actor who himself grew up in a peripheral area of the country, uses the theater as a means to cultivate the self-esteem and self-confidence of the youths. They tell the observer that their home town is a "tomb" where there is nothing for young people to do and no hope for a decent future. As participants in a theater group, however, these same young people have already met with theater buffs from one of the most well-to-do areas of Israel. More important, they have dared compete for stipends to drama courses for promising actors from all over the country and an observer reports on the celebration where they sang and performed scenes from their new play in honor of the members of the troupe who had succeeded (Rotem, 2001).

h. As seen above, the programs that emphasize academic achievement, also cultivate social integration more or less directly. In the religious youth village, social integration is taken to be the unifying axis for all the

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[88] The towns are Ramleh, Lydda, Rehovoth, and Beer Yaakov.

educational undertakings. The idea is to have Ethiopian folkways interwoven in the daily life of all the people in the community — staff and pupils. Work with new immigrants is defined as building bridges between people of different origins. In the eyes of the Director (see Chapter 9), the best way to do this in the religious Youth Village is by implementing the study of religious texts for easing tensions between groups. The underlying principle is to insist that for whatever issue is at hand, there is a presentation of a customary Ethiopian understanding alongside construals of practices in other communities. Furthermore, there is agreement with the staff that the practices, especially the religious practices, that are accepted in the Village must reflect the deliberations of the group as a whole where everybody, including those who have come from Ethiopia, has a voice. Teachers plan activities so as to ensure that the European ways are not always the ones that prevail. We observed this in the daily prayers and in a Bible study class.

In the synagogue of the youth village, where the pupils meet to pray at least twice a day, parts of the Ethiopian liturgy are integrated into the regular service. Thus, Ethiopian Judaism is part of the daily experience of all the students, and of the staff. In one of our observations, the issue at hand in the Bible study class was how to observe Purim, a holiday roughly analogous in its practices to that of the pre-Lent carnivals in Europe. The holiday marks the escape of the Jews from the designs against them of Haman, a minister of the Persian King Xerxes. The biblical Chronicle of Esther relates that the community was saved because the King, having banished his wife after an argument, chose the lovely Jewess to replace her as his queen. According to tradition, Esther abstained from taking food for several days to foil Haman's plan to execute Jews. Once she was certain of that, all were invited to a grand celebration. Among European Jews, the custom is to commemorate the events by fasting for a day and then celebrating with a festive meal. In Ethiopia, the custom was quite different. There the Jews fasted for three days following Esther. Ethiopian olim learned of the happy end and of the religious obligation to be merry only when they arrived in Israel. In the Bible lessons that took place just before the holiday, the teacher asked pupils from Ethiopia to describe how they had observed Purim in their home villages. He then told the class about the customs of two other Jewish communities in Africa — one on the Island of Jerba and one in the Atlas Mountains. The teacher then explained that none of the communities had any way of communicating with one another or with communities in other parts of the world. This information led to a class discussion on the merits and demerits of each community's customs. The Ethiopian pupils participated with verve giving details that they remembered from their childhood about the atmosphere in the village and about the fast. Relating to the information that in Europe the fast was supposed to lead to festivities, they hypothesized that

had their villages been in another section of the continent, they might well have learned a good deal earlier that the outcome of Haman's threat to destroy the Jewish community over two thousand years ago had ended in his own bitter defeat.

Another instance of using the religious instruction to build bridges, is one that we were told had taken place several years before. Among Ethiopian Jews, it was customary to follow the ancient practice of sacrificing sheep to begin the Passover holiday. The source is the biblical description of the exodus from Egypt, when, it is noted, God directed the Jews to sprinkle a few drops of sheep's blood on the gates of their houses. Thus, He would know not to punish the Jewish families when he was spreading the plagues. In the context of European Jewish beliefs, sacrifice has been forbidden since the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in 69 C. E. by the Romans. In the youth village, the staff decided to let the matter be a subject of discussion. They brought a sheep to the village as a sign that they were willing to weigh the possibility of carrying out the sacrifice according to the Ethiopian custom. The sheep was tied to a post about two weeks before the holiday. For several days, there were discussions in and out of class about what to do with the sheep. Some argued on the basis of the written Law (the Old Testament), citing the biblical injunction, in favor of sacrificing the sheep, while others opposed it on the basis of the Oral Law, the rabbinical commentaries in the Talmud. There were those who argued against killing an animal in our time because it was a sin to offer sacrifices when the Temple was no longer standing, or rather not yet rebuilt. The argument went on for several weeks in the course of which the Ethiopians came to the conclusion that there was no need actually to carry out the sacrifice. The point of these discussions, as the teacher explained, had been to give a full hearing to the precedents that were valid in Ethiopia.

## 10.   SCHOOL BEHAVIORS

In general, the behavior of Ethiopian pupils in class reinforces the tendency to see them as quiet and submissive.

a. In the urban post-primary school, the behavior of the Ethiopian pupils, all of whom are newcomers, is retiring. During instruction, the atmosphere is one of seriousness and quiet. The choral repetition of new words and sentences is intense, but not really noisy. When they write, the students furrow their brows, showing deep concentration. Some seem to have trouble managing the pen; they hold their hands in a cramped position. They respond with smiles to encouragement from the teacher. Teaching aides — two women soldiers who received special training in methods — approach

pupils who need help, provide an explanation, and sometimes pat the child on the head or on the back. Outside the classroom, when walking to or from the bus that brings them to school and back; as during recess, many of the Ethiopians huddle in pairs and threesomes. Girls chat quietly with one another in Amharic. There seem to be more boys than girls walking or sitting alone. At the school there is a lot of informal sports activity — impromptu soccer, sallies of shooting baskets. Ethiopian boys tend to sit on the sidelines and watch. Occasionally, two or three Ethiopian pupils take a dip in the pool. Only once in the series of observations that we recorded were two boys invited to join a game of soccer to fill out the numbers of players on teams made up of immigrant Russian pupils. This was not done automatically, however. Once when the soccer players decided that they needed reinforcements for the teams, they first invited the researcher-observer, a young woman with a slight physique. Only when she politely refused did they invite the Ethiopian boys who were looking on.

b. In a state secular primary school, the Ethiopian children in the lower classes were born in Israel and therefore had been to an Israeli nursery school and kindergarten. Apart from their color there was nothing to distinguish them in behavior from the other pupils — children of Russian immigrants who had been born in Israel, and the children of native-born Israelis. Still, the teacher explained that she had hung the poem quoted above on the wall because of an uncomfortable incident. A child whose parents were from Ethiopia asked a classmate whose parents are of Russian extraction, to lend him some crayons. She refused to hand them to him because, she blurted out, "My mother said not to give anything to the blacks." The teacher was astounded because "she is a good little girl." Then she stopped what they were doing and wrote "what is black?" on the board and asked the children for suggestions. They gave all kinds of examples, mentioning asphalt, black animals, black woods, but not one mentioned Ethiopians. That's because the children connect the Ethiopians with brown. The teacher was proud to quote the little girl as summarizing the talk by saying, "I'll tell my mother that they are not black. They are people just like us." "And today she is the first to help out when an Ethiopian child has forgotten something!"

c. At the religious Youth Village over forty percent of the pupils are Ethiopian immigrants, or the children of Ethiopian immigrants. They move with a security that we did not observe in other schools. They are very active in the classrooms, calling out responses, taking part in discussions, and have no compunctions about taking charge of extra-curricular activities. To some extent, therefore, the presence of Ethiopian pupils does not attract any particular attention. Still, the multi-cultural make-up of the student population leads to clashes from time to time. Native-born Israeli pupils

have been heard to make disparaging remarks. In response, the Ethiopians can be very rough and aggressive. Following the policy of the village, the teachers do not ignore these confrontations. The educational measures they take in these instances rely on the wealth of material in the Torah and in the Talmud (the Oral Law). They use traditional legends, descriptions of social situations, and pithy quotations from the Books of Proverbs and the Psalms, as well as from axioms in the "Chapters of the Fathers", to reinforce considerate behaviors.[89]

## 11.    CONCLUDING REMARKS

Speeches of Members of the Knesset are based on a stereotypical image of Ethiopian society as static, passive, and primitive with a need for intensive intervention to effect modernization. Given this image, it is easy to adapt a stance of knowledgeability and certainty that with the correct instruction, the community as a whole will be assimilated and "drawn up to" the social 'level' of the veteran population of the state. The anthropological and sociological profiling of Ethiopians contrasts with this classification. The "Ethiopian olim" are not all from the same area of Ethiopia; they have brought to Israel the distinctive points of view, the differences, and the rivalries that were part of their lives in the country of origin. Moreover, as always with immigration, the groups that have come to Israel are undergoing dynamic social change. Culturally they are confronted by overwhelming pressures in Israel. The very actions that are pointed to as indicators of passivity can in fact be analyzed as types of resistance to the unbridled ignorance and stereotyping met with in Israeli society (Kaplan, 1999).

At the 1994 conference noted above, the Minister of Immigration and Absorption defines the problem of his Ministry as one of solving the ideological dilemma: Is Israel to be a "melting pot" or a "pluralistic" state? His formulation is faithful to the generalizations of the official ideology, but has little to do with the context of schooling. Once the *scene* is moved to schools, the dilemma of *purpose* has to be rephrased in terms of the possibilities for *agency* that are available in typical school *acts*. One horn of the dilemma is represented by the implementation of policy that relies on the stereotypical categorization and its derivative logic. The bureaucratic methods of assigning places to live upon arrival, regulating the study of Hebrew and the time needed for attaining a good command of the language, allocating particular vocations to Ethiopians and handing the children over

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[89] The "Chapters of the Fathers" is a compendium of proverbs that serve as guidelines for the laity in conducting daily life.

en masse to state religious schools (including the Youth Villages). These measures were designed to solve national economic, social, and educational problems as interpreted by the parties involved in government. In light of the official characterization of the Beta Israel, these actions could also be defended as procedures that were both logical and appropriate for this type of people. The global characterization of the Ethiopian olim was based, however, on a twofold assumption that was repeatedly disconfirmed when applied in the past. The state assumes that these immigrants not only need help in understanding how the country that is new to them is run, but also have to be taught what is most important for themselves. In retrospect, it is easy to see that in "doing the best" for a community described as primitive and tribal, the state made plans in terms of failed stereotypes and rationalized the plans so as to ensure the viability of hegemonic constraints. Schools, on their part, can be seen to have taken on the state's approach and in some cases attempted to moderate the stylized orientation that is conveyed by the state and its deputized delegates by implementing professional ideals of looking at the pupil as a person in her own right. When educators resort to a pedagogical stand, they have to find a balance between patent conflict with the orientation of the state and disregard for the real properties of home and family. Although educators, like other government officials declare themselves eager to do the 'right thing', both approaches stem from a tendency to see only the negative aspects of the immigrant's previous (and current) circumstances and this can have tragic consequences (Feuerstein in 1957, quoted in Poskanzer, 2000, p. 85).

Statistics show that neither of the orientations has worked for the good of either the Beta Israel or the state. In October 1997, *Kav Ha 'Ofek,* the journal of the Association of Ethiopians in Israel, reports that 3,500 pupils transferred from state religious to state schools during the school year, 1996-97. An official points out that "The process is natural. But there is a risk of dropout: If a pupil throws away the family tradition, he is likely to throw away the connection with the family home, and in the end he is liable to drop out of the educational system." As noted above, dropout from schools was sometimes as high as 16% among new immigrants from Ethiopia. Moreover, dropout may be a step to delinquency. In February, 1998, the police reported that 9% of the delinquents between the ages of 12 and 18 were Ethiopians. The materials cited in this chapter indicate how muddled the *agency* (the means) has been.

What happens with the children in schools can be seen to be consequent on the general framework of misunderstanding that surrounds the absorption of the community. Overall, the thrust of the learning materials is to turn the Ethiopians into Israelis. The message is strong but not unambiguous. The pertinence of the subjects that pupils have to learn is not self-evident. No

two teachers phrase explanations in precisely the same words. Books and activities that are taken for granted in a given school are not necessarily the same as those that are taken for granted in another institution. As to content, the materials focus on the experiences of children who grow up in Israel. This world is unfamiliar and sometimes threatening to the children who are living in neighborhoods where most of the residents are from Ethiopia. At home, and for most of the day, these children are immersed in webs of statuses that are perpetuated in mother tongue oracity, the language of communication among "our own." There, recreation is to be found in videos that recall Ethiopian landscapes and provide comforting vignettes of life among familiar people (Anteby, 1999).

This world is ignored in school where the people encountered are quite different — though not all of the same cloth. Some are new immigrants from other places; some are native-born Israelis. Many of the peers that Ethiopian children meet in the schools are not at all interested in making friends. They find themselves viewed as the ultimate "other". Some of the peers do approach these newcomers; usually their interest is in something "sweet" or "enchanting" or "exotic" (Peri, 1990). Even when the institution as a whole, as in the religious Youth Village, is mobilized massively to structure the curriculum and the extra-curricular activities so as to take into consideration the web of Ethiopian life, the "Zhirinovsky's", inevitably it would seem, occasionally give free rein to racist cliches. Such harassment is likely to cause social and psychological harm. Racism also rears its head as a "problem of color" when parents give voice to their prejudices. But it is equally widespread in the form of "not noticing" that adolescent Ethiopian boys are better candidates for a spontaneously organized high school soccer game than a "normal" Israeli young woman.

Another issue is the trivialization of Ethiopian culture as amiable, if simplistic, folklore. Pupils are encouraged to perform 'authentic' Ethiopian dances and songs for an end of the year school party. Ignored are the actual tastes of the youngsters, their inclination to adopt the music of rap and rock, the music of protest (Kaplan, 1999).[90] Similar is the idea that it is possible to involve parents in the work of the school by inviting them to "share Ethiopian culture," i.e., to bring a special food to a school event. From the usage, we learn that by summing up group differences as diversity of 'culture', the dominant groups avoid confronting the intricate macro- and micro-relationships regulated by age, gender, vocation, and geographical

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[90] In 2002, for the first time, a popular hit was written by a group that comprises both native-born Israelis and Ethiopian Israelis. The rock music accompanies lyrics in Hebrew with interludes declaimed in Amharic (see also Karpel, 30/05/03, p. 36).

location that mark the complex world of the Ethiopian students and their parents (Weil, 1994).

Many of the highly rational organizational behaviors have also been disclosed as blunders. Children who had never been to school were placed in classes according to age, where the quantity of material to be studied and the tempo of the teaching soon proved overwhelming. When tested according to Israeli criteria by means of diagnostic tests in Hebrew for discovering their cognitive needs, children who had never been to school, and still had only a superficial control of the new language, often missed out on what was meant by one question or another. The upshot was that many of them found themselves in classes of special education. Although the classes are generally staffed by competent academics, institutions of special education are one-way thoroughfares. Once categorized as a person with 'special needs', there is practically no track to get back to a career as a 'normal' pupil. The uncontestable imposition of a category-by-psychological-tester was countered by the enactment of the Law for Special Education (1988). While specifying that "there must be facilities for people between the ages of three and twenty-one who ... suffer from inadequacy in physical, mental, psychological or behavioral capacities," the law also provides that parents have to be consulted before authorities can consign a person to a facility for special education. For a long time, no effort was made to inform Ethiopian parents that they have this option or to convince them of their right to intervene.

Even the most comprehensive of the institutions, such as the Youth Villages have held dangers for Ethiopian adolescents. When accepted to a Youth Village, adolescents were precipitated into situations that could be intimidating and, in some cases, dangerous. In a boarding school far from the family the adolescent was encountering a strange world where the ties of aid and responsibility, the meaning of joy and the meaning of suffering together with the boundaries of the community into which s/he had been growing were negated (Seeman, 1999). Moreover, since the 1960s, the youth village communities to which they were sent, had come to serve above all as schools for children from broken homes (Adler et al., 1995; Gottesman, 1988). By affiliation, the new immigrants were assigned to schools marked as remedial in every life domain, not only in the area of studies. Although the label can be seen as appropriate in relation to the heretofore low academic attainments of the Ethiopian students, it actually invites malfunctioning in emotional and social domains, adding to the pupils' confusion.

The overview of practices regarding children whose origin is in the community of Beta Israel discloses many of the inconsistencies and conflicts that attend the entire project of the in-gathering of the exiles. Because of

historical, social, and cultural assessments, they emerge with maximum clarity in regard to the Beta Israel. In the treatment of the children who belong to this community the apparently irresolvable stresses that underlie the state's purposes become clear. The ideal phrased as the supreme goal of the "in-gathering of the exiles" conceals the tensions between immigration in the service of the state, and immigration as the spiritual accomplishment of the immigrants, the olim. To serve the state, immigrants and their children are essential to the process of counting heads, but, as the entire project of state education makes clear, the state, through its agency of education, is interested in implementing acts to create fitting citizens without parents' interference. Immigrants have to meet one condition, that of being appropriately Jewish. When the physical appearance is "different", there is a closer inspection of the behaviors that confirm being Jewish. But if the community takes its assigned place and carries out assigned behaviors, their promised niche is secure. That is the carrot held out to the Beta Israel. In a Jewish state it is a foregone conclusion that racism is impossible, and least of all is it possible as an element in relationships between Jews. Despite the official denials, however, many acts of education bespeak covert racism. The responses among the children are also clear. Those who have accomplished aliya and have submitted to the acts of education do not accept the conditions as inevitable. The pupils in the schools, like the students of tertiary education, are girding themselves for a clash of agencies. Professionals among them are ready to contribute, and to take control.

Chapter 12

# PALESTINIAN ISRAELIS AND THEIR SCHOOLING: MULTICULTURALISM AS MAINTAINING DISTANCE

*Young Israeli Arabs are more like their Jewish Israeli counterparts than they are like the Arabs of Kuweit, Egypt, or even the West Bank ...they speak Hebrew fluently. They wear western clothes and they conduct themselves just like any other Israeli* (B'ari, 1972, p. 30).

*"I'm not interested in knowing that we have a better standard of living than the Arabs in Saudi Arabia or in Jordan. I don't look to check what they have there. I look at what the members of the kibbutz opposite my village has achieved"* (Vice-principal of a school in Jaffa, quoted in Reches, 1976).

*....*
*Write down*
*I am an Arab*
*I cut stone with comrade labourers,*
*I squeeze the rock*
*To get a loaf,*
*To get a loaf,*
*To get a book*
*For my eight children.*
*But I do not plead for charity*
*And I do not cringe*
*Under your sway.*
*Are you angry? ...*
(from Mahmud Darwish, 'Investigation',
quoted in Zureik, 1979, p. 184)

The quotations that head this chapter show three different interpretations of the situation of the Palestinian citizens of Israel. The first presents a view prevalent among the Jewish majority, namely that "our" Arabs are very much like "us," except for the inevitable religious barrier. The second expresses a position that is purposeful and practical. In a state, the distribution of resources should be equal; an Arab village should have all the amenities that a Jewish village has, and this implies, of course, equalities in educational input. Third, a poet in exile from the village of his birth describes the despair of a day laborer, banished from his land, at the mercy of an arbitrary investigation. In this chapter, it will be possible to show that all three interpretations have some connection with the evolving reality. In the following, I will first refer to the historical background of state education in schools where Arabic is the language of instruction. Then I will present some findings from research. In relating to the field, I will summarize opinions of Arab educators before presenting observational data.

# 1.      ALTERING CONCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY

Changes in the education of Arab Israeli children have to be understood against the background of the wide-ranging changes that have characterized the community during the last century, the period of the rise of Zionism and the establishment of the state of Israel. The increase in the number of Jewish settlers and their steady mobilization toward the achievement of a Jewish state had far-reaching effects on the structure and culture of the indigenous Arabs.

At the end of World War I, the Jewish Yishuv (settlement / community) numbered less than ten percent of the population in Palestine. There were then about 60,000 Jews and almost 700,000 Arabs (Morris, 1999, p. 107). By 1931, however, there were, according to the British census, 175,000 Jews to 880,000 Arabs, among them 775,000 Muslims, 93,000 Christians, and about 10,000 Druzes. After the "first Arab-Israeli War" in 1948, about 700,000 Arabs fled or were expelled from the new State of Israel and in 1949, Israeli Arabs numbered about 110,000, ca. 11 percent of the total Israeli population (Morris, 1999, p. 252). Apart from the demographic upheaval, these events marked a transformation in the way of life of Arabs in Palestine.

During the first half of the twentieth century, most of the Arab population of Palestine was dispersed in villages where agriculture was the principal source of income. As the village population grew, the tendency was to expand the residential area, often at the expense of agricultural land. Only

towards the end of the mandatory period did the British institute some rudimentary control of construction to check the often destructive expansion. Checks and controls were enacted by the State of Israel as well (Brawer, 1989). Moreover, it is estimated that the State expropriated between 40% and 60% of the villages' agricultural land for the benefit of Jewish settlements established for the waves of new immigrants (Rosenfeld, 1979, p. 21). In cultivating the land that remained, methods of traditional agriculture could not compete with the technologically sophisticated methods introduced by the Jewish community. The limitations on economic activity spurred the need to search for changes in sources of income. Workers increasingly sought employment in cities and the trend of commuting grew steadily. Relying on surveys of the Central Bureau of Statistics, Vanunu (1994, p. 205) shows that the average rate of workers' commuting rose from 50.3% in 1961 to 55.4% in 1981. During that period, the rate for construction workers was stable, while more commuting laborers were employed in the service industries. Today, the growth has reached the point where some villages are part of the suburban zones of large cities.

Over the years, increased industrialization brought some of the job opportunities closer to home. When the Israeli government set up three industrial areas in the north of the country, for example, there were new opportunities for employment of workers from the many Arab communities in the area. A research project that examined how industrialization near large concentrations of Arab population affected the local economy, found that overall the enterprises did provide workers from the surrounding villages with two thousand new jobs. Analysis showed, however, that although the Arabs are actually sixty per cent of the work force in the region, they hold only about a third of the available jobs. Furthermore, the occupational structure is still asymmetric, with the Arabs filling a disproportionately low percentage of available white collar and a disproportionately high percentage of the blue collar jobs (Yiftachel, 1992).

As the integration of Palestinian Israeli workers into the entire complex of occupations available in the cities has been very slow, economic developments that tend to moderate the shortfall include entrepreneurial endeavors and localized industrialization. Already in the 1970s, there were significant beginnings of entrepreneurship in the Arab villages (Rosenfeld, 1979). By 1982, Arabs were the owners of plants that produced olive oil, construction materials, textiles, metal goods, as well as small plants for making cheese, cleansing materials, and electric heaters (Vanunu, 1994, p. 210). But these remained peripheral in the sense that the larger enterprises are for the most part branches of industries in the economic centers of the country; and the smaller ones are devoted to crafts and services required locally. Thus, the Arab villages have taken on some of the characteristics of

urbanization. In the large, however, they remain quite homogeneous in population, and bound to many of the traditions of an agricultural community even where commuting to work is the rule. Geographers see them as exemplifying "urbanization in conditions of marginalization" (see Schnell, 1994).

Researchers generally agree that because of the shifting structure of the economy, and because of the on-going contact with the Jewish Israelis, there have been many changes in the cultural perspectives among Palestinian Israelis. Arrangements for the delivery of government social services, health services, and education, along with the broadening access to consumer goods have had a significant impact on everyday life. When the General Workers' Union began to accept Arab members in 1959, they introduced cultural activities (lectures, trips, social functions), encouraged sports, and organized activities for women in many of the villages (Landau, 1973). Access to the media has brought the cultural products of the western capitalist world into the homes, together with those of the Arab world. The organization of the household has changed significantly (Kalekin-Fishman, 1997). At the same time, the traditional clan structure and the community customs are generally preserved. According to Rosenfeld (1979), the government intentionally fostered continuities because it was easier to collaborate with the traditional leadership of elders. In line with the official policy of organizing rituals of personal status according to religious norms, the government also made a point of defining the national minority according to religious orientation. For ceremonies marking rites of passage, Christians, Muslims, Druzes, like the Jews, are all dependent on a particular religious establishment. One may say that *by flat,* the socio-cultural milieu of the Palestinian Israelis has evolved through a subtle interplay of modernization and the preservation of tradition.

The situation of the Bedouins in the south of Israel has undergone even more radical change than that of the formerly largely agricultural areas in the north. With the foundation of the state of Israel their nomadic way of life was pinpointed as a phenomenon that required intervention if the state was to take full advantage of its territory. According to Grossman (1994, p. 35), the possibility of roaming far and wide had helped the Bedouins maintain themselves by herding, dry farming, and temporary occupations such as trade and barter, guiding tourists and travelers, providing transport, and smuggling. The traditional way of life was disrupted by the limitations imposed by the state together with the growth in the Bedouin population. In the second half of the twentieth century, with the pressure of the Israeli government and the economic developments in the country, the Bedouins went through a geographic turnabout: from semi-nomadism to spontaneous village settlements to planned communities (Meir, 1984).

State solutions were new towns set up throughout the Negev (the southern part of the country) where houses replaced tents and where more efficient public services such as the government postal service, clinics for preventive medicine, and organized schools could be established. The pressure of modernization has meant a transformation of the Bedouin world view. For, as could be predicted, mandatory urbanization meant that the state was imposing its array of concepts, techniques, and modes of living on the Bedouins. The combination of obligatory standardization together with demands for evidence of individual agency through rational action poses a completely new cultural framework. While the external changes are physical, the new towns have also caused extensive changes (in some views, damage) in family structure and community relationships. What is missing, however, are the means for making the realization of modern orientations immediately comprehensible and useful. These new towns have the highest rates of unemployment in the country (Ben David, 1994; Gevirtz, 2003).[91]

## 2.    EDUCATIONAL CHANGES

The conceptualization of primary school education as every child's right signaled a revolutionary change for the Arab population of Israel in 1949. Under the British Mandate, Arabic was the language of instruction in government schools founded by the Department of Education of the mandatory power, and in many but not all private schools, most of them religious institutions. As the number of government schools grew from 171 in the year 1919/1920 to 478 in 1944/1945, the number of pupils enrolled rose from 16,442 to 71,662 (Tibawi, 1956, pp. 20 ff.). By 1946, the British government provided schools for 81,000 children all together. Most of the schools were for boys only, with only a few schools set up for girls. All schools were selective. Government schools rejected 75% of the village applicants and 50% of those from the towns. However, for those children who were admitted, the schools provided free education until the fifth grade in cities and until the seventh grade in the villages. The government also provided textbooks and supplies. Students who succeeded in tests for secondary schooling sat for matriculation examinations set by the British at the end of their eleventh year of study. Many of the Christian children enrolled in church schools where they studied according to the curriculum of the order's home base. Church schools gave instruction in at least one

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[91] Ben David (1994, p. 71) quotes an old Bedouin, who says: "Once status could be measured by the number of men in the family and by the family's wealth in cattle and sheep. Now there are no 'men' and there is no wealth."

foreign language and were partial to English because a command of English enabled pupils to sit for the London matriculation examinations and to gain employment in the government bureaucracy (Mar'ei, 1974).

The Law for Compulsory State Education enacted in 1949 had the goal of providing at least primary education for all children in or near their homes. Achieving the objective of universal education has proven to be a slow, if consistent trend. While only thirty percent of the children of school age were actually enrolled in schools under the British mandate (Tibawi, 1956, p. 270), the percentage was doubled during the first decade of the implementation of the law although the percentage of girls attending school was still about a third. Only among the Christians did 47% of the girls attend school (Swirski, 1999, p. 170). In the educational system, however, the numbers continue to grow. Between 1979/1980 and 2000/2001, the number of Arab students in the state education system doubled from about 177,000 (16.4% of the total Israeli school population) to 353,000 (21.9% of the total school population). The increase is explicable only partially by an increase in the school age population. During these same years, the percentage of pupils in post-primary — junior and senior high schools — rose from 21% to 29%, and the proportion of pupils in preschool frameworks rose from under 10% to 17.8%; thus the proportion of pupils in state primary schools decreased from 69% in 1979/1980 to 52% in 2000/2001 (Sprinczak et al., 2001, p. 54; see also Appendix H).

Many new state schools had to be set up for the Arabs. By the end of the school year, 1949-1950, there were sixty-nine primary schools with 10,000 pupils and 250 teachers. In keeping with the rules of the United Nations, the language of instruction was Arabic in state schools for Arab children, while Hebrew was the language of instruction in the Jewish schools. Ironically, universal public education, a project of modernization and enlightenment, was introduced at the same time as the state established military control of its Arab citizens; subjecting all the movements of the minority suspected of being a potential fifth column to supervision. Under this regime, which lasted from 1949 to 1966, the schools were not exempted from political control. This relationship between the government and Arab citizens was to the detriment of the school system. Teachers were screened to weed out "untrustworthy" elements, i.e., groups who expressed sentiments of dissent. This criterion led to the dismissal of many of the Arab intellectuals who were still in the country and were known to be communists sympathetic to the Soviet Union. Thus, there was a shortage of qualified teachers and educational administrators. In several schools, Jewish principals and teachers who had a good command of Arabic were appointed to keep the schools going. As in the Jewish sector, from the first, local authorities were assigned responsibility for the construction and maintenance of school buildings. This

type of autonomy was, however, not feasible in the impoverished Arab towns and villages. Although the central authorities did not deny their obligation, they insisted that the relatively extensive support was to be a temporary arrangement. The villages would have to mobilize additional financing to provide suitable facilities for an expanding educational system (Kopelevitch, 1973).

In their organization the new state schools were quite different from those that had been run by the British. Primary schools were planned for eight years of study; student bodies were co-educational by government decree. Teaching hours per week were differentiated according to the age grade level of teachers' classes. Moreover, the staff could now, for the first time, include married women. In regard to the curriculum, the study of Hebrew was introduced in the third grade; the study of English was postponed until the fifth grade and the number of hours per week for studying English was reduced to four. The study of history was postponed to the upper grades. On the other hand, at least nominally, teaching hours were set aside for drawing, music, crafts, and physical education, wherever there were teachers who could teach these subjects. To deal with the new conception and the new subjects, it was necessary to provide courses for appropriate teacher education. In January 1950, the Ministry initiated intensive courses for Arab teachers in Jaffa, with the aid of which teachers acquired certification as primary school educators. In the 1960s, the college was moved to Haifa, and later another college was opened in Jaffa. The number of graduates from these institutions was about two-thirds the number of new teachers needed for an expanding school population (Kopelevitch, 1973, p. 327). Like the teachers' colleges instituted for Jewish education, the studies in these seminaries included teaching methods, principals of pedagogy, psychology, and Hebrew, as well as substantive materials that were part of the school curriculum. An important part of the curriculum was the practicum in which students were sent to schools to observe experienced teachers in their daily work and to do practice-teaching under their supervision. Because of the conditions in the Arabic-speaking schools, it was not feasible to conduct practica there. As a result, students in the Arab colleges had to do classroom observations in Jewish schools. Therefore, there was no opportunity for Arab student teachers to actually try out the approaches and the methods that they had studied as theory (Ma'ari, 1975).

As noted in Chapter 8 (Celebratory publications), even after the military rule was removed, decisions about staffing, curriculum, and administration in Arab schools were made by Jewish officials. Committees appointed to survey the needs of the system were followed by other committees. In 1987, almost forty years after the establishment of the state system of education, the beginning of change was signaled by the appointment of an Arab official

to head the sub-department of Arab education in the Pedagogical Secretariat. For the first time, a member of the local community had a voice in decision-making on education for the compatriot children. With the promotion, however, there was a revision of the role. Although now an Arab expert could propose and oversee the implementation of policies related to pedagogy and didactics, he does not have jurisdiction over the choice of principals or teachers for schools in the Arab sector. This is still the prerogative of a Department headed by Jews (Sarsour, 1999).

## 3.    RESEARCH

Research on education in schools where Arabic is the language of instruction has consistently focused on assessing the effectiveness of state schooling (usually measured in pupils' achievements) among the Palestinian Israelis by comparison with education in schools where Hebrew is the language of instruction, and exploring the reasons for weaknesses. Ineffectiveness has variously been attributed to tensions between tradition and modernity in the community, to lack of social compensation for the investment in study, to bias in the compilation of the curriculum, and to the sheer deprivation of resources.

One of the most subtle of the researches is that of Mere'i (1974), which presents a penetrating analysis of Arab education in the context of the changing village community. Although carried out thirty years ago, the work is still relevant to an understanding of the development of Arab education in Israel. The tensions between traditionalism and modernization that he delineates are perceived by researchers to this very day (Sarsour, 1985; Ben David, 1994). Mere'i points out that changes that the population had undergone were inconsistent and had lead to contradictory demands on the school. As the economic structure of the village modernized, teachers found themselves confronted at once by traditional demands to "educate the child by any means at your disposal" and by a modernist plea to be considerate of the child and his difficulties. It was all too easy, however, to accept discrimination between children of different strata of the population and between boys and girls among all the strata as natural. This tension was obvious in staff development as well. From an educational point of view, the local authorities asserted that all the teachers have to be fully qualified professionals, but in the meantime, the traditional norm of structuring the school hierarchy according to power relations among the village clans undermined progress. A complicating factor was the fact that the staff was closely monitored by the government. Because of the frequent turnover positions were often filled by teachers from outside the village, people who

could not understand the local needs. In general, Mere'i's research showed the many levels of social change that are likely to advance or hinder progress in education, however progress is defined. Because of this, it is clear that quality education cannot be determined by decree.

In a separate study, Mere'i (1976) uncovered another factor that has had an important impact on the effectiveness of educational programs. Looking at the returns on higher education in three villages that were divided between Israel and Jordan until 1967, he analyzed the number of graduates in each half of every village, (a) calculated the proportion of students per 100,000 in the population, (b) compared the earnings of graduates and earnings of those without higher education, and (c) compared the earnings of graduates with those of their parents. Along every dimension, he found that graduates of schools in Jordan enjoyed far higher returns on their education. To the extent that promise of return affects students' investment in their studies, the differences that Mere'i found explain Israeli schools' ineffectiveness at least in part.

A further disincentive to educational achievement was found in the irrelevance of school curricula. In his study of the curriculum of the Arab school, for example, Ma'ari (1975) pointed out that the program of Jewish history for grades seven and eight of the primary school stressed values of Zionist nationalism. By comparison, children in parallel grades in Arab schools did not study the history of their people. Even the single unit of study supposed to be devoted to Arab history, related to generalizations about the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East as a whole. Al-Haj (1991; 1996) pointed out the further imbalance in the curricula for Arab schools that required many more hours of study of Jewish sources such as the Old Testament and the history of the Jewish people than those dedicated to the cultural background of the Arabs themselves. Among others, he demonstrated that after centuries of conceiving of the Arabs as a united cultural entity, the Ministry of Education has done the minority an injustice in particularizing the education of the Druzes and that of the Bedouins. Quoting Smooha (1980), he argues that the goal of particularization was to turn the Arab minority in Israel into a mixture of small minorities to be identified above all by their religious-cultural identity rather than to be recognized as a national minority (Al-Haj, 1991, p. 41). In successive publications, furthermore, Al-Haj presents a comprehensive compilation of the low level of resources invested in Arab education as a whole, especially in the training of teachers, in the construction of classrooms and the supply of facilities, as well as in the services for populations with special needs. This work became part of extensive research programs that focused on the

question of national identity in the school curriculum and provided a basis for the campaigning that did result in curriculum change in the 1990s.[92]

Recent researches carried out by the JDC-Brookdale Institute find that Israeli Arab education could be more effective were there an adequate investment of resources. They confirm that the state of affairs in the delivery of services to the schools has not improved to this very day. In connection with the services for Arab children with special needs, the researchers summarize the situation as follows: "The gap between the identified need for and actual receipt of a service were as great as two or three times; for medical treatments, occupational therapy, psycho-social services, educational framework, and family consultation, the gaps were even greater" (Naon, Morginstin, Schimmel & Rivlis, 2000, p. ix). An investigation of formal and informal education for the general school population in an Arab city found that both types of education require restructuring. On the initiative of the municipal Department of Education, researchers (from the JDC-Brookdale Institute and the Nazareth Municipality) conducted observations and statistical analyses of provision for schooling and extracurricular activities. They found a poor social climate in the schools, inadequate scholastic achievement because supplementary tutoring was not available, extensive covert as well as overt dropout, and violence. Although the municipality was investing efforts in providing for leisure activities, the strategies implemented were obviously not effective. The staff did not have suitable training; children and adolescents at risk were not getting the attention they needed (Abu-Asba, Cohen-Navoth & Abdu, 2003).

## 4.    OPINIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE FIELD: EDUCATORS IN SCHOOLS WHERE ARABIC IS THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

While researchers frequently claim that the government's differentiation among Arab groups according to their religion is altogether artificial because the Arabs view themselves as a national minority; conversations with

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[92] Kopelevitch (1973, pp. 328-329), the Jewish official then in charge of Arab education in the Ministry explains that there have been complaints about the imbalance of Jewish and Arab materials in the Arab schools. In his view, there should be some changes to meet the needs of the Arabs *and* the needs of the state. He reports on committees with Arab educators that were revising the curricula in Arabic, Hebrew, and history. "In another two or three years" the curricula will be ready. Then it will be possible to begin to write textbooks for the new programs and to set up committees to revise curricula in additional subjects. The "two or three years" lasted for twenty-five.

educators show that in their educational work they find value in the distinctions and are guided by a sensitivity to religious differences.

a. The principal of a secondary school where, as he puts it, ninety-five percent of the pupils and about fifty percent of the staff are Druzes, has a highly developed appreciation of the importance of the differences. He is quite expansive when he describes how the uniqueness of the Druze community is expressed in the curriculum. The Druzes study their own history, their traditions, customs, and folk literature. In addition, when the children study Hebrew they read literature that demonstrates the close ties between the Druzes and the Jews, the Druzes' identification with the state, and so on. This is as it should be, he stresses, because Druze males serve in the conscript army when they graduate from secondary school. "That is a fact of life established by law, and we have to prepare the boys for that experience in every way possible."

Even though only a small number of Muslim pupils attend this school, the principal is sensitive to the need to establish a different kind of relationship with them. They are Bedouins, generally poorer than the neighboring Druzes, with a simpler life style. For them military service is possible only if they volunteer and pass rigorous screening. Being a minority, he sums up, always causes feelings of bitterness and dissatisfaction. Educators have to be aware of that and make a special effort to show understanding toward children whose group is a minority in the school. There is an even smaller minority of Christian pupils. But because of their higher socio-economic status, they are in a different position. As a matter of fact, most of the Christians in the villages that the school serves send their children to study in private high schools, the schools that belong to the Christian orders. "We have to respect their choices."

Among the teachers of the same school, discussions of cultural differences center on pupils' learning deficiencies. The mathematics teacher, correcting quizzes, complains that she has taught the same material several times, and still most of the class cannot pass a short quiz. The woman who teaches Hebrew is frantic because she fears that the pupils will not pass an external exam that is scheduled for early June. Teachers explain the pupils' inadequate achievements as a consequence of the "lack of discipline." They are not seriously sanctioned for misbehavior, or, what is more important, for not studying seriously. According to these teachers and a colleague who joined the conversation, moreover, there is an atmosphere of boredom in the classes. Pupils tell the teachers that they have nothing to do after school. There is no informal education to speak of in the villages, nor are there social activities for the young people. The dreariness is felt in everything the pupils do, and they are not rescued from the tedium by school programs.

b. The distinction among Muslim, Christian, and Druze children is patent in most Arab village schools. Resident families of different religions celebrate different holidays, have different conceptions of how adults should dress, and different attitudes toward relations between the sexes. But when the children study in the same primary school, as one Druze teacher of English says, the staff has the responsibility to carry out programs of learning and social activities as they are planned by the Ministry of Education without differentiation. In the context of her school, a junior high school, interaction among the different groups of pupils is emphasized with no distinctions among the Druze children, 70% of the school population, the Muslims (20%), and the Christians (about 10%), as well as a small group of children whose parents were brought to Israel when the Israeli army withdrew from Lebanon. Thus, in this village, the teachers at the school are constantly aware of the need to build bridges between groups of pupils whose home cultural background and social status are very different. She also notes that under a new principal, the school is re-negotiating relationships with the community. With this appointment, the community had, after several years of tension, signaled readiness to extricate the school and its hierarchy from considerations of local politics. There was now a general consensus that letting politics override professional considerations had undermined the work of the teachers and prevented them from improving school standards. There is now great emphasis on negotiation and on achieving understanding.

c. Teachers who meet with Arab students in a school that serves both the Jewish and the Arab residents of a given geographical area have a different perspective on the possibility of high achievements and on the possibility of achieving true equality among the students. They see command of language as the key issue. Because the school system is segregated for the most part, the language situation in the state schools is anomalous. In schools where Arabic is the language of instruction, Hebrew as a second language is now a required subject from the third grade on — through all the years of primary and secondary schooling. In schools where Hebrew is the language of instruction, on the other hand, only spoken Arabic (a vernacular that is written in the Hebrew alphabet) is ostensibly a required subject. But with the excuse that there are too few teachers, many schools do not teach Arabic at all. A few schools are making efforts to overcome this one-sided distancing. For over twenty years, there has been a bi-lingual school in a village near Jerusalem where the population includes both Arab and Jewish families. Since 2000 there has been a bi-lingual secondary school in Jerusalem as well. In the north of the country, two men (an Arab and a Jew) founded the Association for Furthering Bilingualism in 1998. They initiated a primary school where Arab and Jewish children from the villages in the area study

both Arabic and Hebrew as soon as they begin their compulsory schooling. There was some difficulty in gaining the recognition by the Ministry of Education, but, after a long period of negotiation, this school was recognized as an "authorized experimental school" in the state system. The school is located in a middle-class Jewish village where most of the residents live in private houses. By contrast with the Arab schools where Hebrew is a required subject, in this community, bilingualism, the requirement that Jewish children learn Arabic, is seen as a particularly daring experiment. Supporters are very enthusiastic, but all the people involved have to cope with covert tensions. In the third grade, twenty-three children are taught by two teachers: one Jewish and one Arab. Children were accepted to the class after the teachers met with and interviewed interested parents.[93]

Interviews with the teachers touched on their background and explored their view of the work they were doing. Both had experience with groups associated with the 'other' culture. The Jewish teacher learned Arabic at home and studied it seriously at school and in the university. She had previously taught Hebrew in a school where Arabic is the language of instruction. There, she was astonished to discover that even though she was the only Jewish person on the staff, the teachers' meetings in that school were conducted in Hebrew "for her". This went on even after she reminded the principal that she knew Arabic and asked him to hold staff meetings in that language. The Arab teacher grew up in a Jewish neighborhood and studied in Jewish schools while at home the family insisted on preserving their Arab customs and traditions. She, too, had had experience teaching in an Arab school.

There was shared enthusiasm when the teachers described how the children respond to bilingual studies and how the integrated classroom develops complete "acceptance" of "the other". In the eyes of the Arab teacher what is most impressive is the fact that a child can stand up and say "I am an Arab" without any self-consciousness, and without the risk that the Jewish children will show fear. From a professional point of view, however, she considers that the bilingual classroom is important because in it children have an opportunity for more intensive cognitive development. The Jewish teacher thinks that the way the children celebrate birthdays together, 'sleep over' in both Jewish and Arab homes, and spend weekends together in leisure activities with their families, are the most rewarding consequences of the integration. A difficult task that requires in-depth discussion and constant review is the teachers' responsibility for compiling the curriculum by themselves. The Arab teacher claims that the Ministry textbooks written for

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[93] Material on the bilingual classroom from E. Jonathan & T. Lahav (2002) "Attitudes of Jewish and Arab teachers in an integrative class." University of Haifa: Unpublished Paper.

the Arab sector in Israel are deliberately pitched to a lower level than those written for the Jewish students. That is why she has traveled to Jordan and to Egypt to buy textbooks on which to model their teaching. Both teachers agree that the results in the integrated classroom are gratifying.

# 5.   EVIDENCE FROM OBSERVATIONS: ENVIRONMENT AND BEHAVIORS

In the following, I will describe some different types of schools that have been observed in the "Arab sector" of state education. The schools differ in physical environment and in the student populations; they disclose some typical behaviors. Sources vary from observations recorded by researchers to personal narratives.

a.  The secondary school that serves two populated villages is located in several buildings on a large campus with lawns and scattered trees. The administration building houses a generous library with glass walls. There is a separate building for laboratories and science classrooms and two buildings with classrooms, each with an overhead projector. The buildings are connected by a large yard. At the side of the complex there is a sports field.

What is immediately apparent to a Jewish observer is that the pupils do not look any different from pupils in a school where Hebrew is the language of instruction. All the boys and most of the girls wear jeans, buy drinks in tins, noisily slap one another on the back, and move around a lot during recess. There is no way of distinguishing among Druze, Christian, and Muslim pupils. When we asked the teachers none of them felt that they could reliably point out "which was which." Exceptions were some Muslim girls with head-shawls, and some Druze boys with skull-caps who spend the recess sitting in isolated groups in different corners of the campus. These items of dress identify the wearers as obligated to codes of pious behavior.

The library is in constant use and in our observations we found that there is always a buzz of activity because of its diverse functions. Sometimes lessons are held there. When a teacher is absent, the pupils are given a special library assignment during the hour of that lesson. As a rule, pupils who have a free period, do their homework in the library. The librarians are rushed, looking for books that the children need, hushing groups that become noisy and keep others from studying, clearing the tables after groups leave. Observations in classrooms disclose less student involvement. When we observed a literature lesson in a 'regular' class and an English lesson in a class defined as one needing extra care, we found that had we not known in advance how the classes were defined, we would not have been able to distinguish between them. In neither of the classes had the pupils done their

homework; in neither did the pupils participate actively. In both, there was a tedious review of material. From the teachers' comments it was apparent that this was "yet another" review; the pupils were supposed to have studied and analyzed the material during the previous two weeks.

b.  In the junior high school of a village with a Druze majority, all the children  —  Druzes, Muslims, and Christians  —  attend the same school. The classrooms are an open structure around an inner courtyard. There is a smaller yard leading into the main structure, and, at the side, a third field for sports activities. The sports field is not used by the pupils during recess. But there is a great deal of social activity in the other two yards, where the pupils group themselves in different ways. At the center of it all are the boys of the ninth grade, the highest grade in the school. They meet in groups, shout at one another. Druze girls congregating in groups according to class (seventh, eighth, or ninth grades) generally walk from place to place in the yard, rarely sitting down to chat. Some of the boys converse with a girl classmate. It turns out that they are asking her to arrange a meeting for one of them with a girl from a lower class. In every recess we observed one or two conversations of this type. One day, we observed a ninth grade boy having a conversation with a seventh grade girl he was interested in. When the boy returned to his male friends, they applauded his initiative. The general camaraderie does not include pupils of all the religious communities. Groups of Muslim pupils regularly sit quietly in the farther corner of the smaller yard as do the pious Druze pupils who are recognized by their skullcaps. These groups do not mix. Christian pupils do not mix with either the Muslims or the Druzes; Christians from all three grades gather together during the break; share sandwiches and chat.

In formal activities, the divisions among the religious groups are also likely to be evident. Just before the Second Gulf War, all five classes of each grade met in assembly to hear a general lecture about the coming war and specifics about the use of gas masks in case of attack. In the assembly we observed, we sat near Muslim pupils at a small distance from their classmates. As the lecture was going on, presenting important explanations, these pupils conversed. They compared what the Americans were about to do in Iraq to the way the Israeli army was behaving  —  "like terrorists"  — with the Palestinians. They signaled to one another throughout the lesson dissenting from the consensual pleasure expressed by many pupils at the idea that soon the Americans would "show Sadam what was what."

In the classroom lessons, we observed a division between girls and boys in all the grades. From the teachers' point of view, the important issue is whether the pupils are "good"  —  high achievers, or "poor" with low marks. Teachers are also concerned with whether or not children interrupt the flow of the lessons. When we carried out observations, we noted that the "good"

pupils, usually Druze girls, manage to be in the limelight when the teacher asks questions. In the mathematics lesson, they have their homework to show the teacher. In a lesson on computers, they raise their hands for every question and constantly take notes. In a physics lesson, both "good" and "poor" pupils call out without waiting for the teacher's permission. The former call out the right answers, while the latter mock the proceedings and find different ways to say they do not understand.

c.  In a town of mixed (Arab and Jewish) population in the north of Israel, the schools are all segregated. One post-primary school has a student body of about 500 and, in the words of the principal, 99% of them Muslims, with only a few Christians and Druzes. There is a small courtyard where pupils play and talk during breaks. The building is gray, drab, and austere without any decorations. The cheerlessness is echoed in the regulation corridors painted brown and even in the principal's office. Despite the new computer and the printer along one wall, the office is very simply furnished, with a single bookcase. On the top shelf of the bookcase, there is a coffee urn alongside small cups. This is the center of social contact. A steady stream of teachers and secretaries enter the office, pour coffee, and occasionally linger to taste it before they leave. When asked, teachers on duty explained that pupils' affiliations were well-known, and they pointed out that the groups that are in the minority in the school spend the breaks in small groups and rarely flock together with the majority.

The differentiation according to religious affiliation disappears in classroom learning. A lesson in English was observed in a tenth grade class with 36 pupils aged fifteen and sixteen. Thirty-three of the pupils were dressed in the school uniform, three were dressed in "civilian" clothes of the same colors. The teacher, a young woman in her twenties who looked younger than many of the pupils, was dressed very elegantly. Significantly, the lesson was devoted to the topic of "body language" and was conducted with the pupils following very quietly in their textbooks. Writing on the board with chalk in different colors, and performing different facial gestures, the teacher conveyed general ideas and specific explanations. To explain the concept of body language, she gave an example of how parents manage to quiet a child who is rowdy. She demonstrated, gave the word in Arabic, and the pupils responded showing that they had an intimate acquaintance of the experience. She succeeded in eliciting pupil participation when she called on individuals. Examples of sadness, happiness, and boredom were provided by students — both of the majority and the minority groups in the class.

e. The schools of the Bedouins have, as described above, undergone drastic changes. It is difficult to appreciate what we may call the alienation many of the Bedouins feel from the modern government funded schools in the new towns unless we understand something of the pre-state experiences.

A nostalgic autobiography written by Diqs (1967) provides first hand data about the ambiance of boyhood and adolescence in a Bedouin tribe. Diqs describes the one-room schoolhouse where the fourteen sub-branches of his tribe, Al-Jubarat, sent their children to acquire the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The tribal schoolhouse was without any of the facilities that distinguish a building designed to be a school. Going to school before sunrise, the schoolboys envied the shepherds who, to their minds, were lucky because they did not have to go to school at all. Often the boys misbehaved in order to enjoy the freedom of being sent out of the classroom. But they loved the long walk to and from school, and they enjoyed being together during the morning. After all, there was some learning and, as Diqs tells it, the children enjoyed the warmth of belonging to the tribe and to the landscape. Although they did not like the old teacher very much, they did respect him. Diqs records how proud he was when the teacher responded favorably to an invitation from his father and came to visit their tent.

In order to complete the full primary curriculum, Diqs was sent to a school in Beer Sheva where, according to his father, "all the pupils are the sons of sheikhs, and they all dress as we do." This gave him a feeling of accomplishment, but it also opened the door to educational experiences that distanced him from the desert and his beloved family. Here boys were constrained to adopt the formalities of the British system in a full-fledged boarding school. The daily schedule of study, meals, and a limited number of hours for sleep relented only on the few weekends when the boys were allowed to visit their home tribes. After three years of hard work, when he had completed his studies in the eighth grade, Diqs could have returned to the tribe as a shepherd. Again, with his father's encouragement he applied to a secondary school in the north. To his gratification, he passed the entrance exams and was awarded a stipend.

This was a government agricultural school where he "had to work very hard physically for three years" in order to earn a diploma in agriculture. Here, too, the principal decreed an unrelenting disciplinary framework; he was known to be adamant in sticking to his decisions. Because Diqs had had the experience of the Beer Sheva boarding school, he was able to adjust to the strict rules that governed both the theoretical studies and the work in the field. Furthermore, while he worked he had contact with a teacher who told stories and reminded him of the atmosphere at home in the family tent. Despite the hardships, Diqs (1967, p. 130-131) realized after two years that the school "taught manhood morals as well as scientific theories in agriculture." By then, although he still feared the headmaster, his strictness and dedication to principle were also a source of pride. This secondary school diploma enabled him later to go on to study in a teachers' college and at a university.

In introducing his story, Diqs declares that he wants to share his longing for the old Bedouin ways of life with the reader. As the tale unfolds, however, it becomes clear that he is writing from a greater distance than he would like to admit. As an educated person, he can no longer identify with those customs and simple beauties that attended his childhood. The very fact that he was chosen to go on with his education brought him into a different world, one that he has no plans to leave.

d. Observations in the bilingual classroom were different from those in the schools where only Arabic is the language of instruction. Undeniably, the classroom is the daily testing ground, the place where success or failure is decided. For the teachers, the issue is one of pedagogy. In their team teaching, they emphasize affective as well as cognitive goals. This became clear as a practical accomplishment during observations. When the children arrive in school at 7:30 in the morning, the first activity of the day is for them to sit on mats and tell about their feelings. The teachers ask them to think for a minute and to tell who is happy or sad, and why. Each child responds in both Arabic and Hebrew; they help one another with new words. Learning arithmetic makes the children laugh when the teachers show that every step can be described in both languages. The cognitive accomplishments are recognized indirectly in an English lesson. The teacher is a native speaker who elicits responses that please her very much. She praises the children's fluency and willingness to use every new word or phrase. Talking to the observers at the end of the lesson, she explains that not only have the children learned two languages, they have also learned how to learn a language. She has never before seen such progress in the third grade.

## 6.    CONCLUDING REMARKS

State schooling for people whose mother tongue is Arabic is based on concepts that diverge from the ideological principles that propel the integration of Jewish immigrant pupils. The provision of education, with forced modernization, is an act that has the altruistic purpose of rescuing minorities from regression and ignorance, a rather sterile impulse. Supplying education is an obligation not anchored in any particular aspect of the Jewishness that is the fundamental reason for Israel's existence as a political entity. Because the state was also proclaimed to be democratic and the law has no loopholes, responsibility for providing some kind of education for all Arab children as for Jewish children is accepted as a duty. With that duty, however, the state's interpretations as to content, forms, and objectives of

education are taken for granted as the only possible meaning of rationality in pedagogy.

In effect, the provision of education by the State of Israel is complicated by two views of the Arab population. On the one hand, as with the Bedouins, Arabs are imperialistically categorized as pre-modern captives of outmoded concepts and patterns of behavior. On the other hand, Arab intellectuals who analyze the situation from the point of view of a national minority, are suspect because of their sophistication. Their knowledge of world conditions, like their academic affiliation with up-to-date critical schools of analysis, marks them as potential rebels, aligned with the enemies of the Jewish state. The dual interpretation is encountered in the *Knesset Record* where Arab MKs defend the right to dissent and only rarely do Jewish MKs agree to see some justice in their claims. In the *Circulars of the Director-General,* the deliberate disregard of the resistance is indicated in the long periods of silence on the particulars of the Arab school apart from administrative technicalities. What the Arabs wanted and needed was presumed to be thoroughly understood by the Jewish officials appointed to carry out the state's responsibilities in Arab education (see Kopelevitch, 1973). Therefore, overcoming the prejudices of the Arab communities, their devotion to tradition, and transforming their social structure, is a legitimate goal of state education and one that defies the resistance expressed in day to day politics as well as in a growing body of research (see above). Contact with the Palestinians across the green line and with Arabs in other neighboring states, intensified the consciousness of a national identity and the desire to realize autonomy in education as part of the evolving national culture. As *agents* the Palestinian citizens of Israel resort to the apparatus of democracy to advance their national purposes.

The disregard of the political and intellectual movements among the Palestinian citizens of Israel and their implications for education was overcome when, in 1984, two years after the Lebanon War, the Ministry committed itself to a policy of "Jewish-Arab Co-Existence". Tensions between the communities were to be softened by furthering encounters between Arab and Jewish educators, as well as encounters between classes of pupils from Arab and Jewish schools. The carefully monitored exploration of peaceful 'co-existence' with a spice of discussions of current events was to be the core of education for democracy, i.e., a way of inculcating the state's understanding of equity in education under the aegis of a Jewish nation-state. As detailed above, the promise of fundamental change began to be realized in the 1990s when the proposals for change and improvement that had been listed, rewritten, and reiterated by a succession of committees from the 1970s on, were finally taken seriously.

With the progress, however, the basic practices did not change drastically. For one thing, although the methods are more subtle, a review by the General Security Service is a requirement for principals and teachers seeking employment in the Arab school system. The criterion that has to be met is that of good citizenship, namely, "loyalty to the state." For another, the segregation of the different sections of the population (Druzes, Muslims, and Bedouins) from one another is institutionalized in administrative units, buttressed by a network of inspectors and counselors, as well as by specifications of the curriculum. Lessons in "heritage" are emphasized, differentiated according to religion. Moreover, while co-existence is still on the agenda and there is talk of multiculturalism, the segregation of schools according to the language of instruction still shields Jewish children from an unmediated engagement with the 'other' religions or with their actual cultural legacy. Exceptions to the boundaries are held to be visible between the Jews and the 'sector' whose youths all serve in the army — the Druzes. Recognizing the justice of their claims to full equality in this period of Palestinian Uprisings, it was finally possible for a right-wing Director-General of the Ministry of Education to rule that lessons in the Druze heritage will be included in the curriculum of Jewish schools as a subject for matriculation (*Kolbo,* June 6, 2003). The principle in this case is the argument that life-threatening army service creates "a covenant of blood" analogous to that of birth into a nation sanctified by its covenant with God.

The fact is, however, that the state's project is not altogether against the inclinations of many of the members of the Palestinian Israeli community. Dedicating his book on a Bedouin boyhood "to all of my people driven from their land," Diqs (1967) indicates that he would like to eradicate all the changes that the State of Israel had introduced to despoil the land that nurtured the Bedouins and to banish them from their traditional way of life. Yet as the story of his life unfolds, it discloses binding contradictions between the explicit desire and the life "as lived." He, probably because he was the son of a sheikh, forged ahead and out of the milieu he praises so effusively. In his own life, marked by a career of success in studies, the traditions he remembers with love and longing became less and less meaningful as practices. Quite contrary to his overt declaration, he actually confirms the state's confident self-identification with progress. What has happened to the Bedouins is, at least in part, as the state claims, an inevitable element of the painful process of modernization. Today not only the select few go to school, not only all the boys, but all the children, including the girls. Universal education is a prize in itself, an emblem of progressive improvement that the Bedouins might have missed had they been left to their own devices.

Ambiguities abound in the practices of state education for children whose mother tongue is Arabic as is to be expected in light of the official state ideology. Diagnosing the prevailing socio-political conditions as a context in which Arabs are a potential threat to the 'good society,' which is the Jewish state, the only strategy possible in education is one that strives to establish the definition of the Jews as the hegemonic collective — the collective that bears the ideology and the collective for which it is primarily developed. From this standpoint, the challenge that the Ministry of Education faces is how to provide an education that will enable satisfactory preparation for adulthood while imparting a readiness to 'fit in' with the plans and practices of the hegemony. The challenge as the government sees it is how to keep a national minority subjugated while fulfilling the natural drive to enlightenment. Ironically, pressures of state *agency* have consequences that go far beyond the state's intentions.

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Chapter 13

## TESTING THE SYSTEM: CAN IT BE DEMOCRATIC? — CHILDREN OF TEMPORARY IMMIGRANT WORKERS[94]

> In the tiny courtroom of Judge K. V., a justice of the peace in Tel Aviv, far from the spotlights, an important ruling was made that will be a precedent. Its importance lies in its being the first of its kind and its contribution is to reinforce one of the basic human rights, and also, especially, because it is likely to help save human life. ….. [Since 2001, when the law requiring employers to provide health insurance for temporary immigrant workers] there have been hundreds of cases of workers who became ill and were influenced to accept a compromise settlement with the insurance company out of court. ... Now, says the worker's lawyer, the supervisor of insurance must "begin to act in a very uncompromising manner."
>
> Dayan, June 24, 2003, p. B₃ [Hebrew]

> To a certain extent and in certain contexts, one can say that while the State of Israel acts as if there are no immigrant workers, the Municipality of Tel-Aviv-Yaffo tries to act as if there is no state. The Municipality turns the immigrant workers without the rights of citizenship into "urban citizens," who enjoy a certain access to social services and take part in urban life without any reference to their legal status in the state except insofar as they are residents of the city.
>
> A. Kemp & R. Raijman, 2003, p. 23. [Hebrew]

Pupils who are the children of temporary immigrant workers are an anomaly in the educational system. Their parents have been admitted to Israel on the understanding that they will stay for a limited period of time, and leave when their permit expires. These permits do not include the

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[94] Important sections of this chapter are based on Eden & Kalekin-Fishman, 2002b.

workers' families. The temporary immigrant workers are not recognized as legal residents, nor are they party to any negotiations with the government. Still, if they do have children, international conventions require that the government provide services for them and this constraint has posed a predicament for the Israeli state system of education. In this chapter, I will look at the background to the situation of the temporary immigrant workers and at some of the findings from research on their way of life in Israel. Then I will bring data from observations in school settings where some children of temporary immigrant workers study.

## 1.       BACKGROUND OF THE PHENOMENON

To understand why Israel has been receiving large numbers of temporary immigrant workers for the last fifteen to twenty years, it is important to go back to the political and economic situation created after the Six Day War. As noted in Chapter 1, that war in 1967 marked the beginning of the Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the Sinai Peninsula. Apart from the political and military implications of the territorial expansion, the occupation, especially that of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, had far-reaching economic effects. Access to Palestinian areas led to a reconstruction of the economy that included the adjustment to a new market for manufactured goods as well as an involvement with new sources for agricultural produce and cheap labor power. Entrepreneurs soon initiated small manufacturing units in the occupied territories, often in partnership with Palestinian firms. In Israel, there was a growing demand for workers from the territories to perform low status, manual jobs, for the most part in agriculture and in the construction industries. Non-citizen Palestinian workers were brought into the country as "daily labor commuters" (Semyonov & Lewin-Epstein, 1987). By 1969, there were 9,500 workers commuting daily from the Occupied Territories; the number rose to 109,400 in 1988, and to 115,600 in 1992 despite restrictions on entry into the country. Immediately after the first intifada (1987-1993), severe restrictions were imposed on the entry into Israel of Palestinian workers and their numbers fell to a range between 65,000 and 75,000 in 1993 and the years following (*B'tselem,* September, 1999). Limitations on the Palestinians' commuting created a shortage of construction workers just as the massive wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union produced a need for new housing. In response to pressures of contractors and agriculturalists, people were brought to Israel from other countries (Bartram, 1998), mainly from Eastern Europe and countries of the Third World (*Ha'aretz,* April 3, 2001, p. A12), where the

economic and political situations were unstable. In some cases, such as Sierra Leone and Zaire, for example, the workers who came to Israel were fleeing civil wars (*Ha'ir,* July 4, 1997, pp. 32-33).

In order to preserve the ethno-national character of the state of Israel, the government took measures to monitor the movements of the workers from abroad, using a system of indentured labor. Each potential employer who applies is granted a permit for a certain number of workers, who undertake to come to Israel at their own expense. Usually, they are recruited by firms that promise to find jobs for them in return for a fixed fee; the fees range from $3,000 to a little under $10,000. These fees mean that the private contractors are able to make a rich profit. As the Minister of Labor and Welfare stated on a nationwide television program, "I tell you that this is big business. Today, importing a foreign worker is the most profitable business there is. A business, it is estimated, that has a revenue of three billion dollars!" (S. Benizri, "Exposure", *Second Channel,* February 27, 2002). This figure is reasonable considering that there are about 300,000 immigrant workers in Israel, of whom 40% are documented. The money they pay is divided among the intermediaries (who keep the largest portion), authorities in the countries of origin, and small sums to the employers (for detailed information, see the internet site: www.kavlaoved.org.il).

Temporary immigrant workers are granted entrance visas for a limited period of time on the understanding that they will be employed by a pre-designated employer who is committed to have them in his service until their visa expires. The permit belongs to the employer and any interruption of the relationship turns the worker into an illegal sojourner. The worker becomes an undocumented "illegal" if there is no work for him or her, or if the employer does not take pains to renew the permit before the expiry date. A similar fate awaits a worker who marries an Israeli. In such cases the validity of the contract that was signed with the worker before s/he was brought to the country is canceled. On their side, the workers who come to Israel legally are bound to work for the one employer (unless he decides to transfer them to another). They have to live in housing that is supplied near the work site, often in lonely villages and of poor quality. Moreover, the workers have to pay a relatively high rent that is deducted from their wages. Workers also have to behave in ways that satisfy the employers. There are many reports of employers who dock workers' wages for behavior that they deem "undesirable." Until 2001, there was no provision for health insurance, and so workers who fell ill were summarily dismissed and sent back to their countries of origin. Even with the new law, this is often what the employers

do.[95] Workers who complain about work conditions, like workers who resign because of abuse, or non-payment of wages, or violence – all of these find themselves without a permit and in danger of expulsion.

Although there are laws that are supposed to safeguard the rights of foreign workers, almost none of them are enforced. According to international conventions, workers should be paid at least the minimum wage with time and a half for overtime; they should have social insurance coverage in case of work accidents, as well as an annual holiday and welfare benefits for themselves and their families as enacted in the Law for Social Security (Yanai & Borowski, 1998). Although Israel did ratify the UN convention that details these rights, a law enacted by the Knesset in December, 2002 states unequivocally that overseas workers are not entitled to coverage by the Institution for Social Security from the moment their visa expires (*Ha'aretz,* December 26, 2002, p. A12). Moreover, workers cannot deploy sanctions against an employer who does not honor his obligations. Nor do they have any way to press charges for compensation. Only some of the injustices are overcome with the help of an organization ("Hotline for Workers" / "Kav la'Oved") set up by volunteers specifically to help the temporary immigrant workers.[96]

Because of the heavy investment they have made in coming to Israel, many workers remain in the country even when they know that their visa is no longer valid. They get along by finding alternative jobs in what has been called the "foreign workers' marketplace," and have to be cunning enough to dodge the "Immigration Police". Some workers manage to circumvent the whole process by coming to Israel as tourists --- finding jobs and remaining in the country after their tourist visa expires. Despite anxiety about expulsion, undocumented workers have some advantages over the workers who are "legal.". Paradoxically, they have greater freedom of movement. If conditions are uncongenial, they can leave their place of work. They do not have to accept the housing that the employer supplies. They can live in cities where there are more employment opportunities, and often they find it possible to live in communities with people from their own countries of origin. This liberty is, of course, a consequence of the precarious status in a country that holds out no promise of ultimate citizenship and where the government makes repeated decisions to carry out mass deportations (Kemp,

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[95] The quotation at the head of this chapter celebrates a ruling that relies on a law enacted in 2000 and put into effect in 2001. The law requires employers to purchase health insurance for their workers. As the article explains, the insurance companies have never fairly compensated workers who became ill while they were legally employed.

[96] On its internet site, the "Hotline for Workers" (Kav La'Oved) publishes evaluations of the situation. One article asks "A State Based on Law or a Banana Republic?" and decries the many deviations from lawful actions in Israel.

Raijman, Resnik & Gesser, 2000). Still, the fact is that many undocumented workers manage for years to escape deportation and earn a satisfactory livelihood, because, as the report of the Israeli Association for Civil Rights shows, even if deportation is carried out at the government planned rate of 500 per month, it will take 260 years [sic!] to deport all the undocumented workers in the country (ACRI, 2001).

Researchers in Tel Aviv have investigated the life style of the temporary immigrant workers in the city. Their goal was to see whether the pattern of temporary immigrant workers' settlement in Israel is, or is not different from that of workers in other countries. The hypothetical model was based on immigration research, to wit: First, temporary immigration is encouraged to fill a vacuum in the secondary labor sector of the receiving country. Secondly, with the extension of residence in the target state, immigrant neighborhoods begin to develop. Third, there are changes in the orientation of the foreigners in regard to living in the target country. Ultimately, they are integrated in the receiving state. An investigation of the residential, community, work, leisure, and telecommunicational domains of their daily activities, shows that the temporary immigrant workers live in a kind of "bubble." Their only contact with Israelis is in the formal contacts of work. Their most important human relationships are the endless telephone calls "home" and the relationships that are developed with other workers from their countries of origin. As hypothesized, they also found that Israelis whose socio-economic status is relatively low resent the competition of temporary immigrant workers, while those who are further removed more or less tolerate them (Schnell, 1999). Although temporary immigrant workers are far from being integrated into Israeli society, an argument could be made for the process being in train. Their life style shows that the first two stages of the model have been accomplished.

From the point of view of the workers this is an advance. The down side, of course, is that "illegals" cannot leave the country to visit families in the countries of origin. With no hope of receiving visas, they know that they will not be allowed to return. They therefore send for their wives and children. Once the families arrive the undocumented workers have no alternative but to settle in and make every effort to live normal lives in the country (personal communication, Ms. V. Eitan). Among others, this, of course, means that it is important to them to enable their children to receive a good education.

## 2.    WHERE ARE THE CHILDREN?

Because the families have to adopt complicated schemes to keep out of the eyes of the authorities, it is almost impossible to know how many children of undocumented temporary workers there are in the country. The estimate of the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics is that in the year 2000 there were about 100,000 undocumented workers in Israel (*Ha'aretz,* April 3, 2001, p. A12)[97] and the Council for the Child has estimated the number of their children at 2000-3000. Some organizations assess the number of children as closer to five thousand (personal communication, Ms. Gill, attorney of the National Council for the Child). Most of them live in Tel Aviv and the Municipality is interested in this information. According to the Department of Education of the Municipality, there were 1056 children aged 0-5 and 452 more studying in schools in 1998. This number was an increase of 11.6% compared with 1997. The assumption is that there has been a steady increase since then. A goodly proportion of them should be in school.

According to the "International Convention for the Rights of the Child" formulated by the United Nations in 1989 and ratified by Israel in 1991, children are entitled to receive education no matter what the legal status of their parents. For the families that are in Israel unlawfully, however, the children's schooling is haphazard and fraught with difficulties. Families that fear deportation are likely to move from town to town in quest of alternative places of work. Children who remain with their parents are thus forced to miss school or to transfer frequently from one school to another (*Ha'aretz,* June 3, 1998). Teachers regularly report on difficulties that the children have in adjusting to requirements, including the basic need to gain command of a language of communication (*Knesset Record:* MK A. Maor to the Minister of Education in the 68th session of the 14th Knesset, January, 29, 1997). Some of the families solve the problem by sending children back to their countries of origin to live with their extended family when they reach school age. Of those who stay in Israel, some attend state schools and some attend private church schools where Arabic is the language of instruction (*Ha'aretz,* June 26, 1998; Roer-Streier & Olshtain-Mann, 1999).

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[97] There are no official statistics for the foreign workers because there is no pool of official information (*Report of the State Comptroller, No. 46,* p. 476). The Ministry of Labor and Welfare estimated their number in 1997 at 150,000 (Ministry of Labor and Welfare Report, 1997, cited in Yanai, p. 60). In 1998 the estimate of that ministry was 190,000 whereas the CBS estimated all the foreign workers that year at 128,000 (*Bank of Israel, 98,* p. 116). In 2000, it was acknowledged that they comprised 13% of the workforce in Israel (*Ha'aretz,* April 3, p. A12).

# 3. THE STATE'S RECOGNITION OF ITS OBLIGATIONS TO STUDENTS

The position of the Ministry of Education in regard to providing education for the children of foreign workers is confusing. As temporary visitors, neither the parents nor their children are provided with an Israeli identity card. Thus, when children enroll in state schools, the Ministry computer returns the category, "Error Code 445". This is a notice that the registration has been rejected and even if the child will attend the school for which she has been registered, her attendance will not be recorded officially. Since school budgets are calculated according to the number of students officially recorded, the allocation of funds to a school with a sizeable number of children from non-citizen families is skewed. Local authorities do not formally budget for these children's education either, but unofficially the Departments of Welfare in some cities do provide support for schools that admit them (interview with the principal of school B; and Ms. Eitan, social worker in the Tel Aviv municipality). The patent injustice of these procedures seems to have been recognized by the Ministry of Education during the last several years. In 1998, in a *Special Circular Letter,* the Ministry declares that all the authorities that deal with education are obliged to comply with the UN International Convention because the convention is at one with Israeli law. Here the Director-General affirms unequivocally that "The legal status of children is irrelevant to their right to education, and it is the duty of the Ministry of Education, the local authorities and school institutions to provide education for children of foreign workers just as they do for all other children (*Circular Letter of the Director General of the Ministry of Education,* No. 59/1/a September 1, 1998, p. 7).

As noted, temporary immigrant workers with families tend to live in the cities, where there is a variety of workplaces to choose from and there are communities of compatriots (Kemp, Raijman, Resnik, & Schammah-Gesser, 2000). The conditions for education vary from city to city. In Jerusalem, where the Ministry of the Interior is directly responsible for dealing with temporary immigrant workers, there is no central municipal authority to deal with education for the children. According to Kemp et al. (2000), however, Jerusalem is a convenient venue because workers' families have access to the church schools in East Jerusalem. The religious orders accept their children without question and apparently have adequate funding so tuition is very low. This arrangement relieves the immigrant workers of the onus of having to negotiate with Israeli authorities in regard to their children's education. The majority of the undocumented temporary workers, however, live in or near Tel Aviv. That is the only local authority in the country that deputies social workers and experts in education to care for the educational

needs of the community. This is conceived of as an investment to safeguard the welfare of the entire population (see quotation at the beginning of the chapter).

Most of the foreign workers live in a run-down neighborhood near an area where the central bus terminal was formerly located. Landlords show little interest in maintenance of the properties, but charge exorbitant rents for apartments that often house several families. Since men and women go out to work, several women in the neighborhood stay at home and take care of the little children. In some cases, these women undertake to teach children of school age. The Municipal Office of Social Services has, since the end of the 1990s been running short courses for nannies and kindergarten teachers. They are courses based on the Israeli perception of the skills and knowledge that can help workers with children carry out educational tasks effectively (Kemp & Raijman, 2003; Schnell, 1999).

Many families, however, are interested in their children acquiring systematic schooling. To that end, they enroll children in a state primary school and assure them of the kind of student's career that is considered normal in the country. It is possible to see how children of temporary immigrant workers are viewed and how they are treated in one primary school in Tel Aviv and what happens to them in subsequent years of schooling. In these institutions, the principal and the staff have to deal with issues that do not come up in schools where there are only a few pupils from such families. In what follows I will present what they say and report on practices observed in a school with pupils from the families of temporary immigrant workers.

## 4.    WHAT THEY SAY: THE PRINCIPAL AND THE TEACHERS IN PRIMARY SCHOOL B'

In an elementary school in Tel Aviv where many children of foreign workers are enrolled, the teachers declare that they have had to evolve a professional philosophy that enables them to deal with children without prejudice as persons.

As principal of School B', A. looked for solutions to questions about curriculum, about giving voice to children who do not belong to the ethno-nationality of the Jewish state. Her conclusion was that the school had to develop a program based on multi-culturalism that would provide a space for non-Jewish children from Latin-America and Africa, as well as for children of veteran Israelis who live in the neighborhood. On the assumption that all the languages spoken by the pupils have to be acknowledged as important and must find a place in daily instruction, teachers who apply for jobs in the

school have to know at least one language other than Hebrew. Despite her consideration for the interests of the school's non-Jewish students, however, the principal insisted that basically the school had to carry out the curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education. Therefore, in managing the budget, she organizes classes so that the children of the foreign workers have additional classes in Hebrew and can then use the Ministry-approved materials. In general, the school is run according to the Jewish calendar, with all the students marking holidays such as the Feast of Lights (Hanukkah), Israel's Independence Day, and Holocaust Remembrance Day. In her interpretation, the multicultural message is conveyed when the teachers mention parallels between the Israeli-Jewish holidays and those of other peoples. For example: "On Hanukka we talk about Ramadan (the Muslim fast) and about Christmas, and in the corner we put a Menorah (a candelabra) and a Christmas tree".

Another aspect of the multicultural approach that is part of the school's orientation is the position that the work of the educators must be based on professional values. From that point of view, cognitive proficiency cannot be the focus of education for children from diverse cultural backgrounds. In her vision, to educate is to have an awareness of the children as legitimate human beings as well as to be sensitive to children's needs. In talking about the school, she kept coming back to her conviction that by demonstrating warmth it is possible to motivate learning, to impart values and help children acquire social skills. This was especially important for the children of the rather nomadic foreign worker families. For some of the pupils, the school was actually a replacement for home, and a teacher often had to serve *in loco parentis.* Through the cultivation of close human relationships, it is possible to impart universal values. In the view of the school, it is very important for the children to acquire a respect for principles of freedom for individuals and for groups.

The principal was upset morally by the bureaucratic procedures that prevented a recognition of full educational rights for children of foreign workers. In her opinion,

> The historical legacy of the Jews obliges us to draw humane conclusions, maybe more than any other nation. Our history of having been persecuted throughout history requires us to be committed to especially high standards; we need to be more sensitive to social wrongs. I have to learn ["other" students'] history profoundly, as an act of respect, as a **Jew** [raising her voice]. There has to be a place for their culture because they are here only for a time. Therefore I don't want to convert them to Judaism.

She was angered by the flagrant bureaucratic disregard for egalitarianism in dealing with children. Institutions for educating teachers convey the message that it behooves teachers to look upon the student as the point of departure for all teaching. The professional slogan is the notion of "the student as the core" of educational acts. But the Ministry agrees to classes of as many as forty students, a class size that makes it impossible to get to know children as individuals. In such large classes, teachers cannot know every pupil personally and the exhortation to professional behavior is reduced to the level of hollow clichés. The definition of the principal's role is another failing of the bureaucracy. A principal, like a teacher, is an educator above all, and educators have to have heart *and time* to express empathy for students. The grounds of action for the professional educator are not the school organization, but the child him/herself.

Educationally, the way the state differentiates among diverse groups of pupils is bad if only because of the impact this has on the Jewish students:

> I am talking about what message we convey to our children who are the future citizens, who grow up together with them [the children of foreign workers], who will be hewers of wood and drawers of water; that the state is preparing second-class citizens; when it is time for vaccines, some students get them and some do not; when it is time to get gas masks some students get them and some don't.

This professional commitment makes her look upon her work as far more than that of the administration of schedules and school festivities. She sees the same principles as guidelines for her contacts with the Parents' Association and in her involvement in community affairs. Aware of the problems that some of the parents have in participating in meetings, she has sometimes traveled to school from out of town for a meeting and waited for parents who did not come. In line with the general educational philosophy, "We don't lecture them, we arrange another meeting". But parents also take an active part in school affairs in the school and outside it. The chairperson of the school's Parents' Association was a woman with contacts in the Citizens' Rights Association, and through her, the principal could cooperate in organizational efforts to enact a law that would have children of foreign workers covered by national insurance. The proposal was given its final form by the National Council for the Child, the Civil Rights Association, and the Committee for the Children in the Knesset (see ACRI, 2001).

The principal perceives the community as extending beyond the parents and the neighborhood to include any factor that is likely to influence students' lives. In her perception, the staff and the principal have to know about all areas that affect the child's well being and influence him/her in

class. These domains include the family, his/her legal status, state laws - all are of concern to the school staff. She therefore found it necessary to cooperate with the Neighborhood Committee, the police, and non-governmental organizations active in issues related to children, especially children of temporary immigrant workers. One example was her activism with the Neighborhood Committee. At first this body objected to the children of temporary immigrant workers being enrolled in the school for fear that it might lower the school's standards; furthermore, they feared that the foreign workers might bring crime and drugs into the neighborhood. The principal met with them several times, and succeeded in convincing the committee that there was no reason to resent the children and that all children had the right to education because "a child is a child is a child".

The school maintains liaison with the police and achieved "understandings that I cannot talk about", said the principal. She did say that there was an agreement with the police not to arrest workers marked for deportation near the school or in front of their children; there was also an agreement that the school would not be obliged to provide addresses of undocumented foreign workers to the police. The principal maintains close relations with the Tel-Aviv-Yaffo Municipality. Since the Ministry of Education did not accept the registration of foreign workers' children for a long time, they may be subject to inequity when classes go on field trips, or participate in special projects. Until 2000, there was also a problem of medical treatment coverage for children who were injured in a mishap at school. The municipality was persuaded to allocate funds for such eventualities, because, she said "I am assertive, I am a leech; they give in just to get rid of me". Over time, the municipal allotment grew into a comprehensive concern for the welfare of the community of foreign workers (see also *Ha'aretz,* October 26, 2001). The principal was adamant that she would not allow her activism to be blocked. Had the state instructed her to expel those "foreign" students from the school because they were illegal residents and had no right to education, she would have quit.

## 5. INTERVIEWS WITH THE STAFF

On visiting the school we were interested to find that all the teachers were eager to express themselves on the themes related to education in their institution. These were specialist teachers as well as homeroom teachers.

Homeroom teachers at School B' were sensitive to the connections between discourse and reality. Alienating expressions are avoided. A teacher explained that in Hebrew, the expression "foreign workers" is offensive

because it intimates a connection with paganism.[98] In the school, teachers refer to the parents as "workers from overseas". The message is that the parents of those children are not defined by "foreignness", but simply came from other countries. With the same kind of care, the teacher explained that in the school there are no "problematic" pupils. Teachers grasp the situation as one in which the children "have difficulties because they come from other places". In fact, the teachers do not talk about "pupils" or "students" but talk about each young person in the school as a "child". And they look into the children's hardships in detail. The parents, even the educated ones, are unable to help the children at school because they have at best only a superficial knowledge of Hebrew. Some of the children had never attended school because their countries of origin were in the throes of war, and neither had their parents. In many families both parents worked long hours and the children stayed at home without supervision for most of the day, sometimes having to take care of their younger siblings. Like the principal, the teachers stressed the importance of giving all the children much attention. One teacher said: "I give them so much that it is at the expense of my own children". The loving is unconditional to all children indiscriminately because, as they repeated the slogan the principal had coined, "a child is a child is a child" (see also Fishbein, 1997).[99]

When parents work all day long children are left on their own for many hours, and for that reason alone some of them lack knowledge of "what is right and wrong". There is also ignorance of personal hygiene among many of the children, but the teachers agreed that "you can't shout at the children because they have problems." In cases of extreme and violent behavior there was an understanding that "some children can't be nice because they feel so bad." However, attention and love did not mean that there were no demands. The teachers had rigid demands in regard to homework, clean classrooms, and attendance.

A particular difficulty that the teachers have to confront is student turnover, caused by the families' mobility. In the school year 1998/9, for example, the school had a total of 241 students; in the first six months of the school year, 32 students left and eight new students enrolled. Sixteen left for a foreign country and six arrived from abroad. Eleven transferred to a school in another area and one was transferred from another school. Six were transferred to a school for children with special needs and one child was transferred from a school of special education. The high turnover affects all

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[98] The Hebrew for paganism is "avodah zarah" or "work [prayer] that is foreign [to Jewish customs]."

[99] The teachers told us about a new teacher who refused to hug an Arab child, saying that she was not taught at the teachers' college to love Arabs. She was fired.

the classes, because they are small with ten to twelve students in each. It also adds to the tension of pupil-pupil interaction.

Because of the children's very difficult conditions at home, it was understandable to the teachers that there was a rise in violence and vandalism in the school for a short time. They did not wait for instructions from the Ministry in order to compile a program that answered to the needs of their own school. Teachers were proud to have evolved a plan for overcoming aggression among the children. They consciously avoided preaching. Instead, they designed and implemented a program with the message that everyone has his/her own territory. In the personal territory, a person has freedom to act as long as they do not hurt others. Non-violent rules of behavior were deduced together with the children to help everybody internalize peaceful modes of interaction. Now there is a school rule that pervades all behavior: "First you listen, then you check if you have understood, then you check again, and only then do you act."

Teachers also spoke about enhancing awareness of multi-culturalism in other ways. The children were exposed to other cultures in their everyday life; when a group of students did not come to school, all the children learned that the group were celebrating their own holiday. When the Ministry of Education decided that "The right to be respected and the duty to show respect" would be the Theme of the Year', School B' developed materials that actually served the school's world view. The teacher of reading helped the staff design a special project that included a critical reading of documents that the teachers chose. A Grade 6 homeroom teacher told us:

> We chose a text that was sent to us from "The Worker's Hotline", an association that takes care of the rights of foreign workers. We read together an article that deals with the problems of a worker who was injured at work. The students learnt from the text how many forms he had to fill out in a language he did not speak (Hebrew), how he had to have his employer sign in order to get National Security benefits to enable him to get medical care. The reading of the text was slow and was done in keeping with an example from Freire's book *Pedagogy of the Free.*[100]

In her words, the lessons were successful because in dealing with the text, the children were dealing with the tensions in their own lives.

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[100] Actually, *Pedagogy of the oppressed,* see Freire, 2000.

Among the interviewees were two specialist teachers who were not part of the school staff but worked in the school at the time. One was an instructor from the Technological Center, whose field was new teaching methods; the other was a teacher of psychodrama who was hired chiefly to work with the children of foreign workers. The instructor from the Technological Center helped the teachers widen their knowledge of subject matter as well as of didactic methods. As she understood the needs of the school, every teacher had to have knowledge of the entire curriculum of grades 1-6 because the children in each class had such varied and uneven funds of knowledge. Furthermore, because of the school population's cultural diversity, she gave the staff guidance in developing programs of study related to regions abroad that were familiar to the children of the "workers from overseas" even if they were rather exotic in the eyes of native-born Israelis. This was a step beyond the subject, "Native Land" that is required in primary school and is limited to a study of Israel and its geographically distinct interior divisions.

The psychodrama teacher, herself an immigrant from Uruguay, came to the school after hearing about the living conditions of the foreign workers. The principal hired her because they both shared the idea that children had to express their fears and hopes spontaneously, and this was possible only in one's native language. This teacher met the Spanish-speaking group (the largest group of foreign workers' children at the school) for five hours a week. They formed a multi-age group and told their stories while the teacher wrote them down. All the stories were collected in a booklet entitled *First Sadness and Then Happiness.*

## 6.     EVIDENCE FROM OBSERVATIONS

The school is well kept, clean, and quiet although it is located in the center of a noisy city, next to the fairly new, but already worn, central bus terminal. The atmosphere during the lessons is calm. Halls are decorated with students' drawings and with reproductions of famous paintings from all over the world. One wall is decorated with the lyrics of an Israeli song called "In our yard" which tells about showing hospitality to children from all over the world "in our home." In walking through the corridors, the visitor is struck by the many languages spoken, and the fact that many of the students do not speak Hebrew. The school has a large library and a well-equipped computer laboratory. Observations were carried out in classrooms, in the hallways, and in the teachers lounge.

## Observations in classrooms and hallways

In a fourth grade class that was observed, pupils sat around a large desk in the center of the classroom, and smaller desks were scattered in the corners of the room for "students who need extra attention" as the homeroom teacher put it. Each teacher taught some material frontally and then students worked independently or in pairs at their books while the teacher worked with the students who were having difficulties. Quiet was maintained in the classroom and the teacher did not raise her voice.

Relations between teachers and students showed mutual respect and consideration. For example, in one of the classes we observed a child that we had seen acting belligerently in recess entered late. The teacher greeted him asking: "Do you want to study with us?" The student said no; he preferred to mend his football instead. The teacher let him do so, provided him with glue at his request to repair a hole in the ball, and allowed him to go out to the hall to test the ball by dribbling. When he came back a few minutes later, the teacher asked him to join them. He refused, and then the teacher said calmly: "I allowed you to play with the ball, I gave you glue, I permitted you to go out to dribble; now you have to study". The student put the ball on the floor silently, took a notebook and a textbook out of his schoolbag and started to work. The teacher had negotiated with the student by treating him with respect and by showing consideration for his immediate needs. The entire episode did not disrupt the class and the students continued their work.

We discovered that the consideration and sense of responsibility are copied by the children. One example that we observed was in the principal's office. While we were talking to her, two sixth-graders came in with two first-graders who were crying. The older students told the principal that the younger students had been hitting each other during recess. The sixth graders had separated them. They brought them to her because they knew she would want to talk to the little ones. They did it without being asked to do so. The principal said that her staff encouraged a sense of responsibility among the students and here was evidence that it worked.

In our observations, we saw that Hebrew was the language of instruction in all the classes. But in a fifth grade class we observed students who said openly that they did not understand a word the teacher said or read from the text. The teacher stopped what was going on and pupils who knew the children's language explained or translated the word or phrase. The teachers in this class were using texts to demonstrate that every country had its own unique and interesting customs. So the translation fitted in with the message of the lesson. Moreover, having read a text about a Jewish custom, the teacher asked pupils in the class to compare it to customs well-known to students who belonged to other religious establishments.

We had an opportunity to observe the implementation of a project for learning Hebrew that was introduced by an instructor from the Technological Center (an institute that focuses on developing teaching methods). The method was to have all the classes of the second grade divided into small groups for teaching and learning mathematics, Hebrew, and English. Since new students joined the school in the middle of the school year, the decision was to keep the structure flexible. Each group had assignments based on pupils' achievements to date, assignments that were designed to be completed in a relatively short time. In general, we were told, the curriculum is planned with material for two months ahead at the most. When a child finishes her assignment, her work is evaluated and then she moves on to a group that is dealing with more difficult material. By working in this way, emphasizing flexibility in assignments, the teachers could avoid categorizing children as ready for Stream A, or B, or C, the kind of ability grouping that has been shown to be self-perpetuating. In these classes children experience intellectual challenge, reward for individual achievement, and social contact. Teachers were proud of the system that they had started in Grade 2, and expanded it to work with the children in Grade 1.

For learning Hebrew, the children of the workers from abroad studied in multi-age classes where they learned together with immigrant children and children for whom Arabic is the mother tongue. In subjects where a knowledge of Hebrew is not the determining factor (e.g., art), the students were grouped in traditional classes.

The children usually moved about quietly, sometimes going to the principal and the teachers to complain about other students' bad behavior towards them. There was no violence or shouting. The teachers' empathy for the students was manifest. There was a great deal of hugging. When a student showed signs of distress or when he/she was angry, a teacher first hugged him or her; then queried what had happened and only after that was there any talk of the possibility of punishment for misbehavior.

## 6.2    Observations in the teachers' lounge

These included observations and casual conversations with teachers for explanations for events observed.

*(1) During recess.* While teachers poured themselves tea, several students came in and the teachers gave them tea and a slice of bread with butter and jam. Not a word was said; this was done routinely. We learned that for the children who came in, this snack served instead of a meal. The teachers said they had learned to detect the hungry students by their body language.

A teacher was observed writing a letter in Spanish, translating a letter the school was sending to the children's parents. The teachers feared that children who learned Hebrew faster than did their parents would gain the wrong kind of power in the family if they were to become the intermediaries between the school and the family or between their parents and state authorities. Therefore, the school sent information to parents in their own languages. At parent-teacher meetings, a teacher would never communicate with a parent through the children; there was always an adult translator present.

During recess, although the teachers usually talked about things that had happened in class, what was not said also drew our attention. The expression "a problematic student" so often spoken by teachers was never heard in school B'. When we asked about it the teachers said that the students there were not problematic but were "children who have a hard life".

*(2) Observations of staff meetings.* At one staff meeting, an expert was invited to talk about child abuse because the school had learned that there were a number of cases in which students were molested (outside the school premises and after school hours). After that meeting, the staff decided to inform the parents about these dangers. They prepared a letter to the parents that was translated into several languages. At another meeting just before the summer vacation, the staff wrote to the parents recommending that the children drink a lot of water and wear hats in Israel's hot summer.

*(3) Teacher-parent meetings:* At these meetings, held with parents individually, two homeroom teachers of Grade 1 arranged to sit in the same classroom because one of them spoke Spanish and the other did not. A mother from Latin America came and announced to the Spanish speaking teacher that they were moving to Spain. The teacher wished the student good luck and commended him on his scholastic achievements. After the mother and son left, there were tears in her eyes and she said: "I put so much into this child, now another teacher will enjoy the fruits of my efforts".

## 7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Because their work is not monitored systematically, the undocumented workers from abroad have managed to establish a presence in Israel in a way that the documented workers constrained to live in or near a single work site cannot. At the same time, they are constantly on the watch for police who may ask to examine their documents, and, finding them wanting, may arrest the workers pending deportation. Paradoxically, however, the adults are more vulnerable than are the children. Protected by international covenants, and by the obligation of the school system to provide them with

opportunities for learning, many children grow up in the Israeli milieu, acquire Hebrew as their language of study, make friends with Israeli children and know Israel as their home. The various anomalies engendered by the presence of children who are neither Jewish nor Palestinian are gradually gaining the attention of the authorities.

Although the numbers of the children studying in the Israeli school system are so small that they are all but ignored as a group in the Knesset Record and in the *Circular Letters of the Director-General* of the Ministry of Education, this is the very group that provides the most telling challenge to the ideology of a Jewish state, and at the same time tests the system for its ability to meet the democratic goal of egalitarianism in a way that fulfills the needs of the pupils. By their very presence the children of the temporary immigrant workers put in question the ideology of Israel as a Jewish state. A similar negation of the ideologically promulgated nature of the state is effected by families living in or near Jerusalem who send their children to Palestinian schools. There the children carry out studies in Arabic and become part of the complex bi-ethnic structure of Israel. For family living, however, and for work, the parents for the most part depend on the Hebrew-speaking sector. As a result they express their hopes for their children in terms that are understandable in Israeli society, averring that they want them to study at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (Roer-Streier & Olshtain-Mann, 1999).

The educational future of these children in Israel depends, of course, on the future of temporary workers' immigration in the country. Although there are many Knesset resolutions and Ministerial proclamations to the effect that steps will be taken, they have had little effect so far. Requiring a strategy that combines a reduction of the number of permits, a rise in wages for immigrant workers, taxation on the employers,[101] closer inspection at the borders, and so on, the programs have not succeeded (State Comptroller, 1998, p. 284). Indeed, these failures are not unique to Israel. Research shows that repressive policies do not deter immigration because the motivations and the uses of immigration are too complex for relatively simple policing (Massey et al., 1998, p. 288). If what happens in Israel will parallel developments in other parts of the world (Europe, Asia, the Americas), the temporary immigrant workers may well go on toward integration into Israeli society according to the model cited above. They will then be in a position to demand a kind of education that takes their children's cultural needs into consideration. Under such circumstances, the children will have to be recognized as a distinctive group in schools in several municipalities. How

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[101] In the proposed 2004 budget, employers of temporary immigrant workers were to be taxed. In the Knesset vote, however, this provision was not passed.

the State of Israel will be constrained to revamp aspects of the school system to suit the needs of an increasingly diversified school population, and what repercussions the revamping is likely to have on other sectors of the system, is a puzzle that is far from the concerns of the authorities at this point. Yet, this is exactly the nexus of a possible, perhaps probable, transformation of the national ideology.

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Chapter 14

# CONCLUSIONS: OVERT INTENTIONS AND MANIFEST OUTCOMES

Schools and education systems are among the most thoroughly researched phenomena in the social sciences. Applying theoretical tools from the realms of psychology, social psychology, organizational research, and so on, researchers have been able to describe and explain many aspects of educational institutions in great detail by studying policy-making, administration, or teaching and learning. An anomaly in educational research is the fact that the actions of the state are under-theorized. The state's intentions are usually presented in broad theoretical generalizations and followed up by a conceptual analysis. The perspective adopted is satisfied to attribute motives to the state on the basis of a global social theory (see, for example Part Five, in Paul & Russo, 1982).

This book was written in order to point out one way of unpacking how the state is linked with the ordinaries of education for immigrants and minorities in the classroom. In the voyage from the macro to the micro, the project in effect explores what the state does to realize its goals when it runs an education system. The study has enabled me to carry out a test of how ideology (in its neutral definition as: statements that define a nation and its view of the good life, the existing social conditions, and a strategy for achieving the good life), functions in the field of education. From a practical point of view, the investigation traces how the official ideology of Israel is revised by successions of acts. By looking closely at elements that make up official statements of ideology regarding *olim,* indigenous minorities, and temporary immigrants, I have tracked their application to legislated policy, to actions proclaimed as accomplishments, to the definition of goals, the dissemination of instructions, to constructing the relationship between the overall organization — the system and the field, as well as to examples of performance in the schools — as reported on by research and as recounted in experiential terms. In the large, each section has dealt with one or the other term of Burke's (1969) pentad: *scene, agent, agency, act, purpose.* The links in the chain of state educational activity are successive Scenes where

Acts are carried out by delegated Agents, who implement means (Agency) appropriate to each location for attaining the Purposes assigned to each site.

Contextualizing the chain of specification, Part I is devoted to setting the overall Scene from historical, theoretical and political points of view. Chapter 1 presents general historical background of the formation of Israel as a nation-state with a pluralistic population. Chapter 2 draws on the literature of comparative education in order to show the repertoire of orientations ("agencies") available and deployed in dealing with the education of a diverse population. Approaches to understanding what constitutes ideology (purposes) are sketched in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents a broad selection of declarations from the political affirmations of the World Zionist Organization to the Declaration of Independence and to statements by public figures, all of which fall into place as the official ideology of the State of Israel. The string can be seen as part of the web of statements that are woven into an official testimonial of the purposes of Israel as a State. They delineate what the conditions are, what community is important in the situation described, and what strategies are appropriate to solving the problems evident in that situation.

In the large, Part II treats the realm of Agency, an exploration of how the official ideology is worked out in shifting scenes that the State sponsors. Thus, Chapter 5 opens a window to the Knesset as the scene of policy-making by Members of the Knesset (agents). Focusing on acts that have been found to be praiseworthy, Chapter 6 looks at projects related to different groups that have been carried out by Government Ministries. These projects are reported as praiseworthy accomplishments. The transmutation of policy into educational purposes, goals for the system as a whole is the topic of Chapter 7. In Chapter 8, I have presented specifications for acts of schooling. They are explicated by the Ministry of Education through the agency of monthly written communications that presume to provide schools and "workers in education" with the tools for carrying out educational tasks. The Ministry does not, however, rely completely on the written word. An important aspect of its activity is the appointment of officials to convey the messages 'live' to the field (the agency of oral communication). Some of the approaches of Ministry officials and agents in the school scene are observed and reported on in Chapter 9.

The last part of the book, Part III, is devoted to presenting a view of Acts as they are carried out in schools that serve children who have immigrated from Russia and Ethiopia; as well as children who belong to the minority for whom Arabic is the language of instruction, and the children of temporary immigrant workers who come from Asia or Africa, Latin America, or Europe. Every chapter tells about the acts from the three angles of vision: the background for the groups' arrival in Israel, how researchers interpret

educational action, and short descriptions of events that take place in school scenes.

In summing up what I believe it is possible to learn from the material, I will locate the practices presented in the context of orientations to immigrants and minorities in different countries, and how they fit in with official pronouncements. Then I will explore how the educational implications of theories on ideology are to be seen in what happens in the schooling of different groups. The exploration will enable a better understanding of how purposes are upheld and how altered at intersections of the performance of state education. Thus, the trail discloses how ideology functions in different ways depending on the agents and agency in particular scenes as well as on the variety of purposes that are salient in different scenes. From the revisions, it becomes clear that the neutral working definition of ideology is misleading.

## 1. PERCEIVED PROBLEMS

Israel, as a nation-state has a uniquely diverse population with groups distinguishable from one another in terms of religion, countries of origin, mother tongues, and modes of carrying out everyday life. Plurality is conspicuous. For one thing, there have been many influxes of Jewish immigrants from all corners of the globe, i.e., groups who can be seen as different *ethnies* (Smith, 2000, p. 65). The autochthonous national minority is made up of groups of different religious affiliations and cultures. In addition, immigrant workers from different continents, who are invited for limited periods of time, now constitute a very small, but ideologically significant minority (ca. 4.5% of the population). Different types of negotiation between the State and each group mold the social structure. While Jewish immigrants are encouraged to "make aliya", wooed by promises of assistance, granted citizenship on arrival, and privileged with special support; autochthonous minority groups are tolerated; and immigrant workers have to pay for the right to enter and reside in the country for limited periods of time. These last are legal residents only as long as an employer requests their services, and, after two or three years, are supposed to leave or become candidates for deportation or imprisonment.

At the same time, and, according to international law, independently of the social position of the group as a whole, the children of each of the groups that make up the state's population impose responsibilities on the schools (Hodgson, 1998, pp. 219-220). Because Israel is a signatory to the UN Covenant on the Rights of the Child, the state is obliged to provide the children of all the groups with education. The implication is that through

egalitarianism in education all the children can have equal life chances. This pledge is recognized by the Ministry in a recent *Circular of the Director-General* (see Chapter 8). By examining the careers of students from the different groups, in terms of access, survival, and output (see Chapter 2 above), however, we can see that the education that each group receives is differentiated in quality.

## 2.      STUDENT CAREERS

## 2.1     Access

Although the state system of education operates on the basis of two laws that promise education for all: the Law for Compulsory Free Education (1949) and the Law for State Education (1953); access to schooling is still unequal. While about 99% of Jewish children are enrolled in primary school and more than 95% in secondary school, fewer (about 90% in primary school and 79.3% in secondary school) are enrolled in the Arab sector with lowest enrollment among the Bedouins in the south of the country (Sprinczak, Barr, Seguev, Pitterman & Levi-Mazlom, 2001, p. 63). As to the children of the temporary immigrant workers, there is neither an official count of how many of them are of school age, nor any way of knowing with certainty what percentage of their children actually attends schools.

## 2.2     Survival

As shown in Part III, there are significant differences between the student careers of native-born Israeli pupils and those of groups of immigrants on the one hand, and wider disparities between the Jewish students and students who belong to minorities (indigenous or temporary), on the other. The differences noted here are seen in the types of schools and the courses of study made available to pupils of different origins. Decisive evidence of the meaning of school survival can be pinpointed in tracing educational outputs.

## 2.3     Output

Gaps of which the Ministry is aware are summed up in output as measured in test scores and certification. Inequalities in outputs are evident in intra-State as in international examinations. Statistics on success in

matriculation examinations show that twice as many children receive full matriculation certificates in towns of high socio-economic status than in the weaker peripheral towns and villages. (Saar, *Ha'aretz,* July 16, 2003, pp. A1, A6). Low achievements in the basics are disclosed early on in the course of primary and secondary education when scores on standardized tests disclose significant discrepancies among pupils of different ethnic backgrounds. The disparities were underlined by the scores of Israeli students who participated in international examinations in mathematics and in reading comprehension. In the mathematics exam, where children from thirty-five countries were tested, fourth grade Israeli children (nine-year-olds) placed 23$^{rd}$. Overall, the range of the scores (gaps between the mean score of children of the highest decile and those of children in the lowest deciles) was the largest in the world. Within that showing there was a gap of fifteen points between the mean scores of girls and boys (to the good of the girls) and a gap of twenty points between the mean scores of children in schools where Hebrew is the language of instruction and children in schools where Arabic is the language of instruction (Perlov, *Ha'aretz,* 17/VI/2003, p. B2). In results of a test for reading comprehension sponsored by the OECD (PISA: Program for International Student Assessment), the results for a nation-wide sample were similarly discouraging. Israel placed 30 among the forty-one participating states with about a third of all fifteen-year-old students demonstrating inadequacies in comprehension. The mean scores of students in schools where Arabic is the language of instruction were at least a third lower than those of students in schools where Hebrew is the language of instruction (Saar, www./*Ha'aretz*.co.il, 1/VII/2003). Inequalities are also obvious in the differential rates of school dropout with consistently high rates among Israeli Palestinian students, as well as among Jewish students from Ethiopian families and from new immigrant families from the FSU. There is also an imbalance of the student population in institutions of tertiary education.

The skewed statistics cited above are indicative of a general trend in the state system. Jewish — Ashkenazi — Middle class — Native-born (Sabar) pupils who live in the center of the country (rather than in peripheral areas), and whose parents are professional, constitute the school elite. Among them, the girls succeed best in the humanities while the boys are best in the sciences and in technology. As groups, the pupils whose parents stem from North Africa or Asia, the pupils from Ethiopia, and all the new immigrant pupils who live in peripheral areas of the country, lag far behind. As to the pupils whose mother tongue is Arabic, the Christians have the best school results, often measuring up to the standards set by the middle-class Ashkenazi Jews; the Druze have achievements similar to those of the pupils

of "Asian-African" descent. Lowest are the achievements of Muslim children among whom the Bedouin children have the lowest scores.

The outcomes reviewed above provide inescapable evidence that neither the relatively high expenditure on education (6.9% of the GNP — gross national product[102]), nor the series of projects that the Ministry has implemented in reorganizing schools, compiling experimental curricula, and making concessions to local autonomy, have created a system that fulfills the obligation to make a reasonable and useful education available to all (see Chapters 5, 7, 8 above). The inequalities are not accepted with equanimity. "Weaker" sectors of the population contend that the wide range of scores reflects the extraordinary gaps in the financing of schools and in the resources available to educators. There are also widespread complaints about teachers' professional qualifications and teacher education.

Panaceas that have been proposed by officials in different positions of the Ministry of Education reflect their areas of expertise and their political leanings. Exclaiming in response to the publication of the test results cited above that "We can no longer use the excuse that this is a momentary slip!", Professor Katz, Chairman of the Pedagogical Secretariat of the Ministry of Education, asserted that the programs of supplementary study hours for pupils who, for various social and cultural reasons, are defined as being at risk, have missed the target. In his view, the best way to raise the level of achievement, i.e., national results in external tests, and in matriculation examinations, is to invest in "excellence." The logic is that by cultivating the children who demonstrate an aptitude for learning, schools will be raising the standards for all pupils, and this will be a source of inspiration and encouragement for weaker pupils as well (Saar, 10/VIII/2003, *Ha'aretz*, p. A8). Suggesting that it is possible to solve the obvious pedagogical problems by administrative means, the Director-General of the Ministry, Ms. Ronit Tirosh, has published a document that outlines a plan to transfer school finances to the local authorities, grant more pedagogical authority to principals, while setting up advisory councils at the levels of the national Ministry, the local authorities, and the schools (Tirosh & Lavie, 2003).[103]

The topic of egalitarianism in education is a perennial issue in the sociology of education. In general, the unquestioned conviction that underlies research is the belief that children should enjoy equality of opportunity and equity of treatment in the course of schooling. Although it is not a necessary outcome of equality in inputs and throughputs, social scientists imbued with a conviction of the generalizability of the normal

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[102] Citing the expenditure on education is, of course, an inadequate indicator, because the proportion of children of school age in the Israeli population is 14.7% (CBS).
[103] The Minister of Education is a Member of the right-wing Likud Party and the highest officials of the Ministry have been approved by the coalition that runs the government.

curve, suspect that there is systematic unfairness if schools do not surmount inequality of outcomes. Constructionist research has effectively demonstrated how discourse (choices of language and the accompanying practices) is differentiated for children of different socio-economic statuses (Mehan, 1979). Critical theorists tend to demonstrate the centrality of power in the work called education and point to the underlying brutality of what is presented as acceptable pedagogy (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Foucault, 1984; Kalekin-Fishman, 1986; Popkewitz, 1987). Often, solutions are sought by locating the sources of inequity in the social position of the pupils and their families (Bernstein, 1971-1990). Alternatively, the root is found in the systematically unscrupulous intentions of the authorities (Swirski, 1990; 1999).

Rather than fasten on a single aspect of the educational system as the key to improvement, I have chosen to examine the educational situation, i.e., access and survival, as well as outputs, from the standpoint of comprehensive theoretical approaches that attempt to account for the differentiation of groups in education. In the following, I will examine explanations in terms of orientations, i.e., the generalized orientations of the communities with which learners are affiliated as well as those of the State, to the schooling of children whose parents belong to groups that are defined differently by the State. Then I will look at the impact of aspects of the official state ideology before placing the argument in a more general social-theoretical framework.

## 3. EXPLANATIONS IN TERMS OF ORIENTATIONS

Among educational theories that relate to differentials in educational achievements, some research looks at the orientations of the clients of the educational system, with the view that students' attitudes to learning and thus their accomplishments are consequent on the positions of their parents in the social structure, characteristics of the family are proposed as explanatory factors. In examining the problematic of education for minorities in the USA, Ogbu (1995) theorizes that the decisive element impacting learning is the affiliation of pupils with a 'voluntary' or an 'involuntary' minority. Thus, immigrant groups who have voluntarily moved to the USA, know they are 'different', and are eager for their children to acquire the cultural and intellectual tools of the majority as quickly as possible. Children of Blacks and Native Americans, on the other hand, belong to 'involuntary' minorities, groups set apart artificially in the country of their birth. The social rejection that the groups are subjected to provokes resistance that takes on diverse forms and is likely to influence children to

refuse to learn what schools choose to convey. In Israel, this distinction could perhaps explain differences in achievement between Jewish students, a large proportion of whom are immigrants, i.e., 'voluntary' minorities, and their Arab counterparts, an 'involuntary' national minority. But the direction of the differences is far from consistent. Although, for example, by Ogbu's lights, both the Jewish pupils from Ethiopia and those from the FSU are affiliated with voluntary minorities of comparable standing (in terms of choices made and in terms of years in the country), the differences between these groups of pupils in school survival and in outputs are considerable. Moreover, among the Arabs, all of whom belong to the category of 'involuntary' minority, there are wide differences in the attainments of the children of the Christian community, many of whom surpass their Jewish peers in academic achievements, and the Bedouin (Muslim) children in the south of the country who consistently score lowest on every comparative examination.

Further characterization of the groups represented by children in the schools as affiliated with minorities or majorities may, however, contribute to a refinement of Ogbu's theory. From the perspective of politics and geography, the terms 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' are rather ambiguous when applied to minority groups in Israel.For one thing, the formal differentiation of the groups according to their religions at the State's initiative is tantamount to recognition of the strength of religious affiliation across borders. The relative status  — power and prestige, as well as property  — and salience of the associated groups outside Israel may very well have a significant effect on the orientation to learning cultivated in each group. While Palestinian Israelis affiliated with Islam are a minority (albeit the largest one) in Israel, they are part of an overwhelming majority in the neighboring states and in the region. Palestinian Israelis who are affiliated with Christianity, on the other hand, are a very small minority in the region, but a sizeable community, often the majority community, in most European states, as in the Americas, and in Africa.

Moreover, as research among immigrant groups in the USA has shown, the collective identity of each group can be decisive in under-girding orientations to schooling and their attendant outcomes.[104] Sets of factors that intervene in the educational process at different times may be related to how each group perceives the features of its own members and what values signal commitment to one's "own" (see Herman, 1977, p. 44), and / or to the dynamic historical interplay of social position, political power, and

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[104] American researchers report on the over-representation of certain groups of immigrants among the pupils with outstanding educational achievements. Examples are the Jewish immigrants between the two World Wars, and the Asian (Korean, Chinese) immigrants of the last several decades of the twentieth century.

economic constraints that govern the individual's affective attachment to her group (Rouhana, 1997, p. x). These structures are regulated through significant historical events that highlight degrees of inclusion or exclusion. Certainly, the orientations to education and the educational attainments of 'involuntary' minorities also represent the complex of cultural markers that make up the collective identity of each group. Still, the differential effects of schooling on Christian and Muslim involuntary minorities, and among the latter, on residents of urban versus residents of rural areas raise issues for further examination in light of indicators of class.

An examination of how the aliya (immigration) to Israel is negotiated with Jewish groups sheds light on how multifaceted is the meaning of being a 'voluntary' minority in Israel. In regard to the 'voluntary' minorities, there are complicating factors. Despite the intensive involvement of the State of Israel in encouraging Jewish immigration from every corner of the globe the in-migration of 'voluntary' minorities has been carried out under widely different conditions for the different groups. These are likely to be of major importance in fathoming the children's approaches to Israeli education. The profuse support given by the Israeli government to Jewish immigration begins with the exertion of pressure on entire communities in the Diaspora. Emissaries sent by the Jewish Agency present the case for immigration by means of a variety of interventions. They lead discussions adapted to the perceived condition of each Diaspora about the importance of belonging to a nation, holding out promises of employment, housing, and quality of life, along with opportunities for experimenting with new types of identity formation. Even though the emissaries do not altogether misrepresent Israeli realities, the institutionalized presentation of 'pull' factors undoubtedly induces the image of Israel as a State flawlessly serving an evolving Jewish nation. Yet, as most of the interviewees have testified, "aliya" is a traumatic experience underlined by the anomalies of the immigrants' insertion into the social structure. In a word, the Jewish groups that immigrate are not 'voluntary' minorities; they are not prepared to see themselves as minorities at all.

From the first, the new 'olim' have expectations of being (construed as) part of the majority. On their arrival in Israel, the Jewish immigrants are, as promised, part of the religious majority. They are also part of the legal 'majority' in the sense that they have all the privileges of citizenship. Thus, if only by analogy, they are likely to deduce that socially and economically they will also soon be of the majority. In the meantime, provision of the basics of daily life is not always of the promised standard. Problems of earning a livelihood and making their way in a totally new milieu beset the adults. New immigrant children and adolescents, who are aware of the hardships encountered by the adults and have to contend with a new world

of schooling as well, may need up to three years to begin to see the advantages that accrue him or her from the giant step of immigration (see Chapters 9, and 10 to 13 above). But here, too, if we assume that the traumatic experience is more or less the same for young people who immigrate, no matter what country they come from, the wide differences in achievement and adjustment of different immigrant groups remains unexplained.

## 4.    EXPLANATIONS IN TERMS OF THE STATE'S *AGENCY* AS SEEN IN *ACTS*

An alternative explanation for differentials in school achievement may be sought in the orientation of the State as represented in the educational system, that is to say, the orientation of the Israeli Ministry of Education and the officials mandated to ensure that performance is appropriate to policy. Figueroa (1995) discusses policies in different countries, and at different times, as articulating orientations of: laissez-faire, assimilationism, integrationism, pluralism and multiculturalism, antiracism, or multicultural-ism and antiracism. In the literature on education in societies with diverse populations, researchers tend to assume that an orientation that is anti-racist and includes a coherent respect for multiculturalism guarantees the best support for student success (Banks, 1981). If this assumption reflects educational realities, it indicates a direction for understanding the unevenness of achievement among Israeli school children. By contrast with some of the states reported on in the literature, the State's orientation in Israel varies from group to group; it is overtly different in relation to Jewish immigrant children from different countries of origin, and different toward children of diverse minority groups.

The overwhelming importance attached to the establishment of the State as one that belongs to the Jewish nation guides every conception of how to deal with pupils from different countries of origin. In Israel, *laissez-faire* is ruled out. When the concern is with education for Jews, the significant question is how to define Judaism and Jewish culture. Once the definition has been crystallized, the issue becomes one of what mode of delivery to adopt; it is not a matter of substance. Another issue is that of the personality type that is desirable. Even though there is a glorification of the 'sabar', the strong, young, militant, native-born Israeli, who is presumed to have a soft heart, the proportion of immigrants to native-born children in the school system precludes an assumption of the possibility that new immigrant children will simply sop up the desirable qualities. The conclusion is that there has to be a major investment of effort to bring about 'absorption.' The

orientation that is embedded in the discourse is, therefore, one of active assimilationism, "the homogenization of polyglot populations" (Schultz, quoted in Olneck, 1995). New immigrants are to be 'absorbed' into the texture of Israeli society by acquiring fluency in Hebrew, entering into Jewish studies, and being befriended by native-born pupils. These are all praised as part of the path to becoming a true Israeli, i.e., eliminating all the traits and behaviors that are rooted in customs of the Diaspora, whatever the country of origin.

The reigning orientation, assimilationism, sometimes shades into a more benign integrationist practice, implemented in an "atmosphere of mutual tolerance" (Jenkins, in Figueroa, 1995, p. 783). Projects conducted in schools where Ethiopians are invited to demonstrate their native dances; the parties where immigrant parents are encouraged to contribute some special dish, the junior high schools and the youth village where elements of religious practices from the Diaspora are on display, are all examples of an approach that is defined as integrationist. Elements familiar to immigrants from their past are not kept hidden, but exhibited as worthy of attention. Instead of implementing uni-directional absorption, educators sponsor what is described as an avenue to *mutual* understanding. In the 1990s, with the massive wave of immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, there was a significant shift in vocabulary along with shifts in recommendations for action. For the first time, the term "multiculturalism" became respectable, and served as authorization of the presence of Russian and Russian cultural products in the media and in the public arena.

In the schools, however, both integrationism and multiculturalism are looked upon as temporary expedients — until the pupils learn to "do being fully Israeli". Even when the Ministry publicizes its policy as one of allowing pluralism, ostensibly a deliberate declaration of cultural permissiveness, the people in the field translate the instructions (whether termed multiculturalism or integrationism) into something they can deal with. In sum, there is a persistent tendency to slip back into assimilationism. The approach is shored up by the ideological assurance that cultural homogeneity among Jews is both a fact and, even if not immediately visible, a realistic prospect. Ultimately there is no avoiding the conclusion that the toleration and the shifts in terminology are no more than stages on the path to the only goal whose realization is considered a success: accomplishing amalgamation, turning all Jewish immigrants into "true Israelis." This is the construal of equality in education, and in effect, in the Jewish State and society.

Orientations to children who are not Jewish are influenced by this overwhelming ambition. The largest minority in the educational system (20% of the student population) consists of the children for whom Arabic is

the mother tongue.  Toward them, none of the educational orientations seems to apply. By definition, they cannot be assimilated / absorbed nor can their way of life be consciously integrated into the evolving Jewish nation-state. This orientation is not free of contradictions. In discussions related to schools where Arabic is the language of instruction, authorities do use terms such as 'pluralism' or 'multiculturalism'. But by contrast with the usage of the term multiculturalism that is recognized in the literature, namely, the orientation that approves of diversity as the organizing principle of society; in Israel, the term is expressly used to fix positions of distance and unbridgeable dissimilarity. Druze education is somewhat different in that specific routes to mutual tolerance are specified.  Druze Israeli literature is recognized as part of the Israeli scene and Druze customs are legitimated (see Chapter 12).[105] But this is a contract for defining the distance, not for eliminating it. No aspect of "other" religions is to be allowed to dissolve into Jewish culture. In all fairness, it must be acknowledged that the omni-presence of Jewish practices is similarly offensive to the religious authorities of the non-Jewish communities. While establishing that the distances between religions are fixed, the state education system does make room for academic advancement. Students of every "sector" who  matriculate successfully are entitled to enroll in institutions of higher education. Because graduates of all schools will be citizens with the right to vote and the right to be elected for office, the conception is that they should be educated to give the state a fitting return. For one thing they are to demonstrate unquestioning civic loyalty; and, even more important, they are to exhibit acceptance of the legitimacy of the nation-state ideology and superiority of the Jewish way of life (see discussions in the Knesset, above).

Another site of multiculturalism in the sense of distance and unbridgeable difference  —  is schooling provided for the children of temporary immigrant workers. While the Ministry recognizes the legal charge to allocate rights of access, in the schools that enroll children from these homes, teachers talk in terms of multiculturalism. In practice, however, the cultures that are not Jewish are recognized in educational routines only with minimal courtesy. Foreign customs or habits are mentioned, but Jewish culture is the one and only criterion for examining the extent to which a given way of life meets criteria of normality. For these pupils, academic success does not promise the rewards that schooling usually offers. With the diploma that testifies to their having completed important stages of learning,

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[105] As noted above, the Director-General of the Ministry of Education announced that "Druze heritage" will be taught in Jewish schools after Jewish teachers will participate in an in-service course in a Druze village near Haifa (*Kol-bo,* June 6, 2003).

these pupils receive notice that they cannot be part of Israeli citizenry because they are neither Jews nor part of an autochthonous minority.

In relation to both immigrants and minorities, anti-racism is an orientation totally foreign to the conception of education in Israel. Every mention of racism as a possibility in a Jewish state launches a highly charged socio-political debate. As the collective victim of atrocities justified by the warped Nazi doctrines on race, Jews in a Jewish state officially take exception to any hint that they could be associated with racist tenets. Furthermore, according to religious law, the quintessential signal of race, color, is irrelevant to membership in the Jewish community. Assuming that the Jewish religion is color-blind, the cluster of ideas, the ideology, created by the Jewish people and borne by and for the Jewish people by definition cannot possibly allow that racism is a social phenomenon in a Jewish state or in its school system. The limits to the recognition of diversity are set by the special shades of meaning allowed to multiculturalism. In practice, when it is cited, the point is to make a statement about solidifying the highly differentiated status quo of school segregation according to language of instruction, together with a privileged position of Jewish studies and a not overly clear formulation of civic duties as a differentiated realm of action. The persistence of assimilationism as the implicit goal of schools vis-à-vis Jewish immigrants, and the explicit orientation of multiculturalism vis-à-vis schooling for children of the autochthonous national minority, and towards the children of temporary immigrant workers, define the broad boundaries of inclusion and exclusion generated by state acts.

## 5. TEACHING AND LEARNING: CONCEPTS AND FORMS

The state system of education in Israel operates so as to turn Jewish pupils into "true Israelis" while turning pupils who are not Jewish into supportive outsiders. In the school scene, the production of "true Israelis" is presented by the designated responsible agents as concerned care for all the features of the pupils' personality that is held to unfold as the pupils make intellectual progress. In Jewish schools the degree to which the climate truly fulfills, or nurtures the child's emotional needs is a central criterion for self-criticism, not for its own sake, but as the key to facilitating academic achievement and ultimately promoting egalitarianism. The production of supportive outsiders is carried out differently towards children from different groups. In schools where Arabic is the language of instruction, attention centers above all on the advancement of cognition and acceptable civic behaviors. The realm of affect seems to be deliberately avoided by

inspectors and members of the school staff in discussions of what accrues to children's development from schooling. When related to children of temporary immigrant workers, the criterion of affective integration is considered essential. The investment of attention, consideration, and affection is not only interpreted as the logical expression of professionalism, but also as the height of an Israeli school's contribution to the child's development.

Since mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion are multi-layered; they have to be seen in the context of the types of learning that take place in Jewish and in Arab schools. As far as forms are concerned, schooling is deliberately shaped to accord with the traditions of the Jewish majority. In categories and moralities, the state system of education embodies the resources of Jewish culture. The 'profane' conduct of schooling is framed by the 'sacred' times of Jewish holidays as honored in assemblies in pre-designated spaces: town centers, public buildings, as in houses of prayer. The interpretation of monotheism that prevails in public discourse is the God of the Old Testament. Human needs are understood in light of the traditional Jewish customs in the realm of basic wants such as food and housing, as in the realm of the basis for self-respect, human relationships, and self-realization (Maslow, 1962). These distinctions and combinations are the basis for a worldview, and the foundation for 'discovering' what constitutes knowledge. In sum, the framing determines the governing habitus (Bourdieu) as well as the ruling epistemology, Durkheim's vision of the *conscience collective.*

The deliberate imposition of hegemonic Jewish perspectives as the inescapable frame of reality means that teaching — learning, the transmission and reception of messages, verbal and non-verbal, may have different kinds of significance for students who are part of the in-group and those who belong to the out-group. Accomplishment in learning may be signaled by school situations where what is transmitted is "appropriated," that is, turned into something that becomes part of the learner herself. Alternatively, learning is also successful when what is conveyed is "mastered," that is, known thoroughly as part of a body of knowledge but not internalized (Wertsch, 1998). While for pupils in schools where Hebrew is the language of instruction, learning is defined as "appropriation" of: the language, the concepts, the subject matter, and the structures that are apposite to Jewish traditions; pupils in schools where Arabic is the language of instruction are expected to take in the same world of content and to reach the level of "mastery." This distinction marks cultural boundaries. But they are not the only ones.

Principles of cultural selection are explicitly activated among Jewish groups as well by balancing requirements for appropriation and mastery. The

national curriculum settles on whose knowledge is to be included in the curriculum, how ability grouping is to be put into practice, how students' potential is to be assessed initially and what feats are noticed and included in protocols of evaluation. These govern distinctions between the domain of "appropriation" and the domain of "mastery" for each group. Effects of pre-definition are pronounced in relation to "olim" of recent decades. What was considered discrimination in the FSU (directing Jewish students to courses in technology and science) is considered an advantage in the Israeli school system. But in order to be included these pupils are required to "appropriate" Jewish studies. Among other newcomers, children whose country of origin is Ethiopia, for example, the appropriation of Jewish learning was taken for granted. In dealing with the Ethiopians, therefore, decisions had to be made as to the importance of having them "appropriate" academic studies. Practices disclose the foreordained conclusions. The assignment of pupils from Ethiopia to classes according to age rather than according to their previous experience of education, the channeling of adolescents to boarding schools that accommodate less than ten percent of the student population, the deployment of assessment tools that have defined large numbers of pupils as having "special needs" — all told their exposure to habits of living that are foreign to the experience of most members of the community, mark the limits of appropriation that will be required of them and the leniency in regard to mastery. This calculation defines the nature of their exclusion.

In general, schools reflect the structures of social stratification, so the classifications applied to immigrant pupils signal how schools mediate the economy's demands for different types of labor. Relations of competition therefore underlie all the procedures of schooling — competition for access to desirable courses of study as a prototype of access to desirable sectors of the labor market. Practices of differentiation in physical structures, in courses of study, and in types of accessibility to the labor market are openly cultivated in order to ensure the separation of Jewish pupils from pupils who belong to Israeli Palestinian communities (Al-Haj, Abu-Saad & Yonah, 2000). But they are equally applicable to practices of exclusion among Jewish groups. As we have seen, there is often a hierarchization in the physical environment as new immigrant pupils are allocated to classrooms that have been replaced by more up-to-date buildings for the dominant pupils of the school, or, indeed, placed in educational institutions that are tagged, even stigmatized. Another differentiation can be noted in the allocation of pupils to classes. In many schools, groups of pupils are assigned to segregated classes on the basis of intuitive criteria. Once established, the "divider" is rarely removed. In our survey of practices, we have seen this applied to pupils from the FSU just as to pupils from Ethiopia. Even more stringent processes of selection are applied to children of

temporary immigrant workers who do manage to complete their schooling in Israel. Because of the laws that apply to the parents, the students remain disadvantaged. Clearly there is an overlap among the different types of relations promoted, in the state system that perpetuates the dynamic interaction of ethnicity, race and class, and ensures that schools are a site for the intense production and re-production of political and economic divisions (see McCarthy, 1990, pp. 79-87).

## 6.    IDEOLOGY — THEORY AND APPLICATIONS

The processes of applying ideology are buttressed by a series of descriptive slogans that are read as justifications for whatever policy is in train. In this section, I will look at their application and effects in line with the theoretical precepts presented in Chapter 3. In the State of Israel, the enforcement of "a centralized education system," which is the basis for the work of the Ministry of Education, has meant that the Ministry has the right to construct social knowledge. It is the Ministry that classifies school populations, assigning ascribed statuses and social membership. Choices are available to each group only in accordance with the Ministry's interpretation of aspects of the groups' positions that are open to revision. For each section of the school system the sorting procedures are derivatives of the classification. Through the solidifying repetition of the publications of the Ministry of Education, and of those of the Central Bureau of Statistics, the State-engineered classification is "natural." It can therefore be taken to be a reason for allowing, even approving different standards of teaching (Swirski, 1990), as well as an explanation of the outcomes that perpetuate gaps. Discourse on equity and egalitarianism is located in the realm of finance and thus discussions on technicalities: budgets for infrastructure, and for special needs, salaries, and so on, overrun the open clarification of values and democratic options. The covering slogan is "multiculturalism in the schools." But although the connotation is that all the differences are conceptualized as being of equal value, the word does not mark the end of prejudice or of the inbred preference for the traditional image of the "true Israeli." Multiculturalism in Israel is mentioned, but effectively eliminated, on the one hand, by the insistence that Jewish in-migration comes under the heading of the "in-gathering of the exiles", that is to say, all "olim" are part of the same culture. In society as a whole, multiculturalism is trivialized by relating to folkloristic elements of culture, while "fudging issues of racism, class, and power" (Pettman, 1986, p. 19).

An examination of the agents, agencies, and acts involved in Israeli education points to the triumph of the centralized system over centrifugal

trends in Israeli society, and thus, to a vindication of theoretical approaches to ideology outlined by Durkheim and Foucault. The projects of the Ministry of Education comprise a massive campaign to shape a *conscience collective* by word and deed through the agency of written instructions, oral interpretations, curricula, types of pedagogical socialization, and demands for learning that constitute a set of epistemes. The epistemes support the vision of the good life heralded and justified by the Zionist movement and effectively prescribed by the documents of the State of Israel.

Moreover, because they attempt to fill every niche of life in schools, the epistemes seem to brook no opposition. When resistance is recognized, as, for example, in the rates of dropout among immigrant and minority groups, the Ministry can deal with it by acting according to its own models of coercion. Employing additional probation officers may reinforce institutionalized structures and this does not pose any difficulties for accepting the classical social definitions of the official ideology. But even the few sketches of practices that I have been able to propose here demonstrate that the outcomes do not fulfill the structured expectations consistently.

There are forms of resistance that undermine the total impact of ideology. For one thing, the "dispensations" made to the immigrants from the FSU (use of the mother tongue in classes in subject matter, in matriculation examinations, in afternoon schooling, in the media) stem from recognition of the power of their socio-cultural resources. The entitlements were put in place to avoid collisions. More palpable forms of resistance have emerged among Ethiopian immigrants and Palestinian Israelis.

Ministry of Education treatment of the children whose country of origin is Ethiopia complements the Knesset policy. The types of schooling to which the children were directed are in tune with the types of custodianship the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption considered suitable for the group as a whole. Ministry of Education inspectors have been committed to carrying out special programs on the assumption that they meet the felt needs of this population. Neither the policies nor the earnestness of the officials has scotched resistance. Among Ethiopian immigrants who have succeeded in completing secondary school and entering on university studies, there is spirited opposition to the segregation and the stereotyping, as well as political activism to ensure that changes will be made. Organizations of Ethiopian immigrants publicize information on the conditions of the community and demand that they be transformed. The actors, performers, and artists, who were regularly invited to perform "authentic" Ethiopian songs, tell stories and present dances, freely express the resistance in terms of race and class.

Despite the Ministry's attempts to ensure uniformity, there has been a steady rise in the number of Palestinian Israeli intellectuals taking the initiative in articulating resistance to the official ideological intentions. Their antagonism was initially signaled by their overt acceptance of conventional Israeli political forms, i.e., at least partial abandonment of the traditional reliance on clan politics. Throughout the past thirty years, graduates of Israeli (Hebrew-speaking) universities, have taken over many of the local councils, replacing the relatively easygoing old guard that collaborated with the Jewish political parties in return for personal profit and minor political indulgences. Palestinian academics publish newspapers, books, reports, with cogent analyses of the deficiencies of education in their communities and vigorous formulations of recommendations and demands. These are not the Mannheimian "free-floating" intellectuals. On the contrary, in line with Gramsci's aspiration, they are attempting to find authentic socio-cultural expressions of the interests of the communities to which they belong. They give voice to the content that governs emotional attachment to community and use their influence to pressure the government to recognize the community's rights.

# 7.   STATE PURPOSES — SHIFTING APPLICATIONS OF IDEOLOGY

The State's staffing of agencies in successive scenes where educational acts are carried out constitutes the "mode of production" of Israelis as human beings. Although the apparatus of the process are the same for all types of schools, the content shifts and each type of production creates an environment for different social psychological effects of alienation (Seeman, 1959).[106] Among all the pupils, schools are mobilized to promote perfect conformance to norms. By administrative and pedagogical means, pupils are held to norm*ful*ness, a blind adherence to the orders and guidelines issued by the Ministry of Education in writing and through delegated officials (Kalekin-Fishman, 1996). The organization of times and places, the differentiated imposition of school careers, the closely supervised content, the administration of examinations and certification with graded sanctions

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[106] According to Marx, the expropriation of what workers produce so as to maximize profit is the objective framework of alienation whether or not the worker is aware of it. Although his avowed goal was to review the literature, Seeman (1959) found five constructs of alienation in the social sciences, which actually provide an outline of the social psychological effects of objective alienation. The five dimensions he located are: *powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness (anomie), social isolation,* and *self-estrangement.*

all serve the ends of conformity. Other social psychological dimensions of alienation are communicated differently in Jewish and non-Jewish schools. Arab pupils are pressed to submit to elemental *powerlessness* in the face of the hegemonic Jewish way of life as well as to *isolation* from the core *sociality* of the State. The tension between school and community life, however, leaves space for developing sensitivity to the consequences of one's actions, to avoid the pitfall of *meaninglessness* or *of self-estrangement.* Jewish pupils, on the other hand, are cajoled to relinquish community outside the framework of the state-constituted community of the school — a contra-dictory amalgamation of social isolation and social integration. Thus, on the road to being truly Israeli, they comply with *self-estrangement* and with some inability (presumably temporary) to foretell the outcomes of their behavior, a dimension of *meaninglessness.* For the children of temporary immigrant workers, on the other hand, Israeli schools underline the *powerlessness* of the adults by introducing the children to temporary social integration at best, at the price of *self-estrangement* in the present together with the inevitability of disclosing the *meaninglessness* of their educational experience in the future.

Among the different groups of Jewish immigrants, the hegemonic character of the state is not conveyed unambiguously because the state has to process and prioritize competing demands from contending social groups. According to McCarthy (1990, p. 67), the state has to "juggle the demands for accumulation with demands for social mobility and democratic participation articulated by oppressed sectors of society." By comparing what we have learnt about Israeli education with educational projects in other parts of the world we have come to some general conclusion about how inequalities in the system lead to inegalitarian outcomes. Our concern with ideology, however, stems from an interest in exploring an alternative avenue along which we can trace specific evidence of how inequities are constructed. The method adopted has illustrated how, by contrast with the mild definition of ideology as the analytical product of a collective with a vision of the "good life" for its own people, ideology is best understood as a vehicle for producing meaning in the service of power (Thompson, 1990).

To explore whether this view of ideology is viable, we have touched on the social and historical conditions of the production, circulation, and reception of relevant symbolic forms. We have examined how rules and resources are inscribed in different classes of media, and we have looked at fields of interaction in the performance of education. By exploring criteria, categories, and principles that provide the foundations for the systematic and durable character of the structure, as well as the information on resources made available to different groups, we can deduce how the meanings established by the schools system fix differentials of life chances.

Having established that the Declaration of Independence is the fundamental document that declares the ideological stand of the nation, we have traced the multiple ways in which the ideological assertions have been produced and received in education. From the neutral description of a nation as the inventor of a description of reality, a vision of the good life, and a set of strategies realizing the vision, the government and the Knesset institutionalize the presupposition that the state exists primarily to serve the needs and the interests of the Jewish people. The presupposition is conveyed to the Ministry of Education as a set of laws that explicate overarching educational goals.

Discussions in the Knesset openly rely on party interpretations of ideology rather than on the negotiation of meaning. The basic principles are reiterated, but, as we have seen, the ways and means of translating them into government operations are governed by the party allegiances of the Members of the Knesset. This is the core of contradiction that is increasingly evident as the Knesset decisions filter through the system. In the Knesset, good schooling for Jews is defined as schooling that conveys Zionist values, including the acquisition of Hebrew and (religious) Jewish learning, a belief in the 'in-gathering of the exiles,' the mutual responsibility of Jews for one another, and in the shared fate of Jews wherever they may be.  Good schooling for non-Jews is defined as schooling that bespeaks equality, interpreted in terms of buildings and facilities, the numbers of students, and the promise of textbooks. From the celebratory publications, we see that the trend signaled in the Knesset discussions provides the criteria for assessing the success and benefits derived from projects.

Thus, the messages of Jewish values are reiterated in the instructions circulated by the Director-General of the Ministry, while the schools for children whose mother tongue is Arabic are shown consideration when they are released from obligations to directives that stem from Jewish ideology. In relation to technicalities, such as the school calendar, all the schools receive similar types of instructions. When the technicalities are related to increases of staff, to the school hierarchy, textbooks, they are dealt with thoroughly for Jewish schools. In the non-Jewish schools, the treatment is sporadic. For the children of temporary immigrant workers, the issues are non-existent. If admitted to Jewish schools, they are expected to accept the factuality of the majority, and to accept the fact that their home lives are 'uncommon' with equanimity.

The Ministry of Education, as a State agency, is responsible for ensuring that devices of schooling are faithful to the intentions of the official ideology. We have discovered that in relating to new immigrant Jewish pupils, 'temporary' immigrant pupils who are not Jewish, and to Palestinian pupils whose parents are citizens of Israel, the State introduces ideological

considerations in different ways. In all the schools, the state is concerned to **legitimate** the educational project. Symbolic strategies of *rationalization* center on achievement and academic progress. From the point of view of content, the legitimated *narrative* of the history of the Jewish people and the formation of the nation-state is central to education for all populations of children. Embedded in Bible study, the history of the Jewish people is conveyed as a tale of universal significance. Furthermore, the schools are directed to show that it is only *natural* for a people with a history that is so well documented, to build its state and establish itself among the nations as an *eternal* unassailable fact. Not only is the Jewish people to be recognized as a contemporary nation, but the nation is **reified** as facticity. In describing the population that the ideology can serve, **unification** and **fragmentation** are alternately emphasized as verifiable descriptions. Above all, the Ministry preaches that all the Jews are *unified* in the nation-state. The State symbols — the flag, the anthem, the icon of the Menorah that identifies official documents are all taken from Judaic literature and Judaic traditional usage. When there are Jewish groups for whom one or the other of the symbols is meaningless or foreign, the Ministry reinforces its demonstration and deploys a rhetoric of persuasion. **Fragmentation** is conveyed in different ways to Jews and minorities. Palpable among groups of Jews, **fragmentation** is recognizable in the benevolent differentiation in resources (privileges of being a "new immigrant") that is connected with efficiency in Jewish schooling. The motif of "all are one" is countered by the different modes of treatment allocated to children from Ethiopia and children from the FSU, the distinction in terms of vocational predictions, and in terms of curricula. Even citations of success confirm that the **fragmentation** is acceptable when it distinguishes between veterans and newcomers.[107] The overt intention is to accept the inevitability of differences among Jews as a temporary expedient. In regard to the autochthonous minority / minorities, on the other hand, the system accepts **fragmentation** as a fixed structural mechanism. There are constant references to the *differentiation* of population groups and the actual *expurgation* of the "other" because the distances between the two sections of the population cannot be overcome. The space between the population sections defined as "Jewish" (according to religion) and "non-Jewish" cannot be eradicated except by the deployment of complicated procedures of conversion and / or intermarriage. If these

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[107] In 2003, newspapers heralded the fact that for the first time, an Ethiopian was accepted to the army course for fighter pilots. Last year, the "first" Ethiopian doctor in Israel was interviewed on all the media — radio, newspapers, and television (see *Ha 'aretz,* July 18, 2003, "First Ethiopian in a Military pilots' course").

possibilities are discussed, they are presented as dangers to the destiny of the Jewish nation-state.[108]

From the officials who come in contact with the field, we learn how the uncompromising ideological stance is adjusted, at least to some degree, to the children that one meets in schools. The professional ideals of relating to individual children as persons of worth in themselves do not solve the political issues for either the children or their parents, but they do enable educational personnel in the schools to see the children not as veterans, or new olim, or minorities, or foreign workers' children, but rather as individuals with particular views and particular problems. The precepts so carefully delimited by the Ministry are viewed as conventions rather than as meticulous regulations of the school day. Here, we can observe the sedimentation of categories in the characterizations of groups of pupils as gifted, ordinary, slow or primitive. We can see the sliding scale of standards, with the retreat to judgments of affect as the key to achievements in the realm of cognition. The withdrawal shields both teachers and students from a clear-cut confrontation with intellectual challenges. In the schools we can also see practices of segregation disguised as protective isolation (Ethiopian Ulpan; immigrants' class; Arabic-speaking schools, absence of Arabic as a required subject in Hebrew-speaking schools and [the still] overwhelming presence of Hebrew in Arab schools).

The ideology as articulated in the Declaration of Independence and unfolded in policy, projects, instructions, guidance, and practices, presents itself as a benignly functioning mechanism. As manifest rhetoric that buttresses "national redemption" through the "salvation of the land" and the creation of the "new Israeli", it provides a backdrop of acceptable purpose for complicated maneuvering at every phase of the educational act until it reaches the stage of actual pedagogical performance. The subtle shifts in emphasis from stage to stage until performance in the schools demonstrate how the generalizations anchored in a diplomatic strategy shape alienation that justifies domination. In the schools, however, this emphasis is displaced and gives way to pedagogical considerations. Principals and teachers act in their scene so as to bring to fruition a version of professionalism that they describe euphemistically as suiting the school population and fulfilling pupils' needs. The congruence between the professional preparation approved by the Ministry, the pedagogical consciousness that has been cultivated, and the ideological principles that the State is promoting is hidden from view.

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[108] See discussion of the recent Knesset amendment to the Law of Citizenship that forbids the granting of citizenship to spouses (of Israeli Arabs) who come from the West Bank or the Gaza Strip (Gavison, 5/VIII/03). Review of the amendment was begun in the High Court of Justice in January, 2004 (Ya'oz 18/1/04, p. A6).

The story of education unfolds through the constellation of organizational positions that constitute the structure of the Ministry, in a succession of events marked by written communiques and oral consultation that culminate in classroom practices. Because of the complexity of the organizational structure and because of the varieties of institutions involved in the reception of guidance and the production of educational acts, the tale is one with multiple plots. It is far too dense for presentation in a single volume. As we have laid out the design, however, we can see how egalitarianism in education is undermined as the ideology is interpreted and re-interpreted from location to location. The message that begins with a trumpet call — proclaiming the resurgence of an ancient nation ends in a homely whispered message of concern for the individual pupil and the cultivation of good human relations. This is not a parlor game — the telephone is not "broken". What appears to be a hit or miss process is mediated throughout by an awareness of what purpose is acceptable in each scene and what manipulation of agency will serve that purpose.

## 8.     AND TO GO ON....

I am highly aware of the many aspects of this national project that I have had to overlook. In describing events in the educational lives of the groups discussed here, there are hints of the differences between the careers of girls and boys — differences that depend not a little on the differential destinies of men and women in diverse ethnies. The story of girls in schools deserves exploration, detailed analysis, and suitable conclusions along the lines of the generalized investigation presented here. Another aspect of education that has all but been ignored in these pages is the place of the army and of preparation for military service in the curricular scheme. In the institutionalization of the official ideology, the reification of military death as desirable self-sacrifice is an essential factor in the national ideology, and, in educational terms, is considered evidence of egalitarianism. Moreover, educationists, who suspect that traits acquired in schools may be wide of the mark of civic solidarity, pin their hopes on presumably impartial procedures in the military. It is understood that recruits are assigned to army units according to objective assessments of their potential, and that procedures of promotion are conducted solely on the basis of merit rather than on the basis of ascribed statuses. The effects of "serving together" in the army (Jews, Druzes and Muslim volunteers) should have long term effects for the good of the State. These beliefs are cultivated throughout secondary school and if only because there are serious doubts as to their validity, their culmination as they evolve from ideology to policy to practice deserve to be studied in

detail.[109] Here, as in the domains I have explored, organizing principles of selection, inclusion, and exclusion "operate in ways that affect how marginalized minority youth are positioned in dominant social and educational policies and agendas. ... [as part of the production of politics" (McCarthy, 1990, p. 83).

This volume has been an attempt to mark out a trail through the forest of policy-making, implementation, and school practices from the loud salute to the nation and the State to the detailed working out of educational action. In short, it provides a guide to the need for future research / ethnography and further confrontation of the words emitted on different levels of government with the decisive deeds that add up to education. In outlining a method of research, however, the volume also points to ways of approaching reform by investigating how concerns with inclusion and exclusion of individuals and groups are linked in the passageways that lead from ideology to policy (decision-making and implementation) through to performance as it is framed in different settings, and as it is detailed. Mapping the workings of contingencies and synchronies that make up 'education' in all its complexity is a sine qua non for finding the way out of the dispossession, alienation, and civic deprivation that too many children come to accept as natural in their careers as pupils.

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[109] When looked at closely, however, the idealistic portrait of full amalgamation of different groups in the army turns out to be no more than an illusion. Soldiers from different population groups tend to be assigned to different branches of the army. Furthermore, ethnic stratification has been found to be the rule and there seem to be some unwritten laws about how members of differently defined groups are advanced to higher ranks (Roumani, 1991, p. 72). Pointing out the inequalities that are evident in the services has not brought about any change in the rhetoric, as we have seen from our formal and informal interviews with educational personnel. There is a further practical consideration. Throughout the occupation, and especially during the Intifadas (1987-1993; 2000- ), the army has been deployed to overcome Palestinian resistance. This has meant not only operating so that Israeli citizens will be protected against terrorist attacks, but also imposing harsh, often brutal, military rule over the civilian population in the territories. One of the effects of the conditions has been a rise in bitterness among the Arab citizens of Israel, a reduction in the number of volunteers to the armed forces, and a growing resistance among Druze youth to compulsory mobilization.

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# APPENDICES

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Appendix A

## IMMIGRANTS BY PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION AND LAST CONTINENT OF RESIDENCE

| Period of immigration | Europe-America (1) % | Asia-Africa (1) % | Not known (N) | America & Oceania (N) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1919 – May 14, 1948 | 89.6 | 10.4 | 52,786 | 7,754 |
| May 15, 1948 – 2001 | 66.0 | 34.0 | 31,552 (2) | 258,191 |
| Details | ------- | ------- | -------- | --------- |
| May 15, 1948-1951 | 50.1 | 49.9 | 24,395 | 5,140 |
| 1952-1954 | 23.6 | 76.4 | 822 | 2,971 |
| 1955-1957 | 31.7 | 68.3 | 1,597 | 3,632 |
| 1958-1960 | 64.0 | 36.0 | 582 | 3,625 |
| 1961-1964 | 40.6 | 59.4 | 1,014 | 14,841 |
| 1965-1968 | 50.3 | 49.7 | 920 | 9,274 |
| 1969-1971 | 72.7 | 27.3 | 577 | 33,891 |
| 1972-1974 | 90.8 | 9.2 | 49 | 26,775 |
| 1975-1979 | 85.7 | 14.3 | 545 | 29,293 |
| 1980-1984 | 72.9 | 27.1 | 276 | 25,230 |
| 1985-1989 | 79.6 | 20.4 | 171 | 19,301 |
| 1990-1994 | 93.7 | 6.3 | 423 | 17,220 |
| 1995-2001 | 85.3 | 14.7 | 178 | 20,061 |

Appendix A (cont.)

| Period of immigration | Europe (1) (N) | Africa (N) | Asia (1) (N) | Total (N) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1919 – May 14, 1948 | 377,381 | 4,041 | 40,895 | 482,857 |
| May 15, 1948 – 2001 | | 519,703 | 454,193 | 2,894,094 |
| Details | 1,761,196 | --------- | ----------- | ----------- |
| May 15, 1948-1951 | ----------- | 93,951 | 237,352 | 687,624 |
| 1952-1954 | 326,786 | 27,897 | 13,238 | 54,676 |
| 1955-1957 | 9,748 | 103,846 | 8,801 | 166,492 |
| 1958-1960 | 48,616 | 13,921 | 13,247 | 75,970 |
| 1961-1964 | 44,595 | 115,876 | 19,525 | 228,793 |
| 1965-1968 | 77,537 | 25,394 | 15,018 | 82,244 |
| 1969-1971 | 31,638 | 12,065 | 19,700 | 116,791 |
| 1972-1974 | 50,558 | 6,821 | 6,345 | 142,753 |
| 1975-1979 | 102,763 | 6,029 | 11,793 | 124,827 |
| 1980-1984 | 77,167 | 15,711 | 6,912 | 83,637 |
| 1985-1989 | 35,508 | 7,700 | 6,563 | 70,196 |
| 1990-1994 | 36,461 | 32,157 | 5,900 | 609,322 |
| 1995-2001 | 553,622 | 12,248 | 38,843 | 346,997 |
| | 275,667 | | | |

1.  Until 1995 the Asiatic republics of the former USSR were included in Europe; as of 1996 they are included in Asia.
2.  Including about 11,000 illegal immigrants and about 19,500 tourists who remained in the country, and whose continent of residence and period of immigration are not known.

(Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002, *Statistical Yearbook*, Jerusalem: CBS; Elaborated on the basis of Eden & Kalekin-Fishman, 2002a)

# Appendix B

# DECLARATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

Eretz-Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and political identity was shaped. Here they first attained to statehood, created cultural values of national and universal significance and gave the world the eternal Book of BooksAfter being forcibly exiled from their land, the people kept faith with it throughout their Dispersion and never ceased to pray and hope for their return to it and for the restoration in it of their political freedom.

Impelled by this historic and traditional attachment, Jews in every successive generation strove to reestablish themselves in their ancient homeland. In recent decades they returned in their masses. Pioneers, ma'apilim and defenders made deserts bloom, revived the Hebrew language, built villages and towns, and created a thriving community, controlling its own economy and culture, loving peace but knowing how to defend itself, bringing the blessings of progress to all the country's inhabitants, and aspiring to independent nationhood.

In the year 5657 (1897), at the summons of the spiritual father of the Jewish State, Theodor Herzl, the First Zionist Congress convened and proclaimed the Jewish people's right to national rebirth in its own country.

This right was recognized in the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, and reaffirmed in the Mandate of the League of Nations which, in particular, gave international sanction to the historic connection between the Jewish people and Eretz-Israel and to the right of the Jewish people to rebuild its National Home.

The catastrophe which recently befell the Jewish people – the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe – was another clear demonstration of the urgent need to solve the problem of its homelessness by reestablishing in Eretz-Israel the Jewish State, which would open wide the gates of the homeland to every Jew and confer upon the Jewish people the status of a fully privileged member of the comity of nations.

Survivors of the Nazi holocaust in Europe, as well as Jews from other parts of the world, continued to migrate to Eretz-Israel, undaunted by difficulties, restrictions and dangers, and never ceased to assert their right to a life of dignity, freedom and honest toil in their national homeland.

In the Second World War, this country's Jewish community contributed its full share to the struggle of freedom and peace loving nations against the forces of Nazi evil and, by the blood of its soldiers and its war effort, gained the right to be reckoned among the peoples who founded the United Nations.

On November 29, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish State in Eretz-Israel; the General Assembly required the inhabitants of Eretz-Israel to take the steps necessary on their part for the implementation of that resolution. This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their State is irrevocable.

This right is the natural right of the Jewish people to be masters of their own fate, like all other nations, in their own sovereign State.

Accordingly we, members of the People's Council, representatives of the Jewish community of Eretz-Israel and of the Zionist Movement, are here assembled on the day of Termination of the British Mandate over Eretz-Israel and, by virtue of our natural and historic right and on the strength of the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, hereby declare the establishment of a Jewish State in Eretz-Israel, to be known as the State of Israel.

We declare that, with effect from the moment of termination of the Mandate, tonight, Sabbath eve, the 6$^{th}$ lyar 5708, May 15, 1948, until the establishment of the elected, regular authorities of the State in accordance with the Constitution which shall be adopted by the Elected Constituent Assembly not later than October 1, 1948, the People's Council shall act as Provisional Council of State, and its executive organ, the People's Administration, shall be the Provisional Government of the Jewish State, to be called, "Israel".

The State of Israel will be open to Jewish immigration and to the ingathering of Exiles; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The State of Israel is prepared to cooperate with the agencies and representatives of the United Nations in implementing the resolution of the

General Assembly of November 29, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the economic union of all of Eretz-Israel.

We appeal to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building-up of its State and to receive the State of Israel into the comity of nations.

We appeal – in the very midst of the onslaught launched against us now for months – to the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to keep the peace and to participate in the upbuilding of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and permanent institutions.

We extend our hand to all neighboring states and their peoples in an offer of peace and good neighborliness, and appeal to them to establish bonds of cooperation and mutual help with the sovereign Jewish people settled in its own land. The State of Israel is prepared to do its share in a common effort for the advancement of the entire Middle East.

We appeal to the Jewish people throughout the Diaspora to rally around the Jews of Eretz-Israel in the tasks of immigration and upbuilding and to stand by them in the great struggle for the realization of the age-old dream – the redemption of Israel.

Placing our trust in the Almighty, we affix our signatures to this Proclamation at this session of the Provisional Council of State, on the soil of the Homeland, in the City of Tel-Aviv, on this Sabbath Eve, the 5$^{th}$ of Iyar, 5708 (May 14, 1948).

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Eretz-Israel (Hebrew) – The Land of Israel, Palestine

Ma'apilim (Hebrew) – immigrants who entered Eretz-Israel in defiance of the British Mandate authorities' restrictive legislation.

Translated by A. Greenfield, August, 2001

# Appendix C

# POPULAR VISION OF ISRAEL AS A JEWISH STATE

### How many are we? How old are we?

It turns out that the population of Israel is 6.7 million, of whom 5.1 million are Jews. The subhead on age announces that twenty thousand Israelis are over the age of ninety, 12,000 women and 8,000 men. More than a third of the population – 2.3 million – are children under the age of eighteen and 136,000 are babies under a year old. The average life expectancy of men is 76.7 years and of women, 80.9. The newspaper is careful to point out that life expectancy is higher in many countries, among them Japan and Sweden.

### Where are we?

In a total area of about 21,000 kilometers, the population density in Israel is 320 per square kilometer – a little less than Holland, but more than ten times that of the United States of America, and one hundred times the density of Canada. The three largest cities are Jerusalem with 682,000 people, Tel Aviv with 362,000, and Haifa, with a population of 272,000.

### Where did we come from?

Most of the Jewish population, 3.25 million, were born in the country (the "Land") and about two million were born abroad. Checking on the distribution of Jews in "communities" (edoth), the newspaper reports that the 2.1 million Ashkenazi Jews (they or their parents were born in Europe or in America) are in the majority; 1.7 million are Mizrachi Jews (they or their parents were born in Asia or Africa); another half million were born in Israel to parents born in Israel. Among the immigrants, the largest group is the 1.1 million Jewish immigrants ("olim" in Hebrew) from the Former Soviet Union. Among the Mizrachim, the largest group, half a million, are from Morocco, and the second largest group, with 247,000, are from Iraq. The newspaper reports that the number of immigrants has fallen sharply since the

1990s. During 2002, only 33,500 olim arrived in the country – from the FSU (18,500), Argentina (6,000), Ethiopia (2,700), France (2,000) and from the USA (1,500).

**Our family ...** Familism is still important in Israel with 33,000 marriages in 2002 and 9,900 divorces. Among the million and a half families in Israel, the average number of children is 2.3. **Our home ....** Seventy-five percent of the Israeli families live in their own homes, the cash value of which ranges from an average of NIS 480,000 (ca. $85,000) to NIS 1.2 million (ca. $550,000). The average Israeli family lives in an apartment with 3.9 rooms and has monthly mortgage payments to meet.

### What do we buy?

99.7% of the Israeli households have an electric refrigerator. Next in popularity are washing machines and television sets – only eight percent of the population does not have either of these. Despite the warm climate, half the population manages to live without an air conditioner. About thirty percent has dishwashers and a similar proportion has electric dryers. Computers can be found in about 50% of the households, but only about 25% are connected to the internet. As to cell phones, about a third of the households do not have any, but in 27% of the families, there are two or more cell phones.

**When are we ill? ...** Israelis visit the doctor 7.1 times a year on the average with women visiting eight times on the average and men, 6.2 times. In addition, they visit the dentist 2.6 times per year.

### And what do we do for fun?

The most popular pastime is watching television. Only about ten percent of the Israelis do not watch the little screen at least once a week. *Yedioth* reports that we are "not as strong" on high culture. Two out of three Israelis do not go to the cinema even once a month. Only about 50% go to the theater or to some public performance at least once a year. Only 25% go to an art exhibit at least once a year. As to regular sports activities ("Does it count if I am registered but don't often go?"), 37% of the women who participate in sports activities do jogging or walking, 11.2% train with sports equipment, and 1.4% play soccer. Among the men, a third does jogging and the second most popular sport is either swimming or soccer. Another activity that is very common is visiting different countries. But because of the economic slowdown, there were only 3.27 million trips abroad in 2002 by contrast with 3.56 million during 2001.

### How are we on the roads?

Almost three (2.9) million Israelis have driving licenses, and 55% of Israeli families own one car or more. The average annual distance traveled is 17,000 kilometers and 8,500 for motorcycles.

### Our food ...

We are told that the average family budget for food is NIS 1,888 per month, about eight percent less than in 2001. About half of the purchases are made in supermarkets. The most popular food is Houmus, a food that 70% of the population eats at home and in restaurants. The most popular hot drink is instant coffee; the most popular cold drink is Coca Cola; and the most popular brand name product is cottage cheese.

### Our sex life ....

With sex, as with everything else, the paper insists, it is better among the wealthier and the more highly educated. Adult Israelis "claim" that they have had sex seventy-two times on the average in the past year. But among people with academic degrees the average is 106.3. Young people report being sexually active beginning at the age of fifteen (boys: 14.1%; girls: 3.5%). By the eleventh grade, 59% of the boys and 33% of the girls report that they have a "sex life". Some began "because of love" (27.9%), some "because of peer pressure" (18.7%), some "because of a physical attraction" (16.9%), some "because of curiosity" (16.6%), others "because of alcohol" (10/4%), and 9.4% were simply "carried away."

### "The State of the Children"

Gaya Koren and Semadar Shir report that just a moment before the fireworks that signal the beginning of the celebrations, a few Jewish children from kindergarten and from the First Grade in a town in the center of the country agreed to meet with them and talk about Independence. When asked what the holiday is about, one little girl replies, "It's a holiday because the state is independent, and that means that it can do everything by itself. But when there is a war, the army helps her." All the children say they love the state because there is good ice cream and there are lots of pretty places. One child would like to give the state the gift of spotlessness, another would give her lots of water, and a third — "an army that is even stronger." One child remarks that throughout the year, people pick flowers, and on Independence Day it would be a good idea to return some to the country by planting new ones.

The children also volunteer to talk about what is not so good in, and for, the state. One complete answer is: "All our neighbors are against us –

Lebanon is against us, Syria is against us. Lots of countries hate us and want to kill us. Only the USA is for us. She is our best friend." Others respond more succinctly, citing: suicide bombers, wars, bad men and thieves – "There may be bad people in other countries but I don't know them!" After a routine interim of "what do you want to be when you grow up?" ("storekeeper," "policewoman," "house painter because I love to draw," "a kindergarten teacher or a hairdresser"), the children are asked to think about peace. The reporters open by asking: "Do you believe there will be peace?" The responses represent a cross-section of opinions accepted by the Israeli public: "in a few years" – "in the end there will be peace, but I don't know when." "Maybe in another hundred years, maybe in another two days"... "It will take a long time until the Arabs will agree to talk to us and until they will agree to split the Land with us." – "maybe there can be peace with the Arabs that live in Israel" – "there will be peace with the good Arabs, but there will not be peace with the bad Arabs, and there are many bad ones" – "no chance of peace, the Arabs hate us and they want to fight." Still, all agree that next year will be a happy one. Thais may have a new sister or brother, and Uriah is going into the First Grade. Everything will come out all right!

(*Yedioth Achronoth, Supplement for the Holiday,* May 7, 2003,)

# Appendix D

# ACTIVITIES IN THE AREA OF SPORT

Activities in the area of sport especially for immigrants included the following:

- Initiation of sports clubs and the introduction of varied sports activities are cited in the *Government Yearbooks* of 1952-1953; 1954-1955; 1958-1959; 1959-1960; 1963-1964; 1964-1965; 1965-1966;

- Construction of regional sports grounds near immigrant communities (1954-1955) and the distribution of sports equipment to immigrant children (1952-1953; 1954-1955);

- Providing sports camps for youth from immigrant communities during summer vacations (1967-1968);

- Supporting regional councils, in whose districts there were many immigrant communities, so that they could promote participation in sport, and supporting activities of sports associations (1968-1969);

- Training instructors from development towns and from distressed urban areas for work in their communities (see *Yearbooks* of 1957-1958; 1959-1960; 1978-1979).

# Appendix E

# PUBLICATIONS

### Preparing the 'absorbers'

Following is an annotated list of materials designed to inform adults and children in the school system:

Information to the 'absorbers':

"Exodus of the Jews of the USSR (CL 51-52/5, 1.1.92); a book on the attempts of a child from the USSR to blend into the country (1.12.92); presentations and plays connected to the topic — "The hope of Anatoly"; books with information on the immigrants; Tabori, E. (1990) Immigration of the Jews of the USSR: From mass dropping out to mass immigration. Gesher, 36 (121) 7-15; Telling about the exit, the immigration and the dropping out of the Jews from the USSR in the years 1968-1989. Simha Dinitz, Jews from the USSR, 13, pp. 27-29 (1990) explains that with an additional million from the USSR, Israel will be different.

There are books for children that mix fact into fiction, among them:

Galila Ron-Feder (1990) Alex is no longer a new immigrant — on the immigrants from the USSR.

In the pamphlet, "Looking here and there / Two sides to the question" the following topics are noted among others: How Jewish immigrants from the USSR came to this country; what Ida Nudel thinks of the aliya; 1990 — a turning point in the history of the State of Israel (SCL 14, 7.91, p. 50).

There is practically no information on the Ethiopians. But the Museum of the Diasporas (Bet Hatfutsoth) holds mini-conferences on the topic of the legal and illegal migration of Ethiopian Jews to Israel (1.11.90). There the discussion is about a dynamic collective.

Some materials are recommended as suitable for teachers who want to prepare their classes for integrating new immigrants.

10 letters from the Diaspora, towards aliya from the USSR by Leora Fuss-Gluska; was written to prepare pupils for integrating [absorbing] immigrants from the former USSR (SCL 14, 7.91, p. 14). There is some

reflection on the Ethiopians, but they are mentioned as an "object" of the activities and not as the agents of activities.

Minuchin-Itzikson, S. (summer, 1983) An anthropological description of the encounter between the culture of the Jews from Ethiopia (Falashim) and the Israeli culture. In: *Leaves on Educational Affairs in Youth Immigration* (Aliyat Noar), 15-21.

Oppenheim-Donio, Orah (Summer, 1983) Issues in policy-making for the absorption of immigrants from Ethiopia, *Leaves on Educational Affairs in Youth Immigration* (Aliyat Noar), 5-8.

*Stories of Beta Israel* — 60 stories and one more as told by Ethiopian Jews. This is a supplementary book that holds 61 stories. "The book is an important contribution toward learning about the cultural heritage of the Ethiopian Jews, recognition that will enable their quick integration into the Israeli heritage" (51/2, 1.1.90). This was published by Professor Mordecai Wormbrand, a researcher of Ethiopian Jews, and Professor Dov Noy. The pamphlet, "Together all the Tribes of Israel", 65 pages, includes plans for activities related to Judaism for immigrants from Ethiopia, and is designed for the (girl) soldier teacher and the volunteers in the Absorption Centers and in neighborhoods where there are many immigrants (51/2, 1.10.90).

Some programs were prepared in local Pedagogical Centers. The Center in Carmiel prepared audio-visual programs on the Ethiopians, among them, "Things that we kept secret" *(Supplementary Circular,* 14, 7.91). The Office for Adult Education — Department of Language teaching, published reading books, Alpha Bet Yisrael for immigrants from Ethiopia by A. Guttman, Y. Wolfovitz, T. Yanir, and Y. Kessler, as well as stories told by Jews from Ethiopia.The 40 page pamphlet, "I came here [ascended] from Ethiopia" published by the Pedagogical Center of Beer Sheva (*Supplementary Circular* 14, 7.91, p. 14).

## Publications for new immigrants:

Many publications are noted for the Learner of Hebrew as a Second Language, among them "The Citizen in Israel" and "It is not a Fairy-Tale" (1959-60), publications that teach civics and geography. *Lamatchil (For the Beginner)* was a bi-weekly in simplified Hebrew (1950-51; 1951-52; 1952-53; 1953-43). From 1957-58 it was circulated at a low price and was sold in kiosks (1957-58; 1958-59). Even though the readers had to pay for it, circulation increased (1959-60). Its success can be seen in that the articles and the stories in it were eventually collected in two anthologies, *Yalkut (Kitbag)I* and *II* that were very well received (1964-65). In 1960-61 we are told that the weekly *Lamatchil* was known in circles who have little knowledge of Hebrew in the country, and it also became a tool of Hebrew communication between Israel and the Jews in the Diaspora. In 1963-64,

both *Lamatchil* and a new bi-weekly *Gateway for the New Reader (Sha'ar Lamatchil)* were distributed widely by the Department for Razing [sic] Ignorance. From 1964-65, they became weeklies instead of bi-weeklies, and were published in an enlarged format (see *Yearbooks*: 1964-65; 1965-1966; 1968-1969; 1971-1972). From 1970-71 on, the audience of the weeklies was defined differently. *Lamatchil* was directed to new immigrants who had had an extensive education, and the *Gateway* was designed to appeal to a readership that had had very little prior education (1970-71; 1983-84). In 1971-72, an experiment was made in using *Lamatchil* as a teaching tool for immigrant children. There is no report on this experiment in the Government Yearbooks, but, in 1985-86, the *Gateway* is described as a weekly and as learning material appropriate to different systems of adult education. In that year, the weekly was transferred from the Department of Adult Education to the daily newspaper, *Davar* (1985-86). The weekly *Gateway* appeared in later years as well (1989-90; 1990-92; 1992-1994).

*Echo of the Ulpan (Hed Ha'Ulpan)* is a bi-monthly for students in the Language Schools and for adults who lack a formal education (1978-79). After several years, *Hed Ha'Ulpan* became a journal with popularized information about science. This included information for the teachers of the Language Schools and the Summer Camps that impart the Hebrew language, as well as information on topics of interest for parents. *Hed Ha'Ulpan* is mentioned in the *Yearbooks* until 1995 (1983-1984; 1989-1990; 1990-1992; 1992-1994).

Additional journals were published on varied topics over the years, but the *Government Yearbooks* do not provide full or on-going information on them, and occasionally they are noted only by name. Among these publications, the following are noted. *Corridor* was an illustrated weekly with vowels for immigrants. It provided news and reading material with a translation of "difficult" words into Yiddish, French, Ladino, and English (1949-50; 1950-51; 1951-52; 1952-53; 1953-54). *Path* was a weekly for Yemenite and Eastern immigrants (1951-52; 1952-53). *Words (Omer)* was a daily newspaper with vowels which devoted a special column to students of Hebrew under the supervision of the Department for the teaching of the language (1953-54). A "Column in Hebrew for the Beginner" was published in the non-Hebrew newspapers in the country. It was published twice a week in newspapers written in the languages of the immigrants' countries of origin (1953-54). *BaUlpanim (In the Language Schools)* was a pamphlet for those who studied in the schools (Ulpanim). In 1957-58, it is noted that the 8th issue had appeared. *Ivrurim* is mentioned in the Yearbook of (1991-92) as a monthly.

Publications for providing a more comprehensive knowledge of pertinent events include:

- Publications for group leaders on the topic of "Twenty Years of Immigration" (Parts I and II), in 1969-70;
- "Immigration and Absorption" — addresses at a conference of lecturers (1970-71);
- "Texts on the History of the Settlement in the Country" (1980-81);

In the framework of the series published by the Center for Information those that related to topics of immigration and were directed to an audience of immigrants are the following:

*First Steps in Facts about the State* is a series of pamphlets with information about the state, the government ministries, bureaucratic regulations, and so on, for new immigrants. The pamphlets were produced in Yiddish, French (1958-1959), Romanian, Polish, and Hungarian (1959-1960). Later this was followed by a series called *Know Your Government* (1985-1986) and this series includes publications that focus on salient perspectives on government in Israel, including, "Pluralism and Tolerance as Basic Principles," "Zionism, the Jewish People, and Democracy" (1985-1986).

*Know Israel* is a series of pamphlets on different domains of life in Israel, including education, immigration and absorption, and neighborhood renewal (see *Yearbooks,* 1971-1972; 1984-1985; 1985-1986). "Demographic Aspects — 40 Years in the State" was a publication in honor of the fortieth anniversary of the State of Israel, written by Professor M. Sikron and Dr. E. Sabatello (1988-89). Among other publications produced for Israel's fortieth anniversary, in the series Know Israel there appeared the pamphlets: "The Mass Immigration — Characteristics", as well as "From Indigence to Ease — Project of Neighborhood Renewal" (1988-89). *Know Your Nation* is a series of pamphlets that deals with Jewish communities in the Diaspora. In several Yearbooks, there is mention of the expansion of the series (see, for example, the Yearbook of 1981-82) while in others there is a listing of the pamphlets that were published.[110] The *Yearbooks* notify the public about lectures and lecture series. Topics included dealt with: "Jews of the Soviet Union" (1970-1971), "Jews of Indigent Countries," "Immigration and Absorption," "Internal Problems of the State of Israel" (1971-1972), and "The Need for Continuing a Reliable Level of Immigration and Good Absorption" (1973-1974). In the 1980s, there were topics related to the "Unity of the Jewish People," "Clusters of Jews," "Zionism, Immigration,

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[110] Among them: "Jews of Bukhara," "Jews of Egypt," "Jews of Bulgaria" (1983-84); "Jews of France," "Jews of Canada," "Jews of Italy," Jews of the Soviet Union" (1984-85); "Jews of Hungary," "Jews of Morocco," "Jews of Greece," (1985-86), and "Jews of Germany" (1997-98). *On the Shores of Despondency* — is a reader on the struggle of Jews in the Soviet Union to attain the right to immigrate to Israel (1987-88).

and Jewish Education in the Diaspora," "Settlement and Development," and for the first time an explicit theme of "Preventing Emigration (Yerida)" (1983-1984). Lectures and panel discussions on topics related to immigration were also widely disseminated during the year of the State's fortieth anniversary, 1988. Under this heading, there were evening meetings devoted to the following topics: "Immigration — The Principal Objective of Zionism after the Foundation of the State," "Education for Molding the Exiles into a Single Nation," "To Gain a Position in the Nation and in the World, Israel Must Be an Exemplary Society" (1987-1988).

Visual information: The Center for Information commissioned a film on "The Absorption of Immigration" to accompany a lecture on the topic, "And the Children [Sons] Have Come Home" (1958-1959). Special documentaries were produced to give information about the north and the south of Israel ("The Land of the Negev," "The Land of Galilee") and about "The Branches of the Israel Defense Forces." Some of the films had sound in the immigrants' native tongues (there is no information on exactly which languages — 1959-1960). Among the documentaries produced by the Center were a variety of audio-visual programs on the theme of immigration and its contribution to the development of the country. Among them were: "Miracle-makers — An Audio-Visual Presentation to Mark the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Immigration and Settlement of Immigrants from North Africa" (1980-1981), "The Great Immigration — 1948-1952," and "The Israeli Experience" — an audio-visual program for immigrants (1989-1990). The Department of Audio-Visual Aids and Exhibitions is a part of the Center for the Dissemination of Information in the 1990s, initiating, producing and distributing films of all kinds (stills, cinema, video) and exhibits (1993-1994).

In cooperation with the Center for Preserving the Legacy of Jews from the East and the Institute for Jewish Music, records of prayers for the Sabbath, the High Holidays, and the Passover Seder according to the Ashkenazi (Western European) format and according to that of Sepharad (Spain and the Mediterranean area) have been made available (1988-89, 1989-90). In the projects, Renanoth and Rinath-Ya, melodies are recorded and transcribed. Today, "Renanoth" has an internet site in which all the information that was collected over the years is accessible.

# Appendix F

# STRUCTURE OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

**Minister of Education**
**Deputy Minister (Religious)**

Council of Higher Education

Director-General

Staff:
Chief Scientist / Spokesperson / Legal Advisor / Comptroller / Planning, Evaluation, Control / National Service and Soldier-Teachers

| S U P P O R T | U N I T S | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Publications unit Aliyat Noar | Educational television | Agricultural Education and Training | In-Service Teacher Training | Assistant Director-General | Personnel, Administration and Human Resources |

| **Pedagogical Secretariat** | Pedagogical Administration | Administration for Science and Technology | Religious Education | Youth and Social Programs |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| **Administration of Development** | Finances, Accounting | Budget Administration | Administration of Computing, Information Systems |
|---|---|---|---|

| Jerusalem, Recognized Territories, Unofficial Districts | Southern District | Tel Aviv District | Central District | Haifa District | Northern District |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

# Appendix G

## TOPICS  OF  *SUPPLEMENTARY CIRCULARS* (1983-2002)

| Central Themes | Date | Programs | Date | Didactics | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Unity of the Jews in Israel | July, 1983 | | | | |
| Integrating the Legacy of Jews from the East in Schools | December, 1983 | | | | |
| Ben Gurion – the Centennial | June, 1986 | Youth Movements in Schools | April, 1986 | | |
| Violence | May, 1987 | Programs for Planning and Equipping Kindergartens and Primary Schools | August, 1987 | | |
| Integrating the Legacy of Eastern Jews and Sephardi Jews in Education and in Culture | January, 1988 | | | | |
| Honesty in Examinations | May, 1988 | | | | |
| Respect for the Law and the Courts | June, 1988 | | | | |
| The Hebrew Language | January, 1988 | | | | |
| Commemorating the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain – 600 Years Ago | May, 1991 | Five-Year Plan for the Educational System in the Arab Sector | June, 1991 | | |
| 'Absorbing' Immigrants (Olim) | July, 1990 and July, 1991 | Computers in Education | January, 1991 | | |

Appendix G (cont.)

| Violence | February, 1992 | Five-Year Plan for Improving Education among the Druzes | March, 1992 | Procedures for Assigning Pupils to Supplementary Education | April, 1992 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jerusalem, Bk. I | June, 1992 | Computers in Education | August, 1992 | | |
| Jerusalem, Bk II | October, 1992 | | | | |
| Abuse of children and the helpless | January, 1993 | | | | |
| Quality of the Environment | July, 1993 | | | | |
| Legacy of Judaism Month | October, 1993 | | | | |
| Twenty years since the death of Ben Gurion | October, 1993 | | | | |
| The Peace Process – Israel in the Middle East | May, 1994 | "Machar98" – Computers in the Education System | February, 1994 | Changes in methods for Pupils with Difficulties in Regular Education and for Referring Pupils to Supplementary Education | May, 1994 |
| The Israeli Film in the Cinema and on Television | July, 1994 | Preventing Violence in Schools | July, 1994 | Preventing Dropping out, Increasing Pupils' Success in School | December, 1994 |
| | | Computers in Education: Program | October, 1994 | | |
| Manufacturing and Industry | June, 1995 | | | Exams and Evaluation in Primary Schools, Feedback from the Country-wide Exams | November, 1995 |
| | | Computers in Education | January, 1996 | | |

Appendix G (cont.)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Celebrating the centennial of the First Zionist Congress (1897) and the Fiftieth Jubilee of the State of Israel (1948) | June, 1996 | | | Integration and Support in the District for Pupils with Supplementary Needs | June, 1996 |
| | | | | Homework | June, 1996 |
| | | | | Learning Difficulties: Definition, Principles of Diagnosis, and Treatment | September, 1996 |
| Preventing Abuse of Children and the Helpless | September, 1997 | Order, routine, and culture in schools | July, 1997 | | |
| | | Culture in schools | March, 1999 | | |
| | | Structuring studies: Principles of Instruction and Organizing the Schedule in the Primary School. | March, 2000 | | |
| | | Scouting in Arab Schools: Implementation | June, 2002 | | |

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# Appendix H

# GROWTH OF SCHOOL POPULATION SINCE 1948

### Table H.1. Growth of school population: 1948/49-2000/2001

| Level of education | Kindergartens | Schools | Tertiary education | Other types of institutions[111] | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | | | | | |
| 1948/49 | - | - | - | - | 141,000 |
| 1969/70 | 122,000 | 626,000 | 47,000 | 26,000 | 821,000 |
| 1979/80 | 264,000 | 812,000 | 81,000 | 44,000 | 1,201,000 |
| 1989/90 | 299,000 | 1,007,000 | 98,000 | 47,000 | 1,451,000 |
| 1999/00 | 280,000 | 1,295,000 | 219,000 | 44,000 | 1,838,000 |
| 2000/01 | 297,000 | 1,310,000 | 235,000 | 45,000 | 1,887,000 |

### Table H.2. Distribution of Hebrew-Speaking Students by Stages of Schooling from 1979/80 to 2000/2001

| Level of Education | Pre-school | Primary education | Junior high school | Senior high school | Tertiary education | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | | | | | | |
| 1979/80 | 246,600 | 436,400 | 72,800 | 143,800 | 79,800 | 979,400 |
| 1989/90 | 277,100 | 473,400 | 120,600 | 205,100 | 96,400 | 1,173,600 |
| 1999/00 | 227,400 | 563,800 | 188,100 | 258,600 | 216,000 | 1,453,900 |
| 2000/01 | 234,000 | 566,000 | 195,000 | 259,000 | 231,000 | 1,485,000 |

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[111] Other types of institutions: These include schools and courses funded by the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Religion.

Appendix H (cont.)

### Table H.3. Distribution of Arabic-Speaking Students by Stages of Schooling from 1949/50 to 2000/2001 (in round numbers)

| Level of Education | Pre-school | Primary education | Junior high school | Senior high school | Tertiary education | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | | | | | | |
| 1948/49 | | 9,990 | - | 14 | | |
| 1979/80 | 17,300 | 122,000 | 14,800 | 22,500 | 1,200 | (176,600) |
| 1989/90 | 22,200 | 139,200 | 28,900 | 39,700 | 1,600 | (230,000) |
| 1999/00 | 52,700 | 182,500 | 53,700 | 48,300 | 3,000 | (337,200) |
| 2000/01 | 63,000 | 184,000 | 55,000 | 51,000 | 4,000 | (353,000) |

Source: Sprinczak, Barr, Seguev, Pitterman & Levi-Mazlom, 2001

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# GLOSSARY

Agadah
Legend

Aliya
In-migration to Israel; literally, 'ascent', self-improvement

Ashkenazi
Jew descended from families living in Central Europe

Batei Midrash
Houses of religious learning

Beta Israel
House of Israel – Name of the Community of Ethiopian Jews

Beth Hatfutsoth
House of the Diasporas – a Museum that presents exhibits related to Jewish communities in different places in the world.

Brit Shalom
"Covenant of Peace": Pre-State organization whose goal was to set up a bi-national state in Palestine with equal representation for Jews and Arabs in the legislature.

Darchei mussar
Moral behaviors

Elitzur
"Rock of Ages" - Sports Clubs set up by the Religious Zionist Party

Ha'aretz
Daily newspaper, considered the newspaper of the intellectuals

Eretz Yisrael
Land of Israel, the Hebrew expression for Palestine

Geva-Carmel
"Hills of the Carmel", studio for film-making

Habad
Ultra-orthodox group with mystic beliefs. The consonants combine into an abbreviation for: wisdom, understanding, knowledge. The movement was founded by Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Lyady (1745-1813)

Hagadah
Passover service

Haganah
Defense – Organization for self-defense of the Jewish community in Palestine, 1920-1948.

Halacha
Religious law, includes the Bible (written law) and the Mishnah and the Talmud (oral law)

Hanukkah
Feast of lights and dedication; comme-morates the rededication of the Temple in Jerusalem after its desecration by the Hellenist Greeks in the second century B.C.E.

Hapoel
"The Worker" - Sports clubs set up by the Workers Union

Hasbara Orith
Audio-Visual information

Hashomer
"The Guard" – Organization of Jews for standing guard in Jewish settlements (1909-1920)

Havlagah
Restraint – policy adopted by the Haganah in its dealings with the British

Hefzibah
Woman's name meaning, "my desire is for her" – the name of a Kibbutz in the Jezreel Valley

Herut
"Freedom" - Right-wing party founded by Menahem Begin

Histadruth Hamorim
Teachers' Association

Histadruth Hapoalim
Workers' Union

Hofim
"Coasts" - Name of a youth village

Hugim
Circles, groups for informal learning

Intifada
Uprising of the Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip: I. 1987-1993; II. 2000–,

Irgun Hamorim Ha'al-Yesodi'im
Organization of Secondary School Teachers

Kav Ha'Ofek
"Horizon" – publication of the Israeli Association of Ethiopian Jews.

Keiss(im), Kess(och)
Rabbi(s) of the Beta Israel, community of Ethiopian Jews

Kibbutz (pl: kibbutzim)
Collective farms: originally with special houses for the children according to age; cooperative decision-making, cultivation, marketing, purchasing of all goods.

K'litat aliya
Absorption of in-migration of Jews

Knesset
Israeli legislature

Kolbo
"Everything in it" - Local newspaper of the city of Haifa

Kol Yisrael
"Voice of Israel", Israeli national broadcasting service

Libi
"My heart" – abbreviation for "I'vitchon Yisrael", ("for the security of Israel")

Lohamei Herut Yisrael
"Fighters for the Freedom of Israel" – pre-state underground militant Jewish group

Ma'abaroth
Transit camps where, in the 1950s new immigrants lived in tents and in huts of corrugated metal.

Maasim tovim
Good deeds

Maccabi
"Heroes" – Sports Clubs set up by the right wing Herut party

Mahar
The word means 'tomorrow'. The consonants are an abbreviation for "Widespread Computerization."

Mamlachtiuth
Morality of loyalty to the government (rather than to pre-state splinter groups)

MAPAI
Israeli Workers' Party: Moderate socialist party

MAPAM
United Workers' Party: Left-wing political party, supported the USSR until the trial of the doctors in the 1950s

MERETZ
Leftist political party

Midreshet Alon
An institution of informal education (midrasha) named after Yigal Alon (1918-1980), an important general in the IDF, and later Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Minister of Education. The Midrasha [sic!] was set up in Kibbutz Ginossar of which Alon was a member.

Minhagim
Customs

Mizrachi(m)
Easterner(s) –group name for Jews who come from the Mediterranean Basin and the Middle East

Moshavim
Settlements where families live in separate houses, but cultivate the lands, market the produce, and purchase basics cooperatively.

Na'aleh
"Let us 'Ascend' to Israel"; the name of a program for youth from the Former Soviet Union who come to Israel to study in secondary school for a period. The Jewish Agency intends for them to remain in the country.

Negev
Region of Israel, south of Beer Sheva

Netek
Disruption

Netiv l'halachoth
Path to religious law

Oleh (pl: olim)
Jewish immigrant(s) to Israel

P'sukim
Quotations from the Bible

Renanoth
"Holy songs" – a project of the Department of Information

Renath-Yam
"Songs of the sea" – a project of the Department of Information

Sabar / sabra
Native born Israeli; named after the prickly pear because they are presumably bristly on the outside and sweet as pulp on the inside

Sharav
Southerly hot wind from the Sahara; also called Khamsin (50) because of the folklore tradition that there are 50 days with the dry wind every year.

Schelomo
Hebrew for Solomon

Sephardi
Jew descended from families who lived in Spain and were probably deported during the inquisition (1492)

Shiluvim
"Combinations" – program for making Ethiopian immigrant pupils feel part of the school community

Shlichim
Emissaries of the Jewish Agency, or of the Government

Shoa
Holocaust

Sichon
From the word for conversation, "sicha", a booklet with sentences that are frequently used in daily conversation.

Takhshitim
Jewels

Talmud
Religious law – the *oral* law because it comprises explanations of the halacha (q.v.) proposed by distinguished rabbis (Amora'im). Written and edited between the third and the fifth centuries of the Common Era.

Terapia
Therapy

Torapia
Therapy with the use of the Old Testament

Teunei tipuach
Pupils in need of special care to enhance their cultural resources

Torah
Old Testament

Tsion – Yerusalem
Zion-Jerusalem, the name given to Israel by the Ethiopian Jewish immigrants

Ulpan
School for teaching Hebrew to adults

Ulpaniyoth
Small schools where new immigrant children are taught the fundamentals of the Hebrew language so that they will be able to join regular classes in schools. The courses last for about three months.

Ummah
Nation

*Yedioth Achronoth*
"Latest News" - Daily newspaper with the largest circulation in Israel

Yishuv
Settlement, or Jewish Community in Palestine

Yom Kippur
Day of Atonement, the holiest day of the Jewish year

# INDEX