DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 308 261 UD 026 806

AUTHOR Iram, Yaacov
TITLE Russian and Ethiopian Immigrants in Israel--A Comparative Perspective on Educational Absorption.
PUB DATE Mar 89
NOTE 21p.; Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society at Harvard University (33rd, Cambridge, MA, March 30-April 2, 1989).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Acculturation; *Adjustment (to Environment); *Cultural Pluralism; *Educational Change; *Educational Needs; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; *Immigrants; Jews; Racial Identification
IDENTIFIERS *Ethiopia; *Israel; Russian Jews

ABSTRACT

Israeli educational policies have changed over the last 40 years in response to the backgrounds and needs of various immigrant groups. This study compares two recent waves of immigration, from the Soviet Union in the 1970's and 1980's, and from Ethiopia in the 1980's. Both groups arrived during a period when Israel's social and educational policy of "integration into the melting pot" was in the process of changing to an approach that emphasized cultural pluralism. The characteristics of each group are compared and their economic, social, political, cultural, and educational adjustment are examined. The Russian immigrants shared common characteristics and responses with many of the earlier groups who had immigrated to Israel since its founding in 1948. However, the Ethiopians presented a completely different set of needs, raising again the issue of the proper balance between the need to adjust to Israeli society and the need to preserve a lifestyle and religious practices that are radically different from those of earlier Oriental and Western immigrants. A list of 34 references is appended. (FMW)

RUSSIAN AND ETHIOPIAN IMMIGRANTS IN ISRAEL - A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON EDUCATIONAL ABSORPTION

YAACOV IRAM
Bar-Ilan University, Israel

Prepared for the 33rd Annual Conference of
The Comparative and International Education Society
Harvard University, March 30 - April 2, 1989

YAACOV IRAM
BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY, ISRAEL

RUSSIAN AND ETHIOPIAN IMMIGRANTS IN ISRAEL

A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON EDUCATIONAL ABSORPTION

Introduction

Migration is an international phenomenon. As such it has been examined extensively both by historians and social scientists /1/. Throughout history and in modern times migration has changed ethnic, racial and social composition of many societies and altered political and economic structures in many countries. Large scale immigration was responsible for the creation of nation states, like the United States, Canada and Australia /2/. Israel is a recent and continuous example of this sort, but unlike other countries which were molded by immigrants in the past, Israel continues to encourage Jewish immigration and depends on it for its future development and well being. The "ingathering of exiles" (KIBBUTZ GALUYOT) was considered as a precondition for the restoration of political independence of the Jewish people in their ancient homeland and still is the raison d'etre of the State of Israel /3/.

Attitudes of host societies towards immigrants represent a spectrum which varies from rejection through passive tolerance to encouragement and support and even to active entreat of immigrants. Israel's approach in terms of its expressed ideology

and stated official policy, represents the positive pole of this spectrum. Indeed, the desire for "ingathering of exiles" in the newly declared State of Israel was expressed in one of its constitutional laws, the Law of Return (1950) which declares that "every Jew has the right to come to this country as an OLEH" (immigrant). Additional legislation in 1952 stated that with rare exceptions, Jewish immigrants may be granted Israeli citizenship upon arrival in Israel. An ammendment to the law in 1954 granted to Jews intending to immigrate to Israel the right to claim Israeli citizenship even before departing from their country of residence /4/.

Israel is an immigrant country which experienced very rapid growth of its population. Immigration accounted for more than 50 percent of the increase in Jewish population of Israel between 1948-1977 and more than 25 percent between 1972-1982. Indeed, Israel's ethnic composition, religious and cultural character, and its socio-economic structure were affected profoundly by the various waves of immigration both before and after the establishment of the state in 1948. Immigration and its integration (KLITAT ALIYAH) continues to play an important role on Israel's national agenda.

This paper outlines the characteristics of recent immigration to Israel (1) from the Soviet Union during the 1970s and 1980s; and (2) immigrants from Ethiopia in the 1980s.It will analyze the interaction of the immigrants with the social and ideological milieu of their host country and the modes of their integration

(KLITA) into the Israeli society. It also evaluates the responses of the educational system from the standpoint of providing universal, free and equal education for immigrant children from diverse countries of origin and cultural backgrounds and to integrate them into the host society. These two distinct groups of immigrants arrived at a time when the Israeli society and its educational system went through a process of change in some of its basic cultural assumptions and educational concepts that prevailed during mass immigration in the 1950s and 1960s of Jews from North-Africa and the Middle East. Indeed, the "melting pot" concept of "integration of Exiles" (MIZUG GALUYOT) dominated by Western-Ashkenazi monoculturalism, was in a process of change during the 1970s toward cultural pluralism in all spheres of society and particularly in education /5/.

Russian Immigrants

Between 1968 and 1985 about 260,000 Jews left the U.S.S.R., 165,000 of them arrived in Israel. The majority of Russian immigrants to Israel arrived in two waves: some 82,000 in 1972-74 and about 37,000 during 1978-80 /6/. It is important to note the demographic diversity of Soviet immigrants and their characteristics. Hence their differential absorption process within the Israeli society.

The immigrants came from diverse parts of the Soviet Union and from different Soviet and Jewish subcultures. They differ in

their Jewish religious traditions and commitment to its practice, in culture, educational level, occupations and family size /7/. The immigrants to Israel came from three distinct geographic regions in the U.S.S.R. The first group are those who lived in the Soviet heartland namely the Russian Republic (R.S.F.S.R.), mainly from Moscow and Leningrad. They are better acculturated to the dominant Russian culture of the U.S.S.R. and generally occupying higher status in Soviet society. As a result of being exposed to the long process of Sovietization they forfeited most of their particular characteristics of Jewish identity, like the Yiddish language, and care little about Jewish traditions in their daily life except for the few elderly people. The second group came from the Baltic States, Moldavia, Western Ukraine (Galicia) and Byelorussia. These areas - Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia - were centers of Jewish religious, cultural, political and social life during the interwar years. Since they were absorbed into the Soviet Union only in 1939-1945, the Jews there have a higher level of Jewish knowledge and consciousness, including Yiddish, than in Russia proper /8/. The third group are immigrants from the non-Western and less developed areas of the Soviet Union: Georgia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia, where Jewish traditions and religion have survived more than in the European parts of the Soviet Union.

Although it is difficult to determine one single and common motive for Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union it seems that these are a combination of "negative" and "positive" ones. On the

"negative" side are feelings of Jews as being rejected, discriminated or limited in their civil rights, while the "positive" motives stem from ideological, national or religious attraction to Israel. The "negative" motives pushed Jews out of the U.S.S.R. mainly to Western countries and in particular to the United States, while the "positive" motives directed the emigrants toward Israel. Indeed, those who were motivated by national or religious motives preferred to immigrate to Israel, while those who were motivated by social and political alienation from the Soviet society tended to go the U.S.A. /9/. The process of adjustment of the immigrants and finally their absorption into Israeli society are affected both by their area of origin in the U.S.S.R. and by their motives for immigration to Israel.

Successful absorption is a multidimensional process and depends therefore on adjustment in various areas: economic, social, political, cultural and educational. Studies show that in general the two major groups of Soviet immigrants, those from the European areas of the Soviet Union and those from the Caucasus and Central Asia were successful in their absorption in Israel's economic system. Both their value system of motivated workers and their professional skills, which are integral components in the process of socialization in the Soviet Union, account for their adaptability to the demands of Israel's technological society /10/.

Unlike the relatively successful economic integration of the Soviet immigrants their social integration appears to be more

problematic. In this area of integration into Israeli society one should differentiate between immigrants from the European Republics and the non-European parts of the Soviet Union primarily the Georgians and those from Central Asia (Usbekistan, Tadzhikistan and Kazakhstan - labelled generally as "Bukharan" Jews), who constitute about 25 percent of the Soviet immigration to Israel /11/. The Georgian immigrants displayed a high degree of "clannishness" in their insistence on living among other Georgians and close to members of their extended families. This lead to prolonging their linguistic and social isolation from the Israeli society. However, after five years of residence in Israel, about two thirds of all immigrants from the Soviet Union were satisfied with their social life in the country. Although, when asked to compare between their satisfaction with their social life in Israel and their social life abroad, 60 percent of the immigrants from the European Republics of the Soviet Union and 75 percent from the non-European parts claimed that their social life abroad was better /12/.

Another area of difficulties in adjustment is the political sphere which, includes in addition to direct participation in the political process, also attitudes toward political authority. The problems in political integration stem from the differences between the Soviet authoritarian system and the Israeli democratic and pluralistic political system. Being socialized in the Soviet Union, it is difficult for most of the immigrants to appreciate plurality of the Israeli political system /13/. Also, they are

confused in dealing with the Israeli authorities and absorption bureaucracy which resembles some of the difficulties of Oriental immigrants in the 1950s. Indeed, Georgian immigrants felt more than others that they were discriminated against by the absorption authorities /14/.

As for cultural absorption - this is determined by the degree of the immigrants linguistic acculturation, satisfaction with their lives in their new environment, and identification with the absorbing society. Although 90 percent of the immigrants declare that they are attached to Israel, only 50 percent "feel Israelis". Thus, compared to earlier waves of immigration of Oriental Jews the Soviet immigrants' economic, social and cultural absorption was successful, although their social and cultural integration was somewhat delayed /15/.

The educational absorption of immigrant children from the Soviet Union in the Israeli school system, more than in other social spheres, reflects the Russian immigrants' demographic and geographic heterogeneonity, as well as the diversity in their degree of modernization and sovietization. Students from Western European regions or republics of the U.S.S.R. have not encountered major academic difficulties at school. In several subjects, particularly in the natural and physical sciences, Russian students had in some cases even an advantage over their veteran classmates. After a short time of adjustment most of them perform well not only in the scientific subjects but also in the humanities /16/. Thus, it is rather the social and cultural

environment which present problems of adjustment to the Russian immigrant students and not the school itself. The difference in the social context in which the Soviet and Israeli school systems operate present most of the difficulties for the Soviet immigrant students. As a result of Soviet socialization, the immigrant students face social and psychological problems: conflicts between loyalty to their family that rejected the system and allegiance to the Soviet society created by the process of socialization at school. In addition to this identity conflict they face a contrast between the collectivistic orientation of school and society in the U.S.S.R. and the individualistic orientation and personal responsibility which dominate Western schools including Israel /17/. These differences are expressed in dissonances and confusions in the realm of their interaction with teachers and peers as well as in relations with parents.

The adjustment difficulties of immigrant children from the southern and central Asian republics, Georgia, the Caucasus and Bukhara are different and are part of the adjustment problems of their families and community. They do not face an identity problem because they have not experienced an intense communist socialization. Their difficulties arise mainly from the process of transition from a rather traditional family oriented environment into an open modern society. Thus their social, cultural and educational problems are similar in many respects to those of the Oriental immigrants in the 1950s: low social and occupational status and a lack of self esteem in part of their

social environment. All these traits when coupled with low level of motivation, result in low achievements in school /18/. Indeed, researchers conclude that failure of the educational system to cope more successfully with the educational absorption of immigrant youngsters from these three Soviet communities, Georgia, Caucasus and Bukhara, may be explained by its insufficient attentiveness to their unique characteristics. Awareness of the differences among the immigrants from the various republics and regions of the Soviet Union should lead to understand that different cultural backgrounds result in different abilities to cope scholastically and socially with school and its environment /19/. Thus differential curricula and methods of instruction which are relevant to the background of these students, should be designed and employed to enhance their social and educational integration in Israel.

Ethiopian Immigrants

Ethiopian Jews /20/ arrived in Israel in small groups during the 1960s. Because of their isolation from mainstream Judaism they have never received the Talmud, which is the foundation for the religious law of normative Judaism, nor have they participated in the development of Rabbinic Judaism /21/. Thus, for example, they celebrate only those holidays which are mentioned in the Torah but not the others like Hanuka. Indeed there were doubts among the religious authorities whether they may be considered Jews. It was

only in 1973 that the chief Sephardic Rabbi of Israel decreed that they are indeed Jews. This recognition was formalized by the State by declaring Ethiopian Jews' eligibility to immigrate to Israel under the Law of Return. Between 1980 and 1984 some 14,000 immigrants from Ethiopia arrived in Israel more than half of them arrived during "Operation Moses" from November 1984 through February 1985, when press disclosure halted the operation that had been conducted in secrecy /22/.

As already discussed above, Israel has had experience with immigrants from various backgrounds who had to be integrated into the fabric of the emerging Israeli society. The various waves of immigrants experienced difficulties in their process of adjustment to the Israeli host society. However, the Ethiopian immigrants differ from the Israeli society more than most other immigrant groups which arrived in Israel during the past forty years of its existence. The most obvious differences between the Ethiopian immigrants and their host society is in appearance (black skin), in religious concepts and practices of Judaism /23/; cultural and social gap between their original tribal-rural-traditional, underdeveloped economically and occupationally society and the urban-modern-industrialized Israeli economy andsociety. Another difference is in the political culture - a military dictatorship with a marxist orientation in Ethiopia while Israel is a Western democracy. All these amounts to a "cultural shock", which many of Ethiopian immigrants experienced upon arrival in Israel. Indeed, the absorption process of the Ethiopians is more complex /24/.

It was agreed by all those who are in charge with the absorption of the Ethiopians not to repeat the "mistakes of the fifties" namely, some of the misguided absorption policies practiced during mass immigration from Middle Eastern and North African countries in the decade of 1950-1960 /25/. Thus, for example, the stated policy is to "guard the status and dignity of the elders of the community, encourage traditional art and to help the people to preserve their culture" /26/.

Consequently, the absorption process of the Ethiopian immigrants is an intensive and comprehensive approach of providing both social and educational services to both children and adults from preschool through adult education, extending over a two year period. Upon arrival immigrants are taken to "absorption centers" which serve both as protected and orientation environments where the immigrants rest from the hardships of their travels from Ethiopia. During their one year stay in the "absorption center" they are assisted in securing information about relatives from whom they have been separated, receive initial medical evaluation and treatment, and acquire gradually information about life in Israel. At the "absorption center" they learn Hebrew and basic essential skills necessary for living in a modern society. Here they learn to run a modern household, shop. practice health hygiene, use appliances and care for infants. The second year is devoted to gradual integration of the immigrants into local communities. During this year they are moved to permanent housing. At this stage they are still followed by an

absorption team of social workers and educators who are responsible to prepare both the immigrants and their absorbing community. During these period immigrants are trained in vocational courses and meet with potential employers /27/.

Tne educational absorption of the Ethiopian children differs dramatically from those of the past. A substantial number of children arrived without one or both of their parents. These children were placed in Youth-Aliyah boarding schools. They live and study in youth villages until completion of secondary schooling. In 1985 there were about 2000 youngsters in these facilities /28/. It was reported that in 1989 there are still some 1800 Ethiopian children and young adults without their parents in Israel. These children are reported to suffer social, psychosomatic and educational difficulties /29/. Most of the Ethiopian immigrant students were illiterates or semi-literate. Though with a high learning potential and highly motivated, they lack learning habits, had difficulties in space and time orientation because of their rural peasant background. Some have never attended school, others were used to learn in groups by means of recitation and memorization and therefore encountered difficulties in individual modes of learning and comprehension. While high motivation and ambition to succeed at school resulted sometimes in stress. It was felt therefore a need to adopt new approaches to educate Ethiopian children reflecting sensitivity to their special needs during the different stages of their social and educational absorption. For this reason one of the major

policy decisions was to direct all Ethiopian students to the religious track of the state schools for their first year in the country after which they are free to transfer. This decision was reached in consultation with the KESSIM, the religious leaders of the Ethiopians. It was felt that in this way the children might fill the gap in their knowledge of normative Judaism and mitigate the difficulties of transition from a traditional religious society to a modern secular environment. Another policy adopted was that while pre-school and kindergarten children would be integrated into regular classrooms, primary school students would be placed in "absorption classes" (KITOT KELET) for at least one year or until they have acquired basic knowledge of Hebrew. Mainstreaming of these students was left to the individual school principal.

Some curricular units and materials were designed specifically for Ethiopian students. Efforts were made to produce some basic textbooks and teachers' guides to relate Jewish Ethiopian traditions and lifestyles to all students in the educational system and particularly in schools where these students attended /30/. An attempt was made also to prepare teachers, thus about half of the teachers at the "absorption classes" attended in service training to teach Ethiopian students, but only 10 percent of the teachers who taught Ethiopian students in regular classes had such a training. Attempts were also made to involve Ethiopian parents in school and the community through adopt-a-family projects /31/.

It seems that following previous experience the Ministry of Education and Culture has realized that educational absorption of immigrant students is a multidimensional process: linguistic, cultural, social and school adjustment. In the case of the immigration from Ethiopia more than in previous occasions, it tried to adopt a comprehensive and "total" approach with a certain degree of success /32/. However, some of the problems of the Ethiopian community in Israel have not been resolved so far. The most pressing issue is Ethiopian Jews' relationship with normative Judaism represented in Israel by the chief Rabbinate. These relations are sometimes very problematic and even painful because of the demand that the immigrants undergo a ritual ceremony of a symbolic conversion which is interpreted by the religious establishment as a symbolic act of reestablishing of long severed links between Ethiopian Jews and other world Jeweries. This demand is viewed by some segments within the Ethiopian community as casting doubts on their Judaism /33/. There exist also a sense of disappointment that despite stated policies, very little has been done to preserve and retain traditional Ethiopian elements of culture, folklore and religious ceremonies in daily life and in education except the celebration of the SEGED which is a religious celebration of "Return to Zion" /34/.

To conclude, the changing nature of immigration to Israel during the last forty years, since 1948, have made it imperative to change cultural conceptions, strategies of absorption and also modification of educational policies. The educational absorption of immigrants by providing both quality and equality of educational opportunities for all and especially for "underprivileged" groups of immigrant children: Orientals in the 1950s and 1960s, Georgians in the 1970s and Ethiopians in the 1980s-have been a major concern to politicians, educators and researchers. Also, the continuous flow of students of extremely diverse backgrounds posed a challange to the integrity of the educational system, stimulating ideological, conceptual, administrative, pedagogical and curricular changes and sometimes even radical transformation. The "Ethiopian phase" of educational absorption has raised again the issue of the proper balance between the need to preserve unique lifestyles and religious practices, which are different from those of Oriental and Western Jews, in order not to hinder the adjustment of the Ethiopian immigrants to the Israeli society. This brought to light the need to find right ways and proper means to strengthen the principle of cultural pluralism, which will enable fruitful coexistence between the uniqueness of various groups and the common elements and characteristics of the emerging Israeli society.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For a systematic sociological framework for the analysis of migration in modern societies, see: S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954, pp. 1-26.

2. Trends of modern mass migration, its motivation and comparative analysis of certain types of migration are dealt by Eisenstadt, op.cit., pp. 226-257.

3. See for example: B. Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961; W. Laquer, A History of Zionism. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.

4. S.N. Eisenstadt, Israeli Society: Background, Development and Problems, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967. For an analysis of the Law of Return see: Daniel J. Elazar, "Israel's Compound Policy", in: Ernest Krausz: ed., Politics and Society in Israel. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1985.

5. For an analysis of developments which led to the adoption of multiculturalism as well as its educational implications see: Y. Iram "Changing Patterns of Immigrant Absorption in Israel: Educational Implications", Canadian and International Education 16/2 (1987) pp. 62-65. For a comparative perspective on this issue see: V. Masemann and Y. Iram, "The Right to Education for Multicultural Development: Canada and Israel" in: N. Bernstein Tarrow (ed), Human Rights and Education, Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1987, pp. 101-119.

6. Statistical Abstracts of Israel, No. 36, 1985. pp. 154-155. For possible explanations of the factors affecting Jewish emigration from the U.S.S.R. see: Z. Gitelman, Becoming Israelis: Political Resocialization of Soviet and American Immigrants, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1982, pp. 69-75.

7. Gitelman, Op. Cit., pp. 75-78; T.R. Horowitz (ed), Between Two Worlds: Children from the Soviet Union in Israel, Lanham, M.D.: University Press of America, 1986, pp. 10-12.

8. The role of Jewish education in these areas is discussed in: Y. Iram, "The Persistence of Jewish Ethnic Identity in Interwar Poland and Lithuania, 1919-1939". History of Education, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1985), pp. 273-282.

9. For more details see: Horowitz, (n. 7 above), pp. 12-15, Gitelman, (n. 6 above), pp. 217-223.

10. Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Immigration Absorption, Jewish Agency, Absorption Department, "Survey on Absorption of Immigrants, Five Years after Immigration" (1982) (Hebrew).

11. The characteristics of the Georgian and Bukharian Jews and their image among Israelis are discussed by Gitelman, (n. 6 above), pp. 159-163.

12. Survey of Absorption (n. 10 above).

13. For a detailed theoretical framework of political resocialization of immigrants in general and a case study of this process in regard to Soviet and American immigrants in Israel see Gitelman's study (n. 6 above).

14. For a detailed analysis of the immigration from North Africa and Asia in 1950's, see: Iram, (n. 5 above), pp. 55-72.

15. Survey on Absorption (n. 10 above).

16. For a comprehensive study on the issue of educational adjustment see: T.R. Horowitz and E. Frenkel, Adjustment of Immigrant Children to the School System in Israel, Jerusalem: The Szold Institute, 1976 (Hebrew).

17. The differences between Soviet and American educational systems are discussed in the following comparative study: U. Bronfenbrenner. Two Worlds of Childhood, U.S., and U.S.S.R. New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1970. Israel's educational system shares many characteristics with the American system.

18. R. Izikovich, and V. Adam, "The Social Absorption in School of Immigrant Youngsters from the Caucasus", Iyunim Behinuch (Studies in Education), 39, 1981. (Hebrew).

19. For a detailed analysis of this issue see: R. Hanegbi, "The Immigrant Youngster from the Caucasus: Coping with his New Environment" Integration of Immigrant Adolescent. Jerusalem: Youth Aliya, 1984, pp. 39-49; A. Lieblich, N. Ben-Schachar, and N. Raz, "Learning and Adaptation Problems of Children from the Caucasus Mountains in Israel", Research Report, The Ministry of Absorption, 1979. Reprinted in Horowitz (n. 7 above), pp. 203-217.

20. This term will be used rather than Falasha which was the common term in scientific and popular use. The latter term has derogatory connotations (Falasha in the Geuze language means "foreigner", "outlaw", or "exiled"). The Ethiopian Jews prefer to be called "Beta-Israel", which denotes their being part of the Jewish people.

21. Historic and ethnographic studies of the Ethiopian Jews are relatively numerous mainly in Hebrew, French and English. Recent books in English: David Kessler, The Falashas: The Forgotten Jews of Ethiopia. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982; Simon Messing, The Story of the Fallashas. New York: Balshon, 1982; Louis Rapoport, The Lost Jews: Last of the Ethiopian Falashas. New York: Stein and Day, 1983.

22. Israel Government Yearbook, 1984/85, p. 318.

23. Ethiopian Jews' religious practices and their complex interaction with normative Judaism are dealt by J. Abbink, "An Ethiopian Jewish 'Missionary' as Culture Broker", Israel Social Science Research, 3/1-2 (1985), pp. 21-32.

24. For an analysis of the absorption process of the Ethiopian immigrants see: S. Newman, "Ethiopian Jewish Absorption and the Israeli Response: A Two Way Process", Israel Social Science Research, 3/1-2 (1985), pp. 104-111.

25. M. Ashkenazi, 'Studying the Students", Israel Social Science Research, 3/1-2 (1985), pp. 85-96. See also Halper, Ibid. pp. 114-125.

26. O. Donyo, "Considerations in Determining the Absorption Policy of Ethiopian Immigrants", Alim, 1983, p. 7 (Hebrew).

27. Part of this information is based on a paper by Yaacov Iram and Norma Bernstein Tarrow prepared for a panel: "Differing Models of Immigration Absorption and Acculturation: North America, the Middle East and Africa", that was presented at the 30th Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Toronto. Canada, March 13-16, 1986.

28. U. Gordon, "The Ethiopian Era" Youth Aliyah Bulletin. Jerusalem, June 1985, pp. 3-5.

29. The plight of these children has been reported during a news conference held on February 7, 1989 and reported in Ha'Aretz Daily Newspaper, February 8, 1989.

30. Ministry of Education and Culture, Yachad Shivtei Israel (Uniting the Tribes of Israel), Jerusalem: 1985 (Hebrew).

31. P. Golan, T. Horowitz and L. Shefatya, "The Adjustment of Student Immigrants from Ethiopia to the School System" Report No. 230, Jerusalem: The Henrietta Szold Institute and the Hebrew University, December, 1987, pp. 21-22 (Hebrew). This is a survey conducted during 1986 in 48 schools which have Ethiopian students.

32. For a brief descriptive summary on this issue see: I. Friedman, "Social and Educational Aspects in the Absorption of Ethiopian Immigrants" in: Ethiopian Jews and their Absorption in Israel: Findings, Lessons, Bibliography and Abstracts, 2nd. ed. Publication No. 624, Jerusalem: Henrietta Szold Institute, 1986. (Hebrew).

33. This issue caused many misunderstandings between the religious authorities of Israel and the Ethiopian community which resulted in demonstrations and other means of protest which was reported widely by the news media. Recently the rabbis mitigated their demand to merely a ritual immersion.

34. G.J. Abbink, "Seged Celebration in Ethiopia and Israel: Continuity and Change of a Falasha Religious Holiday", Anthropos, Vol. 78 (1983), pp. 789-810.