THE ADJUSTMENT PROCESS OF AMERICANS AND CANADIANS IN ISRAEL AND THEIR INTEGRATION INTO ISRAELI SOCIETY

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
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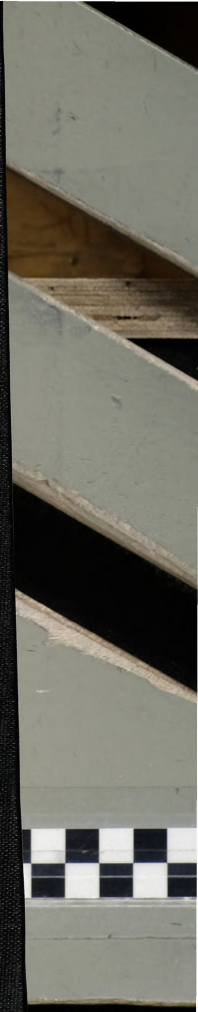


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ABSTRACT

THE ADJUSTMENT PROCESS OF AMERICANS AND CANADIANS
IN ISRAEL AND THEIR INTEGRATION
INTO ISRAELI SOCIETY

By

Harry Leib Jubas

While the origins of immigration to Israel may be said to go back hundreds of years, the modern "aliya" movement from North America had its genesis in the late nineteenth century. Today, it has become a phenomenon which is unique in the annals of migratory movements.

The characteristics of this unusual immigration are as unique as the motives which have stimulated it. The hypnotic "pull" of a small struggling democracy, and the "push" from, for what was, in most instances, a socially and economically secure life formed new patterns of immigration. The juxtaposition of one way of life with another, a new and different way brought about a new set of experiences. Some were successful while others were traumatic; none was wholly satisfying. Yet most of those who went stayed. There were those who could not cope with the life; frustrated and disillusioned, they returned.

Of the North American Jews who, noted from official records, immigrated to Israel between 1967 and 1971, 2,400 names were selected at random and given a questionnaire of 339 questions, based upon selected hypotheses which, in brief, sought to prove that the stronger

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the commitment to the ideals, goals, and aspirations of Zionistically-oriented Judaism, the more comfortable and complete was the adjustment to the Israeli way of life.

This thesis explores the characteristics of this immigration, the motives for it and the push-pull factors behind it; the problems of adjustment; the frustrations and the pleasures and, for those who returned, the reasons.

THE ADJUSTMENT PROCESS OF AMERICANS AND CANADIANS IN ISRAEL AND THEIR INTEGRATION INTO ISRAELI SOCIETY

By

Harry Leib Jubas

A DISSERTATION

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HARRY LEIB JUBAS

1974

DEDICATION

To you my dear wife Shirley, I gratefully dedicate this dissertation. Only with your help was I able to carry the burden of these efforts and only with you can I share the satisfaction of achievement.

For your help in making the hundreds of tabulations, typing the first draft, all the while offering encouragement and sympathetic understanding . . .

For your ever-present willingness to discuss my problems, offer alternative solutions, argue for certain approaches . . .

For your faith, sensibility, inspiration, and criticism which ultimately influenced this dissertation . . .

For your unswerving devotion from conception to execution of this study and total understanding throughout these many, many months . . .

Through all of these, my dear Shirley, you have become my Ayshet Chayil, my Woman of Valor.

To our children as well, to Sandra, Jay and Mark, do I express my gratitude for your patient waiting, understanding, faith, and endurance which were a continuous source of encouragement. I dedicate it to you and express my gratitude to you. May you always be able to give and receive love.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Very little detailed information is available regarding the exact size, composition, or characteristics of the population of Palestine prior to the twentieth century. The Turks, who ruled Palestine until the close of World War I, never took a census of the inhabitants; such data as are available to demographers and historians derive chiefly from the descriptive accounts of travelers, diplomats, and missionaries, and from the research of contemporary historians.[1]

A Jewish community has continuously existed in Palestine at least since the close of the fifteenth century A.D., when the Jews were expelled from Spain, and some historians believe that Jews have lived continuously in Palestine since ancient times. The Moslem population of Palestine has lived in the country since the foundation of Islam, and the origins of the Christian population date from the Crusades. The total population of Palestine in 1800 was estimated at 300,000, of which an estimated 5,000 were Jews. There were 270,000 Moslems and 25,000 Christians in the country at the same time. The Jewish population was largely of Sephardic (Spanish or Iberian) origin and lived in the four "holy cities," Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron. The Christian population was largely Greek Orthodox,

Greek Catholic, and Roman Catholic and resided principally in the cities of Jerusalem, Nazareth and Bethlehem. The Moslem population resided principally in the cities of Acre, Jaffa, Gaza, Nablus, Bethlehem, Hebron and Jerusalem.

Background of the Problem

Late in the nineteenth century, a movement to return to Zion had begun among the Jews of Europe.[2] The persecution by the Czars of Russia had sent large numbers of Jews across the ocean to America, while a small trickle went south to Palestine. In 1882, a group of pioneers, the BILU,[3] came to build a life of freedom in the ancient homeland. BILU was a reaction to the 1881 pogroms in southern Russia, when the ideology of Jewish nationalism began to replace assimilationist thinking prevalent among the youth. At first not linked with any country, the Bilu ideology soon came to mean a return to Eretz Israel (Land of Israel).

One of Bilu's members, Haim Hisin testified:

> The recent pogroms have violently awakened the complacent Jews from their sweet slumbers. Until now, I was uninterested in my origin. I saw myself as a faithful son of Russia, which was to me my raison d'etre and the very air I breathed. Each new discovery by a Russian scientist, every classical literary work, every victory of the Russian kingdom would fill my heart with pride. I wanted to devote my whole strength to the good of my homeland, and happily to do my duty, and suddenly they come and show us the door, and openly declare that we are free to leave for the West.[4]

Bilu ideology was expressed in different and even contradictory ways. Of the many statutes formulated by the group, one defined the aim as the creation of "a political center for the Jewish people," while another stated that the society pursued "an economic and

national-spiritual aim" for the Jewish people.[5] This group, the first Aliya (immigration), differs sharply from the earlier group of pious Jews who had come prior to 1882 to the "holy land" to live out their last days.

When the 1881 pogroms in Russia brought the first appreciable stream of immigrants, there were in Palestine about 24,000 Jews. The first "wave" of 20,000 to 30,000 immigrants arrived between 1882 and 1903, swelling the population to 85,000 in 1914. It fell, however, to 56,000 in 1918 as a result of the deportations and privations of the First World War.[6]

During the years of the British administration (1919-1948) about 483,000 Jews came to Palestine to help rebuild the Jewish National Home. Their numbers brought the total, with natural increase, to approximately 650,000 at the time of independence.[7]

When the State of Israel was re-established in 1948, the gates of immigration were immediately opened to the Jews in the Diaspora. Six hundred eighty-four thousand Jews entered the new country up through the end of 1951. These included displaced persons and refugees from Eastern and Central Europe. "Operation Magic Carpet" brought 45,000 Jews from Yemen by air--practically the entire Jewish population of that country; another "airlift" brought to an end the oldest of the Jewish communities in the Diaspora--123,000 Jews were permitted to leave Iraq. Forty thousand immigrants arrived from Turkey and 18,000 from Iran during the same period. Later, immigrants came from French North Africa and smaller numbers from Western Europe and the Americas.[8] In the period 1954-1957 some 114,000 Jews, born in African countries,

immigrated to Israel and constituted 63 per cent of the total immigration in that period.[9]

Thus, in less than thirteen years, between May 14, 1948 and December, 1960, a total of 981,000 Jewish immigrants arrived in Israel, more than double the number of immigrants arriving during twenty-nine years of the British Administration in Palestine from 1919 to 1948. The immigrants came from more than forty countries and from every continent on the globe. Fifty-three per cent were from Europe, North and South America and Oceania and 47 per cent from Asia and Africa.[10]

Until 1960, immigration averaged 33,000 a year. During the next four years there was a large increase, almost 220,000, followed by a drop to an average of 20,000 in 1965-67 as the transfer of Jews from lands of distress allowing them to leave neared completion. The curve of immigration continued upward since the Six-Day War (June 5-June 11, 1967). It totaled over 30,000 in 1968 and rose to about 33,000 in 1960; 38,000 immigrants arrived in 1970 and 45,000 in 1971,[11] mainly from the free countries (France, Britain, Argentina, Chile and the United States). In 1972, immigration was predicted to be about 70,000, due mainly to the potential large increase from the Soviet Union.[12]

A new cabinet post, Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, was created in 1968 to help immigrants become integrated into Israeli society. It was said by Deputy Prime Minister Allon that

> the great interest in aliyah following the Six-Day War was not an incident but represented a turning point. The victory intensified the longing among Jews everywhere to identify with the main stream of Jewishness and the Jewish

> state . . . The conviction has now been fixed once and for all in the consciousness of the Jews--and what is more important in the subconsciousness that the State of Israel is from now on not merely a fact but an eternal fact![13]

The Ministry's budget plans have been based on a permanent increase in aliya from the Western nations and then from the Soviet Union. "Never before in history has any country ever offered newcomers so many inducements," said Allon.[14]

In the first six months of 1969, 3,340 housing units were provided for new settlers. To speed the construction of new and modern housing for the olim (new settlers), the Government has halted all non-essential construction. Not only have homes exclusively for olim been constructed at a greatly accelerated pace, but even the money to buy them has been made available on loan.

Though some have jobs waiting for them upon arrival and some already speak Hebrew, some olim need help with both. The first five or six months are usually spent in concentrated study of the language, the customs, the economy, and the geography of the country.

Helping the newcomer become self-supporting without delay has been simplified and intensified so that many job interviews are arranged during the absorption period. Study and work programs are planned, where advisable, in institutions of higher learning or in the framework of the government ministries; refresher courses and even job retraining are offered; and loans are made available for business purposes, to help professional people get established.

As of June, 1971, fifteen Merkazay Klita (absorption centers)[15] had been established throughout Israel with a total capacity of about

3,750 people. An absorption center exists primarily for university graduates who have not yet found a job, for olim who have come to Israel with a group project, and for self-employed persons whose educational level meets the requirements of the ulpan.[16] Single persons under thirty are referred to a kibbutz ulpan. All absorption centers have ulpanim.[17]

As of June, 1971, fifteen Me'onot (hostels) had been established throughout Israel including six student hostels with a capacity of about 1,200 family members and 1,000 students. A hostel rents furnished apartments to olim who are in transitory situation--when looking for work, working but looking for a place to live, attending school or ulpan. A hostel provides facilities for preparing meals and some have dining rooms where meals can be purchased.

There are four urban ulpanim, two in Tel Aviv, one in Jerusalem, and one in Kiryat Shmona, with a total capacity of 450 residents. Instruction in Hebrew is provided for a nominal fee; room and board can also be provided. For young people under thirty who wish to study there are sixty-five kibbutzim with ulpanim to choose from. There is no fee at a kibbutz ulpan. The participant studies half the day and works the other half.

Review of Literature

The first large-scale empirical work on the adjustment problems of immigrants in Israel was Shuval's Immigrants on the Threshold.[18] Her work deals with the immigrants who arrived in Israel during the height of immigration in the first two years of the new state's existence. It is focused primarily on the immigrants who arrived

between the years 1949 and 1950 and reports on their attitude and behavior during their first year in the new state.

Most of the 1,866 immigrants interviewed were from the North African countries who were living in transit camps. They were compared with Europeans (displaced persons) who had come to Israel after the Second World War, and with a number of Israelis born in Israel. None of the subjects included in the study was American or Canadian. Shuval's emphasis was to distinguish within immigrants in transit the variables leading to faster or slower acculturation. This emphasis was on their earliest reactions to the new society prior to their actual entry into the Israeli social system. The transit camps in which these immigrants lived are no longer in existence.

A report on the experience of American Jews who have migrated to Israel and attempted to settle there as Israelis was written by Isaacs.[19] The author explores some of the acute group identity conflicts generated for many of these individuals by their attempt to bridge and combine their American and Jewish identities in the Israeli setting.

Isaacs bases his observations on intensive interviews, conducted in 1963, with about fifty individuals, including city-dwelling professionals and government servants and members of several kibbutzim in the countryside. They form a panel of vignettes or examples of American experience in Israel, illustrating its satisfactions, its difficulties, and dilemmas.

Isaacs examines in some detail a major dilemma of identity as it emerged from those interviews, a difficult problem of choice of

nationality. This dilemma was created in part by the fact that under existing American laws, it was impossible for these Americans to participate fully in Israeli life without jeopardizing or forfeiting their American citizenship. They could not, for example, legally vote in Israeli elections or serve in the Israeli armed forces unless they were willing to forego their American citizenship and become citizens of Israel. Isaacs states that most of these Americans were unwilling to become Israelis at the cost of giving up their U.S. citizenship. This became, and remained, for many a painful, unresolved problem.

On May 29, 1967, the United States Supreme Court handed down a ruling which largely relieved these Americans of the legal or more formal aspect of their national identity dilemma.[20] In a case which involved an American citizen whose citizenship had been revoked because he had voted in an Israeli election, the court ruled that Congress did not have the power to pass laws depriving Americans of their nationality without their consent.

A great many of the Americans living in Israel appear in Isaac's book as individuals caught in a complicated set of "push" and "pull" pressures which had prevented them--in some cases for many years--from resolving their problem of national identity. They were pulled strongly enough by Israel, however, to cause them to migrate from America and seek to make their lives in the new Jewish state. But most of them clung strongly enough to America to find it impossible to become Israelis in the full sense of an unqualified acceptance of Israeli nationality. The May 29th decision of the United States Supreme Court has apparently removed most, or all, of the legal restraints.

Herman[21] reports on American students who came to study in Israel on a one-year study program. In this cross-cultural study, Professor Herman analyzes the special motives and expectations of American Jewish students in Israel, the changes in their attitudes during and after their stay, and the reactions of Israelis to them.[22]

Professor Herman administered questionnaires to students on their way to Israel, after they had been in Israel for several months, and a year after their return to the United States. Using these questionnaires as well as interviews and diaries, Professor Herman brings into sharp focus the unique relationships of the visiting students to their Israeli hosts, the attitudes they had in common and the ways in which they differed, and the problems of social contact that the students experienced as "strangers among kinsfolk." He devotes a chapter to students' involvement in the Six-Day War, and another to those students who settled in Israel.

Herman's study focuses on American students who came to Israel to study. While some may have remained, or decided to return at a later date, it is basically a study of students who came to Israel, not of American immigrants to Israel who came to live and then decided to study. Professor Herman's work includes data prior to the Six-Day War, and some from the Six-Day War itself. It does not include anything since the Six-Day War.

Statement of the Problem

Although many of the former waves of immigration resulted from "push" factors such as pogroms, deteriorating living conditions, anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, and persons being displaced, the slow

but steady stream of American immigration has been more of a "pull" factor. From 1948-1967 approximately 10,400 Americans[23] settled in Israel. These nineteen years brought more immigrants from America than the preceding one hundred years. Interest in settling in Israel increased tremendously after the Six-Day War. Before 1967 the highest annual immigration was 2,000; it jumped to 3,950 in 1968, 6,160 in 1969, 7,900 in 1970 and 8,500 in 1971.[24]

While prior studies have examined the "push" factors of the past, little has been done in connection with the "push"--and "pull"--factors of the past Six-Day War period, 1967-71. To facets of this latter situation this study addresses itself. Focusing primarily on the adjustment process of American and Canadian Jewish immigrants who have settled in Israel since June, 1967, the month of the Six-Day War, this is a study of the various factors which may have aided or hindered the oleh (immigrant) as he underwent the strain of uprooting and replanting. It presents subjective reactions and comments concerning the adjustment problems encountered, his dissatisfactions--and satisfactions--with his new life in its myriad aspects. This so-called "subjective adjustment" of immigrants may be measured through one of the following indices: 1) acceptance of and by the host country as one's home; 2) satisfaction with various aspects of life in Israel; and 3) intention to remain permanently in Israel.

It is anticipated that this study will provide the answers to such questions as "What motivates people to leave their country of origin and go to Israel?" and "Why do some people make the necessary adjustment while others fail?"

The experiences of the people who did immigrate to Israel and their adjustments will serve as a guide for those who follow. It is anticipated that similar studies can be made for olim from countries of origin other than the United States and Canada, providing a better understanding of the motives for immigration to Israel, as well as the adjustment process as it affects various peoples in their integration into Israeli society.

Research Hypotheses

1. Commitment: The stronger the original commitment to live in Israel, the better the adjustment.

2. Length of time in Israel: The longer a person has been in Israel the better his chances for adjustment.

3. Zionism: The more one has been active in a Zionist organization before migration, the better is one's chances for adjustment in Israel.

4. Religion: The more inclined one is to religious observance the better one's chance for successful adjustment in Israel.

5. Knowledge of Israel: The more advance information about social and economic conditions in Israel the better is one's chance for successful adjustment.

6. Degree of Jewish education: The higher the level of Jewish education, the greater the chance of one's successful adjustment in Israel.

7. Jewish identity: The higher the degree of Jewish identity the better the adjustment one will make in Israel.

8. Motives for coming: The more intense the "pull" factors--desire to come--as opposed to "push"--desire to leave America--the better the chance for adjustment.

9. Problems and frustrations: The greater the perceived problems and frustrations the lesser the chances for adjustment to Israeli life.

10. Ability to use Hebrew: The greater the ability to use Hebrew the better the chances for adjustment to life in Israel.

Methodological Considerations

A random sample was taken of all American and Canadian Jews who chose to go to Israel as immigrants or potential immigrants during the period of June 1967 through July, 1971. All were at least eighteen years old at the time of sampling (selection).

An "American" in this study is any one who came to Israel on an American or Canadian passport, anyone, that is, who had been living in the United States or Canada for a minimum of five years. If by chance someone had become a citizen in less than five years through derivation citizenship, usually through marriage, he was discouraged from answering the questionnaire--or if he did respond, his response sheet was discarded.

Who is a Jew? There is, unfortunately, no legal definition. There are halachic (based on rabbinical law) concepts and sociological

ones, but they are by no means in radical conflict or mutually exclusive. Halachically, a Jew is one born of a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism; with very rare exceptions, such persons would also qualify as Jews by other current criteria. For this study, we consider a Jew anyone who was born of a Jewish mother or properly converted by rabbinical authority and who was admitted to Israel as such by the immigration authorities.

Who is an oleh? Any Jew who enters Israel by the virtue of the "Law of Return"[25] is an oleh. The right of every Jew, from wherever his point of origin, to become a permanent resident of Israel is a fundamental principle of the State, which the Law of the Return statutorily sanctions by according free and automatic citizenship to all immigrant Jews.

Therefore, any Jew who comes to Israel with an intent to stay as a new immigrant has an option to become an oleh on the day of his arrival and automatically becomes an Israeli citizen, or he may begin his stay in Israel with a status of Temporary Resident A-1 (Potential Oleh). The "newcomer," whether an Oleh or a Potential Oleh receives the same status rights and privileges without distinction. These privileges are valid for three years from date of entry. There is only one difference--that is in regard to military service. The oleh is eligible immediately, whereas the Potential Oleh is not liable for military service until he becomes a citizen.

Collection of Data

Field Work

Thirteen months (July, 1970-August, 1971) were spent in field work in Israel. The first few months were occupied with meetings and discussions with officials of various government agencies and visits to institutions and universities, absorption centers and hostels, ulpanim and kibbutz ulpanim. Several months were spent at the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research in Jerusalem designing the mapping sentence, restructuring the outline of the study itself and preparing a comprehensive questionnaire. Several months were utilized at the Association of Americans and Canadians office in Tel Aviv and also at the American Desk of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem in compiling and selecting names and addresses of potential participants. The last five months were used to sort and mail questionnaires, check responses and send follow-up letters, and tabulate the response sheets on IBM punch cards at the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research.

Some difficulties were encountered in getting approval and cooperation from the Jewish Agency and especially from the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption. It was difficult to find a person with the proper authority to authorize such cooperation. But the problem was short-lived. Proper letters of introduction and the cooperation needed were soon granted. Names and addresses of immigrants were made available along with entry information pertaining to the absorption centers, hostels, and ulpanim.

Twenty-four hundred names were selected, approximately 10 per cent of the entire population which had arrived during the study period (June, 1967-July, 1971).[26] The names were picked by random sample from the files of the American Desk of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem and from the files of the Association of Americans and Canadians at the national office in Tel Aviv. After removal of duplicates, names from both sources were combined and again chosen at random in order to avoid bias sampling.

Based on the universe of content as expressed in the mapping sentence (Table 1.1), a questionnaire of 733 questions was built. The number was reduced to 339 questions based on the selected hypotheses.

The first 100 respondents were given a pretest of the 339 questions to determine whether any changes had to be made to aid clarity and understanding. No problems obtained; the questionnaire remained unchanged throughout the entire study. Questionnaires were then sent out to all participants in the absorption centers, hostels, ulpanim, kibbutzim, kibbutz ulpanim, cities, suburbs, villages and small communities throughout Israel.

Of the 2,400 questionnaires which were sent out about 300 or 12 per cent were returned with envelope markings indicating that the addressee had left the country. Another 300 were returned by the post office, either address unknown or address incorrect. Of the 1,800 respondents who received the questionnaire, 1,178 responded, about 75 per cent. These responses form the foundation upon which this study rests.

TABLE 1.1.--A Mapping Sentence for the Adjustment Process of the Americans and Canadians in Israel and Their Integration Into the Israeli Society.

	A. Time and Place			B. Behavior	
	(a1. past, before coming to Israel	)		(b1. perceives	)
In the	(a2. past, during initial period in Israel)	respondent (x)		(b2. approves	)
	(a3. present, in Israel	)		(b3. is satisfied	)
				(b4. expects	)
				(b5. acts, participates in)	

C.		D. Aspect of E		
(c1. importance)		(d1. quality		
the (c2. existence)	of	(d2. quantity (+ frequency)	of	

E. Aspect of Life ("Commodity")

(e1. residence)	(e12. school for children, raising children)
(e2. employment)	(e13. society (aspects of))
(e3. social contacts)	(e14. Jewish national life)
(e4. social status, importance)	(e15. Jewish religious life)
(e5. culture (various aspects of))	(e16. Hebrew)
(e6. hobbies)	(e17. instrument of adjustment to Israel)
(e7. health)	(absorption center, ulpan, kibbutz)
(e8. family relations)	ulpan, etc.))
(e9. security)	(various aspects of e17))
(e10. independence)	(e18. being in Israel)
(e11. consumer goods)	(e19. feeling at home in Israel)
	(e20. general happiness and fulfillment)

F. Provider

	(f1. self)		
	(f2. family)		
	(f3. relatives)		
provided by	(f4. Jewish Agency)	for the purpose of	
	(f5. Israel government)		
	(f6. other institutions)		
	(f7. other)		

G. Purpose

(g1. residence)	(g12. school for children; raising children)
(g2. employment)	(g13. society (aspects of))
(g3. social contacts)	(g14. Jewish national life)
(g4. social status, importance)	(g15. Jewish religious life)
(g5. culture (various aspects of))	(g16. Hebrew)
(g6. hobbies)	(g17. Instrument of adjustment to Israel)
(g7. health)	(absorption center, ulpan, kibbutz)
(g8. family relations)	ulpan, etc.))
(g9. security)	(various aspects of g17))
(g10. independence)	(g18. being in Israel)
(g11. consumer goods)	(g19. feeling at home in Israel)
	(g20. general happiness and fulfillment)

Range

(High)
(.)
(.) adjustment to Israel
(.)
(Low)

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter 1 provides necessary background information for this study, noting the literature which has dealt with "aliya." After a statement of the problem and the hypotheses are set forth, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the methodology utilized and the organization of the thesis.

The growth of the Jewish population in (what is today known as) Israel is the subject of Chapter 2, which focuses upon historical patterns and waves of immigration.

In Chapter 3 the growth pattern of American and Canadian "aliya" is set forth.

Chapter 4 presents background information dealing with the socio-economic circumstances of North Americans going on "aliya."

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 set forth in analytical fashion the motives giving rise to immigration, those which led to permanency of residence, and conclude by noting the reasons for returning to America.

Chapters 8 and 9 discuss the newly adopted life styles of transplanted Americans, the pleasures and dissatisfactions; the rewards and frustrations.

Chapter 10 summarizes the problems connected with "aliya" and offers recommendations for its improvement.

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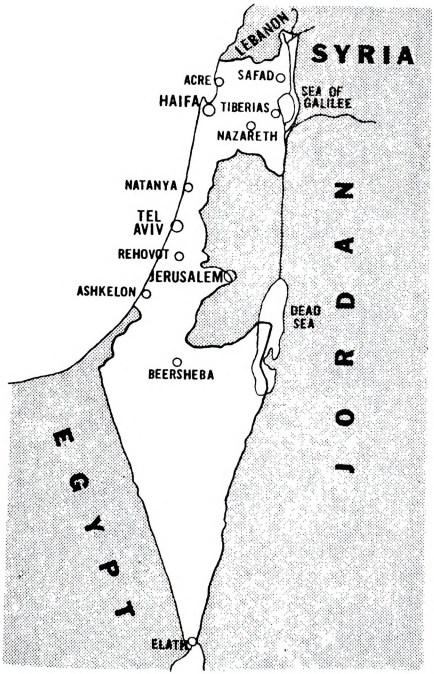

Figure 1.1.--Map of Israel's Boundaries on June 5, 1967--Prior to the Six-Day War.



Figure 1.2.--Map of Israel's Boundaries on June 10, 1967--
After the Six-Day War.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 1

[1]This review draws upon the following sources: R. Bachi, "The Population of Palestine," Encyclopedia Ivrith [Hebrew Encyclopedia] (Tel Aviv: Encyclopedia Publishing Company, 1949); Department of Statistics, The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Statistical Handbook of Jewish Palestine, 1947 (Jerusalem: The Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1947), cited hereafter as Jewish Agency, Handbook, 1947; and M. Sicron, Immigration to Israel: 1948-53 (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, Special Series No. 60, 1957).

[2]Encyclopedia Judaica (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, Ltd., 1971), p. 998.

[3]"BILU" are the initials of the Hebrew Beit Ya'akov Lekhu ve Nelkhah, "House of Jacob, come ye and let us go" (Isaiah 2:5).

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., p. 999.

[6]Information Division of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Facts About Israel 1971 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, Ltd., 1971), p. 50

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Judah Matras, "The Jewish Population: Growth, Expansion of Settlement, and Changing Composition," Integration and Development in Israel, ed. by S. D. Eisenstadt, Rivkah Bar Yosef, and Chaim Adler (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1970), p. 320.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Facts About Israel, p. 50.

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[10]Ibid.

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[12]Report of Development Corporation for Israel (New York, Ira Guilden, President, 1972).

[13]Yigal Allon, "Report of the Israel Ministry of Immigrant Absorption," Israel Magazine, II, No. 4 (1969), 65.

[14]Ibid.

[15]The following facts and figures are derived from visits to absorption centers, hostels, ulpanim and kibbutz ulpanim and from bulletins of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and the Jewish Agency, Department of Aliya and Absorption.

[16]An ulpan is a unique school specially devised in Israel to provide a crash program in Hebrew language instruction.

[17]Plural of ulpan. In Hebrew nouns are either masculine or feminine. Ulpan is a masculine noun, which forms a plural by adding im.

[18]Judith T. Shuval, Immigrants on the Threshold (New York: Atherton Press, 1963).

[19]Harold R. Isaacs, American Jews in Israel (New York: John Day Company, 1966).

[20]Efroyin V. Rusk, Secretary of State, May 29, 1967.

[21]Simon N. Herman, American Students in Israel (New York: Cornell University Press, 1970.

[22]The author of this dissertation was a student of Professor Herman's in the Graduate School of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, during his year of research in Israel, 1970-71.

[23]"American" will be used throughout this dissertation to include both those from the United States and those from Canada.

[24]Letter, Moshe Goldberg, Executive Vice-President of the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel, to the author, April 20, 1972.

[25]The Law of Return was passed by the Israel Parliament (Knesset) on July 5, 1950. One of the earliest and most significant of the basic laws of the State of Israel, declaring that every Jew has the right to settle in Israel as an oleh (defined as "a Jew immigrating to Israel for settlement"), it gives legislative confirmation to the age-old Jewish yearning for return to Zion, previously embodied in the Basle Program (1897), in Article 6 of the Mandate for Palestine

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(1922), and in Israel's Declaration of Independence of May 14, 1948. The law actually sanctioned the existing situation, for as the official explanatory note pointed out, the Israel Provisional Council of State had, in its first legislative act (the Law and Administration Ordinance, 1948), abolished all restrictions on Jewish immigration and retroactively validated the immigration of every Jew who had, at any time, entered the country even in contravention of the Mandatory regulations. In the words of the then prime minister, David Ben Gurion, in presenting the bill to the Knesset for first reading:

"This law lays down not that the State accords the right of settlement to Jews abroad but this right is inherent in every Jew by virtue of his being a Jew if it but be his will to take part in settling the land. This right preceded the State of Israel, it is that which built the State."

The main provision of the law [section 1], as passed by the Knesset, is accordingly declaratory in nature: "Every Jew has the right to come to this country as an oleh." In keeping with the purposes of the law, this status of oleh is also accorded to all Jews who had entered the country as immigrants before the law came into force and to all Jews born in the country, whether before or after the law's coming into force [section 4], as well as to any Jew who goes to Israel other than as an immigrant and subsequently expresses his desire to stay and settle in Israel [section 3(a)].

An oleh's visa may be denied only in cases in which the minister of immigration (later the minister of the interior) is satisfied that the applicant is engaged in activity directed against the Jewish people or is likely to endanger the public health or the security of the State [section 2(b)]. However, a person may not be regarded, for the purpose of this restriction, as endangering the public health on account of an illness contracted after his arrival in Israel [section 3(b)]. Experience indicated that there was another category of persons to whom it was not desirable to give an unrestricted right to settle in Israel as olim, namely, wanted criminals who took refuge in Israel or those who intended to continue a life of crime there. The Knesset hesitated to restrict the absolute right of every Jew to aliya and was conscious of the possibilities of rehabilitation of wayward Jews inherent in Israel society. Nevertheless, on August 23, 1954, it adopted an amendment to the law, empowering the minister of the interior to withhold an oleh's visa from "a person with a criminal past, likely to endanger the public welfare" [Law of Return (Amendment) 1954].

The Law of Return further provided the principal method of acquiring Israel nationality, for the Nationality Law, 1952, prescribes that (with certain exceptions) every oleh under the Law of Return shall be an Israeli national [section 2(a)].

[26]This total figure of 2,400 is less than 2 per cent of the total American-Canadian Jewish population. The U.S. Jewish population is 5,870,000, the Canadian Jewish population is 280,000. Leon Shapiro, "World Jewish Population," American Jewish Year Book, LXXI (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1970), p. 540.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO PALESTINE AND ISRAEL*

In 1929, at the opening of the constituent meeting of the Council of the Jewish Agency, Albert Einstein noted the tragedy of the modern Jew "in the fact that though he represents a nation, it is a nation decomposed into atoms."[1] Our task, he said, was to build the ancestral homeland through the concerted effort of all Jews and thus put an end to the Jewish anomaly.

What were the origins of that anomaly to which Einstein referred? In essence, its roots go back to 70 A.D. when Roman legions

*In providing the reader with the background of Jewish immigration to Palestine under Turkish rule, the British mandate, and under the State of Israel, the writer has relied upon and drawn from information from the following sources: R. Bachi, "The Population of Palestine," Encyclopedia Ivrith [Hebrew Encyclopedia] (Tel Aviv: Encyclopedia Publishing Company, 1949); Department of Statistics, The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Statistical Handbook of Jewish Palestine, 1947 (Jerusalem: The Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1947); The Story of the Jewish Agency for Israel (New York, Jewish Agency-American Section, 1964); Integration and Development in Israel (Israel Universities Press, 1970); Facts About Israel (Information Division of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1972). Any opinions offered and any conclusions drawn, of course, are the author's own for which he accepts the full responsibility. From this information it is hoped that the reader will gain insight with regard to the character of the institutions through which immigration was fostered and will acquire a more complete understanding not only of the differing periods of immigration but as to the types of immigrants who came to Israel during these different periods.

sacked Jerusalem, bringing an end to the Jewish Commonwealth and initiating the Jewish exile. Thus began the miracle and riddle of Jewish survival during the last twenty centuries, survival accomplished in the teeth of every conceivable form of persecution, survival despite the encroachment of other and seemingly more sophisticated cultures, survival through an obsessive longing for a land conquered and reconquered fourteen times in thirteen centuries. The modern Jew might well be bewildered by the obstinate tenacity of his forefathers, so poignantly expressed in the words of the medieval poet of Spain, Yehuda Halevi: "Could I but fly on eagles' wings to thee . . . How tenderly thy shores and dust I'd kiss."

There were those moments in history when the messianic hope blazed like a beacon announcing immediate redemption, when men appeared who claimed to possess the key to unlock the shackles of exile. But always the key was illusory and the flame burnt itself out, albeit leaving the embers still glowing.

The turning point came in the nineteenth century. Impulses of self-determination, of emancipation, and of national foment undermined and eventually toppled old orders. The map of Europe changed and changed again as nations struggled and fought to liberate themselves of foreign rule. Caught up in this wave of national self-redemption and freedom, which in many places engulfed and swept away the ghetto walls, Jews groped for an answer to their own struggles. Placing their hopes on the freedoms promised by the new orders, some preached complete assimilation as the answer to the age-old Jewish problem of homelessness. Others, men with longer memories, sought

to channelize the old messianic concept into the modern nationalistic current and advocated the revival of Jewish statehood.

In England, the renowned philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore emerged as one of the first to elaborate and actually finance schemes for more productive forms of settlement in Eretz Israel. In France, Baron Edmond de Rothschild took up the cause of the earliest settlers at a time when they were faced with the threat of economic ruin. His unbounded generosity coupled with business-like direction rescued the embryonic Jewish settlement enterprise from a stage of stagnation.

As the nineteenth century neared its end, two specific developments helped speed the birth of political Zionism: in Russia a dying czarist autocracy incited pogroms to divert the minds of the populace from the economic hardships of Russian life; in France, the Dreyfus case awakened the world's liberals, and a good part of Jewry to the continuing virulence of anti-Semitism even in the emancipated post-Napoleonic France.

In Eastern Europe, where more than half of the Jews of the world were concentrated, hedged in by a cruel regime of segregation and repression, ideas of national self-liberation began to mature and assume definite forms. A movement sprang up, consisting in the main of intellectuals, men and women who proclaimed as their ultimate objective the restoration of Jewish national life in Palestine. They called themselves Chovevai Zion, the "Lovers of Zion." Their purpose was to revive and restore the social and economic life of the Jewish people on the soil of Eretz Israel. As their message spread, Chibat Zion societies were formed in all the larger Jewish communities of the

western world. As early as 1882 a "Lovers of Zion" society sprang up in New York and, though small in number, was not without influential friends.

But it was in Eastern Europe, naturally, that Chibat Zion had its greatest impact. It was in Russia, that the most powerful plea for the "Lovers of Zion" cause was heard. It appeared in the form of a pamphlet entitled "Auto-Emancipation," written by an Odessa physician, Dr. Leon Pinsker. The thesis was startlingly simple: before the Jews could ever hope to attain security and normalcy they must emancipate themselves as a nation; they must again become a nation in fact as well as in name. "Auto-Emancipation was the most searching analysis of the Jewish situation that had yet been written.

Never a mass-movement, Chibat-Zion attracted people intent on practical action, and before long, a contingent of pioneers was formed, ready to take the decisive step of settling in Palestine. They called themselves "Bilu," an acronym for "House of Jacob, come let us go." Principally university students, they left for their Promised Land with no experience of settlement building and little money, but with unbounded enthusiasm. Thus, while Jews in the thousands made their way westwards to America, the land of liberty and opportunity, a small group detached itself from the mainstream and went southward to the land of barren wastes and historic hope.

"Bilu" was magnificent in purpose and foolhardy in design. Its members laid the foundations of a few settlements, but the struggle was too formidable, owing primarily to inexperience, lack of money, and local hardships. Yet, subsequent experience was to

show that the "Bilu" pioneers paved the way for the thousands who followed, while its parent movement, Chibat Zion, prepared the Jews of the world for the challenge of Theodor Herzl.

Much has been written of this man, who, at the turn of the century, blazed the trail which led directly to the State of Israel. Dreamer, prophet, and consummate politician, Theodor Herzl transformed into an organized political force what was previously only a religious messianic impulse and a philanthropic cause. An assimilationist in his early years, he was jolted into the realization that the only solution to the Jewish problem was Jewish sovereignty. He fervently set about mobilizing support for his ideas.

It was at the first Zionist Congress, which Herzl convened in Basle in 1897, that the Zionist Movement was really founded as a political force. It formulated the aim of Zionism as creating for the Jewish people "a home in Palestine secured by public laws and outlined the practical and political steps to be taken for the achievement of this object. Herzl knew that Basle was a turning point in Jewish history: "If I were to sum up the Basle Congress in one word--which I shall do openly," he wrote, "it would be this: At Basle I founded the Jewish State. If I were to say this today I would be met with universal laughter. In five years perhaps, and certainly in fifty, everyone will see it."

He was indeed ridiculed and abused. The Reform Jewry of that time, which had long jettisoned that national idea, attacked him mercilessly, as did the extreme Orthodox who insisted that only the Messiah could bring redemption. But the support of the masses,

particularly in Eastern Europe where the traditional fervor for the idea of a Jewish Palestine was overwhelmingly strong, gave Herzl the strength to continue unrelentlessly. He obtained audiences with the potentates of Europe, from the Kaiser to the Pope. He never did, however, obtain the hoped for Charter from the Turkish Sultan, ruler of the Ottoman Empire, of which Palestine was a small province, which would, he believed, have opened the way to mass immigration and settlement.

In his constant quest for a territorial solution, Herzl turned to London for the realization of his dreams. He was introduced to the British Colonial and Foreign Secretaries in 1902, and these contacts led to a project of Jewish settlement in the El Arish area of the Sinai Peninsula. This plan was soon abandoned and the British Government, then led by Arthur James Balfour, offered Herzl territory in British East Africa (Uganda) for an autonomous Jewish colony. Foreign Secretary Lord Landsowne wrote to Herzl that he would give every facility to a Zionist commission of inquiry that would be sent to East Africa to discuss with the British Government "the possibility of meeting the view which may be expressed at the forthcoming Zionist Congress in regard to the conditions upon which a settlement might be possible."

Herzl presented this offer at the 6th Zionist Congress in 1903, at which time the majority decided to send a commission to Uganda as suggested by the British Government. The commission's report was negative and the 7th Zionist Congress, in 1905, rejected any territory except Palestine. Nevertheless, the El Arish and Uganda

offers bore within themselves the acceptance by England of the concept of a territorial solution to Jewish homelessness and constituted a prime political accomplishment by Herzl.

Within a short span of eight years, Herzl had wrought a revolution in Jewish life. He had created the World Zionist Organization and brought into being the Zionist Congress which gave the Jewish people the opportunity of debating its national affairs in a parliamentary forum. He established essential financial instruments for the Movement. He secured recognition for the Jewish question as a serious international problem. He negotiated with European rulers who acknowledged the competence of the Zionist Organization in eighteen hundred years of exile who dedicated himself entirely to the national revival of his people.

By the time of his death in 1904, at the age of 44, Zionism had already become a world-wide movement, well organized and an important factor in international politics.

It has been said that it was in the small townlet of Kishinev in Russia that the Zionist Movement was galvanized into practical action. It was there in 1903, just a year before the death of Herzl, that a blood pogrom occurred, spurring an unprecedented exodus of Russian Jews, most of them to America. However, a number of young Jews also set out for Eretz Israel. This second wave of immigration, about 35,000 to 40,000 persons, brought with it an ideology, that of self-labor, the dignity of manual work, especially on the land, and the principle of mutual assistance. This was the founding of the new collective form of settlement, the "Kibbutz." Out of the Second

Aliyah emerged those patterns of pioneer living which, to this day, have left an indelible mark on Israel society.

The Zionist Movement mobilized its resources in support of these pioneers and, in 1905, the Jewish National Fund began its work of land redemption. Conceived at the First Zionist Congress in 1897 by Professor Herman Schapira, the Fund operated in keeping with the basic principle that all land acquired by it was to be retained in perpetuity for the Jewish people. It was not to be resold but only assigned to settlers on a hereditary leasehold for forty-nine years which could be renewed automatically.

With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the whole enterprise was threatened with failure. Palestine, still a backward province of the Ottoman Empire, had at that time a population of about 500,000, of whom 85,000 were Jews. Of the latter, nearly 90 per cent lived in the towns and the remainder in forty-three agricultural settlements. Once Turkey had allied herself to the Central Powers, the policy adopted by the regime towards the Palestinian Jews was one of unmitigated oppression.

In January, 1915, a manifesto was issued against "the subversive element aiming at the creation of a Jewish government in the Palestinian part of the Ottoman Empire." Jewish institutions were closed down; the Jewish armed guards, "Hashomer," were dispersed; the use of Hebrew was prohibited for street names and shop signs in what was then Tel Aviv. Those who affixed Jewish National Fund stamps to their letters were even threatened with execution. Jews were expelled en masse and numerous arrests were made. Epidemics, fostered by

virtual famine, became rampant, and everything that had been built up--including the promise and the hope--seemed doomed.

Authoritative observers believe that had it not been for the magnificant and timely response of American Jewry, the Zionist enterprise in Eretz Israel would have ground to a complete stop. This was affirmed by the report on Palestine delivered to the first post-war Zionist Congress in 1921. "In spite of all efforts made in Palestine to cope with the situation," the report stated, "the Jewish population would have succumbed had not financial help arrived from America. . . ." America was at the time the one country which was, through its political and financial position, able to save the Yishuv (the Jewish community in Palestine) from going under.

Aided by Justice Louis D. Brandeis, the American Zionists established a "Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs," which worked in close cooperation with the then United States Ambassador to Turkey, Henry Morgenthau. Barely a month after the Committee was formed, an American warship, the "North Carolina," anchored outside Jaffa. It carried Morgenthau's representative who brought $50,000 donated by American Jews for the relief of Palestine Jewry. Another expression of American Jewry's concern for the impoverished Yishuv took the form of an American Zionist medical unit, organized and equipped by Hadassah in cooperation with other organizations. Though its organization was begun earlier, it was not until the spring of 1918 that the American Zionist medical unit, composed of forty-five physicians and other medical personnel together with all the necessary equipment was dispatched to Palestine where it

opened the first modern hospital and clinic operations in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and other centers. This was the forerunner of Hadassah's subsequent outstanding contributions to the development of Israel's medical system. Such evidence of American interest in the fate of the Jewish community drove home to the belligerents that the Jews of Palestine had powerful allies.

Because Jews inevitably were fighting on both sides, the World Zionist Organization, as an international body, observed an official neutrality during World War I. After Turkey entered the war, Zeev Jabotinsky and Yosef Trumpeldor advocated the creation of a Jewish Legion to help the Allies liberate Palestine from the Turkish yoke. In 1915, Trumpeldor raised a contingent of 900 Palestine Jews, known as the Zion Mule Corps, which rendered valuable service in the campaign in Galipoli.

This force was the forerunner of the Jewish Legion and provided the nucleus of its manpower. The Legion, for which Jabotinsky later obtained the consent of the British Government, also had recruits from England, the United States, Canada, and the Argentine. David Ben Gurion and Yitzhak Ben Zvi, both of whom were in the United States at that time, later took the initiative of recruiting men in the United States and themselves enlisted in the American contingent.

The Legion, which wore the Shield of David on its uniforms and carried its own flag, eventually reached a strength of 5,000 men and participated in the routing of the Turkish forces in Palestine.

On December 8, 1917, General Allenby made his victorious entry into Jerusalem and by the following September, the whole country

was cleansed of Turkish troops. This marked the end of the 400-year-old Ottoman regime and the beginning of a new and decisive chapter in Jewish history. Its dramatic opening was the Balfour Declaration, in the form of a letter addressed on November 2, 1917, to Lord Rothschild of London by the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur James Balfour. It read:

> "Dear Lord Rothschild,
>
> I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet:
>
> His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.
>
> I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation."

All the Allied governments were parties to the preliminary negotiations which, on the Jewish side, were conducted by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Herzl's successor as leader of the Zionist Movement, the man who later became Israel's first president.

In the United States, Justice Brandeis conducted the necessary negotiations with President Woodrow Wilson. As a result, President Wilson, on behalf of the U.S. government, gave his unequivocal support to the Balfour Declaration. In a statement issued on March 2, 1919, the President defined his understanding of the words "National Home": "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth."

The Declaration was hailed by Jews the world over with jubilant enthusiasm. Here, at last, was international recognition of the Jewish people and of their age-old aspiration for the right to rebuild their ancient homeland.

Five years after the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, the Council of the League of Nations ratified Britain's Mandate to Palestine with the primary aim of implementing the Balfour Declaration. It was in Article Four of the Mandate granted by the League that the term "Jewish agency" first appeared in international usage. It read:

> An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may effect the establishment of the Jewish national home, and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine. . . .

Recognizing the Zionist Organization as the Jewish Agency, the Article went on to state that the Organization was expected to "take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home."

It was in fulfillment of this Article that Jewish leaders from all parts of the world, from both inside and outside the Zionist Organization, met together in Zurich in August, 1929, to enlarge the Jewish Agency, enabling it to act on behalf of Jews everywhere anxious to associate themselves with the renaissance of modern Israel.

The issuance of the Balfour Declaration in November, 1917, General Allenby's occupation of Jerusalem a little more than a month later, and the happy turn in the fortunes of the Allied armies

following the entrance of the United States into the war, gave Zionists a chance for an early realization of the dream of a Jewish homeland.

Even before the war was to end in November, 1918, Great Britain took a first step to implement the Balfour Declaration. A Zionist Commission, headed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, arrived in Palestine on April 4, 1918. It might have resented the cool reception it received from British military authorities still in charge of the country's affairs, but with the knowledge that they came with Downing Street's blessings they could afford to be magnanimous. The aims of the Zionist Commission were to serve as a liaison between the British authorities and the Jewish community, to administer relief work, to rehabilitate Jewish settlements, to seek friendly ties with the Arabs, to initiate new development programs, and to investigate the possibility of establishing a Jewish university. It was, in a sense, the forerunner of the Jewish Agency.

In June, 1918, Dr. Weizmann set out for Amman to meet the Emir Feisal, the most distinguished Arab personality of the time and the leader of the Arab revolt against the Turks. The exchanges, concerning Zionist aspirations in Palestine, were cordial and seemingly promising. The Emir had no doubt that the future of both Jews and Arabs lay in the Middle East and, in the following January, signed an agreement to this effect with Dr. Weizmann. But subsequent events in the Arab world nullified the potentially valuable Arab-Jewish liaison which would have resulted from this early and forward looking approach by Dr. Weizmann.

Meanwhile, immediate post-war developments in Eastern and Central Europe generated the largest wave of immigration up to that

time, the Third Aliya. Pogroms accounted for the death of thousands, the Ukranian Jews paying the bloodiest toll of all. Russian Jewry was condemned to silence and isolation by the newly established Bolshevik regime. It was from Poland that the nucleus of the Third Aliya originated. It is estimated that during the two decades between the two World Wars more than 40 per cent of the immigrants to Palestine came from Poland.

The Third Aliya wave, about 35,000 immigrants, differed radically from its predecessors, the Bilu and the Second Aliya. It was better organized, better trained, and better equipped. A pioneer training movement called Hechalutz (The Pioneer) was launched by Josef Trumpeldor (who became a heroic and legendary figure in the annals of the Jewish settlement). Its main purpose was to produce a type of young Jew who sought the self-realization of Zionism by training in agriculture or in some manual craft.

The real post-war rehabilitation of Palestine began when these young, trained and disciplined pioneers, began entering the country in 1919. A total of some 37,000 came between 1919 and 1923, their indestructible quality characterizing the subsequent development of the Jewish National Home. They buttressed the Zionist cause during the transition period, rescued Jewish achievement in Palestine and were the decisive factor in promoting its growth.

Other promising developments ensued. In the summer of 1920, the much disliked military government handed over its powers to a civil administration under Sir Herbert Samuel, the first High Commissioner and a prominent Anglo-Jewish leader and Liberal Party statesman.

In the same period Hebrew was recognized as an official language. The Assephat Hanivharim (the Elected Assembly of the Jewish community) which elected the Vaad Leumi (National Council) was also brought into being as the representative body of Palestine Jewry.

The appointment of a civil administration for Palestine headed by a distinguished Jew was not the fulfillment of the needs and hopes of the Jews of Palestine and the Zionists throughout the world. British policy gravitated more and more towards the Arab point of view. With each ensuing year the Mandate was progressively deteriorating. Its dominant theme was broken promises and a whittling down of the original purpose of the Mandate, which resulted in the inevitable mounting of tension between the Government and the Jewish populace.

The decisions of the London Zionist Conference, which had taken place in 1920, were reaffirmed and amplified in September, 1921, at the Twelfth Zionist Congress which set up a special Colonization Department in Jerusalem; resolved on the immediate settlement of recently acquired tracts of land, including the Valley of Jezreel; drew up a program for economic revival; undertook to subsidize the training of pioneers; took steps to aid education in Palestine; and resolved to encourage private enterprise. It also called upon the Jews in the Diaspora to dedicate their energies to the advancement of Hebrew literature and the furtherance of Hebrew as a spoken language.

But despite these advances, there was one ominous and lengthening shadow: the growing belligerence of the Arab politicians.

Violence first erupted in the spring of 1920, when an Arab rabble in Jerusalem, inflamed by anti-Zionist harangues delivered on

the occasion of the Moslem festival of Nebi Musa, ran amok through the Jewish quarters of the city. The first organized self-defense units of the Yishuv, forerunners of the Haganah, went into action at this time.

It had been hoped that with the supplanting of the Military Administration by a more sympathetic Civil Government, such excesses would be averted. They were proved wrong. In an effort to stabilize the general Arab situation in the Middle East, the British Government in the early part of 1929, unilaterally decided to exclude Transjordan from the area originally earmarked for the Jewish National Home. The whittling down process of the Mandate had begun, a fact which was not lost on the Arabs, who then realized to what extent violence could pay dividends.

In May, 1921, renewed rioting broke out in Jaffa and the neighboring Jewish settlements, resulting in the death of 47 Jews and the wounding of another 146. The reaction of the Government, to the dismay of the Jews, was to suspend immigration. When two months later immigration was renewed, it was hedged in by restrictions.

Then came the White Paper of 1922 associated with the name of Winston Churchill, the then Colonial Secretary and architect of the policy which made Abdullah, son of Hussein of the Hedjaz, Emir of Transjordan. It was a document of mixed blessings, acknowledging in some paragraphs the rights of the Jews and in others the claims of the Arabs. It confirmed Transjordan's exclusion from the territory of the Jewish National Home and while it did reaffirm Britain's basic policy of fostering Jewish aspirations, its reference to the decisive

question of immigration had dangerous implications. For "this immigration," the Paper declared, "cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals," and "the immigrants should not be a burden upon the people of Palestine as a whole."

In short, further immigration was to be dictated by a so-called absorptive capacity of the country, a meaningless assumption at a time when the pioneer newcomers were literally creating new means of livelihood through settlement.

The uneasy peace prevailing in Palestine during the following seven years set the whole country in a whirl of feverish constructive activity. Jewish Agency personnel worked round the clock to keep pace with the necessary tempo of settlement, immigration, land purchase, land reclamation, and educational expansion.

A new wave of immigration began in 1924 bringing not only pioneers who wanted to build more kibbutzim and moshavim, but also people with some means of their own seeking investments. This fourth wave of 82,000 immigrants (starting in 1924), consisted only partly of trained agricultural pioneers. For the greater part they were middle-class Jews from Poland. They came driven by the economic difficulties they had been suffering from as a result of Polish discriminatory laws aimed against them. But when an economic crisis broke out in Palestine and there was no overt outbreak of anti-Semitism in Europe, many left the country. Nonetheless, the country's population doubled and trebled from 50,000 at the end of the First World War to 162,000 in 1929.

While industry began to take root and a cultural life with Hebrew as its medium blossomed forth, the highest priority was given to agricultural settlements. Shortage of funds might hold up the development of any number of important projects but nothing was allowed to impede the growth of the settlement enterprise as long as there were pioneers ready to go out to the newly acquired land to build, reclaim and cultivate.

In 1919, barely fifty Jewish agricultural settlements existed in Palestine sustaining a population of 12,000. Ten years later there were one hundred twenty villages with a population of 40,000.

The impressive gathering in Zurich where the Constituent Assembly was convened in August, 1929, heralded a new era of achievement in the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. Men of stature and of means, representing powerful organizations and important sectors of communities, some of whom had previously remained aloof from the work of national rebirth, joined forces in equal partnership with the Zionists.

The decade of accomplishments in Palestine had impressed and inspired all Jewry and its universal message was instinctively understood. Jews, Zionists and non-Zionists alike, had a duty and a responsibility to the National Home, for what was happening in Palestine had a spiritual and practical relevance to every Jew. Leading Jews not affiliated with the Zionist Movement, such as Felix Warburg and Louis Marshall in the United States and Lord Melchett in England, joined in the efforts and played a leading role in the organization of the Jewish Agency.

The Constituent Assembly of the enlarged Jewish Agency concluded its sessions on August 17, 1929. The exchanges had been harmonious and constructive, the delegates had good cause for optimism. The Jewish National Home seemed on the threshold of a great leap forward. But when, some few days later, the Jews of Palestine were subjected to a reign of savage murder, atrocity and looting, organized and directed by the Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini, confidence in the Government was at its lowest ebb and relations with the Arabs embittered to the extreme.

The political aftermath, with a succession of official inquiries and reports, threatened to undermine completely the original concept of the Mandate. First came the government-sponsored Commission of Inquiry under Sir Walter Shaw, which concluded, among other things, that one of the immediate causes of the Arab outbreak was the enlargement of the Jewish Agency with the result that Zionist activities in Palestine would be pursued with great energy and supported by large funds.

Then came an official Government inquiry into immigration and land purchase. Conducted by Sir Hope-Simpson, a retired Anglo-Indian official, it was concluded that continued Jewish purchases of land were inadvisable.

Simultaneously with the publication of the Hope-Simpson report, the Government issued a new statement of policy contained in a White Paper under the authority of Lord Passfield (Sidney Webb), the British Colonial Secretary. It was an alarming document, the major theme being the whittling down even further of the Balfour

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Declaration and the Articles of the Mandate. Fresh immigration restrictions were foreshadowed, and the Jews were threatened with an embargo on land purchases.

The great hue and cry which followed from Jews throughout the world could hardly be ignored by the British government. Dr. Weizmann and other representatives of the Jewish Agency were invited to confer with a special Cabinet Committee chaired by the Foreign Secretary, Arthur Henderson. The discussion lasted two months and culminated in an agreement which appeared acceptable to the Agency leaders. On February 13, 1931, a statement by Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald was issued in the form of a letter to Dr. Weizmann. While not repudiating the White Paper, the Prime Minister wrote in a friendly tone explaining away Passfield's objectionable passages. The letter reaffirmed the preamble of the Mandate and admitted that "the Jewish Agency had all along given willing cooperation in carrying out the policy of the Mandate, and that the constructive work done by the Jewish people in Palestine has had beneficent effects on the development and well-being of the country as a whole." It recognized that "the obligation to facilitate Jewish immigration and to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land remained a positive obligation of the Mandate." In time, however, this document was found to be as sterile and destructive as any previous governmental document.

As expected, the outcome was the virtual maintenance of the status quo with regard to land policy and immigration. Friction between the Jewish Agency and the administration continued, while in central Europe ominous events were germinating which were to release

a new and unprecedented pressure of refugee immigration. With the ascent to power by Hitler in 1933, the problem of Jewish immigration acquired a critical urgency.

A Central Bureau for the Settlement of German Jews was established which, between 1933 and 1939, expended large sums on special settlement projects, long term loans, vocational training, and social and educational services. As conditions in Europe rapidly deteriorated, the Agency concentrated its major political effort on inducing the British government to give a liberal interpretation to its policy of regulating Jewish immigration in accordance with the country's "economic absorptive capacity." Indeed the volume of immigration became the foremost issue in the Agency's relations with the Government. With each insistent request to throw open the doors of Palestine to be victims of Nazism, plans were submitted proving that productive absorption was feasible.

Yet, despite all efforts, the number of labor immigration certificates granted was always a fraction of that demanded by the Agency. During the period 1930-1939 a total of 171,430 certificates was requested, as compared with the 59,180 actually issued. The official excuses were always economic, though it was evident that their prime motive was political.

Fortunately, however, many German Jews seeking refuge in Palestine did not have to depend on the government-controlled labor immigration certificates. The regulations then in force allowed free entry into Palestine of persons and their dependents possessing at least $5,000 (the so-called "capitalist" category) and it was

under this classification that the bulk of the immigrants arrived. This largely accounts for the unprecedented rate of immigration during the crucial period of the mid-1930's.

What gave this wave of immigration its distinctive character was not only its size, but also its composition. For the first time, German immigrants formed a sizeable group and their impact on the country was immediate and profound. Essentially middle class in status, these Jews brought with them whatever assets and capital they could rescue from the hands of the Nazis. This was transferred to Palestine under a special Jewish Agency program known as Haavar (Transfer), which operated from the autumn of 1933 until the outbreak of World War II. Altogether some $25,000,000 was transferred by Haavera during the six years of its operations.

"Youth Aliyah," that prescient organization for the rescue and education of Jewish children and youngsters, was born out of the German Jewish tragedy. It was in the summer of 1932 that Mrs. Reba Freier of Berlin first conceived the idea of establishing a special framework for child immigration, and in that same year a youth group was sent on her initiative from Germany to the Ben-Shemen children's village. The pressure of events in Germany made the program imperative, and in 1933 the Jewish Agency launched Youth Aliyah under the direction of Miss Henrietta Szold.

One of the original founders of Hadassah, Miss Szold selflessly dedicated herself to the cause of Youth Aliyah until her death in 1945. Under her direction, thousands of children were rescued from the Nazis, and after traveling long and perilous routes to Palestine,

where they were received in special educational centers, many of them in kibbutzim. During the thirty years of its existence, Youth Aliyah which has always enjoyed the special patronage of the United States Hadassah Organization, educated and rehabilitated children from numerous countries, helping them to become healthy, productive citizens, many of whom became prominent in pioneer movements.

What the mandatory authority failed to do in encouraging the close settlement of Jews on the land, the Jews did themselves. Considerable progress was made in the acquisition of land during 1933-1936 despite the political difficulties. The purchase of the "Hula Concession" in 1934 was a landmark in the growth of Jewish holdings which greatly strengthened the position of the settlers in the northeastern Galilee. Other important purchases were made by the Jewish National Fund in the Jordan and Beisan Valleys, while private persons and groups acquired land on the coastal plain.

Between 1933 and 1936 forty new villages were created, mainly in the citrus belt and the coastal plain. Some were founded by virtually penniless pioneer groups in the hope that before long the Jewish Agency would be in a position to help them with funds. Others were in the middle class settlements established by German Jews, among which was Netanya, one of the first Jewish outposts in Western Galilee. At the same time, the first Jewish suburbs of Haifa were established, north of the city, on land purchased by the Jewish National Fund.

Meanwhile, in the hope that the financial situation of the National Funds would improve, the Jewish Agency Settlement Department was preparing plans for urgent large-scale projects. These provided

for the settlement of 2,300 families within two years, a minimal figure considering the growth pressure of immigration. The program was due to be implemented in the spring of 1936, when renewed Arab rioting broke out with unprecedented ferocity that took on the character of a country-wide revolt.

The declared aim of the Arab revolt of 1936 was the stopping of Jewish immigration, the prohibition of the sale of land to Jews, and the creation of an Arab "national representative Government." It began on April 19, 1936, and persisted sporadically until the outbreak of the Second World War. The first six months gave an indication of how the Arabs intended gaining their ends--by murderous attacks, wanton destruction and a general strike called by the Mufti of Jerusalem who initiated and directed the outrages. By the time this first phase of the revolt was over, 91 Jews had been killed, 369 wounded, 200,000 fruit and forest trees destroyed, 4,500 acres of crops damaged and hundreds of homes laid waste.

The Jews were called upon to defend themselves and their settlements against attack, but not to engage in indiscriminate reprisals against the Arabs and not to be provoked to counter-attack. Despite constant provocation, the Jewish community revealed great endurance and self-restraint.

The scale and ferocity of the 1936 outbreak made it clear to the Agency that matters were drawing to a head and that the British Government would be compelled, sooner or later, to adopt a clear line of action with regard to its Palestine policy. The Arabs were forcing the pace and procrastination was no longer possible. The government

would have to take a firm stand with regard to the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate or succumb to Arab violence, and there were numerous indications to show that the latter would be the case.

Consequently, land purchases and settlement during the period of strife, assumed a new character and urgency. Isolated, barren areas of the country had to be settled with a minimum of delay, and positions of such strength created that they could not be ignored when the final decision on the political status of the country, particularly on the delineation of frontiers, were to be made. These were the political and strategic considerations which motivated the Agency's settlement policy during the latter part of the 1930's. The fifty-five settlements established during this period, most of them kibbutzim, were mainly concentrated in areas of supreme political importance, the Beisan and Jordan Valleys, Galilee, the mountains of Menashe and the South.

Even before the start of the Arab outrages, the government was intent on keeping immigration well below the peak 1935 figures of 62,000. At the beginning of 1936 the Jewish Agency was hard put to induce the administration to shelve its scheme to raise the qualifications for the grant of a "capitalist certificate" from $5,000 to $10,000. Later that year, at the peak of the Arab riots, the Agency had to exert all its influence to prevent the government from stopping immigration altogether. And while the worst was averted, official immigration was reduced to a fraction of its former dimensions. While, in October, 1931, 1,800 labor certificates were granted, in April,

1937 only 700 were given. The Jewish Agency protested vigorously that "the Methods adopted by the Government in measuring the country's absorptive capacity have, in practice led to a complete negation of that principle."

In July, 1937, the government gave up all pretense of regulating immigration on the basis of the principle of "economic absorptive capacity." An arbitrary "political maximum" was instituted, with the declared purpose of "maintaining within reasonable limits the existing balance of population pending a final decision on the political future of the country."

The result was Haapala, the partly spontaneous, partly planned effort to bring Jews to Palestine in defiance of British regulation, the moral and legal validity of which the Jewish Agency would not countenance. The British called it illegal immigration, but for the Jews then under Nazi domination in Germany, Austria and Czechslovakia, who saw their hopes of obtaining immigration certificates for Palestine doomed, there was no alternative.

The outbreak of Arab terrorism caused a Royal Commission, headed by Earl Peel, to be sent from London "to ascertain the underlying cause of the disturbances and to inquire into the manner in which the Mandate for Palestine was being implemented." Its report, published in July, 1937, came to the drastic conclusion that the Mandate was "unworkable." A lasting solution to the Palestine problem, the Peel Commission contended, was partition into a Jewish State, an Arab State and a territory to remain under permanent British Mandatory rule. The Jewish State would consist of Galilee and the

coastal plain down to a point south of Rehovot. Nazareth and Jerusalem, with surroundings, were to remain under British rule, while the rest of the country would form the Arab State, it being assumed that the Arab State would unite with Transjordan.

The Arabs rejected the Peel recommendations while the Jewish Agency Executive, without rejecting the idea of partition in principle, found the specific proposals of the Peel Commission unacceptable. Another Commission was eventually dispatched from London to study the practical implications of the partition plan. Its arrival in Palestine coincided with a renewal of Arab terrorism, now supported by propaganda, money, and arms from Nazy Germany and Fascist Italy. The Commission's report was duly published, its principal conclusion being that partition was impractical.

In London, everything pointed to a political crisis of great proportions. Jewish Agency leaders worked in the hope of salvaging the Balfour Declaration. On one occasion, Dr. Wise informed Neville Chamberlain in the bluntest terms that the Jewish Agency President, Dr. Weizmann, had behind him the solid backing of the vast majority of America's five million Jews. Millions of Christians, too, he told the Premier, supported Zionist demands and subscribed to the idea of the return to Zion.

Matters had reached a deadlock when, at the beginning of 1939, Jewish Agency leaders and Arab representatives were invited by the British Prime Minister to a roundtable conference in London. The conference assembled under the shadow of a new continental crisis, Hitler having just violated the Munich agreement by annexing what was

left of Czechoslovakia. The Agency leaders were rightly apprehensive that with the prospect of war imminent, the British Government would not hesitate to jettison its undertakings to the Jews if this would buy Arab goodwill and thereby secure Britain's strategic interests in the Middle East.

As had been expected, the Conference was abortive, the Arabs refusing to even sit at the same table with the Jews. A few months later, in May, 1939, the Agency leaders' worst fears were confirmed when the British Government issued a statement of policy known as the MacDonald White Paper which Winston Churchill was to describe in Parliament as "another Munich." It proposed that the Mandate be relinquished in favor of an independent, predominantly Arab Palestine. Seventy-five thousand Jews were to be allowed entry into the country until 1944, after which Jewish immigration would depend on Arab approval. Severe restrictions were placed on the sale of land to Jews and, in 1949, Palestine would become an Arab State. It was one of the most infamous documents in contemporary Jewish history.

The outraged feelings of the Jewish world were expressed in a public statement issued by the Jewish Agency which declared in part:

> It is in the darkest hour of Jewish history that the British Government proposes to deprive the Jews of their hope and to shut the door of their homeland in their faces. The Jews will never accept the closing against them of the gates of Palestine, nor will they let their National Home be converted into a ghetto. Jewish pioneers, who in the past three generations have shown their strength in the upbuilding of the derelict country, will from now on display the same strength in defending Jewish immigration, the Jewish home, and Jewish freedom.

One can only speculate on what might have ensued in Palestine had not the Second World War broken out so soon after the publication

of the White Paper. As it was, the bitterness felt towards the British authorities was tempered, though not assuaged, by the even bigger threat posed by the common enemy of both the British and the Jews--Nazi Germany.

On September 5, 1939, two days after Britain's declaration of war, the High Commissioner, Sir Harold MacMichael, broadcast an appeal to all sections of the population to lay aside their differences in a common effort against the German aggressor. There was no reaction on the part of the Arab political leaders, but the response of the Jewish Agency, headed by David Ben Gurion, was immediate and clear.

On the same day the Executive of the Jewish Agency, jointly with the Vaad Leumi, issued an appeal for volunteers which brought a response from 136,000 men and women. Thirty thousand Palestinian Jews donned uniforms and, as members of British units, saw action on many fronts and in every branch of service. With such a large contingent of volunteers, the Jewish Agency had, from the outset, insisted on the organization of some distinctive Jewish military force. Dr. Weizmann and Moshe Sharett (then Shertok) time and again petitioned the British Government to acquiesce, and there are grounds to believe that it was largely, thanks to Sharett's vigorous persistence, that the demand was finally met. In September, 1944, the British Government authorized the formation of a Jewish Brigade to participate in the operations of the British Army. It was, in a sense, a war within a war.

From the outbreak of the war and through the period leading to the establishment of the State in 1948, a period of tragedy and triumph, in which the Yishuv (Jewish Community in Palestine) was preparing itself for the supreme test of Statehood, Ben Gurion acted not only as chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive but virtually as the head of the Jewish community. Through his personal dynamism and courage, he guided the Yishuv, and the Yishuv's friends throughout the world, to stand fast on Jewish demands. It was his leadership in the Yishuv that was largely responsible for the ultimate decision in 1948 to proclaim Jewish statehood in the face of immense uncertainties and dangers.

To the British authorities, the war changed nothing insofar as the White Paper was concerned. The restrictive immigration policy was strictly applied, no matter what proof the Agency brought of the catastrophic situation of European Jewry. Indeed, the Government's major aim seemed to be to dole out as slowly as possible the 75,000 certificates of immigration granted by the White Paper in order to postpone the day of reckoning when they would be forced either to stop immigration entirely, or go back on their 1939 White Paper.

But legal restrictions conceived at Whitehall could not stop men, women and children under sentence of death from grasping at life. Refugee ships limped across the hostile waters, some managing to unload their human cargoes on the shores of Palestine, others meeting a calamitous end.

The government insisted that the Agency put a stop to this "illegal" immigration. The Agency's reply was to establish rescue

routes for as many as could be saved. When, towards the end of 1942, reports filtered through of the systematic and wholesale extermination of European Jewry, the Agency initiated the formation of a "Rescue Committee" whose bases of operations included Istanbul, Geneva, Lisbon, Madrid and Stockholm. The Rescue Committee's task was to do everything and anything to assist Jews under Nazi rule, and to secure their release. Despite its frantic and often daring effort, the Committee succeeded in saving only a fraction of the number that might have lived, had the governments of free countries shown a greater preparedness to cooperate and exert themselves to real deeds.

Throughout the five years of conflict, the Jewish Agency fought its war within a war with whatever weapons it could muster. Immigration, legal or otherwise, was one instrument, the expansion of the Jewish settlement another. The areas in Jewish possession had to be increased despite the White Paper land purchase restrictions, and it took ingenuity and torturous maneuvers to circumvent the law. Certainly, British officials were hard put to fathom how the Jewish National Fund had managed to increase its holdings by nearly 62,500 acres between 1939 and 1944.

Fifty-one settlements were established during this same period, many of them constituting new strategic outposts in the Negev and Upper Galilee. But it was increasingly obvious that this settlement building could not continue unless the land laws were abrogated, and fighting these laws was one of the Agency's major fronts.

A second front continued to be the immigration laws. Try as the British authorities might, they could not halt the "illegal"

immigration. When the war ended, the Jewish Agency estimated that the population of Jewish Palestine had grown to 592,000, an increase of 100,000 since 1939. Approximately 60 per cent of the increase could be accounted for by immigration, which included a sizable number of "Aliyah Bet" newcomers.

This sixth wave, after the second World War, consisted mainly of the survivors of Nazi persecution and of people fleeing from the Arab countries. This mass immigration from 1945 till the day of the foundation of the State of Israel consisted of about 73,000 persons.

The rise in population was only one indication of the transformation that had radically changed the face of Jewish Palestine since the war had begun. Industry, which like everything else, had been put on a war footing, had expanded beyond recognition and was producing a wide variety of manufactured products required by the Allied armies. Food production, too, had been given a tremendous impetus. The land under cultivation had increased by 50,000 acres, and irrigated areas had more than doubled.

In all, Jewish Palestine emerged from the war strengthened and hardened; its battle-trained sons and daughters--30,000 of them--returned home from the continental fronts and what they had seen of the broken bloody remnant of European Jewry fired them with a resolve, greater than before, not to permit anything to stand in the way of the Jewish redemption. People no longer talked of a National Home; they spoke of a Jewish State.

The demand for statehood was an inevitable and irresistible development. What had happened to the Jews of Europe was the

horrifying finale of the classic Jewish tragedy of anti-Semitism and homelessness, produced, directed, and performed by a giant machinery of slaughter operating with cold-blooded efficiency. Decimated Jewry, gasping for life, clutched at the one hope for national survival, a sovereign land of its own in which the Jewish destiny would no longer be the plaything of the nations.

This hope received formal expression in May, 1942, at the Extraordinary Zionist Conference, called by the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, at which the demand for a Jewish State was officially formulated and presented as a program for action. Though the Conference was called on behalf of the entire American Zionist Movement, there were present the leaders of the World Zionist Movement, including the president, Dr. Weizmann, and the chairman of the Executive, Mr. Ben Gurion, whose participation invested its deliberations with world-wide significance. Thus, the entire Zionist Movement was involved in the formulation and issuance of the "Biltmore Program" which declared that inherent in the very text of the Balfour Declaration was the conception of the ultimate establishment in Palestine of a Jewish State.

It became the task of the Jewish Agency, on behalf of the Jewish people and the Zionist movement, to make the program a reality.

The British authorities, who had different ideas on the future of post-war Palestine--the 1939 White Paper ideas--dismissed the urgent Jewish demand for rescue as an hysterical outcry. It was only when the war ended that they fully realized how earnest were the spokesmen for the surviving remnants of six million Jewish people.

In Europe there were more than 100,000 survivors of the holocaust whom the Nazis had not had the time to murder. They were the displaced persons, broken men, women and children languishing in former concentration camps with nowhere to go and whom nobody wanted to take--except their fellow Jews in Palestine. To get away from the graveyard of Europe and to reach the Promised Land was their sole ambition.

As the vast proportions of the holocaust became known, the Zionist Movement in America, organized in the American Zionist Emergency Council, geared itself for a massive campaign to mobilize public opinion in support of Jewish demands. A great outpouring of American sympathy was reflected in both political parties, the Congress, the churches, the labor movement and the press. Zionist leaders addressed mammoth rallies where unprecedented masses of Jews came to express their scorn of British policy in Palestine and demand that the doors be thrown open for the surviving remnant.

Impelled by humanitarian motives, and the unmistakable voice of American public opinion, President Harry Truman sent a special envoy to Europe to investigate the problem, Earl C. Harrison a member of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees. He reported to the President: "Palestine is definitely and preeminently the first choice of the refugees," whereupon Truman acted without delay. He wrote to the head of Britain's new government, a Labor Government, representing a party with a thirty-year record of Zionist sympathy behind it and an election platform which had called for the repeal of the White Paper and the promotion of the Jewish cause in Palestine.

To the Truman appeal to open the gates of Palestine to the 100,000, the Labor Government replied that a monthly quota of 1,500 immigrant certificates "still available under the White Paper" would be granted to the displaced Jews. The Jewish Agency was horrified at this reply by the British Labor Party who, only a few months earlier, had solemnly promised a new era for Jewish Palestine. The Agency leaders swallowed the bitter pill and prepared their plans.

The battle of immigration was intensified. If the government would not facilitate the entry of 100,000 the Agency would bring as many as it could by its own means. There followed one of the most fantastic and daring episodes in human history--the renewed armada of "Aliyah Bet," comprising sixty-five small, battered coastal freighters and barges which carried more than 70,000 "illegal" immigrants to Palestine between 1945 and 1948. Emissaries mustered refugees from every part of Europe. They led them by perilous routes across forbidden frontiers to isolated spots along the Mediterranean coastline where the tiny vessels awaited them. They then set out across the sea. Ships built to accommodate a few hundred carried a human cargo of thousands toward the Palestine shore. British warships began blockading the coastal waters, but the refugee boats kept on coming. Many were intercepted, the desperate trapped refugees fighting with whatever came to hand against the boarding parties. The casualties were invariably heavy.

With the Palestine detention camps filled to overflowing, the British began deporting captured "illegals" to specially prepared camps in Cyprus. The Jewish Agency sent out its emissaries to

organize the deportees, established schools and hospitals for them and did everything possible to uphold their morale and determination.

This magnificent rescue effort and the continued work of construction, was largely made possible by the universal Jewish sense of solidarity which expressed itself not only in manpower but also in generous financial assistance. Jews everywhere wished to associate themselves with what was happening in Palestine and they gave as they had never given before to the United Jewish Appeal, to the Karen Hayesod and to the American Joint Distribution Committee so that the rescue and the building would not be hampered by lack of funds.

With most able-bodied men and women, many of them war veterans, enlisted in the underground Haganah, the Jewish Agency had at its command a disciplined and cohesive nation-wide fighting force available for immediate action. Its task was to safeguard everything that had been built in Palestine, and to provide the military defense for the two essential spheres of activity upon which the life and hopes of the people depended--immigration and settlement.

As the Jewish resistance grew, the more aware the Mandatory authorities became of the danger Haganah presented to continued British presence in Palestine. For this was no small action group carrying out individual reprisals; it was a veritable national army capable of concerted defense and attack. Hardly was the war over, when the British Government embarked on a campaign to destroy the effectiveness of Haganah, while also suppressing the more radical Irgun and Stern groups. Raids were conducted against settlements suspected of hiding arms and harboring "illegal" immigrants. Arrests

were made and long prison sentences handed down. But the British were faced with a hopeless task. The Haganah movement was too deeply entrenched, too widely spread to be stamped out. It was unbreakable because it embraced virtually all of Jewish Palestine.

There followed an all-out military campaign to liquidate the Haganah, conducted by an army substantially reinforced by British troops from outside. It was the opinion of the Agency leadership that British actions were conceived on the highest level in an attempt to liquidate the Jewish National Home. The operation proved a dismal failure. Mass searches in settlements followed, met as before, by passive resistance. The government could not afford to ignore such a demonstration of solidarity backed by a powerful and daring underground. It gradually backed down, and by November, all the members of the Jewish Agency were freed, along with most of the other men and women arrested in the dragnet.

It was at this juncture that the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry on Palestine was established, the British Government agreeing to carry out its proposals if submitted unanimously. The Commission began its work with hearings in Washington where the Zionist case was presented by leaders of the American Zionist Emergency Council. And in Jerusalem, as so often before, the Jewish Agency set about preparing its case. In April, 1946, after visiting Palestine and the European displaced persons camps, the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry issued its unanimous report. It recommended the immediate admission of the 100,000 and the abrogation of the White Paper land restrictions. The British Government was taken by

surprise and repudiated its pledge to abide by a unanimous recommendation. It became clear that it had never intended to take affirmative action.

The battle waged by the Jewish Agency against the government reached a new pitch. In London, the British government proposed new schemes, the Morrison-Grady Plan and the Bevin Plan, both of which were rejected by the Agency. While offering the bait of increased immigration, these plans at the same time had the long-range result of leaving the Jews ultimately at the mercy of an Arab majority.

Again the government invited the Jewish Agency leaders and Arab representatives to a round-table conference, but this time the Agency declined. Things had gone too far to allow discussion, for there could be nothing to negotiate without some prior gesture of British goodwill which the government was in no mood to make.

In the years following the adoption of the Biltmore Program, American Zionists had become the dominant force in Diaspora Zionism. The number of American members on the Jewish Agency Executive increased, and an American Section of the Executive gradually evolved. The focus of political activity was to shift clearly to the United States and with it a commensurate increase in the responsibilities of American Zionism.

The task and responsibility of mobilizing public support and enlisting American intervention in behalf of the Zionist program was in the hands of the American Zionist Emergency Council. Under the leadership of Dr. Silver, who enjoyed the backing of the entire American movement, Jewish demands received the enthusiastic support of

wide and important segments of the American people. This support exerted a powerful influence in moving the United States government to adopt an active policy favoring Jewish immigration, and ultimately the establishment of a Jewish State.

In February, 1947, the British government was forced to take a decisive step, as the Palestine issue was referred to the United Nations. At a Special Assembly of the UN, which began in April of that year, the problem of the fiasco of the British policy in Palestine became the responsibility of the organized world community. It was an historic turning point, for now the Jewish cause was not to be judged by a single government, but by the community of nations. To the Jewish Agency, which was formally recognized as the spokesman of the Jewish people, it was to be the greatest and most trying test of statesmanship.

In May, the UN General Assembly voted to appoint a Special Committee to make recommendations to the General Assembly. Dr. Silver, as Chairman of the American Section, made the opening presentation of the Agency's case for Jewish Statehood. Its majority view was that Palestine should be partitioned into two sovereign states, Arab and Jewish.

The die was cast when three months later, on November 29, 1947, with a decisive 33 to 13 vote, the General Assembly voted in favor of partition and the establishment of a Jewish State in part of Palestine. It called upon Great Britain to wind up the Mandate and to cooperate in facilitating the transfer of authority. The stand of the United States, as that of the Soviet Union, in favor of

partition was the dominating factor in this victory which was a prelude to statehood.

For the Jewish people throughout the world, the UN vote was a jubilant, frenzied moment made possible in a large degree by the role played by the United States which, not only supported the partition plan but, at the crucial moment, threw her full weight into mobilizing the required number of votes. The Soviet Union's support of Jewish Statehood was firm and unwavering. Men of good will everywhere acclaimed the historic decision to establish a Jewish State, as decreed by the highest international authority. The Jewish people, which had so recently emerged from the agony of the holocaust, experienced the exaltation of salvation. People danced in the streets, strangers embraced each other, men wept for joy; and in Palestine, the whole people celebrated the dawn of their freedom. It was the most exhilarating moment in the history of the Jewish people since the Dispersion.

The following day the Arab High Committee ordered a three-day general strike of Arabs in Palestine. Fatal encounters between Jews and Arabs ensued. The Jewish Agency issued an appeal for Jewish-Arab friendship and cooperation but it was drowned in the din of screaming mobs out for blood.

In the Israel War of Independence that followed, Ben Gurion led the battle of life and death in defense of the Jewish birthright to the ancient homeland. On April 22, 1948, the Jewish Agency informed the United Nations that no matter the circumstances, a Jewish State would be proclaimed when the Mandate ended on May 15, 1948. The Agency, while conducting the war effort, set up the framework of

a civil service and initiated the framework of a National Council, ready to transform itself into a Provisional Government of State.

It was a critical moment in the fortunes of the country. The armies of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan and Saudi Arabia were poised for imminent invasion with the declared intention of "driving the Jews into the sea." No one could then foretell the spectacular victories that were to be accomplished by the outmanned and under-armed Jewish defenders during the months that followed. The somber reality of the moment could not dim the feelings of joyful expectations as the Jews of Palestine, indeed of the whole world, approached their rendezvous with history.

It came on May 14, 1948, the day before the British Mandate drew to its end. In the small auditorium of the Tel Aviv Museum, the leaders of the Jews of Palestine solemnly proclaimed the independence of reborn Israel.

Flanked by the members of the Provisional Government of the State, Ben Gurion, the man who yesterday had been Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, and was now to become Prime Minister, read the "Proclamation of the Rise of the State of Israel."

Within hours of the reading of the Proclamation news came through of the first country to accord its recognition to the infant State of Israel. It was the United States of America.

This was the decisive change in the status of the Jewish people the world over. Until May 14, 1948, Jews who sought ways of rescuing their brethren in distress could do no more than appeal to the conscience of governments, formulate resolutions, write articles

and organize protest meetings. The effectiveness of their deeds was always dependent on the whims of others. With the birth of Israel, a Jewish sovereignty came into being, possessed of both a voice to be heard in the chancelleries of the world and a government with a capacity to act. Jews were no longer just passive objects of history.

The establishment of the State of Israel revolutionized the work of the Jewish Agency. Free immigration and unfettered acquisition of land were implied in the very act of statehood. One of the very first deeds of the government of the infant Israel was to abolish the legislation based on the 1939 White Paper. The land restriction laws were rescinded while the Proclamation of Independence itself stated that every Jew had the right to come to Israel, a principle later embodied in the "Law of Return."

The immediate legal consequence of the rise of Israel as a sovereign and independent State was that its institutions at once assumed full responsibility for the conduct of domestic and foreign affairs which hitherto had been largely carried out by the Agency. Henceforth, the population of Israel would be represented on the international political scene by the Israeli government, while the country's domestic and security affairs would now be determined by the duly constituted organs of the State.

The war also brought changes in the composition of the Jewish Agency. Some of the communal bodies which had helped to create the expanded Jewish Agency in 1929 were destroyed during the Nazi conquest of Europe, so that, by the end of World War II, the Agency and the World Zionist Organization were once again virtually synonymous terms, and this is still the position today.

World Jewry, now that it had helped create an answer to the problem of Jewish homelessness, was more than ever dedicated to the proposition of shouldering the heavy obligations of bringing homeless and persecuted Jews to Israel. To discharge this responsibility, Jewry, as before, would require its Jewish Agency. With its historic record and world-wide organization, no other body was as equipped to serve as the medium capable of preserving the essential bond between the Jews of the Diaspora and the State of Israel.

The essential feature of the Jewish Agency's status was that it provided the framework in which Jews the world over would be enabled to join with Israel in the historic partnership of caring for the hundreds of thousands of refugees who began flooding the country from the day Israel became a sovereign State. They came in undreamt of numbers, well in excess of 1,150,000 since 1948, and it has been the task of the Jewish Agency's Immigration Department to organize and direct their flow. This seventh wave of immigration from 1948-1965 included 1,086,700 immigrants.

About 100,000 arrived between May 15, 1948, and the end of the year. In 1949, 239,000 poured into the country, in 1950, 170,000 and in 1951, 175,000. The first to come were the inmates of the displaced persons camps and the Cyprus deportees. Simultaneously, immigration from other sources began, in some cases whole Jewish communities of a given country. The 35,000 Jews who arrived from Bulgaria in the winter of 1948-49 made up over 90 per cent of the total Bulgarian Jewish population. More than half the Jewish community--7,000--came from Yugoslavia and 18,000 from Czechoslovakia.

In the spring of 1949, operation "Magic Carpet" began bringing by air practically the whole Jewish population of the Yemen--45,000--in less than eighteen months. Between May, 1950 and June, 1951, another Jewish Agency "airlift" brought to an end the oldest Jewish exile when 123,000 Jews were permitted to leave Iraq. Forty thousand immigrants arrived from Turkey and 18,000 from Iran during the first three years of the State.

Large-scale immigration from Rumania started in November, 1949, but was halted in May, 1952, because of drastic exit restrictions imposed by the authorities. By the time this occurred, 118,000 Rumanian Jews had entered Israel. From Poland some 30,000 managed to reach the Jewish State between December, 1949, and February, 1951, after which permission for only individual departures for Israel were granted.

North African Jews, for the most part underprivileged and second class citizens in their countries of origin, began arriving in Israel en masse. Over 90 per cent of the Libyan community--some 31,000--escaped to Israel before emigration was banned. And between May, 1949 and December, 1952, about 45,000 Moroccan Jews entered the country until, there too, immigration was affected by local political vicissitudes.

The first lull in the mass immigration came in the spring of 1952. By that time, Europe's D.P. camps had been virtually emptied, numerous communities had been transferred, almost in their entirety, to Israel, while emigration from a number of countries had now become impossible, or at best difficult because of political factors.

In the years 1953 through 1955, there was diminishing immigration ranging from a low of some 11,000 in 1953 to 37,000 in 1955. This was followed by two years of higher immigration in 1956 and 1957, 56,000 and 71,000. The following years, 1958 through 1960, were also years of small immigration, averaging 25,000 per year. In the years 1960 through 1964, immigration was a quarter of a million, more than doubling the figures for the preceding years, followed by a drop to an average of 20,000 in 1965-1967, as the transfer of Jews from lands of distress that allowed them to leave neared completion. The curve of immigration turned upward after the Six-Day War; it totaled over 20,000 in 1968 (including temporary residents intending to settle) and rose to an annual 35,000 between 1969-1971, mainly from the free countries.

Immigration--in Hebrew aliya--is Israel's life blood. It is Israel's historical mission to be the Homeland of the Jewish people. Hence, the right of every Jew, from wherever he may come, to live in Israel is a fundamental principle of the State, and the Law of the Return, 1950, gives it statutory sanction by according free and automatic citizenship to all immigrant Jews. Under a 1970 amendment, the Law of the Return now grants Israeli nationality also to the wife of any immigrant Jew as well as to his descendants for two generations and to their wives, whether they be Jewish or not.

Since May 15, 1948, Israel has welcomed over a million and a quarter Jews, of whom half a million had been forced to flee from Arab countries. In the later part of the 1960's and early 1970's many Jews from lands of freedom and affluence are coming to play their part

in her life and development. The curve of immigration has been upward since the Six-Day War, especially from the Soviet Union and the United States (which have the largest Jewish populations in the world). In these past few years (1967-71), the claim by Soviet Jewry to the right to settle in Israel has aroused and is arousing world-wide attention and sympathy. However, as this research deals with American and Canadian immigration to Israel, that will be the subject of the following chapter.

TABLE 2.1.--Population and Jewish Immigration, 1948-1970.*

Period	Immigration	Jews	Population at End of Period	
			Non-Jews	Total
1948	101,828	758,702	120,000	879,000
1949	239,576	1,013,871	160,000	1,173,871
1950	170,249	1,202,992	167,101	1,370,094
1951	175,095	1,404,392	173,433	1,577,825
1952	24,369	1,450,217	179,302	1,629,519
1953	11,326	1,483,641	185,776	1,669,417
1954	18,370	1,526,009	191,805	1,717,814
1955	37,478	1,590,519	189,556	1,789,075
1956	56,234	1,667,455	204,935	1,872,390
1957	71,224	1,762,741	213,213	1,975,954
1958	27,082	1,810,148	221,524	2,031,072
1959	23,895	1,858,841	229,334	2,088,685
1960	24,510	1,911,200	239,200	2,150,400
1961	47,638	1,981,700	252,500	2,234,200
1962	61,328	2,068,900	262,900	2,331,800
1963	64,364	2,155,500	274,600	2,430,100
1964	54,716	2,239,000	286,400	2,525,600
1965	30,736	2,299,100	299,300	2,598,400
1966	15,730	2,344,900	312,500	2,657,400
1967	14,327	2,383,600	390,300	2,773,900
1968	20,544	2,434,800	406,300	2,841,100
1969	32,679	2,496,400	422,800	2,919,200
1970	36,928	2,561,400	440,000	3,001,400

*Facts About Israel, 1972, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Information Division, p. 49.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 2

[1]The Story of the Jewish Agency for Israel (New York, Jewish Agency-American Section, 1964), p. 13.

CHAPTER 3

AMERICAN AND CANADIAN IMMIGRATION: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

For over a century, the flow of Americans and Canadians to Israel has been unceasing. In the emergency situations of 1917 they came to fight in the Jewish Legion. In 1945-58 they came to fight in the War of Independence and to man the ships bringing illegal immigrants from Europe. In every phase of Israeli life--in the Kibbutz, and in the Moshav, in Government Ministries and Courts of Justice, in education, art, music and industry--they have played an important role and have made significant contributions.

This chapter briefly recounts some of the American origins of aliya, a valuable contribution to our understanding of the forces which influenced American migration to Israel.

The son of a sergeant in George Washington's army, Major Mordecai Manuel Noah had already tried his hand at journalism, the theatre, commerce and diplomacy when, in 1812, the United States government appointed him consul to Tunis in North Africa, where he achieved some measure of fame by skillfully liberating several crews of American ships seized by Barbary pirates. After his return to the United States he held, successively, the offices of sheriff, judge,

surveyor of the Port of New York and Major in the New York State Militia.

But nothing satisfied his restless heart. Then the possible revival of the Jewish nation in the Land of Israel began to interest him.

On January 19, 1820, Major Noah petitioned the New York State legislature to permit him to buy Grand Island in the Niagara River "for the purpose of attempting to have the same settled by emigrants of the Jewish faith from Europe." But it was not until 1825 and the support of President Adams that Noah actually laid the foundations of a "City of Refuge" on Grand Island.

There, several blockhouses were built and a plot of land cleared to serve as an agricultural training ground for Jewish refugees, to be brought there from Europe and prepared for life in Palestine.

From Grand Island Noah issued an amazing appeal to World Jewry, inviting all to follow him to "Ararat," the "City of Refuge." The corner-stone was laid in a small ceremony, but the appeal itself found no echo amongst the masses of European Jews, and the stone (later deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society) remained the only tangible trace of a well-intentioned but ill-fated project, blue-printed far ahead of its time.

With time, however, American interest in Palestine grew. In 1844, the State Department suggested the nomination of an American representative. Senate approval followed swiftly and unanimously. Mr. Warder Cresson became the first United States Consul to be

accredited to the Turkish Court with "All the Holy Land," which at the time was within the Syrian world.

In the spring of 1845, he established a residence in Jerusalem; within the year he had decided to embrace Judaism and to change his name.

In 1847, Michael Boaz Israel--Mr. Cresson's new self--founded what was most probably the first modern Jewish agricultural colony, "God's Vineyard," just outside Jerusalem. With the Bible as his textbook and his own farming experience as a guide, he called for the public to support: " . . . the migration of all Jews as desire to settle in the land given by the Almighty in covenant to Abraham and his seed forever. . . ."

He seems to have been unperturbed by the fact that he was generally regarded as a dreamer or that he was, at one point, denounced to the Secretary of State as a raving lunatic. Within the next four years, at least 200 Americans emigrated to join his colony. The record is meager, but it is known that 52 of these early newcomers were American Jews. The others were converts to Judaism and practicing Protestants who saw no clash between their religion and their ardent "Zionism."

One of the first Americans who helped Michael Boaz Israel was a rich New Orleans merchant, Judah Touro who, in 1853, founded the Hebrew Foreign Mission Society dedicated to establishing self-sustaining Jewish settlements. This was the beginning of New Jerusalem, the turning point of Jewish settlement in Palestine. The year 1854, the year of the death of Judah Touro, marked the date of

the first Jewish settlement in New Jerusalem. Since then, a continuous trickle of American Jews have made their way to the Holy City.

By 1860--the year of Theodor Herzl's birth in Budapest--Michael Boaz Israel married a Jewish girl from New York and permanently settled down in Jerusalem, his colony in the years to come, sinking into oblivion.

In 1868, Simon Berman a Polish Jew who had come to America seventeen years before to farm, emigrated once more, this time to Jaffa where he established his "Holy Land Settlement Society." Eventually twenty-four Americans came over on a pilgrim ship to join him, and in time, with their efforts, their numbers came to over a hundred men and women.

The Society prospered, and the number of its enemies grew accordingly. The Rabbis of the Haluka* were up in arms because of the American who distracted their pupils from Bible studies and soul redemption with his godless tales of equality and soil redemption. In time they were no match against the combined strength and cunning of the "Old City" Rabbis.

Even after journeying to meet with the Rabbis and lecturing in America, his attempts to stir up Zionist feelings fell upon deaf ears. In 1881, Simon Berman returned to Palestine to die, broken and embittered, only a few weeks before the arrival in Palestine of the first Biluim. They came with his dream in their hearts, ready and willing to follow his footsteps and to work the land.

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*Haluka (charitable funds received from abroad by Jews in Palestine for distribution among the needy).

By 1889, some 800 United States citizens were under the protection of the Jerusalem Consulate. In 1902, their number passed the 1,000 mark. And Mr. Selah Merill, Head of the Consulate, reported to Washington that: ". . . had it not been for Turkish immigration restrictions, their number would have soared to eight or ten thousand assuredly. . . ."

In 1881, the assassination of Russia's Czar Nicolai and its false imputation to Jewish revolutionaries, coupled with the wave of pogroms which resulted throughout Eastern Europe, brought about dramatic changes which eventually influenced immigration to Palestine. Jewish reaction stiffened at once. Mass flight from Russia became planned emigration channeled into two main directions, "Am Olam" and "Bilu." The former looked for haven--almost anywhere but at once. The latter, more idealistic, believed that this haven could only be in Zion.

Both movements, profoundly Jewish in outlook and aim, their goals identical, but different in their approach made one turn west, the other turn south. Within three decades, "Am Olam" brought two and a half million Jews to the United States. "Bilu" persuaded only a few thousand students to risk their lives in the swamps of Turkish Palestine.

"America or Jerusalem" became an anguishing dilemma which split many families and caused a steady flow of inter-migration between two bodies of immigrants, destined to become the world's principal Jewries.

The ensuing exodus from Eastern Europe caused the Turkish Sultan to close the gates of Palestine by prohibiting "the migration of Jews into Syria." This embargo, enacted in 1882, remained in force for all the remaining thirty-five years of Ottoman rule and was rigorously applied by all local authorities.

No doubt this was one of the main reasons why thousands and later millions of East European Jews took refuge in the one country whose portals were open to them: the United States. But many of them still had their hearts in the east and, after arriving in the New World, they founded the first United States branches of "The Lovers of Zion" only months after the parent organizations came into being in Europe.

Inter-migration between Palestine and America was, perforce, a two-way traffic. Considerable numbers of disillusioned "Biluim" arrived in New York, very often in the same ship which carried back to Jaffa the first groups of American Pioneers, as Americans were permitted to enter Palestine.

A parallel stream of religious Jews brought close to a thousand Bible scholars to Jerusalem during this same period. Although the great majority of them still lived on Haluka funds, over forty American Yeshiva students are known to have left the Old City around 1889 in order to join early agricultural colonies.

In all, at least 1,055 American olim had taken part in this, the Second Aliya, the great adventure which marked the beginnings of effective national redemption.

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For those Jews who had immigrated to America this period was one of internal consolidation. A community, which had increased ten-fold within a generation, had struck roots in the New World. Although they paid lip-service to ancestral nostalgias, most new Americans felt no real need for a return. They had already come "home." Their main concern now was to "belong."

They were in good company. L'Alliance Israelite Universelle, the most influential body in Western Jewry, was as opposed to Zionist aliya as were the various Rabbinic councils in Palestine. Nor were the various kolelim of the Haluka to be outdone in their hostility to the coming of potential rivals. Zionism was anathematized by practically all religious leaders, both from their pulpits and in private. The Western Don Quixotes who participated in the Second Aliya called themselves "Practical Zionists." No name seems less suitable for this courageous and apparently impractical advance-guard.

In 1897, the Zionist Federation was founded in America, and in the years that followed, members began to trickle to the cause of aliya.

In 1911, four true olim made the journey. The group of four Americans was not the only one to join the new agricultural enterprises in Palestine, but their odyssey of settlement is characteristic. A Russian colleague in Kinneret wrote about them: The Americans tend more toward the life of the village whilst most of our members prefer the kibbutz . . . The Americans have brought with them savings which enabled us to buy tools and some furniture. . . . Two of them . . . brought some new inventions which are most

helpful out in the fields. . . . Another one came with . . . a special type of seed. He tried them out last week and they are already sprouting nicely. . . ."

In 1919, Eliezer Yaffe, one of the "Aliya of the Four," published a pamphlet entitled "The Fundamentals of the Moshav Ovdim" which set down four principles: "National land, self-labour, mutual aid, joint buying and selling, these are the corner-stones of the new enterprise, which we shall call Moshav Ovdim: a smallholders' settlement."

Hechalutz had been America's first ideological contribution to Palestine; the Moshav Ovdim now became the second. Yaffe's four principles quickly spread throughout the country, and within a year a nucleus of followers decided to put them into practice. On September 11, 1921, the first group of workers settled on a stretch of swampland near the Kishon brook to found Nahalal. What Degania has been to the Kibbutz Movement, Nahalal became for the rapidly growing network of moshavim.

The light of halutziut first shone forth in New York and New Jersey in 1904. From there it reached Europe and on to Palestine. The Russian Halutz movement was founded only in 1917, the Polish and Lithuanian branches followed in 1918, while its Central European chapters came into being as late as 1921. By then the parent organization in the United States already disposed of three training farms and over a thousand young pioneer-farmers had left for Palestine. Aliya had come of age.

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But, by the time World War I ensued, the situation had taken a turn for the worst. Alex Bein, official chronicler of Zionist history, noted:

> From the day the war broke out, Palestine had appealed to America for help. America was at that time the only country which, through its political and financial position, was able to save Palestine permanently from going under. . . . But for the Zionist Provisional Committee of America--which never declared war on Turkey throughout the First World War--the Yishuv would assuredly have been destroyed. . . .

He did not exaggerate. Cholera and typhus were rampant. Starvation was general throughout the country. Djemal Pasha, the Governor of Palestine, in accord with the "young Turks" in Constantinople, planned to apply to the beleaguered Yishuv the treatment meted out recently by his government to the Armenian minority--treatment which twenty-five years later was to be called "the final solution." All this, months after the European consuls had left Ottoman soil, abandoning the Jews to Arab marauders and to the whims of Turkish officers, whose word spelled life or death for the isolated colonies of Judea and Samaria. To make "the final solution" simpler, many Jewish leaders had already been exiled and thousands voluntarily followed in their wake. Ruin seemed only weeks off and the end of thirty years of Zionist construction in Palestine appeared imminent.

Now American Jewry stepped into the breach. The American Navy was enlisted to rush in food supplies and evacuate the old and disabled. The fact that, after the War, there still remained an independent Jewish community in Palestine, willing and able to start all over again, was due, very largely, to the succor and encouragement of American Jewry.

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But aid was not limited to physical help. On October 9, 1917, Dr. Chaim Weizmann cabled to Justice Louis Brandeis, the eminent American Zionist leader: "It is essential to have President Wilson's approval of proposed text of [Balfour] declaration as well as his recommendation to grant it without delay."

On October 16, President Wilson officially expressed his support of The Declaration and helped to prevent its Zionist import from being watered down by Foreign Office waverers. Within two weeks of United States action, Mr. Balfour was authorized to write his historic letter to Lord Rothschild--World Zionist was embarked upon its penultimate stage. "This was one of the most important factors in deciding the British Government to issue its Declaration," Dr. Weizmann was to recall.

It took a woman of biblical stature to recognize at once the true needs of the hour and to channel the latent energies of Jewish women abroad into supplying the immediate remedy.

In 1912, Henrietta Szold laid the foundations of the Hadassah Medical Organization. Under the primitive conditions of Turkish Palestine, nothing was more urgently required than the annealing presence of medicine and hygiene. In 1913, Hadassah sent its first two nurses to Jerusalem, to be followed by two doctors and a surgeon.

In the summer of 1918, six months before war's end, a group of forty-four Jewish doctors and nurses, who proudly called themselves The American Zionist Medical Unit, landed at Jaffa. Their help was, of course, not much more than a drop in the ocean, but they succeeded in holding the fort for almost a year, until the British medical

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authorities took over. When normalcy of a sort returned, twenty-six A.Z.M.U. members decided to stay on. Those were the future founders of the Histadrut Sick Fund, the Medical Faculty of the Hebrew University and the Hadassah network of hospitals and clinics throughout Israel.

The First Aliya in mass after the Balfour Declaration came not from Russia or Poland or Galicia, but from America. Ben-Gurion, one of the two leaders of the Yishuv, went to America in 1916 to conduct an enlistment campaign for the Jewish fighting unit which the British Government had finally consented to form.

Within a few weeks, two thousand young Halutz members had volunteered for overseas service and the recruitment was stopped, but only because the British War Office limited the proposed unit to the size of a brigade.

Induction, training, and transportation overseas took more than a year, but the Legion came in time to fight for Megiddo and mop up in Galilee. Over fifty of them were casualties of battle and disease, and a number were decorated for valor. After the Legion was disbanded, the majority of their members returned to their countries of origin while only a few hundred remained in Palestine, the first olim to enter the country since 1914.

Thirty years later, almost to the day, another wave of young American volunteers was to reach Palestine, to help turn it into Israel, and history was repeated--though with less regrettable results.

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The dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Revolution, the creation of the Balkan States and the war in Poland--all these upheavals had their traditional by-products: the massacres and pogroms of local Jewish minorities. Thirty-five thousand Jews drew conclusions from the Eastern European blood-letting and reached Palestine. The four years between 1919 and 1923 witnessed important transformations, each of which had direct bearing upon aliya in general and American aliya in particular.

The establishment of official institutions by the Zionist movement and their participation in the governing of Palestine; the decline of European Jewish communities which until now had played a central role in world affairs; the creation of Keren Hayesod in 1921 as the main financial tool of the Zionist Movement, resulting in new stress on financing of land redemption and settlement, as opposed to previous political pressure for a Charter or the Declaration; the gradual division of World Jewry into two categories: the United States Jewry, whose duty it became to foot the Zionist bill, and the impoverished Diaspora (Eastern, and later Central Europe) which was to man the Zionist ship of State; the deepening rift between the "American" and the "European" schools of Zionism personified in the contending leaders, Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Judge Louis Brandeis. Brandeis, the practical American, was for an immediate mass aliya; Weizmann, a cautious statesman, wanted at least temporary stoppage of the aliya streaming to Palestine from Russia and Poland. He advocated an orderly and gradual flow of aliya, commensurate with Palestine's absorptive capacity. The Zionist Organization, upon Weizmann's

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election to the presidency, printed and distributed leaflets in Eastern Europe intended to dissuade Jews from going to Palestine.

Never was there greater readiness for aliya amongst the Jewish masses, nor were material resources lacking. But the Brandeis group was defeated after long altercation and, on his express instructions, no American joined the newly elected committee of the World Zionist Organization. America retired from official Zionism. Brandeis, embittered and disappointed, refused to take part in any Zionist activities.

Despite the falling-out in high quarters, there were American Jews who did not follow their leaders into retreat. Financial difficulties, lack of communications, political unrest, and uncertainty as to individual accommodation in their new country of choice--none of these deterred over a thousand Americans from going to Palestine.

In the wake of the Arab disturbances of 1921, all aliya was briefly halted on orders of the first British High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel. This, however, did anything but stop immigration! Nearly half of the Jews who immigrated during the ensuing period came from Poland, where the policy pursued by the Finance Minister Grabsky undermined the economic position of Polish Jewry. This coincided with the imposition of new immigration laws in the United States to which so far approximately 80 per cent of East European Jewry had emigrated. It is manifest that this stimulated aliya.

Aliya to Palestine was, generally, the smallest Jewish migration among the three main currents, with the exception of the two

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years immediately following the imposition of the quota system in America, which severely limited the number of Eastern European immigrants.

Only in 1925 did Palestine take the place of the United States as the main landfall of Jewish refugees. Next year, the number of olim was already back to the pre-quota average, only to drop to an all-time low in 1927.

Behind these figures are some 50,000 Polish Jews, packing their possessions and setting out for America in the winter of 1924-25. Midway, the gates of the United States were shut, and the prospective Americans turned Zionist. This Zionism was to be short-lived. The following year's figures show that the next batch of emigrants, forewarned, planned a non-Zionist itinerary accordingly.

One thing is certain. America remained the main destination of all Jewish migrants, including a steady trickle of those who came, after all, to Palestine.

An overall total of 3,299 settlers from the United States make up roughly 4 per cent of the entire Fourth Wave of immigration. The majority of them, in tune with the Zeitgeist, belonged to the lower middle classes: Neo-Americans of Russian extraction, whose savings over a decade or so of residence in America bought a citrus-grove, a store, or a workshop in Raanana, Herzliya, or even in the new metropolis of Tel Aviv.

Only some 5 per cent of them were members of Halutz, who, of course, joined agricultural colonies upon their arrival in Palestine.

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The Fifth Aliya was the giant Rescue-Aliya which brought to Palestine more Jews than had the other four preceding waves put together. During the thirteen fateful years of 1932-45, 287,000 refugees from Nazi-infested Europe arrived in Palestine.

In 1928, a dozen of the Polish Hashomer Hatzair met in New York City to found the first Western offshoot of their movement. For two years, the central office in Palestine refused to help, the official policy still being opposed to Western aliya. In 1930, it relented, and the first emissary-instructor arrived in the United States. In rapid succession, three movements sprang up on the Eastern seaboard, each catering to the latent Zionism of young people of different economic and emotional backgrounds: the omnibus Habonim, the conservative Bnei-Akiva, and the religious Hashomer Hadati.

A year after, the first Hashomer Hatzair group went to Palestine. It was the first pioneer movement to build a new kibbutz in Palestine, Ein Hashofet. The new kibbutz was assigned a rocky, cactus-strewn plot of land. Giant boulders had to be pried loose and slopes dense with brush and thorny undergrowth weeded laboriously before the soil was fit to plow. Arab snipers kept guards awake at night, and one of the leaders was killed. The budget was so tight that sugar for tea was served only on the Sabbath, and several letters were often mailed in a single envelope to save money on stamps. It was a trial period as demanding as any pioneers had ever know. The first year broke the weaker reeds but welded the rest of the members into a closely knit, well-balanced community. And when the Arab disturbances broke out and the Yishuv's strategy of "wall-and-tower"

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In 1936, a British branch of the movement was founded, followed by a South African offshoot in 1938, with Australia joining the Halutz family in 1941 and Canada in 1942. Other youth organizations sprang up and by 1958 there were no less than eleven different organizations operating in Western Jewry, preparing youth for a life of pioneering in Israel.

In 1936, the second American aliya group of twenty-seven members--Gar'in American Beth as they were called--merged with the advanced group of the Polish kibbutz Krit, to found in 1937 the settlement of Kfar Menachem in the southern part of the Judean plain, named for Menachem Ussishkin, President of the Jewish National Fund.

Although they weathered the storm of Arab attacks during the disturbances of 1937-39, almost a third of the American members left Kfar Menachem, though not all of them returned to the States. Insufficient preparation for rugged, bad-land farming, drought, lack of social integration--all these contributed to the defections. Nonetheless, within a year, reinforcements arrived to take their place.

The third American nucleus of sixty-two members arrived in the autumn of 1945, joined forces with a mixed Bulgarian-Palestinian group, and settled down in the northern Negev, where they founded a strategic point, Hatzor.

This youngest one of the three "Mayflower" settlements gave an indication of the unique nature of the American aliya, so different

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in so many ways from most other immigrations. Three of every four American Hatzor founders were American army veterans, demobilized less than three months before their aliya. Their average age when they settled in the southern wilderness was twenty-seven; over 90 per cent of them knew less than a dozen words of Hebrew. From the day their block-huts went up, they lived and worked together with people from two other continents, Bulgarians and young Sabras, whose language background and mentality must have been as distant and as foreign to them as they and their free manners were in the eyes of their fellows. But idealism formed a strong bond, and common faith in one cause bridged many gaps.

The trio of outposts became guide posts for all twenty-seven of the so-called "Anglo-Saxon" settlements which are today part of Israel's agricultural network. Each of the young "old-timers" played host to groups fresh from "home," giving them the final halutzic polish before they branched out on their own; expert members joined infant settlements to guide their first steps; and seminars ranging from Hebrew literature to poultry farming were held for budding "heads of branches" whenever possible.

For the American movement of Hashomer Hatzair, kibbutz Gal-On was the seventh settlement. But theirs was only a beginning. Before the fighting was over in 1949, two other American movements broke ground in Israel. Hashomer Hadati, formed as early as 1934, acquired its first training farm in 1940 but, owing to the war, the first Gar'in, composed of former students of American Yeshivot, arrived in Israel late in 1947. Their pre-settlement training done, they merged

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with groups of South Africans and Sabras to take part in the stand of Kfar Etzion against the Arab Legion. In 1949, they finally put a new settlement on the map of Israel, Netivot-Morasha, in the hills of southern Judea.

Although the American movement of Habonim had sent groups of settlers to found Kfar Blum and Maayan Baruch in 1945, it succeeded in branching out on its own only in 1949. Its first large Gar'in was a group of eighty young veteran members, greenhorn farmers who had wisely amalgamated with a group of forty Sabras from Beit Ha'arava on the northern shore of the Dead Sea. On Hanukka, 1948, the first scouts arrived at the chosen site and, three weeks later, the group occupied an abandoned British Army camp on the Mediterranean shore, about five miles south of the Lebanese border.

The crises which beset the infant kibbutz of Gesher-Haziv were the growing pains now common to all Western settlements: barren or neglected lands, and the need to build their farm up from scratch; severe budgetary difficulties; and the continuous daily grind of hard work. Gesher Haziv's success in weathering these storms was due in no small measure to the years in the movement in New York, followed by a year of Hachshara in America and final pre-settlement training at Ramat Yohanan, which had welded them into one integrated community.

Since 1948, these youth movements have experimented with new ways of attracting members and techniques for speeding up their work. The most original is the Habonim Workshop Scheme, which sends large numbers of American Habonim members to Israel for initial training,

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instead of training them on United States farms. After six to twelve months in veteran settlements, trainees return to America for further instruction prior to their final aliya. Of growing importance are various Summer Institutes and Youth Leaders Seminars of the Jewish Agency, inducing student youth to spend their vacations in Israel.

The liberation of Europe and exposure of its death camps drove home the horror of the Jewish catastrophe. The wave of revulsion which passed over all civilized mankind firmed the resolution that these deaths would not have been in vain! When the long travail was over and statehood became a reality, Jewish enthusiasm knew no bounds. Gone were the distinctions between Zionists and other Jews, orthodox and liberal, powerful and weak--all were eager to share in the great enterprise of independence. Statehood, it soon became clear, was the beginning of new trials.

The glory of aliya, its glamour and the satisfaction of measuring swords with the British--the old adversary of childhood books--vanished behind a screen of regulations, paragraphs and Consular ordinances. Aliya metamorphosed into a short visit to a Consulate off Central Park and a voyage any tourist agency would book.

Since 1967 there has been a great increase of new arrivals to Israel and predictions were higher for 1971 and 1972.

Interest in settling in Israel was increasing daily at the time of this research. Before the Six-Day War a bountiful year brought about 2,000 American and Canadian immigrants, men, women and children. In 1968 the figure jumped to 4,500; in 1969 it reached

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6,000; in 1970 it reached 8,000; in 1971 9,700. The focus of this study will be on this latter group of immigrants, those who came and stayed between 1967 and 1971.

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CHAPTER 4

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Of first concern is the geographic distribution of those Canadians and Americans* who arrived between June, 1967 and July, 1971. Of the total 1,178 individuals who responded to the questionnaire, 12 per cent were living in absorption centers, 5 per cent in hostels, 8 per cent in kibbutzim, 1 per cent in moshavim (co-operative settlements), 1 per cent in moshavot (co-operative villages), 12 per cent in suburbs, 47 per cent, the majority, in cities, 7 per cent in university campus residence halls, and 5 per cent listed as other (Table 4.1).

Most Americans chose to settle in the northern areas such as Haifa and surrounding suburbs, Tel Aviv and surroundings, and Jerusalem. Tel Aviv proper did not attract as many olim as the surrounding suburbs. To them it was, perhaps, too reminiscent of the city they left in America. They may also have felt they could get better value for their money in the suburbs, without sacrificing the benefits of big-city living, for it is not difficult to get to jobs, theatre, or shopping in the city from the neighboring suburbs.

*Hereafter "Americans" will be used to designate both Americans and Canadians.

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TABLE 4.1.--Respondent's Residence in Israel (in order as appear on questionnaire).

	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Absorption Center	12	147
Hostel	5	62
Kibbutz	8	93
Moshav (co-operative settlement)	1	14
Moshava (co-operative village)	1	99
Suburb	12	147
City	47	548
University campus or student residence hall	7	79
Other	5	17
Total	100	1,178

It is noteworthy that among this sample population 8 per cent settled in kibbutzim. This is higher than the Israeli national average of 5 per cent living in kibbutzim. Despite the fact that the population in the kibbutzim had grown from 77,100 in 1961 to 87,900 in 1972, this increase was smaller than the natural increase in the kibbutzim. Nonetheless, the percentage of Americans settling in kibbutzim has been declining as reported by Antonovsky in his report of Americans and Canadians in Israel, presented to the Jewish Agency on the occasion of the 27th Zionist Congress. Of the total number interviewed (1,672), 28 per cent were living in kibbutzim. Forty-four per cent of those living in Israel (during the time of his research, 1966) who came before 1948 were living in kibbutzim. The percentage

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falls to 30 per cent of those who came in 1948-56. Of those who came in 1956-66 only 17 per cent were living in a kibbutz.[1] This compares with 8 per cent of Americans studied in the period 1967-71 settling in kibbutzim.

Of those who responded to the questionnaire, 57 per cent were males and 45 per cent females. When questionnaires were sent to families, they were specifically addressed to either the husband or wife. However, in the majority of cases, the male responded.

The largest group in this population sample were people in the 18-24 age group, with 23 per cent of the respondents, the second largest group between 25-29 years of age with 17 per cent of the total. These two groups 18-24 and 25-29 represent a total of 40 per cent of the entire population. The largest size group consists of the youngest persons, and with age the size of the group diminishes, with the exception of the last two groups, ages 55+ where there is a slight reversal. These are the people who came, not as pioneers, but to retire and live their remaining years in the Holy Land. Many are on social security and can live more comfortably here than in the United States on their retirement benefits (Table 4.2).

Within all the age groups more males than females were found responding to the questionnaire except in the 18-24 group where about twice as many females responded. One possible reason for this would be the draft--males had to consider military obligations and thus were not as free to leave the United States.

Of all the Americans in the study population 25 per cent were unmarried, 13 per cent married without children, 28 per cent married

TABLE 4.2.--Comparing Sex and Age of Respondents.

	Observed Frequencies								
Sex	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-64	65+	Total
								48	45	665

TABLE 4.2.--Comparing Sex and Age of Respondents.

Sex	18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-64	65+	Total
Observed Frequencies										
Male	92	113	96	89	91	55	36	48	45	665
Female	179	84	66	45	41	27	17	21	14	494
	271	197	162	134	132	82	53	69	59	1,159*
Percentage Across										
Male	14	17	14	13	14	8	6	7	7	100
Female	36	17	13	9	8	6	4	4	3	100
Percentage Down										
Male	34	57	59	66	69	67	68	70	74	
Female	66	43	41	34	31	33	32	30	16	
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Percentage of Total										
Male	8	10	8	8	8	5	3	4	4	58
Female	15	7	6	4	3	2	2	2	1	42
										100

*Of a total of 1,178 respondents, 1,159 responded to this question.

TABLE 4.3.--Age Group of Respondents and Spouses.

Age Group of Respondents	Male		Female		Total	
Age	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents

TABLE 4.3.--Age Group of Respondents and Spouses.

Age Group	Male		Female		Total	
	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Age Group of Respondents						
18-24	14	92	35	179	23	272
25-29	17	113	17	84	17	197
30-34	14	96	13	66	14	164
35-39	13	89	9	45	12	134
40-44	14	91	8	41	11	132
45-49	8	55	6	27	7	82
50-54	6	36	3	17	4	53
55-64	7	48	4	21	6	69
65+	7	45	3	14	5	61
N.R.	*	4	2	7	1	14
	100	669	100	501	100	1,178
Age Group of Spouses						
18-24	9	63	5	24	7	87
25-29	15	103	10	50	13	153
30-34	13	88	9	47	12	136
35-39	12	82	12	61	12	143
40-44	9	61	6	32	8	93
45-49	7	47	6	28	6	75
50-54	5	29	3	15	4	44
55-64	6	38	4	20	5	58
65+	4	21	3	15	3	38
N.R.	20	137	42	209	30	351
	100	669	100	501	100	1,178

*Less than 1%.

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TABLE 4.4.--Fami

Unmarried	
Married	
Married with 1-	
Married with 3-	
Married with 4+	
Widowed without	
Widowed with ch	
Divorced witho	
Divorced with	
No response	
Total	

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Per cent were

with 1-2 children, 22 per cent married with 3-4 children, 4 per cent married with 4+ children (Table 4.4). While one could presume that aliya would be more appealing to single people who might find it easier to move about the country, over half of the respondents were married with children. This seems to reflect the pattern indicated by Antonovsky[2] who states "About half of those who came after 1956 came with children, compared to one-fifth of those who came in 1948-56 and one-tenth of the pre-State olim." The most striking pattern in these data and this study as well as the study by Antonovsky shows that the later the period of migration, the higher the proportion of married people.

TABLE 4.4.--Family Status of Respondents.

	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Unmarried	25	296
Married	13	152
Married with 1-2 children	28	332
Married with 3-4 children	22	265
Married with 4+ children	4	53
Widowed without children	1	8
Widowed with children	2	25
Divorced without children	1	12
Divorced with children	3	28
No response	1	7
Total	100	1,178

In terms of birthplace, the questionnaire disclosed that 70 per cent were born in the United States, 5 per cent were born in

TABLE 4.5.--Comparis

Sex	1	2
Male	124	88
Female	165	63
	293	151

Male	19	1
Female	25	1

Male	42	5
Female	58	4
	100	1

Male	11
Female	14

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Family Status K
1. Unmarried
2. Married wit
3. Married wit
4. Married wit
5. Married wi
6. Widowed wi
7. Widowed wi
8. Divorced w
9. Divorced w

TABLE 4.5.--Comparing Sex and Family Status.

Observed Frequencies										
Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Male	124	88	223	177	34	3	3	6	9	667
Female	169	63	108	78	19	5	22	6	29	499
	293	151	331	255	53	8	25	12	38	1,166*
Percentage Across										
Male	19	13	34	26	5	.5	.5	1	1	100
Female	25	13	28	22	5	1	2	1	3	100
Percentage Down										
Male	42	58	67	69	64	38	12	50	24	57
Female	58	42	33	31	36	62	88	50	76	43
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Percentage of Total										
Male	11	8	19	15	3	0	0	1	1	56
Female	14	5	9	6	1	0	2	0	2	44
										100

*Of a total of 1,178 respondents, 1,166 responded to this question.

Family Status Key:

1. Unmarried
2. Married without children
3. Married with 1-2 children
4. Married with 3-4 children
5. Married with 4+ children
6. Widowed without children
7. Widowed with children
8. Divorced without children
9. Divorced with children

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Canada. The largest non-American-born group consisted of 9 per cent born in Eastern Europe, 109 respondents, and 9 per cent in Western Europe, 101 respondents. Three per cent were Israeli-born. These were hozrim (returnees) who were born in Israel or Palestine had lived in America and had become United States citizens, but who de-decided to return to Israel during this period.*

Among the participants in this study were 75 per cent native-born American men and women. Among their spouses 42 per cent were native-born American men and women. The percentage of respondents born in America was greater than that of spouses in this study. When, for example, a questionnaire was sent to a family it was found that if one spouse was not American by birth or nationality, the American mate became the respondent.

As to the birthplace of the fathers of the respondents, 36 per cent were native-born Americans with only 18 per cent of the spouses' fathers being born in America (Table 4.8). Among the fathers a greater percentage were not native born. This stems from the Jewish immigration to America which began in the 1890's about the same time as the beginning of the immigration to Palestine.

Of all the Americans in this population who were asked about their activities in Zionist Youth Organizations, 17 per cent stated they had been "very active," 7 per cent "much active," 16 per cent "somewhat active," 55 per cent "not active at all." By combining the

*The Israel government gave them the same privileges as new olim, believing that this would entice them to return. The government was not as successful as they thought they would be. Not as many returned as was predicted and such privileges have now been discontinued.

TABLE 4.6.--Countr

Country
1. United States
2. Canada
3. Israel
4. Eastern Europe
5. Western Europe and Austria
6. Arab or Moslem
7. Other
No response
Total

*Less th

TABLE 4.7.--Cou

Country
1. United State
2. Canada
3. Israel
4. Eastern Euro
5. Western Euro and Austr
6. Arab or Mos
7. Other
No response
Total

TABLE 4.6.--Country of Birth of Respondents.

Country	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1. United States	70	823
2. Canada	5	55
3. Israel	3	30
4. Eastern Europe (incl. USSR)	9	111
5. Western Europe (incl. Germany and Austria)	9	102
6. Arab or Moslem countries	*	1
7. Other	2	29
No response	2	27
Total	100	1,178

*Less than 1%.

TABLE 4.7.--Country of Birth of Spouse.

Country	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1. United States	39	464
2. Canada	3	40
3. Israel	9	107
4. Eastern Europe (incl. USSR)	9	101
5. Western Europe (incl. Germany and Austria)	7	87
6. Arab or Moslem countries	2	24
7. Other	2	19
No response	29	336
Total	100	1,178

TABLE 4.8.--Countr

Country
1. United States
2. Canada
3. Israel
4. Eastern Europ
5. Western Europ and Austria
6. Arab or Mosle
7. Other
No response
Total

*Less th

TABLE 4.9.--Coun

Country
1. United State
2. Canada
3. Israel
4. Eastern Euro
5. Western Euro and Austri
6. Arab or Mos
7. Other
No response
Total

TABLE 4.8.--Country of Birth of Father.

Country	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1. United States	33	383
2. Canada	3	32
3. Israel	1	15
4. Eastern Europe (incl. USSR)	45	534
5. Western Europe (incl. Germany and Austria)	14	164
6. Arab or Moslem countries	*	5
7. Other	2	18
No response	2	27
Total	100	1,178

*Less than 1%.

TABLE 4.9.--Country of Birth of Spouse's Father.

Country	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1. United States	17	201
2. Canada	1	11
3. Israel	3	30
4. Eastern Europe (incl. USSR)	36	424
5. Western Europe (incl. Germany and Austria)	12	136
6. Arab or Moslem countries	3	37
7. Other	2	19
No response	26	320
Total	100	1,178

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first three groups it is seen that 40 per cent were active in some fashion in Zionist Youth Organizations and 55 per cent, the majority, were not (Table 4.10).

In the next question concerning activity in Zionist Organizations it was found that 13 per cent were "very much active," 7 per cent "much active," 17 per cent "somewhat active" and 59 per cent "not active at all." Thus it can be seen that 37 per cent were somewhat Zionist oriented and 59 per cent not active at all. In comparing these two questions it is noted that more people belonged to Zionist Organizations in youth than in adulthood. Zionist activity may be on the decline, or it may be that youth, having more time and being more idealistic, will be more active in such a group than an adult having the same feelings but being more pressured in daily living (Table 4.11).

According to Antonovsky, among the pre-1948 olim, 44 per cent were active Zionists. This percentage declines somewhat to 40 per cent for the 1948-56 immigrants and drops sharply to 26 per cent among those who came 1956-66.[3]

Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, Zionism was the modern political movement for the return of the Jewish people to Zion, the old prophetic name for Palestine. Since the establishment of the State of Israel, especially for American Jews, Zionism, by the latest definition "one has very short time to be a Zionist." The time one is a Zionist is the time between his decision to go on aliya and his arrival in Israel. If one is in the United States he is not a Zionist, and if he has already gone to Israel he is not a Zionist any more because his dream has been fulfilled.

TABLE 4.10.--Activi
Israel

Activity in Zionist
Very much participa
Much participation
Some participation
Not at all
No response
Total

TABLE 4.11.--Act
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Activity in Zio
Very much parti
Much participa
Some participa
Not at all
No response
Total

TABLE 4.10.--Activity in Zionist Youth Movement Before Coming to Israel.

Activity in Zionist Youth Movement	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very much participation	17	205
Much participation	7	79
Some participation	16	184
Not at all	55	650
No response	5	60
Total	100	1,178

TABLE 4.11.--Activity in Zionist Organization Before Coming to Israel.

Activity in Zionist Organization	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very much participation	13	157
Much participation	7	78
Some participation	17	204
Not at all	59	692
No response	4	47
Total	100	1,178

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TABLE 4.12.--Zion

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No feelings at a
Somewhat opposed
Strongly opposed
No response
Total

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Zionism, today, attracts fewer young people to its organizations. One reason is that if there is a very strong inclination towards Zionism, it is much easier to go to Israel and fulfill the dream. Another reason is the social aspect of the organization. In the past many people joined such an organization for social reasons. Today, however, there is a wide choice of other organizations for social activities.

TABLE 4.12.--Zionist Ideology of Respondents.

	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Strongly agreed with Zionist ideology	49	573
Sympathetic with Zionist ideology	35	424
No feelings at all about Zionism	10	115
Somewhat opposed to Zionism	3	34
Strongly opposed to Zionism	2	21
No response	1	11
Total	100	1,178

While almost half of the respondents strongly agreed with Zionist ideology, 35 per cent were sympathetic with Zionist ideology. As a combined total 84 per cent of the respondents had positive feelings about Zionism. To the 16 per cent who came with no feelings about Zionism, or were somewhat opposed to Zionism, aliya was a personal matter--they came looking for adventure, or because husband, wife or children wanted to come, or because of a resurgence of Jewish culture, or just because they wanted to know about Judaism and thought Israel would be a good place to find out.

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In terms of traditional observance of religious affiliation, the tabulations showed 36 per cent claiming Orthodox affiliation, 29 per cent Conservative, 12 per cent Reform, with 20 per cent indicating no affiliation, 2 per cent did not respond.

It is not surprising to note that the largest group of American olim was composed of people of Orthodox affiliation, 37 per cent of the population study. The second largest group were conservative with 29 per cent of the total population. Twelve per cent were reform. There were also 237 respondents or 20 per cent who were non-affiliated with these groups, however, they made up almost one-fifth of the total population. These may be the "cultural type" Jews who are not observant or religious but who may have a strong Jewish identity or a cultural attachment to Judaism, even without being a synagogue-affiliated Jew (Table 4.13).

The general education background of the recent olim was above average, with 23 per cent having had some college training, 27 per cent university graduates, 20 per cent graduate school training or equivalent and 12 per cent with doctorates. Those with elementary education constituted only 2 per cent. These were not native Americans since the compulsory school age was through sixteen. It would have been earlier Jewish immigrants to the United States with little schooling, those who came before or soon after World War I (Table 4.15).

On the general education of the spouse percentages were found to be much the same through high school. However, a greater percentage of spouses completed high school and a lower percentage of spouses went on for higher education (Table 4.16).

TABLE 4.13.--Affiliate

Jewish Religion
Orthodox
Conservative
Reform
Non-affiliated or no
No response
Total

TABLE 4.14.--Feel

Feeling About Jew
Strongly liked J
Sympathetic with
No feelings at Culture
Somewhat dislik
Disliked Jewish
No response
Total

*Less

TABLE 4.13.--Affiliated Trend in Jewish Religion.

Jewish Religion	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Orthodox	37	437
Conservative	29	343
Reform	12	135
Non-affiliated or no-trend	20	237
No response	2	26
Total	100	1,178

TABLE 4.14.--Feeling About Jewish Culture Prior to Coming to Israel.

Feeling About Jewish Culture	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Strongly liked Jewish Culture	69	806
Sympathetic with Jewish Culture	25	291
No feelings at all about Jewish Culture	4	52
Somewhat disliked Jewish Culture	1	17
Disliked Jewish Culture	*	5
No response	1	7
Total	100	1,178

*Less than 1%.

BLE 4.15.--General

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. High school gra
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BLE 4.16.--Gene

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. Elementary g
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. High school
. High school
. College or u
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. Graduate sch
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o response

Total

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TABLE 4.15.--General Education of Respondents.

Education	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1. No formal schooling	*	2
]. Elementary grades 1-4	*	2
3. Elementary grades 5-8	2	20
4. High school grades 9-10	2	23
5. High school grades 11-12	13	147
6. College or university--without degree	23	275
7. College or university--B.A., B.S., or equivalent	27	322
8. Graduate school or technical school--master's degree, law degree, or equivalent	20	233
9. Graduate school, doctorate degree (M.D., D.D.S., Ph.D., or equivalent)	12	142
No response	1	12
Total	100	1,178

*Less than 1%.

TABLE 4.16.--General Education of Spouse.

Education	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1. No formal schooling	*	2
2. Elementary grades 1-4	*	4
3. Elementary grades 5-8	2	27
4. High school grades 9-10	3	39
5. High school grades 11-12	15	173
6. College or university--without degree	16	181
7. College or university--B.A., B.S., or equivalent	19	219
8. Graduate school or technical school--master's degree, law degree, or equivalent	10	122
9. Graduate school, doctorate degree (M.D., D.D.S., Ph.D., or equivalent)	6	69
No response	29	342
Total	100	1,178

*Less than 1%.

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As a total group of all respondents it was found that 82 per cent had attended college and 32 per cent had attended graduate school. This does not account for the singles and young marrieds continuing their education in universities in Israel. Educationally, the respondents were an elite group.

The one characteristic common to a majority of the American olim was Jewish education. Eighty-four per cent had some Jewish schooling in America. Sixteen per cent had Jewish training through Sunday School, or private teacher, 11 per cent attended Sunday School, 26 per cent attended afternoon Hebrew School, 24 per cent attended all-day schools, and 18 per cent had higher Jewish education beyond a Jewish Day School.

The largest group attended afternoon Hebrew School, 26 per cent. The next three groups attended full Hebrew-Day Schools and they represent 8 per cent, 7 per cent and 9 per cent respectively which totals 24 per cent of the respondents. This is higher than the American Jewish average.

Eighteen per cent of the total population had an excellent Jewish education background. A great percentage of such people, because of the intensive study in Jewish religion and culture, are attracted to Israel, go as tourists, consider aliya and then actually go on aliya. Whether they succeed or not is another question, but the motivation and desire were there.

The combined group, 51 per cent fit the professional and semi-professional group in their occupation (Table 4.19). The second group, small business and trades and public servants comprise

TABLE 4.17--Jewish

Jewish Educational	
No formal Jewi education	
Private or hou	
Sunday School	
Afternoon or	
Jewish or Hebr	
Cheder	
Yeshiva or Bet	
College of Jew Studies	
Institution o as Rabbinic Hebrew or	
No response	
Total	

TABLE 4.18.--Jew

Jewish Education	
No formal Je education	
Private or h	
Sunday Schoo	
Afternoon or	
Jewish or He	
Cheder	
Yeshiva or	
College of Studies	
Institution as Rabbin Hebrew or	
No response	
Total	

TABLE 4.17.--Jewish Educational Background of Respondent.

Jewish Educational Background	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1. No formal Jewish or Hebrew education	14	162
2. Private or house teacher	5	59
3. Sunday School	11	127
4. Afternoon or Hebrew School	26	303
5. Jewish or Hebrew Day School	8	93
6. Cheder	7	78
7. Yeshiva or Beth Jacob School	9	111
8. College of Jewish or Hebrew Studies	10	118
9. Institution of higher learning as Rabbinical School, Graduate Hebrew or Jewish Studies	8	100
No response	2	27
Total	100	1,178

TABLE 4.18.--Jewish Educational Background of Spouse.

Jewish Educational Background	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1. No formal Jewish or Hebrew education	13	154
2. Private or house teacher	5	61
3. Sunday School	7	82
4. Afternoon or Hebrew School	13	161
5. Jewish or Hebrew Day School	8	91
6. Cheder	4	44
7. Yeshiva or Beth Jacob School	6	70
8. College of Jewish or Hebrew Studies	7	81
9. Institution of higher learning as Rabbinical School, Graduate Hebrew or Jewish Studies	4	45
No response	33	389
Total	100	1,178

TABLE 4.19.--Occup
to I

Occupation

Doctor, dentist,
professor

Accountant, pharm
social worker,
professional g

Executive, admin
administrator,
official

Merchant, agent,
business (such
insurance, or
self-employed

Trades (electri
mechanical)

Private or publ
police, fire,
any other cle

Agriculturist,

Factory or shop

Unskilled worke
training for

No response

Total

*Less

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TABLE 4.19.--Occupation During the Two Years Just Before Coming to Israel.

Occupation	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Doctor, dentist, lawyer, university professor	7	86
Accountant, pharmacist, engineer, social worker, teacher, or other professional group	37	435
Executive, administrator, junior administrator, or high government official	7	78
Merchant, agent, or engaged in business (such as broker, insurance, or sales, or any self-employed business	10	117
Trades (electrical, plumbing, mechanical)	3	30
Private or public service, such as police, fire, post, government or any other clerical position	5	57
Agriculturist, fisherman, or miner	*	1
Factory or shop worker	1	11
Unskilled worker with no special training for position	2	20
No response	28**	343
Total	100	1,178

*Less than 1%.

**The reasons for the high percentage of no response to this question may be due to the number of students responding who did not work prior to coming to Israel and also the number of housewives who did not work outside of the home prior to coming to Israel.

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18 per cent of the population. The third group, agriculturists, fishermen, miners, factory or shop workers comprises only 3 per cent of the population. Antonovsky states that 29 per cent of the respondents were professionals, 25 per cent were in business or white collar workers and 9 per cent were skilled manual workers. However, in this study 51 per cent were professionals and semi-professionals, 15 per cent business and white collar workers, and 4 per cent skilled manual workers or shop workers and trades. Antonovsky's figures conceal a strong trend over time and with the later period of aliya the higher the proportion of professionals. This agrees with the respondents' occupations, which shows that among recent American and Canadian immigrants who came in the 1967-71 period a greater increase in the professional group and a decline in the skilled, manual workers. Two conclusions may be drawn: Since Israel has become an industrialized state, it has attracted people with professions and skills necessary to fulfill its commercial, industrial and social needs. The greatest need in Israel is no longer tilling the soil and draining swamps but rather the building of cities, towns and kibbutzim.

Regarding occupational status of head of family before coming to Israel, 62 per cent were salary earners. The next highest number were self-employed with no employees, 8 per cent,, 5 per cent with 1-4 employees and 6 per cent with 5 or more employees. A great majority of the respondents, salary earners, went on aliya believing that they could become salary employees in Israel and go on in much the same manner as they had in America (Table 4.20).

TABLE 4.20.--Occup
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Occupational Stat

1. Employee (sal
2. Self-employe
3. Employer of
4. Employer of
5. Working with
business
No response
Total

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TABLE 4.21.--O
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Occupational S

1. Employee
2. Self-empl
3. Employer
4. Employer
5. Working
busine
No response
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TABLE 4.20.--Occupational Status of Head of Family Before Coming to Israel.

Occupational Status	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1. Employee (salary earner)	62	726
2. Self-employed with no employees	8	96
3. Employer of 1-4 persons	5	57
4. Employer of 5 or more persons	6	67
5. Working without pay in family business	*	6
No response	19	226
Total	100	1,178

*Less than 1%.

TABLE 4.21.--Occupational Status of Head of Family Since Coming to Israel.

Occupational Status	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1. Employee (salary earner)	57	669
2. Self-employed with no employees	5	53
3. Employer of 1-4 persons	2	19
4. Employer of 5 or more persons	1	13
5. Working without pay in family business	*	7
No response	35	407
Total	100	1,178

*Less than 1%.

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This study shows that since coming to Israel fewer people were self-employed. It can be noted that to become an entrepreneur in a new country of arrival is not an easy matter. Labor is very expensive; the worker is well protected by employer-paid severance and insurance protection. Inasmuch as Israel is a socialist country it is much unionized. In addition the bureaucratic red tape involved in getting government licenses and business loans which must come from the Ministry of Finance tends to discourage prospective businessmen.

Antonovsky reports[4] that American Jews have been, in large measure, concentrated in three occupational groupings: professional and semi-professionals, small businessmen and lower white-collar workers, and to a substantially lesser extent skilled manual workers. Over the last two generations, the first has increased whereas the other two have declined.

A drop is noted in all categories of occupational status of head of family since coming to Israel, with "no response" almost doubling. Many respondents had not yet made their decision regarding occupational status. They may have still been in absorption center, hostel, kibbutz, university or just in transit before entering the labor market.

Income among the American olim was widely distributed. Less than 10 per cent of the respondents earned under $100 before coming to Israel. These were mainly students, young people who had gone to school to finish degrees prior to coming to Israel and perhaps worked part-time. These also included people on pension. Thirteen per cent earned from $4,000 - $7,999 and still a higher group, 18 per cent,

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arned $8,000 - $11,999 per year. Fifteen per cent had an income of 12,000 - $15,999, 20 per cent had an income of $16,000 - $24,999, .5 per cent earned between $25,000 - $39,999 and 3 per cent earned 40,000 or more.

All of this suggests that the majority of American olim, 53 er cent, were in the income brackets between $8,000 and $25,000. ourteen per cent did not respond to the question (Table 4.22).

Income* among the American olim since coming to Israel showed slightly higher rise from the lowest step of 9 per cent before oming to Israel, to 12 per cent at the lowest step after coming to srael. This group included the students who may have been studying r working toward higher degrees and just supplementing their income. mmigrant students receive tuition grants as well as money for upport from the Department of Immigrant Absorption. This group ncluded people living on kibbutzim who receive very little monetary ncome as all needs are provided by the kibbutz.

At the next four succeeding income levels salary is lower than n comparable levels before coming to Israel. However, the percentage f olim earning higher salaries was greater than the percentage at the igher end of the salary scale before coming to Israel. This seems o suggest that the Israeli government and industry would pay very igh salaries in order to attract Americans with the skills which

*Respondents were asked how much they earned per year in erica as salaries are computed on a yearly basis. In Israel ey were asked for monthly earnings as salaries are computed on monthly basis.

TABLE 4.22.--Gross

Gross Income

1. $100 - 3,999
2. $4,000 - 7,99
3. $8,000 - 11,9
4. $12,000 - 15,
5. $16,000 - 19,
6. $20,000 - 24,
7. $25,000 - 29
8. $30,000 - 39
9. $40,000 - ov
No response
Total

TABLE 4.23.--G

Gross Income

1. IL, below
2. IL 200 -
3. IL 400 -
4. IL 600 -
5. IL 800 -
6. IL 1,000
7. IL 1,400
8. IL 2,000
9. IL 3,000
No response
Tot

TABLE 4.22.--Gross Income Per Year Before Coming to Israel.

Gross Income	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1. $100 - 3,999	9	112
2. $4,000 - 7,999	13	155
3. $8,000 - 11,999	18	215
4. $12,000 - 15,999	15	175
5. $16,000 - 19,999	11	126
6. $20,000 - 24,999	9	106
7. $25,000 - 29,999	4	44
8. $30,000 - 39,999	4	41
9. $40,000 - over	3	36
No response	14	168
Total	100	1,178

TABLE 4.23.--Gross Income Per Month Since Coming to Israel.

Gross Income	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
1. IL, below 200	12	141
2. IL 200 - 399	3	30
3. IL 400 - 599	5	57
4. IL 600 - 799	7	81
5. IL 800 - 999	8	92
6. IL 1,000 - 1,399	16	195
7. IL 1,400 - 1,999	18	212
8. IL 2,000 - 2,999	9	107
9. IL 3,000 - over	3	36
No response	19	227
Total	100	1,178

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y most need. On Israeli standards an income of I.L.* 18,000 - ,000 is a good income,** that of high executives or ministers in vernment. In Israel, however, there are many fringe benefits which n almost equal the salary; e.g., free or low-rental housing, free e of car or allowance on car expense, and telephone advantages and id vacations.

The "no response" percentage is greater since coming to rael. This may be explained by the number of people still residing absorption centers, hostels, kibbutzim, university campus, or ing involved in a retraining program before actually beginning a b--or may still be looking for employment.

The following deserves mention: Most of the American olim rive between June-December rather than January-June. One very ob- ous reason for this is that Americans do not come because they are rced out of America or because they must go whenever the government ves them permission to leave. The American immigrant takes his ne and plans well. For a family with children, as the majority re, it was logical to leave at the end of the school year. This is o true for the largest group of singles, who came at the completion the school year. Some individuals who were not involved with ool or people without children did come during the January-June iod. The number, however, was small. People like to travel during

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*I.L. is an abbreviation for "Israeli Lira" (legal currency srael).

**At this point it may be pointed out that as far as earning r (income) is concerned on various jobs or occupations, one must re a one-to-one basis ($1 = I.L. 1). How much buying power a lira in conjunction with a dollar will be discussed in a later chapter.

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e summer months and these have been the heaviest for both tourists
d olim from America (Table 4.24).

The later the period of arrival to Israel, the more respond-
ts answered the questionnaire. Several factors may be involved:
re recent arrivals who may not have chosen to remain had not yet
ft the country. Those who came on aliya wanted to try for at least
o to three years. From the group who had been in the country longer
ere were more returnees. The questionnaires which were returned as
t delivered were often marked "Returned to America" or "Address
known." Recent olim were more enthusiastic about sharing exper-
nces, knowledge and information with others, and were generally
lling to cooperate in this study. Older residents, once estab-
shed, did not consider themselves "new olim" and thus, in many
ses, did not care to respond.

The matter of length of residence is an important social
aracteristic in and of itself, as well as a significant aspect
the adjustment. The longer a person is in the country the better
can balance his positive and negative reactions to his adjustment
ocess. He can see things in better perspective and becomes familiar
h the way of life. He can adjust his patterns of living accord-
ly. He gradually stops thinking of Israelis as "them" and thinks
tead in terms of "us."

TABLE 4.24.--Re

Date

1. Before June
2. June, 196
3. January, 19
4. July, 1968
5. January, 19
6. July, 1969
7. January, 1
8. July, 1970
9. After Janu
No response
Total

TABLE 4.25.--

Date

1. Before Ju
2. June, 196
3. January,
4. July, 196
5. January,
6. July, 196
7. January,
8. July, 19
9. After Ja
No response
Tota

LE 4.24.--Respondent's Arrival in Israel.

e	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Before June, 1967	2	28
June, 1967 - December, 1967	5	50
January, 1968 - June, 1968	3	30
July, 1968 - December, 1968	7	87
January, 1969 - June, 1969	5	52
July, 1969 - December, 1969	15	182
January, 1970 - June, 1970	9	109
July, 1970 - December, 1970	29	342
After January, 1971	23	274
response	2	24
Total	100	1,178

LE 4.25.--Spouse's Arrival in Israel.

	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Before June, 1967	5	54
June, 1967 - December, 1967	2	27
January, 1968 - June, 1968	2	25
uly, 1968 - December, 1968	5	53
anuary, 1969 - June, 1969	3	38
uly, 1969 - December, 1969	9	111
anuary, 1970 - June, 1970	6	67
ıly, 1970 - December, 1970	18	217
ter January, 1971	15	173
ponse	35	413
Total	100	1,178

[1]Aaron
[illegible], a Prelimin
[illegible]casion of th
[illegible]Applied Social

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid

[4]Ibid

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 4

[1]Aaron Antonovsky, Americans and Canadians in Israel, Report , a Preliminary Report Presented to the Jewish Agency on the casion of the 27th Zionist Congress, The Israel Institute of plied Social Research, Jerusalem, 1968, p. 4.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 5.

[4]Ibid., p. 8.

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CHAPTER 5

THE MOTIVES FOR ALIYA

Aliya, as with all major life actions, occurs against a back-
ound of diverse motives, not all of them conscious. Much could be
itten about why people decide to live in Israel. Sociological
neralizations are inevitably crude; nonetheless they are the only
ssible way of characterizing a sizable population.

In order to determine the motives to relocate in Israel each
rson in this study was given a list of twenty-eight possible reasons
r aliya. He was asked to determine the degree of importance for
h of these reasons as it related to his immigration. Each reason
to be rated as "very important," "important," "somewhat important"
"not important at all." From among these, people were able,
ost without exception, to select a particular category which they
ieved to be most appropriate to their situation. Additionally, the
pondent was asked to identify other factors which may have been
ortant in his undertaking aliya and further, to rank them in order
importance to him. The responses to these other factors are, in
ition, dealt with in this chapter.

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The twenty-eight possible reasons for aliya were divided be-
ween "pull" and "push" factors although none were so indicated on
e questionnaire.*

An analysis of the responses showed the following to be the
st important pull factors: "At home as a Jew in Israel" to 49 per
nt of those responding,** "Sense of purposeful existence in Israel"
45 per cent, "Better place for children to grow up" to 43 per cent,
Jewish national life in Israel" to 35 per cent, "Jewish cultural
e in Israel" to 30 per cent, "Like the pioneering spirit in Israel"
28 per cent, "Like the people in Israel" to 26 per cent (Table 5.2).

Of these responses in the combined*** category, those of the
atest pull were: "I thought I would have a sense of belongingness
Israel" first on the list with 91 per cent of the respondents and
thought I would feel at home as a Jew in Israel" second with 90
cent (Table 5.3).

An examination of the list of the "very important"**** moti-
onal pull factors in the decision to come to Israel discloses that

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*For the purpose of this analysis, "pull" factors are those
h positively attract people to Israel; "push" factors are those
h in creating dissatisfaction with the American way of life push
individual to emigrate.

**All such percentages in this study refer to those who actually
onded. Thus to 49 per cent of the 1,178 respondents "At home . . ."
the most important factor.

***"Combined category" is the term used to refer to a composite
onse of "very important," "important," and "somewhat important."

****Definitions for the four terms "very important," "important,"
what important" and "not important at all" were not given to the
rse. From their arrangement in a descending order, it was assumed
each respondent would define the degree of importance in terms of
wn experience. While it is, no doubt, possible that participants

TABLE 5.1.--Motives for a decision to come to Israel.*

"Pull" Factors**	Very Imp.		Imp.		Some Imp.		Not Imp.		N.R.	
	%	N***	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
									2	(20)

"Pull" Factors**	Very Imp.		Imp.		Some Imp.		Not Imp.		N.R.	
	%	N***	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
1. No prejudice or discrimination	22	(261)	21	(249)	24	(285)	31	(362)	2	(20)
2. Jewish national life in Israel	35	(416)	25	(293)	20	(230)	19	(218)	2	(21)
3. Fuller religious life in Israel	23	(268)	13	(159)	16	(192)	46	(538)	2	(21)
4. Jewish cultural life in Israel	30	(350)	26	(306)	25	(290)	18	(209)	2	(22)
5. Sense of belongingness in Israel	49	(576)	28	(335)	14	(166)	7	(84)	1	(17)
6. At home as a Jew in Israel	51	(596)	26	(303)	13	(159)	9	(106)	1	(14)
7. Like the people in Israel	26	(306)	33	(389)	25	(292)	14	(168)	2	(23)
8. Like the pioneering spirit in Israel	28	(326)	25	(293)	26	(308)	19	(227)	2	(24)
9. Better education for self in Israel	4	(51)	6	(75)	11	(124)	74	(869)	5	(54)
10. Better education for children in Israel	17	(203)	15	(171)	15	(175)	40	(469)	13	(156)
11. Better place for children to grow up (Israel)	43	(505)	18	(208)	6	(71)	6	(71)	27	(322)
12. Israel needs (my) services or skills	18	(217)	21	(253)	21	(245)	30	(354)	9	(109)
13. Better job or position in Israel (status)	3	(39)	5	(55)	9	(101)	78	(914)	6	(67)
14. Sense of purposeful existence in Israel	45	(527)	26	(302)	15	(174)	12	(140)	3	(35)
15. Wanted a fresh start	11	(134)	11	(125)	17	(196)	57	(674)	4	(48)

*Questionnaire (Appendix A) questions 21-35 in order as appear on questionnaire.

**Wording of the motivational "pull" factors are condensed from the questions.

***N in each case signifies the total number of respondents who replied to the item.

TABLE 5.2.--Very
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ABLE 5.2.--Very Important Motivational "Pull" Factors in the Decision to Come to Israel.*

tivational "Pull" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
home as a Jew in Israel	51	596
sense of belongingness in Israel	49	576
sense of purposeful existence	45	527
tter place for children to grow up (Israel)	43	505
wish national life in Israel	35	416
wish cultural life in Israel	30	350
ke the pioneering spirit in Israel	28	326
ke the people in Israel	26	306
ller religious life in Israel	23	268
prejudice or discrimination in Israel	22	261
rael needs (my) services or skills	18	217
tter education for children in Israel	17	203
ted a fresh start	11	134
tter education for self in Israel	4	51
tter job or position in Israel (status)	3	39

*Motivational "pull" factors are ranked by the percentages the total population stating "very important" and not by the er on the questionnaire.

**Wording of the motivational "pull" factors is condensed m the questions.

TABLE 5.3.--Combi
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TABLE 5.3.--Combined Motivational "Pull" Factors in a Decision to Come to Israel.*

Motivational "Pull" Factors*	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
A sense of belongingness in Israel	91	1,077
At home as a Jew in Israel	90	1,058
A sense of purposeful existence	86	1,003
Like the people in Israel	84	987
Jewish cultural life in Israel	81	946
Jewish national life in Israel	80	939
Like the pioneering spirit in Israel	79	927
No prejudice or discrimination in Israel	67	795
Better place for children to grow up (Israel)	67	784
Israel needs (my) services or skills	60	715
Fuller religious life	52	619
Better education for children in Israel	47	549
Wanted a fresh start	39	455
Better education for self in Israel	21	250
Better job or position in Israel (status)	17	195

*Motivational "pull" factors of "very important," "important," and "somewhat important" have been combined.

**Wording of the motivational "pull" factors is condensed from the questions.

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I thought I would feel at home as a Jew in Israel" which was rated
econd in the combined group is rated by 51 per cent of the respondents
s "very important" and "I thought I would have a sense of belonging-
ess in Israel" is rated as "very important" by 49 per cent of the
opulation. Thus the ranking position of the most important reasons
as changed by a small margin.

From the various factors which motivate American aliya were
hese two, the highest pull factors in both categories. If the
otives for coming to Israel of this population were to be summed up
one word it would be unquestionably "Jewishness."

This quest for "Jewishness" may stem from two great upheavals
contemporary Jewish life which have made it necessary for Jews in
he United States to re-examine and redefine their Jewish identity
the light of changed conditions these events have produced. First
me the destruction of six million Jews in the European holocaust.
e implications of this tragedy still reverberate throughout sections
the Jewish community, profoundly influencing all their conceptions
Jewish collective existence and of relations between the Jewish and
gentile world. In the wake of this tragedy came the emergence of
State of Israel, proclaimed and still regarded as a "Jewish State."
Jew, no matter how non-observant he may be, cannot in some way
ntify with the State of Israel, particularly so after the Six-Day
, when Israel as a geo-political entity achieved increased

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ied in their interpretation, it was felt that attempting to
vide a definition would in no way achieve a more, or less,
rate response from a statistical point of view.

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prominence in world affairs. There is evidence that the compelling impact of these events has brought about a renewal of identification with Jewishness, even for those who had been until this point only marginal Jews.[1]

A second motive in the establishment of the Jewish State was the conviction that Jews as individuals could not live as equals to their non-Jewish neighbors so long as Jews themselves were unequal among peoples. The establishment of the State of Israel gave dignity and self-respect to the entire Jewish population of the world.[2]

It becomes understandable, therefore, that "I thought I would have a sense of belongingness in Israel" and "I thought I would feel at home as a Jew in Israel" rated as 91 per cent and 90 per cent respectively as motivational "pull" factors in coming to Israel, understandable, where Jews constitute the majority society and Jewish identification is taken for granted.

The next two motivational factors which ranked high on the combined list for aliya were "Israel would give me a sense of purposeful existence" and "I thought I would like the people of Israel" with 86 per cent and 84 per cent respectively ranking them this way (Table 5.3).

While "Israel would give me a sense of purposeful existence" was third in ranking order of both the combined motivational pull factors and very important pull factors, "I thought I would like the people of Israel" dropped from fourth on the combined grouping to eighth in the very important category. Obviously, this was a factor in the decision for aliya, but not a very important one.

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The next three items of the combined "pull" factors in coming
o Israel are: "Jewish cultural life in Israel" with 81 per cent,
Jewish national life in Israel" with 80 per cent, "Like the pioneering
pirit in Israel" with 79 per cent (Table 5.3), all of which are ranked
s "very important" on the very important ranking list. They are not
xactly in the same position in ranking order, but they still rank
ifth through seventh in rank on the "very important" category
Table 5.2).

"Jewish national life in Israel" was rated by 35 per cent of
he respondents as "very important" and was rated by 80 per cent in
he combined group category. The high rating on "Jewish national life
n Israel" would seem to indicate a feeling of pride upon seeing, for
xample, the Israeli flag flying. Additionally, the Hebrew language
used not only for religious purposes, but as an every-day language
well. In America, many people believe that they must have a means
which to express their Jewishness, whether it be membership in a
nagogue, community center, or Jewish organization such as B'nai
ith. As one respondent put it, "You have to find all kinds of
eologies, things to hang onto, otherwise you don't feel enough
ish or you feel guilty if you don't, but in Israel one feels Jewish
l the time." Jewish holidays become national holidays in Israel
d whether or not one is observant he still has the holiday spirit
ause all stores, offices, banks and public institutions are closed.
expressed by one of the respondents, "You have a wonderful holiday
ling to see people buying flowers, dressing up in holiday clothes,
king down the street in a holiday atmosphere, a real air of joy."
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"Jewish cultural life* in Israel" has been rated by 30 per cent of the respondents as "very important" and if the categories are combined, by 81 per cent. "Jewish national life" follows on the combined motivational list, however, on the "very important" motivational pull factors it precedes "Jewish cultural life." All people like to look upon Israel as a home for all Jews, regardless of their particular degree of religiousity. It helps to establish one's identity if he knows that everyone walking down the street with him belongs to the same ethnic group that he does and that everyone on the street feels as he does contributes considerably to the feeling of not only Jewish identity but national identity.

The response "Jewish cultural life in Israel" is particularly important to the secular Jew to whom the cultural stress would be different from observant Jews. While the orthodox Jew places primary stress upon study of the Bible and the Talmud the cultural Jew focuses upon Jewish art, music and literature.

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*Culture is the development by education, training and discipline of the moral and intellectual nature of mankind. It is the enlightenment and refinement of taste and thought. It is the intellectual, content of a society, a nation, a civilization. Jewish culture is a term used to sum up the achievements of the Jews as a people in their social, religious, intellectual, and moral life, in the making more than 3,000 years, from the days of the nomadic tribes in the period of the Patriarchs, the Exodus from Egypt, the revelations at Sinai, the wanderings in the desert, the experiences of the states of Judah and Israel, the thunderings of the Prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Jeremiah. There were the influences and conditionings of the Babylonian Exile, the destruction of the Temple, the loss of statehood, the long Diaspora, the contact with Christianity, the general Renaissance, the French Revolution and the Jewish Renaissance, the Hasidic movement, the Haskala and the nationalistic movements, the emergence of Zionism, the migrations to America, the Nazi holocaust and the state of Israel. All these have influenced, have been a part of and have determined Jewish culture.

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"Jewish cultural life* in Israel" has been rated by 30 per cent of the respondents as "very important" and if the categories are combined, by 81 per cent. "Jewish national life" follows on the combined motivational list, however, on the "very important" motivational pull factors it precedes "Jewish cultural life." All people like to look upon Israel as a home for all Jews, regardless of their particular degree of religiousity. It helps to establish one's identity if he knows that everyone walking down the street with him belongs to the same ethnic group that he does and that everyone on the street feels as he does contributes considerably to the feeling of not only Jewish identity but national identity.

The response "Jewish cultural life in Israel" is particularly important to the secular Jew to whom the cultural stress would be different from observant Jews. While the orthodox Jew places primary stress upon study of the Bible and the Talmud the cultural Jew focuses upon Jewish art, music and literature.

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Secular Jews are anxious to preserve their ties with the Jewish people and wish to live in a society where religious observance is not the primary criterion of Jewish affiliation and they are not interested in the observing and practicing of Jewish laws and customs as a duty but rather as a tradition, a continuous tie with the Jewish culture. Since most Israelis are secular Jews,[3] more or less, the development of a Jewish non-religious culture has been clearly fostered.

"Like the pioneering spirit in Israel" is rated seventh in the combined category with 79 per cent of the respondents placing some degree of importance to pioneering spirit as a motive for aliya. Twenty-eight per cent of the respondents rated it as "very important." The percentage of people ranking the "pioneering spirit" as very important, or placing any degree of importance upon it has dropped since a study by Dr. Aaron Antonovsky. In his study, Dr. Antonovsky found that "Building Jewish homeland," or "pioneering spirit" was ranked highest on a list of fifteen motives for aliya, with 62 per cent of all respondents ranking it as a "very important" motive for aliya. Of immigrants who came to Israel prior to the establishment of the State of Israel (1948) 91 per cent ranked "pioneering spirit" as "very important" in their decision for aliya. Ninety per cent of the immigrants who came between 1948-56 ranked "pioneering spirit" as a "very important" motive in their decision, and of those who came 1957-66, 71 per cent ranked it as "very important."[4] From this study it was determined that 28 per cent indicated that it was "very important." From this it may be concluded that the pioneering spirit

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:cessive wave of immigrants.

"Israel is a better place for children to grow up" ranked
ghth in the combined category of importance with 67 per cent of the
spondents reporting, and 23 per cent of the respondents placing it
the "very important" category. A great majority felt that Israel
s a better place for children to grow up. Some of the remarks by
spondents included: "A student may not feel left out during the
ristmas holiday in a Christian country--or come home with a black
e due to an anti-Semitic slur or remark in school." There being no
hool on Jewish religious holidays, there is no pressure of the kind
ich often occurs when a youngster feels he can/cannot attend classes.

The feeling of the majority of the respondents was that while
was possible to continue religious observance in America, for their
ildren's sake it would be far more wholesome to be brought up in the
tally Jewish atmosphere where one is in the majority.

"Israel needs (my) services or skill" is rated tenth in the
nbined group categories of importance with 60 per cent of the re-
ondents placing some degree of importance on this motive, and it
ks eleventh in the "very important" category with 18 per cent of
respondents so reporting. One-fifth of the population felt that
ir needs or skills were very important in Israel, to them it was
very important" motivational pull factor. Further, it can be seen
t a majority also attached some kind of importance to this feeling
eing needed. The majority of Americans do come with considerable
pational training or professional status and their feeling was

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that their services or skills would be much needed and their work appreciated.

"No prejudice or discrimination in Israel" was rated ninth in the combined group category of importance with 67 per cent of the respondents, but as a "very important" category ranked tenth with 22 per cent. From this it might be inferred that a majority of immigrants to Israel did not feel, as Jews in America, any particular prejudice or discrimination. This implication is supported by the fact that many people who responded lived in suburbs or sections of the city ghettos, if you will, where they were in the majority, attending schools where they were equally in the majority. Most respondents had not felt personally any prejudice or discrimination in their daily lives but were certainly aware that it existed and could affect them, if not now, then at some later time. While they did not make it their primary reason for immigrating to Israel, it did enter into the thinking and reasoning for such a move.

About one-fifth of the population felt that in Israel one could live a more complete religious life; "Fuller religious life" therefore ranked twelfth in the combined group category of importance with 52 per cent of the respondents, and as a "very important" category it ranked in ninth place with 23 per cent of the respondents. A majority of people who expressed themselves accordingly believed that in Israel they could observe mitzvot, particularly those which could only be carried out in Israel.* This is obviously a strong

*There are certain mitzvot (commandments) which can be carried only in the Holy Land, and if one does not live there he cannot do so.

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"pull" factor for any orthodox Jew desiring to fulfill the Taryag (613) mitzvot.*

Many expressed a desire to be nearer the religious shrines such as the Western Wall, Rachel's Tomb, the Tombs of the Patriarchs, as well as other holy places mentioned in the Bible. Visiting such holy places and shrines might well be the inspiration for living a fuller religious life.

Because religious holidays are also national holidays it is easier to observe one's religious obligations. Further the possibility of a more complete religious life gave rise to the feeling that Israel was an ideal place to bring up children as the conflict was no longer there.

The last four of the combined motivational "pull" factors by rank were: "Better education for children in Israel" 47 per cent, "Wanted a fresh start" 39 per cent, "Better education for self in Israel" 21 per cent, "Better job or position in Israel (status)" 17 per cent. None of these were rated by a majority of the respondents as having importance in their motivational "pull" factors for coming to Israel.

In the "very important" category it was determined that "Better education for children in Israel" ranked highest of this group of four with 17 per cent. Next highest was "Wanted a fresh start" with 11 per cent; "Better education for self in Israel" and "Better job or position in Israel" were 4 per cent and 3 per cent respectively. In both the combined motivational "pull" factor group

*According to the Bible there are 613 mitzvot.

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(Table 5.3) and the "very important" motivational "pull" factor group (Table 5.2) the positions of these four factors remain the same.

It may be concluded that the majority felt that it was not the education in Israel which was a "pull" to Israel. It was very important to only 17 per cent of the population for children's education, as opposed to 4 per cent for self.

It may be possible that only 17 per cent interested in children's education as a "pull" factor in their decision to come to Israel reflected only that part of the population married and with children. Forty per cent of the respondents were single or married without children and thus did not respond to that question. Similarly, of those interested in educating themselves, only 23 per cent of the population was of an age that would be concerned with continuing their education, the great majority being more concerned with an immediate livelihood than with furthering their education. They were bent on establishing themselves in positions that would enable them to live in Israel and it is also shown that while they need a position to live, it is not the position itself or status involved that brings them to Israel--the position appeared to be a means of financial support as opposed to an academic end in itself.

Of the "non-important motivational pull factors" in the decision to immigrate, the most frequently indicated were: "Better job or position in Israel (status) 78 per cent; Better education for self in Israel" 74 per cent; "Wanted a fresh start" 57 per cent. To an American such considerations are, relatively speaking, of lesser influence in immigrating inasmuch as if one were really concerned about

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TABLE 5.4.--Non-Important Motivational "Pull" Factors in the Decision to Come to Israel.*

Motivational "Pull" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Better job or position in Israel (status)	78	914
Better education for self in Israel	74	869
Wanted a fresh start	57	674
Fuller religious life	46	538
Better education for children in Israel	40	469
No prejudice or discrimination in Israel	31	362
Israel needs (my) services or skills	30	354
Like the pioneering spirit in Israel	19	227
Jewish national life in Israel	19	218
Jewish cultural life in Israel	18	209
Like the people in Israel	14	168
A sense of purposeful existence	12	140
At home as a Jew in Israel	9	106
A sense of belongingness in Israel	7	84
Better place for children to grow up (Israel)	6	71

*Motivational "pull" factors are ranked by the percentages of the total population stating "not important" and not by the order in the questionnaire.

**Wording of the motivational "pull" factors is condensed from the questions.

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these things, he would make such attempts in America rather than in Israel where, because of the size, complexity, and makeup of the business sector, there would be far greater variety of occupation and opportunity for achievement.

The motives which have been listed as "push" factors, while important to a number of respondents, did not rank as high as "pull" factors in motives for a decision to come to Israel.

Combining the three categories of importance reveals that "High crime rate in America" was the highest "push" factor with 61 per cent of the respondents. The second highest "push" factor was "Racial tensions in America" with 60 per cent so responding (Table 5.7). In the "very important" category, both lose their ranking position. "High crime" shifted from first ranking position to third ranking position in the "very important" category with 15 per cent of the respondents and "racial tensions" moved from second to fifth ranking position with 12 per cent of the respondents (Table 5.6). It is evident that these motives had some degree of importance but, not as one might believe, very high as "very important" "push" factors.

"Assimilation in America" was ranked as third in the combined group category of importance with 57 per cent of the respondents, and America as an undesirable place to raise children as fourth with 55 per cent of the respondents. "America as an undesirable place to raise children" and "Assimilation in America" were rated as most important by 17 per cent of the population in their decision to come to Israel.

TABLE 5.5.--Motives for a Decision to Come to Israel.*

"Push" Factors**	Very Imp.		Imp.		Some Imp.		Not Imp.		N.R.	
	%	N***	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
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...ance for a Decision to Come to Israel.*

"Push" Factors**	Very Imp.		Imp.		Some Imp.		Not Imp.		N.R.	
	%	N***	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Anti-Semitism in America	10	(121)	12	(146)	30	(358)	45	(527)	2	(26)
Assimilation in America	17	(197)	16	(183)	24	(287)	40	(473)	3	(35)
Racial tensions in America	12	(147)	17	(197)	31	(367)	37	(441)	2	(26)
Political unrest in America	11	(128)	14	(164)	26	(309)	46	(547)	3	(30)
Drug problem in America	13	(149)	16	(185)	25	(293)	44	(520)	2	(29)
High crime rate in America	15	(175)	18	(210)	28	(335)	37	(432)	2	(25)
Danger of unemployment in America	4	(45)	6	(67)	14	(160)	73	(862)	4	(43)
Worried about holding job in America	2	(23)	3	(39)	6	(71)	83	(980)	5	(64)
America as an undesirable place to raise children	17	(206)	16	(186)	22	(259)	37	(431)	8	(95)
Against war in Viet Nam	9	(109)	9	(106)	14	(165)	63	(747)	4	(51)
Spouse wanted to go to Israel	11	(126)	7	(86)	8	(86)	54	(633)	20	(240)
Friend/friends went to Israel	3	(30)	4	(48)	12	(138)	73	(865)	8	(94)
Wanted to try it out--can't pinpoint reason	10	(113)	9	(107)	13	(152)	57	(675)	11	(128)

*Questionnaire (Appendix A) questions 36-48 in order as appear on questionnaire.

**Wording of the motivational "push" factors are condensed from the questions.

***N in each case signifies the total number of respondents who replied to the item.

TABLE 5.6.--

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TABLE 5.6.--Very Important Motivational "Push" Factors in the Decision to Come to Israel.*

Motivational "Push" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
America as an undesirable place to raise children	17	206
Assimilation in America	17	197
High crime rate in America	15	175
Drug problem in America	13	149
Racial tensions in America	12	147
Political unrest in America	11	128
Spouse wanted to go to Israel	11	126
Anti-Semitism in America	10	121
Wanted to try it out--can't pinpoint reason	10	113
Against war in Viet Nam	9	109
Danger of unemployment in America	4	43
Friend/friends went to Israel	3	30
Worried about holding job in America	2	23

*Motivational "push" factors are ranked by the percentages of the total population stating "very important" and not by the order on the questionnaire.

**Wording of the motivational "push" factors is condensed from the questions.

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TABLE 5.7.--Combined Motivational "Push" Factors in a Decision to Come to Israel.*

Motivational "Push" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
High crime rate in America	61	720
Racial tensions in America	60	681
Assimilation in America	57	667
America as an undesirable place to raise children	55	651
Drug problem in America	54	627
Anti-Semitism in America	53	625
Political unrest in America	51	601
Against war in Viet Nam	32	380
Wanted to try it out--can't pinpoint reason	32	372
Spouse wanted to go to Israel	26	298
Danger of unemployment in America	24	272
Friend/friends went to Israel	19	216
Worried about holding job in America	11	93

*Motivational "push" factors of "very important," "important," and "somewhat important" have been combined.

**Wording of the motivational "push" factors is condensed from the questions.

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Herman[5] writes in a recent study that

> the students desire Jewish identity in the Diaspora to be preserved even though they are pessimistic about the capacity of the Jewish communities to maintain their identity. They do not hold the view that the alternative to aliya to Israel should be assimilation.[6] When asked what a youth abroad who was not prepared to immigrate to Israel should do--maintain his Jewishness or assimilate--not only the religious students (99%)--but also the great majority (82%) of the non-religious students state that he should maintain his Jewishness abroad. A minority of non-religious students (18%), however, favor assimilation.

"The growing rate of out-marriages in countries of the Dias-

pora has been viewed with apprehension by the leadership of these

communities as constituting a serious threat to Jewish survival."[7]

This apprehension was not strongly reflected in the views of the

students. The majority did indeed oppose out-marriages[8] and only a

ere handful expressed a view in favor of them, but at the same time

ver half of the non-religious students (and about a third of the

raditionalists) refrained from any expression of opposition regarding

t-marriage as the private affair of the persons involved. Parents,

the whole, were more opposed than students, but the non-religious

rents held attitudes similar to that of the non-religious students.[9]

The next three highest of the combined group category in the

ivational "push" factors of importance were: "The drug problem in

rica" with 54 per cent, "Anti-Semitism in America with 52 per cent,

"Political unrest in America" with 51 per cent. These three were

primary "push: of those who had made a decision to come to Israel

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fifth position in the combined group to the fourth position in the "very important" group.

"Anti-Semitism in America" with 53 per cent of the respondents shifted from sixth position of importance in the combined group to the eighth position in "very important" category with 10 per cent of the respondents. Although a majority felt there was anti-Semitism, only 10 per cent felt it was a sufficiently important factor to make them immigrate.

An anti-Semitic experience had not been a great motivational factor in a decision to come to Israel. In this study it was found that 10 per cent stated "very important," 12 per cent stated "important," 30 per cent stated "somewhat important," and 45 per cent "not important." However, that 30 per cent reported "somewhat important" cannot be dismissed completely as it did affect some people. Herman states that the "push" was not a direct reaction to the grosser manifestation of anti-Semitism. Although they were not oblivious of the existence of anti-Semitism, the majority did not regard it as a potentially serious threat. Students hailing from New York and other cities with large Jewish populations found difficulty in recalling anti-Semitic incidents in which they were personally involved.[10] Indeed, overt anti-Semitism apparently decreased during the two decades which constituted the life span of the student, and in 1965 it did not seem to be prominent in the consciousness of American Jews.[11]

Herman's study deals primarily with young students who were born after the holocaust and did not view the events as something that

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could happen in America. However, the study population includes many people who experienced the holocaust personally or lived through it in America. It is etched indelibly in their minds. They can never totally trust the humanity of the non-Jewish world and feel that Israel is the only place where they could be sure that no anti-Semitism would arise.

"Political unrest in America" was rated 51 per cent in the combined category of importance and shifted from seventh position in this category to sixth position in the "very important" category with 11 per cent. It may be seen that a majority of people indicated political unrest as having some importance in their decision to come to Israel. It has been indicated by some that they could see a similarity between the United States at present (1967-71) and Germany in the early 1930's when there was a great cry for "nationalism." In the United States it was a cry for law and order. They feared a similar trend and similar outcome which would be disastrous for Jews in the United States. This thought was expressed by people who had lived through the holocaust era and feared its recurrence elsewhere.

Of the remaining "push" factors, none were chosen by one-third of the population in the combined category of importance, and therefore seems to have had little effect on the motivational "push" factors for a decision to come to Israel (Table 5.7). It seems that after consideration of the various motivational factors, the final decision was based on many factors both "pull" and "push" a single factor could not be pinpointed. However, it can be seen that "pull" motivations were strong in making this decision and it was the "pull"

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TABLE 5.8.--Non-Important Motivational "Push" Factors in the Decision to Come to Israel.*

Motivational "Push" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Worried about holding job in America	83	980
Friend/friends went to Israel	73	865
Danger of unemployment in America	73	862
Against war in Viet Nam	63	747
Wanted to try it out--can't pinpoint reason	57	675
Spouse wanted to go to Israel	54	633
Political unrest in America	46	547
Anti-Semitism in America	45	527
Drug problem in America	44	520
Assimilation in America	40	473
Racial tensions in America	37	441
High crime rate in America	37	432
America as an undesirable place to raise children	37	431

*Motivational "push" factors are ranked by the percentages of the total population stating "not important" and not by the order on the questionnaire.

**Wording of the motivational "push" factors is condensed from the questions.

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People do not usually like to point out their negative reasons for coming. As cited by Herman, "once you reach your goal it is not pleasant to discuss the negative factors that brought you there.[12] It seems to be more fashionable to emphasize positive rather than negative factors and to say "I came because I like . . ." rather than give the feeling that one is anxious to leave something behind. However, in this case, in an anonymous study, some of these factors were brought to light and people did specify how they felt but probably not as strongly as they would have if these questions had been asked prior to leaving their country.

These were the factors that people felt were not important as "push" factors in coming to Israel in ranking order:

Worried about holding job in America	83%
Danger of unemployment in America	73%
Friend/friends went to Israel	73%
Against Viet Nam war	63%
Wanted to try it out	57%

Three-quarters and more were not worried about holding a job in America or about the unemployment in America. That their friends wanted to go or went to Israel was not an important factor to most of the respondents, neither was the war in Viet Nam (in progress at the time of this study) or the fact that they just wanted to try it out.

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It may be concluded that while the "push" factors had some degree of influence upon olim, such influence was of a far lesser impact than the "pull" factors particularly those related to being religious, nationalistic, and "Jewish."

As in the case with every study which involves a questionnaire, there are inevitably those responses, which, being very personal and very individualistic, defy categorizing. These are listed in Appendix B.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 5

[1]Simon N. Herman, Israelis and Jews, The Continuity of an Identity (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 8.

[2]Ibid., p. 9.

[3]Results of the elections for the Knesset (Parliament) by parties to the sixth Knesset, November 2, 1965 showed that the two religious parties, the Agudat Israel and the Mizrachi-National Party received 5.1% and 8.9% respectively, totaling 14% of the vote. S. N. Eisenstadt, Israeli Society (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967), pp. 294-95.

[4]Aaron Antonovsky, Americans and Canadians in Israel, op. cit., June, 1968, p. 9.

[5]Herman, op. cit., p. 86.

[6]"Assimilation" was a much derided word among the students and they spoke with contempt of "assimilationist" Jews. But assimilation has many guises and it was clear that the students had not given more than superficial thought to this problem area.

[7]M. Sklare, "Intermarriage and the Jewish Future," Commentary, XXVII (1964), 46-52.

[8]M. Davis, "Mixed Marriage in Western Jewry: Historical Backgrounds to the Jewish Response," Jewish Journal of Sociology, X (1968), 177-220. Davis uses the term "out-marriage" to cover both inter-marriage and mixed-marriage. He differentiates between these two terms. Mixed-marriage is defined as "marriage between a Jew and a non-Jew in which neither partner renounces his religious faith" whereas in intermarriage "one of the partners adopts the faith of the other before marriage in an attempt to achieve a religious unity in the family.

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[9]Herman, op. cit., p. 87.

[10]Simon N. Herman, American Students in Israel (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 90.

[11]C. M. Stember et al., Jews in the Mind of America (New York: Basic Books, 1966) summarize the findings of public polls over a period of twenty-five years from 1937 onward. Their conclusion (which related to the position before 1966) is that anti-Jewish prejudice obviously is not yet a thing of the past; any more than anti-Jewish discrimination is, but both are unmistakably in a state of decline [p. 217]." The implications of this observation are debated by several of the contributors to the volume.

[12]Dr. Simon Herman, in a lecture series at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Fall, 1971.

CHAPTER 6

SETTLING IN ISRAEL

It was only to be expected that not all of those who immigrated to Israel would remain permanently and take up citizenship. Invariably, some returned home, having been disappointed and disillusioned. The majority, however, chose to remain and, in so doing, had a variety of reasons. This chapter examines those reasons in an effort to determine what specifically they were, and the degree of their importance to different individuals.

The analysis of motives for a decision to remain in Israel was based upon a list of twenty-five reasons for remaining in Israel provided for each of the participants in this study. Each individual was asked to determine the degree of importance of each of these twenty-five reasons. Each reason was, accordingly, rated as "very important," "important," "somewhat important," and "not important at all." People were able, almost without exception, to select one of these categories as most appropriate to their own situation. Following the selection of degree of importance for each of these items, the respondent was asked to note other, additional factors which might have been important in his reaching a decision to remain in Israel and, further, to rate these influences according to the degree of

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importance to him. The responses as well are dealt with in this chapter.

Each of the twenty-five items indicated was determined to be a motive for remaining,* the first fourteen being "pull" factors, the next eleven being "push" factors, although none were indicated as such on the questionnaire.

"At home as a Jew in Israel" was cited by 50 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" reason for remaining as compared with 51 per cent who indicated that this was "very important" in coming** to Israel. Although a very insignificant drop is noted between coming and remaining, it was first in rank order in both (Table 5.2 and 6.2).

An examination of the "combined" motivational "pull" factors showed that "At home as a Jew in Israel" was cited by 87 per cent of the respondents for remaining as compared with 90 per cent of the respondents in coming, an insignificant 3 per cent drop between coming and remaining. However, it is important to note that its rank order did not change. This factor remains very high as a "pull" to Israel (Tables 5.3 and 6.3).

Some comments which exemplify the great importance of this motive include:

"I believe every Jew must live in his own home land."***

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*Hereinafter "remaining" or "to remain" will be used as a shorthand phrase for "a decision to remain in Israel."

**Hereinafter "coming" will be used as a shorthand phrase for a decision to come to Israel."

***As stated by respondents in this study. Additional comments are listed in Appendix C.

TABLE 6.1.--Motives for a Decision to Remain in Israel.*

	Very Imp.		Imp.		Some Imp.		Not Imp.		N.R.	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N

"Pull" Factors**	Very Imp.		Imp.		Some Imp.		Not Imp.		N.R.	
	%	N***	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
No prejudice or discrimination	25	(298)	21	(248)	22	(259)	28	(335)	3	(38)
Jewish national life in Israel	33	(390)	27	(315)	18	(211)	19	(229)	3	(33)
Fuller religious life in Israel	20	(238)	13	(151)	16	(194)	47	(552)	4	(43)
Jewish cultural life in Israel	25	(295)	27	(314)	26	(308)	19	(223)	3	(38)
Sense of belongingness in Israel	47	(555)	26	(305)	16	(186)	9	(101)	3	(31)
At home as a Jew in Israel	50	(593)	24	(279)	13	(158)	10	(118)	3	(30)
Like the people in Israel	29	(337)	31	(364)	25	(293)	13	(155)	2	(29)
Like the pioneering spirit in Israel	22	(260)	27	(318)	26	(306)	22	(255)	3	(39)
Like the Mediterranean climate in Israel	14	(169)	18	(216)	26	(305)	38	(442)	4	(46)
Better place for children to grow up	37	(435)	18	(212)	9	(104)	6	(68)	30	(359)
Children's better education	24	(286)	18	(215)	12	(143)	18	(214)	27	(320)
Israel needs my services or skills	16	(194)	22	(254)	26	(303)	29	(342)	7	(85)
Sense of purposeful existence	35	(415)	25	(293)	18	(207)	17	(197)	6	(66)
Made a fresh start	10	(120)	11	(124)	16	(191)	56	(656)	7	(87)

*Questionnaire (Appendix A) questions 150-63 in order as appear on questionnaire.

**Wording of the motivational "pull" factors are condensed from the questions.

***N in each case signifies the total number of respondents who replied to the item.

TABLE 6.2.--Ve
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TABLE 6.2.--Very Important Motivational "Pull" Factors in the Decision to Remain in Israel.*

Motivational "Pull" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
At home as a Jew in Israel	50	593
Sense of belongingness in Israel	47	555
Better place for children to grow up	37	435
Sense of purposeful existence	35	415
Jewish national life in Israel	33	390
Like the people in Israel	29	337
No prejudice or discrimination	25	298
Jewish cultural life in Israel	25	295
Children's better education	24	286
Like the pioneering spirit in Israel	22	260
Fuller religious life in Israel	20	238
Israel needs my services or skills	16	194
Like the Mediterranean climate in Israel	14	169
Made a fresh start	10	120

*Motivational "pull" factors are ranked by the percentages of the total population stating "very important" and not by the order in the questionnaire.

**Wording of the motivational "pull" factors is condensed from the questions.

TABLE 6.3.-

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TABLE 6.3.--Combined Motivational "Pull" Factors in a Decision to Remain in Israel.*

Motivational "Pull" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
A sense of belongingness in Israel	89	1,046
At home as a Jew in Israel	87	1,030
Like the people in Israel	85	994
Jewish cultural life in Israel	78	917
Jewish national life in Israel	78	916
Sense of purposeful existence	78	915
Like the pioneering spirit in Israel	75	884
No prejudice or discrimination in Israel	68	805
Better place for children to grow up	64	751
Israel needs my services or skills	64	751
Like the Mediterranean climate	58	690
Children's better education	54	644
Fuller religious life	49	589
Made a fresh start	37	435

*Motivational "pull" factors are ranked by the percentages of the total population stating "very important," "important," and "somewhat important" and not by the order on the questionnaire.

**Wording of the motivational "pull" factors is condensed from the questions.

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"I wanted to live among my people in my Holy Land."

"Israel is my country."

"To me my Jewishness is more important than my being an American. I am very thankful that I lived in America, but it isn't the place for Jews."

These comments appear to epitomize the feelings of many American olim in deciding not only to come but to remain in Israel, in spite of the fact that many problems in day-to-day living would have to be overcome in the initial transition period.

"A sense of belongingness in Israel" was cited by 47 per cent of the respondents as "very important" in remaining as compared with 59 per cent who cited this as "very important" in coming to Israel. The rank order remains constant in second position. "At home as a Jew in Israel" ranked first and "A sense of belongingness in Israel" ranked second in both coming to Israel and remaining (Tables 5.2 and 6.2).

An examination of the "combined" motivational "pull" factors showed that "A sense of belongingness in Israel" was cited by 89 per cent of the respondents in remaining as compared with 91 per cent in coming. Here, too, a slight difference is noted between coming and remaining. The rank position in both groupings remains first (Tables 5.3 and 6.3).

As a "very important" factor, "At home as a Jew in Israel" ranks first and as a "combined" motivational "pull" factor it ranks second. "A sense of belongingness in Israel" ranked first as a "combined" motivational "pull" factor and second as a "very important" "pull" factor.

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It may be seen from the above that these two motivational "pull" factors are interrelated. Both seem to have the common ingredient of "Jewishness," the historical bond which has kept Jews together for centuries. Both ranked highest of all motivational "pull" factors and remained the most important in making the decision for coming and remaining in Israel.

The slight disparity in the percentages between coming and remaining may be explained by the fact that the individual American oleh may choose to come to Israel as a consquence of what may be termed "a sense of historic destiny." He may have desired to fulfill his Zionist inclination or Zionist dream. It is part of an historic act and most olim want to be part of it. But once the goal is fulfilled its importance may be somewhat lost. This may account for the disparity between the number of responses for coming and remaining in Israel. Others emphasized these feelings:

"I personally feel the Jew belongs in Israel."

"The Jew in the U.S. does not belong quite as much as he does here in Israel."

"I am now in a place where I feel as a Jew I really belong."

The great majority of olim who chose to remain obviously felt this was a great "pull" and this entered strongly into their decision.

"Better place for children to grow up" was cited by 37 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor in remaining as compared with 43 per cent of the respondents in coming. The drop in per cent between coming and remaining may be explained by the fact

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hat upon arrival a number of olim realized that, as far as they were oncerned, Israel was not particularly a better place for their hildren to grow up. American olim, seeing (TV) and reading (news- apers) of the growing incidence of drug addiction and crime, realized hat Israel was in fact not as idyllic a place as they had previously nticipated. However, the rank order has altered from fourth place n coming to third place in remaining. The percentages show that ther factors shifted to an even greater degree, thus, "Better place or children to grow up" assumed more importance to the individual Tables 5.2 and 6.2).

A comparison of the "combined" motivational "pull" factors owed that "Better place for children to grow up" was cited by 64 r cent of the respondents in remaining in Israel as compared with per cent in coming, thus substantiating that truism that anticipa- on is always greater than the realization.

"A sense of purposeful existence" was indicated by 35 per cent the respondents as a "very important" factor in remaining as com- red with 45 per cent of the respondents in coming. Here the great- drop was found, 10 per cent. The statistics bear out that the appointment was even greater than "Better place for children to w up." Many American olim come with the belief that Israel will a utopian existence.

An examination of the "combined" motivational "pull" factors remaining showed that "A sense of purposeful existence" was cited 76 per cent of the respondents as compared with 86 per cent in ing, again a drop of 8 per cent between the two. A disparity is

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also evident in the rank order from third place in coming to sixth place in remaining in Israel.

From this, it may be observed that "A sense of purposeful existence" has dropped greatly in both categories, the "very important" and the "combined" group between coming to Israel and remaining. Apparently the American oleh became disillusioned over seeing considerably less idealism among Israelis than he had anticipated, which, in turn, caused him to lose some of his own idealism. The utopia he expected to find simply never materialized.

"Jewish national life in Israel" was cited by 33 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" motivational "pull" factor in remaining as compared with 35 per cent in coming, a slight drop of 2 per cent. Its rank order did not change; it is fifth in both coming and remaining.

From this it would appear that the American oleh was not disappointed in "Jewish national life in Israel." Nationalism was strong in his decision for coming and remained almost as strong in his decision for remaining, as evidenced by some of the statements of the respondents:

> "Israel needs more aliya! Jews of western origin in particular."
>
> "I am interested in preserving the Jewish homeland."
>
> "I wanted to live in the Jewish homeland and raise my children here."
>
> "I felt that my culture was being made subservient to Christian culture. For example, public celebrations of Christmas and the Christmas spirit of winters in New York."

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An examination of the "combined" motivational "pull" factors
owed that "Jewish national life in Israel" was cited by 78 per cent
the respondents in remaining as compared with 80 per cent in
ming. Although a slight drop in percentage was noted between coming
d remaining, its rank position moved upwards from sixth in coming
fifth in remaining.

It may be concluded that the nationalistic feelings towards
e State of Israel have not changed much from coming to remaining.
deed, such feelings of "Jewishness" and nationalism have become
engthened. The relationship of Jewish ethnic identity to Israeli
itical identity has been noted by Kelman[1] as

> . . . Jewish ethnic identity (with its religious component) has been a major tool of political integration in Israel, of mobilizing the entire Jewish population with all of its cultural diversity. It has also, of course, been a major tool of mobilizing support for Israel among world Jewry.

e olim have expressed this feeling:

"I have a strong sense of national identity after the Six-Day-War."

"I felt a sense of national duty to come and help Israel in a time of need."

"I had the big desire to help Israel and the Jewish people at the outbreak of the Six-Day-War."

In summary, the longer one is in Israel and uses the Hebrew
uage in his daily conversation, and sees the Israeli flag flying
, observes the religious holidays as national holidays, and sees
accomplishments and progress that Israel has made in the past
ears, the lessening is the possibility of disappointment, and
strengthening of his nationalistic pride in being a part of the
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"Like the people in Israel" was cited as a "very important" ivational "pull" factor in remaining by 29 per cent of the re- ndents as compared to 26 per cent in coming. It may be pointed that there was an increase of 3 per cent of the respondents in s factor as "very important" in remaining. It was also found that rank order changed two steps, from eighth position in the "very ortant" category in coming to sixth position in remaining.

An examination of the combined motivational "pull" factors emaining showed that "Like the people of Israel" was cited by er cent of the respondents as compared to 84 per cent for coming. oth the "very important" and "combined" groups a higher percentage he respondents noted its importance as a factor for remaining in el. It may be inferred that the response to the factor "Like the le of Israel" did not change. The feeling the people had toward people of Israel seemed to have strengthened somewhat rather than ened. Such feelings of American olim who had become at "home in el" with a "sense of belongingness in Israel" is not surprising. came with a great liking for the people of Israel which is re- ted in the "combined" motivational "pull" factors in remaining in el (Table 6.3).

Some olim may have developed strong feelings against indi- als, perhaps those with whom they had come in contact in govern- agencies, officials of the Ministry of Absorption, and Representa- of the Jewish Agency.* As a people, however, they have a

*How these olim reacted to government officials will be ussed in a later chapter.

ndency to want to "stick together" to feel a close relationship
d to be as one nation and one people. As one respondent put it,
ll in all, I love Israel. This is my home now."

Twenty-five per cent of the respondents cited "no prejudice
discrimination" as a "very important" motivational "pull" factor
a decision to remain. This compares with 22 per cent who so stated
coming, a 3 per cent increase over coming to remaining.

In the combined motivational "pull" factors, "No prejudice
discrimination in Israel" was cited by 68 per cent of the re-
ndents in remaining as compared with 67 per cent in coming.

It was found that in both the "very important" and the
mbined" groups a higher percentage of the respondents noted the
ortance of "No prejudice or discrimination" in Israel. This
tor increased from 67 per cent in coming to 68 per cent in
aining.

The rank order remains unchanged in terms of both coming and
aining. It can be noted that the American olim felt that there
d be no prejudice or discrimination against them as a minority
p since they would be surrounded by Jews. They felt that in
el they would feel like a "Jew at home" and not be discriminated
minority group. The factor "No prejudice or discrimination" as
tive for coming and remaining was in eighth ranking position.
s was the median or mid-point of the fifteen "pull" factors.)

Although 68 per cent cited "No prejudice or discrimination"
srael as a factor for remaining in Israel, there were others who
discrimination and prejudice as Americans. As expressed by some
, "We were Jews in America and we are Americans in Israel."

"Jewish cultural life in Israel" was cited as a "very important" motivational "pull" factor in remaining by 25 per cent of the respondents as compared with 30 per cent in coming. The rank order has changed from sixth position in coming to eighth in remaining.

In the combined group "Jewish cultural life in Israel" was cited by 78 per cent of the respondents in remaining as compared with 81 per cent in coming. A drop of 5 per cent in both the "very important" category and the combined category between coming and remaining seems to indicate that most American olim felt they would have a much greater Jewish cultural life in Israel than in fact was the case.

Cultural life in Israel, it should be noted, is of foremost concern. Indeed, the theater is considered the national pastime with its diversity of productions, Greek tragedies, the classics, comedy, as well as the works of many contemporary playwrights of all nations. The stage in Israel is a most active one. In addition, there re theater performances for and by kibbutz personnel. There is an my theater specifically by and for the armed forces. There is a aveling theater. Statistically, out of a potential theater population of two million people there was attendance of over three million 1971.[2] The Israeli nation is certainly a nation of theater-goers.

In spite of this, American olim may have been disappointed asmuch as their ability to handle the language was not sufficiently equate to understand the Hebrew idiom. In addition, while literare of a Jewish nature can easily be obtained in the United States in glish at reasonable prices, such is not the case in Israel, and to port American materials becomes costly both in terms of the rate of

change and duties and as such becomes an exorbitant cost for the erage American oleh living on an Israeli income. However, since ewish cultural life" in the combined motivational "pull" factors in ming was in fifth rank order and moved upwards to fourth in remain-g, one may conclude that some olim, especially those who had stered or were learning the Hebrew language, found "Jewish cultural fe" more important in remaining than in coming. The rationale may that the American olim in deciding to remain felt they "may as well integrated into Israel society and become part of Israeli culture."

"Children's better education" was cited by 24 per cent of the pondents as a "very important" motivational "pull" factor in re-ning as compared with 17 per cent who so stated in coming. Its ition moved from twelfth in rank order in coming to ninth in aining.

An examination of the combined motivational "pull" factors in aining in Israel showed that "children's better education" was ed by 54 per cent in remaining as compared with 47 per cent in ing. Although there was a 7 per cent increase in the "very impor-" category between coming and remaining, its rank position ained constant, twelfth in rank order.

From this it may be concluded that parents are satisfied with initial success that children have had, especially in learning Hebrew language and the values of Jewish culture, love of the land and devotion to the State of Israel and the Jewish people. ation in Israel is the indispensible instrument for welding ve-born and newcomers into a united nation. And education begins

ith a common language, Hebrew. It has been said that Israel is the
ıly country on earth whose children must teach their parents the
ther tongue of the country. Children succeeded in learning the
nguage and culture more quickly than their elders and became ad-
ısted and more easily integrated into Israeli society. In all com-
nities where immigrants have settled, the municipalities have set
special "ulpanim" within the regular school program for teaching
e Hebrew language to the children.*

"Like the pioneering spirit" was cited by 22 per cent of the
spondents as "very important" in remaining as compared with 28 per
t in coming, a 6 per cent decrease between coming and remaining.
ranking position changed from seventh in coming to tenth in
aining.

An examination of the combined motivational "pull" factors
coming showed "Like the pioneering spirit" was cited by 75 per
in remaining as compared with 79 per cent in coming. Although
e was a drop in 4 per cent in remaining as opposed to coming the
remains constant, seventh in order. This may be the result of
pioneering urge that olim had before they came, and the change of
urge after arrival. The pioneer of twenty-five years ago was a
y combination of explorer, frontiersman, and adventurer, ready
crifice and fight; today's pioneer is not the same. Today the
is built up and while there are frontiers to settle, the situation
ch different from the early days of settlements. The pioneering

*How the olim are succeeding or how they feel about the
l education for their children will be discussed in a later
r.

irit has diminished even among Israelis. They, too, are seeking more comfortable life and in many instances are copying the American y. It is no surprise then that some olim who thought they were aving the "rat race" in America found in Israel simply another kind "rat race." The idealistic life they sought was hard to find. e older chalutzim or pioneers trained themselves as laborers, rmers, and craftsmen in comparison to today's American chalutzim come as professionals, doctors, lawyers, dentists, college pro- sors, teachers, engineers, accountants, and social workers who may e some pioneering spirit in helping to establish their occupations promote the Israeli way of life.

"Fuller religious life in Israel" was cited by 20 per cent of respondents as a "very important" motivational "pull" factor for aining as compared with 23 per cent for coming, a drop of 3 per from coming to remaining. Its position was altered from ninth rank order for coming to eleventh in remaining.

An examination of the combined motivational "pull" factors emaining showed that "Fuller religious life" was cited by 49 per of the respondents as compared with 52 per cent in coming. Its order changed from eleventh place in coming to thirteenth in ining. This drop may be occasioned by the anticipation the ican olim felt before coming as compared with the actuality of gious life for them after arrival.

It may be inferred that religious motives were stronger in ng than in remaining. Those decisions of American olim based religious motives were thought to give rise to a kind of

spiritual fulfillment. Thus the orthodox Jew could live a more religious life and the non-orthodox Jew could find a more complete spiritual fulfillment outside of any ritual or ceremony in the land where the priests and the kings of Jewish history trod. Hardly a day goes by that one cannot get some kind of mystical feeling. As one individual stated, "You may kick a stone on the street and think that this may have been the stone that was kicked by Elijah the Prophet as he walked on top of Mount Carmel. When you walk in Israel with a Bible in your hands it becomes like a guide and all the biblical places become alive for you." One obtains a sense of identification of being a part of this long chain of the past.

Many American olim sought some kind of religious and spiritual fulfillment. This is what the hungry soul of man perpetually seeks. However, only about half of the respondents attached some kind of importance to the motive "Fuller religious life in Israel."

It may be stated that about half of the American olim felt that "Fuller religious life in Israel" had some kind of importance in their motive for remaining. Some very orthodox felt that they could still fulfill almost all of their rituals and ceremonies in America. However, the exception was in the access to the holy places, but they felt that this could be accomplished through visits to the Holy Land. The non-orthodox Jew and especially those who were not religious in America did not go to Israel for "Fuller religious life." This motive was not important to him in America and therefore was even less important in Israel. In America he may have belonged to a synagogue or temple just for Jewish identification. In Israel it was

t necessary to belong to either, just being there gave him the

eling of Jewishness. According to Engel,[3]

> For eighty-four per cent of the olim, the religious environment was the second most important reason why Americans remained in Israel. Thirty-nine per cent felt strongly about this. For seventy-four per cent of the religious, living a Jewish life, which to them was living a religious life, was the third most important reason for coming to Israel. The culturalists looked upon Jewish life as being too parochial, and were less attracted by it. Once in Israel, the religious lost much of their enthusiasm. They observed that official religious leaders operated the ministry of religion like bureaucrats. They also found the Israelis less spiritual than anticipated. In 1967 only fifty-two per cent considered the religious environment a means of keeping Americans in Israel. Former members of Zionist youth groups also expressed disappointment. The culturalists, on the other hand, who looked upon Jewish life as too parochial to be strongly attracted by it, now rated religious environment with the same intensity as living a Jewish life. Since their hopes had not been too high they felt the situation could be much worse. The result was that seventy-five per cent were convinced that the religious environment helped keep Americans in Israel.

One may infer that the motive of a "Fuller religious life in srael" has become less important for remaining in Israel in the last cade. In 1967, Engel reported 52 per cent considered the religious vironment a means of keeping Americans in Israel; by 1970 this udy shows 49 per cent attaching importance to this motive. It is so inferred that of those who came with higher expectations of uller religious life" many were disappointed when they found an religious or antireligious attitude in the many Israelis with whom ey came in contact.

"Israel needs my services or skills" was cited by 16 per cent the respondents as a "very important" motivational "pull" factor remaining as compared with 18 per cent in coming. This was a very ortant factor by a small group of people in making their decision

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to come but was cited by fewer in their decision to remain. Its rank order shifted from eleventh place in coming to twelfth place in remaining.

An examination of the "combined" motivational factors in remaining showed that "Israel needs my services or skills" was cited by 64 per cent as having some importance in remaining in Israel as compared with 60 per cent in coming. It is noted that "Israel needs my services or skills" was tenth in rank order in coming and remained in the same rank position in remaining.

It may be concluded that "Israel needs my services or skills" was very important to less than one-fifth of the population, however, two-thirds of the respondents attached some importance to this factor. It is understood that while people seeking jobs do not go to Israel to make a fortune or to better themselves economically, it is more the feeling of knowing that one's services or skills are needed and appreciated. In America there was the feeling that one was only a cog in a big machine, whereas in Israel one would, hopefully, be more completely recognized as an individual and his work appreciated.

"Like the Mediterranean climate in Israel" was cited by 14 per cent of the respondents as "very important" in their decision to remain. This has been a special drawing factor by older people who wanted to come to Israel after retirement. While there are many places in the United States that offer warm climate, it is this climate coupled with the dream of living in their "homeland" that attracts many olim.

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In the combined factor it was noted that 58 per cent of the respondents felt that the climate in some way influenced their decision to remain. Not only are the biblical and historical places of great attraction, but also the great sun-and-sea resorts throughout Israel which attract the American olim. These are not only places to see just once as a tourist, but places to live near and enjoy year-round. The Mediterranean climate in the Jewish state is certainly a strengthening factor in the decision to remain.

"Made a fresh start" was cited by 10 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor in remaining as compared with 11 per cent in coming. As a motive in coming this ranked thirteenth and as a motive for remaining it shifted to fourteenth position, the lowest rank position of all "very important" motivational "pull" factors in remaining in Israel. An explanation for this downward shift in importance from coming to remaining may be that "making a fresh start" was not as easy as had been anticipated and the frustrations it entailed may have made this factor assume less importance in the mind of the respondents.

Therefore, it follows that the rank order in the combined motivational "pull" factors changed. "Made a fresh start" shifted from thirteenth position in coming to fourteenth in remaining. Thirty-seven per cent of the respondents attached some degree of importance to this factor in remaining as compared with 39 per cent in coming.

In both groups, the "very important" and the combined there was a drop in this factor as a motivational "pull" factor in remaining. "Made a fresh start" was not very important in the decision to come and even less important in remaining. It was not particularly necessary

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go to Israel for a "fresh start"; this could be accomplished in
rica or other parts of the world. Those who attached importance to
factor "Made a fresh start" did so with the thought in mind that
could be best accomplished in their "homeland" or in Israel.

"Spouse wants to remain" was cited as "very important" by 15
cent of the respondents in remaining as compared with 11 per cent
oming (Tables 5.6 and 6.6).

An examination of the combined motivational "push" factors for
ning showed that "Spouse wants to remain" was cited by 35 per cent
e respondents as compared with 26 per cent of the respondents in
g. Its rank position shifted upwards from tenth in coming to
h position in remaining (Tables 5.7 and 6.7).

In both the "very important" and combined groups an increase
noted between coming and remaining. This factor which was a
"push" in coming later became a "pull" factor; the spouse who
to remain became the "pull" for the other who was not as posi-
the outset of aliya. Enthusiasm is contagious. Therefore, if
pouse is enthusiastic about aspects of life in Israel such may
fluenced the other to want to remain either to satisfy his
or because he too "caught" the enthusiasm. This can explain
rease in percentage of respondents between coming and remaining
1.

"Drug problem in America" was cited as "very important" by
ent of the respondents in remaining as compared with 13 per
coming. Its rank position shifted upwards from fourth place
to second in remaining. An increase of 2 per cent on the

TABLE 6.4.--Non-Impor
to Remai

Motivational "Pull"	
Made a fresh start	
Fuller religious lif	
Like the Mediterran in Israel	
Israel needs my ser	
No prejudice or dis	
Like the pioneering	
Jewish national lif	
Jewish cultural lif	
Children's better	
Sense of purposefu	
Like the people in	
At home as a Jew i	
Sense of belonging	
Better place for	

*Motivati
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TABLE 6.4.--Non-Important Motivational "Pull" Factors in the Decision to Remain in Israel.*

otivational "Pull" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
ade a fresh start	56	656
ller religious life in Israel	47	552
ke the Mediterranean climate in Israel	38	442
rael needs my services or skills	29	342
prejudice or discrimination	28	335
ke the pioneering spirit in Israel	22	255
wish national life in Israel	19	229
wish cultural life in Israel	19	223
ildren's better education in Israel	18	214
nse of purposeful existence	17	197
e the people in Israel	13	155
home as a Jew in Israel	10	118
nse of belongingness in Israel	9	101
tter place for children to grow up	6	68

*Motivational "pull" factors are ranked by the percentages the total population stating "not important" and not by the order the questionnaire.

**Wording of motivational "pull" factors is condensed from questions.

TABLE 6.5.--Motives for a Decision to Remain in Israel.*

"Push" Factors**	Very Imp.		Imp.		Some Imp.		Not Imp.		N.R.	
	%	N***	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
				(148)	28	(333)	46	(539)	5	(57)

"Push" Factors**	Very Imp.		Imp.		Some Imp.		Not Imp.		N.R.	
	%	N***	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Anti-Semitism in America	9	(109)	12	(140)	28	(333)	46	(539)	5	(57)
Assimilation in America	15	(173)	14	(163)	25	(296)	41	(481)	5	(64)
Spouse wants to remain	15	(182)	11	(131)	9	(110)	42	(495)	22	(259)
Friend/friends are here	6	(68)	9	(103)	16	(194)	59	(700)	10	(113)
Racial tensions in America	11	(128)	13	(148)	30	(348)	42	(500)	4	(53)
Political unrest in America	10	(119)	10	(122)	26	(309)	48	(571)	5	(57)
High crime rate in America	12	(136)	17	(196)	28	(334)	39	(460)	4	(52)
Danger of unemployment in America	4	(46)	7	(85)	19	(226)	64	(756)	6	(65)
Drug problem in America	15	(182)	15	(177)	21	(246)	40	(476)	8	(97)
Against war in Viet Nam	8	(96)	6	(66)	15	(181)	65	(765)	6	(70)
Economically bound to remain (no money to return)	5	(56)	5	(56)	8	(98)	76	(891)	7	(77)

*Questionnaire (Appendix A) questions 164-74 in order as appear on questionnaire.

**Wording of the motivational "push" factors is condensed from the questions.

***N in each case signifies the total number of respondents who replied to the item.

TABLE 6.6.--Very Impo
to Remain

Motivational "Push" F	
Spouse wants to rema	
Drug problem in Amer	
Assimilation in Amer	
High crime rate in A	
Racial tensions in A	
Political unrest in	
Anti-Semitism in Am	
Against war in Viet	
Friend/friends are	
Economically bound (no money to ret	

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BLE 6.6.--Very Important Motivational "Push" Factors in the Decision to Remain in Israel.*

tivational "Push" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
ouse wants to remain	15	182
ug problem in America	15	182
similation in America	15	173
gh crime rate in America	12	136
acial tensions in America	11	128
olitical unrest in America	10	119
nti-Semitism in America	9	109
gainst war in Viet Nam	8	96
riend/friends are here	6	68
onomically bound to remain (no money to return)	5	56

*Motivational "push" factors are ranked by the percentages the total population stating "very important" and not by the order the questionnaire.

**Wording of the motivational "push" factors is condensed from e questions.

TABLE 6.7.--Combined
Remain i

Motivational "Push"	
High crime rate in A	
Racial tensions in A	
Assimilation in Ame	
Drug problem in Ame	
Anti-Semitism in Am	
Political unrest in	
Spouse wants to re	
Friend/friends are	
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Against war in Vie	
Economically bound (no money to re	

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ɬLE 6.7.--Combined Motivational "Push" Factors in a Decision to Remain in Israel.*

ːivational "Push" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
gh crime rate in America	57	666
cial tensions in America	54	624
similation in America	54	632
ug problem in America	51	605
ti-Semitism in America	49	582
litical unrest in America	46	550
ouse wants to remain	35	423
iend/friends are here	31	365
nger of unemployment in America	30	357
ainst war in Viet Nam	29	343
onomically bound to remain (no money to return)	18	210

*Motivational "push" factors of "very important," "important," i "somewhat important" have been combined.

**Wording of the motivational "push" factors is condensed ɔm the questionnaire.

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factor of "Drug problem in America" between coming and remaining is noted. According to Dr. Eliezer Edelstein of Jerusalem's Medical Center, more and more Israeli students are taking to the use of drugs. He said,

> The drug habit was imported to Israel by foreign students. The extent of it in Israel, however, is a far cry from the epidemic proportions it has reached in the United States. All indications point to a further increase in the use of drugs, partly because of certain social pressures within the country, and partly because Israeli young people tend to imitate their American counterparts.[4]

It cannot be denied that there are drugs in Israel. However, in comparing the magnitude of the problem, the oleh could easily see how much greater the problem was in America and thus this factor assumed more importance in his decision to remain than in coming.

An examination of the combined motivational "push" factors showed that "Drug problem in America" was cited by 51 per cent of the respondents as having some degree of importance in remaining as compared with 54 per cent in coming. It seems that some respondents who placed some importance on the drug factor as a reason for coming to Israel found great disappointment with the drug problem in Israel since they came and thus this assumed less importance as a reason for remaining.

The use of narcotics in Israel has increased over the past three years and has proved difficult to control, a symposium of the Hebrew University's law faculty was advised by Assistant Commander . Carthy of the investigations branch of police headquarters.[5] Carthy oted that Israel was located on a "drug route" between Jordan and gypt, and that increased drug traffic in Israel was attributable to

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re sophisticated smuggling methods, a paucity of complaints to the lice, inappropriate penalties and the traffickers' quest for profits. was stated that in the aftermath of the Six-Day War, the police had 55 files on narcotics offenses in 1968, compared with 492 in 1966. greatest increase was among Jews of Western origin, although they e fewer than the number of Oriental Jews. Many of those suspected trafficking were tourists. It was stated that 90 per cent of the es involved the use of hashish.

"Assimilation in America" was cited by 15 per cent of the re- idents as a "very important" motivational "push" factor in remain- in Israel as compared with 17 per cent in coming.

"Assimilation" has a different connotation for each individual. efore, a discussion and definition are in order. Throughout Jewish ory, Jews have tended to "assimilate," or to adopt the language, ers, and customs of their neighbors, wherever they lived. At the time, they continued to live a full Jewish life, producing great h individuals and uniquely Jewish books. Individual Jews have the Jewish community for other groups, but the bulk of the Jewish e has remained loyal.

There were periods in Jewish history when the threat of death ile brought about the conversion of large numbers of Jews. The nos, or secret Jews of Spain and Portugal, are examples of such l assimilation. Under the pressure of persecution, particularly Inquisition, many Jews outwardly became converts to Christianity secretly continuing the observances of their faith. This was a angerous practice, because the Marranos were spied upon and

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hunted down by the Inquisition. A few generations later, as the secret observances of Judaism dwindled or were abandoned altogether, the children of the Marranos lost all memory of their Jewish ancestry and merged with the rest of the Catholic population.

In modern times assimilation has had a more voluntary character. It first appeared on a considerable scale when the Jews of Europe began to emerge from the ghettos at the end of the eighteenth century. Drawn by the culture and science of Europe from which they had been shut off for several centuries, they were attracted by the ideals of the French Revolution--liberty, equality, and the brotherhood of all mankind. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the emergence of the Jewish Enlightenment Movement (Haskala), which had as its practical aim the achievement of equality or emancipation for the Jews. In its early phases, this movement found almost no price too high to pay for equality--not even the loss of Jewish identity. During the French Revolution, the relatively few Jewish leaders who spoke for French Jewry agreed on the whole with the French liberals that the ultimate aim for Jews was to disappear completely as a national group. When Napoleon convened his Assembly of Jewish notables or Sanhedrin, these Jewish leaders assured the emperor that first and last they were Frenchmen.

Similar movements took hold in Germany and Russia under the influence of Moses Mendelssohn and David Friedlander respectively. The reaction in Germany, and persecutions and pogroms in Russia, soon disillusioned the "enlighteners." Eventually, the Jews of Western Europe were granted civil rights and swiftly transformed themselves

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nto educated Europeans. It was no longer necessary to assimilate hrough conversion. Cultural identification with the surrounding ajority was natural, particularly under American and similar forms f democracy. But the fear of being different and the dread of anti- emitism have remained as a cause of voluntary assimilation by indi- iduals. Many Jews, ignorant of Jewish tradition and values, though emaining within the Jewish group, suffer from a lack of identifica- ion with their own people and history. The modern Jewish community as long been aware of this problem. Various ways for modern Jews to sist assimilation and identify with some element of Judaism have en advocated: religion, secular nationalism, Zionism, and the idea Jewish peoplehood.

A significant phenomenon on the American scene is that over 0 Reform rabbis are prepared to officiate at mixed marriages; i.e., marriage between a Jew and a non-Jewish partner who has not con- rted to Judaism. And even though this represents only some 10 per t of all Reform rabbis, it does represent a trend. Of course, ticipation in a mixed marriage would be unthinkable for an Orthodox bi and for virtually all Conservative rabbis. In the case of the orm rabbinate, the issue is much more complex. The Reform rabbi is nd by Halacha only to the degree he wishes to be so bound. By iciating he would be violating neither Jewish law as Reform Judaism s it nor, of course, civil law. From the Reform viewpoint such a riage violates the mores and folkways of American Jews rather than toms or laws. Rabbi Mirsky[6] reports a weakening in opposition to forming mixed marriages among Reform rabbis and rabbinical students,

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and feels he can safely predict that the number of Reform rabbis willing to perform such marriages will increase. Hitherto, the names of rabbis who would perform mixed marriages have been transmitted by word of mouth; now they are coming into the open.

The American olim who expressed "assimilation" as a very important factor in a decision for coming to Israel were very much worried about the future of their children and their children's children. Their concern lay with the idea that children of mixed-marriages usually marry non-Jews and are completely lost to the Jewish community.

A survey of investigations into mixed marriages is given by Rabbi Allen Stephen Maller in another United States Jewish periodical, "The Reconstructionist." An examination of marriage and divorce records in Indiana reveals the following conclusions: Catholics and Jews had a divorce rate below the average. But Catholics who married non-Catholics had a divorce or annulment rate five times as high as those who married within the faith, and for mixed marriages involving Jews the divorce rate was six times as high as in-group marriages. Another statistic was that premarital pregnancy was twice as frequent for Catholics and three-and-a-half times as frequent for Jews in a mixed marriage than in an intra-faith marriage. In other words, a disproportionate number of mixed marriages took place against a background of "force majeure." Another conclusion was that many Jews who marry Gentiles do so not because of liberal beliefs but, more practically, because of lack of success in the Jewish "marriage market."[7]

An examination of the combined motivational "push" factors for remaining showed that "Assimilation in America" was cited by

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54 per cent of the respondents as having some importance in remaining as compared with 57 per cent in coming. The slight drop in percentage of respondents indicating "Assimilation in America" as having some degree of importance in their decision to remain is indicative of the idea that being in America there was a tendency on the part of the respondents to worry about assimilation, that their children might give up their Jewish heritage and totally assimilate into American culture. However, once away from the source of assimilation the problem had a tendency to diminish and lose its importance as an important motive for remaining in Israel. (Just by leaving the source, the particular problem was solved in the minds of some respondents.)

While this factor was not of great "push" in the decision to remain in Israel, its presence cannot be totally discounted as a motivational factor for remaining, since its rank position remained constant in third place.

"High crime rate in America" was cited by 12 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" motivational "push" factor in remaining as compared with 15 per cent in coming. Its rank position has shifted downward from third position in coming to fourth in remaining.

The 3 per cent difference between "High crime rate . . ." as motive for coming and remaining may be explained by the rising crime rate in Israel. According to the annual Israel Police Report,[8] Israel's crime rate rose by 4.3 per cent in 1972, as compared with a per cent rise in 1971, and a 9.5 per cent rise in 1970. People who America mainly due to fear of high crime rate realized that there also crime in Israel, thus this was no longer the motivating

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orce for some in a decision to remain. They may have chosen to emain in Israel, but for other reasons.

An examination of the combined motivational "push" factors n remaining showed that "High crime rate in America" was cited by 7 per cent of the respondents as having some degree of importance n remaining as compared with 61 per cent in coming. Its rank posi-ion remained constant first in rank order.

It can be stated that "High crime rate in America" as a "push" ctor for remaining was rated by fewer respondents as having some gree of importance in both the "very important" and combined im-rtance groups than in coming. A number of explanations may be given r this, including the rising crime rate in Israel noted above. Many im came to Israel with "stars in their eyes" thinking that in the oly Land" there would be no crime at all. Finding, not only crime an increase of lawlessness was of great shock to them. For others, ng away from the source of the problem caused them to cease to cy about it and it did not assume the same degree of importance in decision to remain.

"Racial tensions in America" was cited by 11 per cent of the ondents as a "very important" motivational "push" factor for re-ng as compared with 12 per cent in coming, a slight decrease of cent. The rank order remained constant in fifth place in coming and remaining.

An examination of the combined motivational "push" factors maining showed that "Racial tensions in America" was cited by cent of the respondents for remaining as compared with 60 per coming, a 6 per cent decrease.

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The decrease may be attributed to the fact that some racial tensions do exist in Israel between Sephardim (Orientals) and Ashkenazim (Western) Jews. Differences in education, housing, job opportunities, and standard of living may be noted. Thus, some Americans seeking to avoid "racial tensions" found simply another form of it, perhaps to a lesser degree, in Israel. As before, those olim who chose to come to Israel because of racial tensions in America, may have had other motives in their decision to remain.

"Political unrest in America" was cited as a "very important" motivational "push" factor by 10 per cent of the respondents in remaining as compared with 11 per cent in coming. The rank order remained constant in sixth place.

An examination of the combined motivational "push" factors in remaining showed that "political unrest in America" was cited by 5 per cent of the respondents as compared with 51 per cent in coming, 5 per cent decrease.

The fact that fewer respondents cited "Political unrest . . ." a motive for remaining may be explained by the Israeli system of proportional representation: one votes for a party list, not a person. The role of a voter is therefore limited to voting for a party list. one candidate is therefore responsible to any specific electorate. e American finds this system strange, his role in seemingly effective and unsatisfying. It, therefore, is understandable that me of the olim who came to Israel because of "Political unrest in erica" were somewhat disenchanted with the political system in Israel d this factor assumed less importance in the decision to remain than the decision for coming.

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"Anti-Semitism in America" was cited by 9 per cent of the re-
pondents as a "very important" motivational "push" factor in remaining
n Israel as compared with 10 per cent in coming. Its rank position
hifted from eighth place to seventh.

An examination of the combined motivational "push" factors in
emaining showed that "Anti-Semitism in America" was cited by 49 per
ent of the respondents as compared with 53 per cent in coming.

The individuals who stated that "Anti-Semitism in America"
as "very important" in their decision to remain may very well be Euro-
eans who immigrated to America after World War I and especially after
orld War II who had been deeply moved by the destruction of European
ewry. They viewed any manifestation of anti-Semitism as serious be-
use they saw it against the background of the events in Europe.
nce World War II, Jews the world over have been instilled with a
ubt as to their safety in any country under any government. Much
nfidence in the humanity of the non-Jewish world had been lost. For
is reason some of these Jews see Israel as a place where they can be
re no anti-Semitism will arise. It thus follows that "anti-Semitism
America," whether real or existing only in the mind of the indi-
dual, was a "very important" factor in coming to Israel and in re-
ining. As some of the respondents have stated:

> "We learned at last during World War II that nobody in the world but a Jew cares about a Jew. In all the world there is no justice for the Jew except that justice which the Jew can take for himself."

> "The only secure place for a Jew is Israel. The people of Israel today will not entrust any measure of their survival to the non-Jewish world."

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To the majority of American olim it was not a "very important" actor in the decision for coming or remaining in Israel. It was less ush" than drugs, assimilation, crime, racial tensions, and political rest in America. As Herman states:

> For the students, the "push" was not a direct reaction to the grosser manifestations of anti-Semitism. Although they were not oblivious of the existence of anti-Semitism, the majority did not regard it as a potentially serious threat. Students hailing from New York and other cities with large Jewish populations found difficulty in recalling anti-Semitic incidents in which they were personally involved. When asked to choose among courses of action important for an American Jewish community, "fight anti-Semitism" received relatively little support; it was chosen by only 10 per cent of the students[9] . . . "Indeed overt anti-Semitism apparently decreased during the two decades which constituted the life-span of the students, and in 1965, it did not seem to be prominent in the consciousness of American Jews."[10]

From the responses and the interviews the inference might well drawn that the majority of the respondents had strong Jewish identi- cation and felt closer to a Jewish environment. They had always sen to live in areas which would be near synagogues, Jewish day ools or afternoon schools, and community centers. Thus they did not l anti-Semitism as they were amongst their own people. Their reasons going to Israel and remaining there were not so much to escape the blem in America, but, as indicated before, to establish a new life re.

"Against the war in Viet-nam" was cited by 8 per cent of the pondents as a "very important" motivational "push" factor in re- ning in Israel as compared with 9 per cent in coming.

This factor was "very important" primarily among the younger m of draft age. As some commented:

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"I am against war but would fight to defend my own country."

"I would rather fight to protect Israel than interfere in a war which has little meaning for me."

An examination of the combined motivational "push" factors in maining showed "Against war in Viet-nam" was cited by 29 per cent of e respondents as having some degree of importance in remaining as mpared with 32 per cent in coming. This seems to indicate that some spondents attached some degree of importance to this factor as a tive for coming but once in Israel it assumed less importance as a tive for remaining. Once away from the source of the problem in erica, involvement lessened and it was no longer uppermost in the nd of the oleh.

"Friend/friends are here" was cited by 6 per cent of the re-pondents as a "very important" motivational "push" factor in remaining mpared with 3 per cent in coming. Its rank position shifted upwards om twelfth in coming to ninth in remaining. Although this factor s relatively unimportant to begin with, the differences are unique, in most "push" factors the percentages were higher for coming than maining. Although some olim came to Israel because friend/friends re already there, many more came for other motives but made deep and sting friendships which became "pull" factors in their decision to ain.

An examination of the combined motivational "push" factors remaining showed that "Friend/friends are here" was cited by 31 per t of the respondents as having some importance in their decision as pared with 19 per cent in coming. Here, too, the trend toward blishing important friendships was noted. Many olim found friends

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among olim from other communities who shared the same tasks of establishing themselves in a new land. They had shared experiences which might otherwise be personally embarrassing: learning a language from scratch, coping with new customs with which they were not familiar, finding suitable employment, locating schools, and in general learning to adjust in the new environment.

"Economically bound to remain" was cited by 5 per cent of the respondents as one of the "very important" factors in remaining. This meant that these American olim had invested in their coming to Israel and felt that they could not afford to go back. Some were bound by loans from the Jewish Agency, which had provided for transportation and shipping. While the loans decreased over a period of time, the oleh realized that if he were to return to America he would first have to pay back in full measure. This resulted in hardship among some olim who found it difficult to adjust to life in Israel and in finding employment, but who, nevertheless, could not return to America.

In the combined motivational "push" factors in remaining in Israel, "Economically bound to remain" was cited by 18 per cent as having some importance in remaining. Eighteen per cent who felt it to have some degree of importance chose to remain for a longer period of time. (This does not mean they were bound to remain forever.) Some may decide to leave at a later date should life in Israel become more difficult or should they become dissatisfied with other aspects of life in Israel. However, it must be pointed out that it is not just the cost of returning to America (which is also expensive in terms of Israeli earning power), but also the cost of re-establishing

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themselves in the American community, which must be considered. In the light of this, while a negative factor for remaining in Israel, for some olim it was an important consideration.

It has been noted that there was a drop in all "push" factors between the decision to come to Israel and the decision to remain. The feeling was, for most American olim, that America was not "bad" and they did not run away from it. It was unfashionable to speak negatively about America; it was fashionable to say "I came here because I wanted to be here." Another explanation is that when people reach their goal, they tend to think in terms of the drawing power of that goal rather than the "push" which previously existed, and which with the passage of time is often forgotten.[11]

The ties which bound most American olim to America were strong, and it is not to be supposed that the attraction could in itself have sufficed to break them. Without the above "push" factors there would have been a lesser "pull" toward Israel.[12]

These were the factors that the respondents felt were "not important" as "push" factors for remaining in Israel in rank order:

Economically bound to remain (no money to return)	76%
Against war in Viet-nam	65%
Danger of unemployment in America	64%
Friend/friends are here	59%

Three-fourths of the respondents did not feel that "economically bound to remain" was of importance in their decision to remain. A strong majority did not feel that being "against the war in Viet-nam" was of importance in making their decision to remain in Israel.

TABLE 6.8.--Non-Imp
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TABLE 6.8.--Non-Important Motivational "Push" Factors in the Decision to Remain in Israel.*

Motivational "Push" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Economically bound to remain (no money to return)	76	891
Against war in Viet Nam	65	765
Danger of unemployment in America	64	756
Friend/friends are here	59	700
Political unrest in America	48	571
Anti-Semitism in America	46	539
Racial tensions in America	42	500
Spouse wants to remain	42	495
Assimilation in America	41	481
Drug problem in America	40	476
High crime rate in America	39	460

*Motivational "push" factors are ranked by the percentages of the total population stating "not important" and not by the order on the questionnaire.

**Wording of the motivational "push" factors is condensed from the questions.



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lmost the same majority felt that way regarding the "danger of un-
mployment in America." The majority of the respondents were success-
ul people in various trades, occupations, businesses and professions,
nd were not afraid of the dangers of unemployment in America.
Friend/friends are here" was not an important motivational "push"
actor. The majority of the respondents felt that this, in itself,
as not important in their decision to remain.

It is evident that American olim emphasized the positive
ttraction, the "pull" of Israel rather than any negative feelings
ney may have had, the "push" from America in their decision to
emain in Israel.

Isaacs suggests, "Almost all Americans who came here came out
f high idealistic motives and they conjure up a perfect Israel, and
onsequently they come down with a big bump. The bump comes in dif-
erent ways and in different places for different people."[13]

Since fewer respondents noted some degree of importance in
st factors in a decision to remain than for coming, it can be con-
uded that some American olim were disappointed with what they found,
rhaps they were misinformed, or had unrealistic expectations. It
es not include those who came and left. If all the American olim
o came to Israel were included, the range between motives for
ning to Israel and remaining would have been greater.

It should be further noted that not one special or individual
ctor alone could have "pulled" the American olim to Israel, but a
mbination of these factors. However, the rank order of all the

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motivational "pull" and "push" factors gives a better picture as to which of these was of greater importance to the greater number of American olim in making their decision to remain in Israel.

[1]Herbert C
Approaches [a symp
Contemporary Jewry

[2]Steve Ra
all Trades--Yaaco
1972, p. 12.

[3]Gerald E
American Jewish Y
of America], LXXI

[4]Zionist
in Israel Blamed
1972, p. 32.

[5]Jewish
Growing Problem,
1970, p. 20.

[6]"Reform
Post [Jerusalem

[7]Ibid.,

[8]Jewish
Mounting," Detr

[9]Simon
London: Corne

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 6

[1]Herbert C. Kelman, The Study of Jewish Identity, Issues and pproaches [a symposium edited by Simon N. Herman] (The Institute of ontemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1971), p. 8.

[2]Steve Raphael, "Israeli Theater and its Talented Jack of ll Trades--Yaacov Orland," The Detroit Jewish News, January 28, 972, p. 12.

[3]Gerald Engel, "North American Jewish Settlers in Israel," merican Jewish Year Book [Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society f America], LXXI (1970), 176.

[4]Zionist Information News Service, Jerusalem, "Drug Problem n Israel Blamed on U.S. Students," Detroit Jewish News, May 12, 972, p. 32.

[5]Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jerusalem, "Drug Use in Israel rowing Problem, Law Profs Told," Detroit Jewish News, June 26, 970, p. 20.

[6]"Reform Rabbis in U.S. and Mixed Marriages," The Jerusalem ost [Jerusalem], June 28, 1970, p. 4.

[7]Ibid., p. 4.

[8]Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jerusalem, "Israeli Crime Rate unting," Detroit Jewish News, April 6, 1973, p. 39.

[9]Simon N. Herman, American Students in Israel (Ithaca and ndon: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 90.

[10] C. H. Ste
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[11] Kurt Lew
Harper, 1959): "T
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[12] S. N. Ei
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C. Wright Mills,
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paper, "English M
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[13] Harold
The John Day Co.

[10]C. H. Stember et al., Jews in the Mind of America (New ork: Basic Books, 1966), summarizes the findings of public polls ver a period of twenty-five years from 1937 onward. Their con- lusion (which relates to the position before 1966) is that anti- ewish discrimination is, but both are unmistakably in a state of ecline [p. 217]." The implications of this observation are debated y several of the contributors to the volume.

[11]Kurt Lewin, Field Theory in Social Science (New York: arper, 1959): "The strength of the force toward or away from a alence depends upon the strength of that valence and the psycho- ogical distance between the person and the valence [p. 258]."

[12]S. N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants (London: outledge, 1954): "We assume that every migratory movement is otivated by the migrant's feeling of some kind of insecurity and nadequacy in his original social setting [p. 1]." See also . Wright Mills, C. Senior and R. K. Goldsen, The Puerto Rican ourney (New York: Harper, 1950); and P. H. Rossi, "Why Families ove," The Language of Social Research; and P. F. Lazarsfeld and . Rosenberg (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), pp. 457-68. In a aper, "English Migrants to New Zealand: The Decision to Move," uman Relations, XIII (1960), 167-74, L. B. Brown observes that the relationship between the pushes and pulls is complex with each f these forces interacting and having both positive and negative mponents [p. 168]."

[13]Harold R. Isaacs, American Jews in Israel (New York: ie John Day Co., 1966), p. 92.

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CHAPTER 7

LEAVING ISRAEL

For most persons, immigrating to Israel was the biggest step f their lives. But leaving home, family and friends for a new life as bound to prove to be too traumatic an experience for some of the lim. These would be the people who would decide to return, the isillusioned, the disenchanted and the disappointed. This chapter xamines the responses to a hypothetical question based upon the tatistical inevitability that some would leave Israel: "How impor- ant would each of the following factors be in your decision to leave srael?" in an effort to pinpoint the reasons why, after many opted or aliya, some would opt to return.

In the analysis of motives for a decision to leave Israel, ch person in the study was given a list of twenty-one reasons and ked to determine the degree of importance for each of these reasons, beling them "very important," "important," "somewhat important," "not important at all." The findings indicated that people were le almost without exception to select one of these categories as ng appropriate to their situation. Additionally, the respondent asked to note any other factors which might have been of some ortance in his consideration to leave Israel and, further, to rank

TABLE 7.1.--Motives (Hypothetical) for a Decision to Leave Israel.*

"Push" out of Israel and "Pull" to America**	Very Imp.	Imp.	Some Imp.	Not Imp.	N.R.
Sense of belongingness in America	11	16	24	43	6
Not happy being away from family	18	17	26	32	7
Not happy being away from friends	8	14	29	42	7
	9	8	10	35	39

"Push" out of Israel and "Pull" to America**	Very Imp.	Imp.	Some Imp.	Not Imp.	N.R.
Sense of belongingness in America	11	16	24	43	6
Not happy being away from family	18	17	26	32	7
Not happy being away from friends	8	14	29	42	7
Children cannot keep up in school (in Israel)	8	8	10	35	39
Don't feel at home as an American in Israel	9	12	20	52	7
Feel at home as a Jew in America	6	12	15	59	8
Feel America needs my services	3	7	10	73	7
Feel American Jewry needs my services	7	10	15	61	7
Prefer living with Americans rather than Israelis	9	12	19	53	7
Have difficulties with Hebrew language	12	13	22	46	7
Red-tape and bureaucracy in Israel	25	20	25	24	6
Easier mortgages and loans in America	15	13	17	45	10
America offers better occupational opportunities	23	21	20	27	9
America offers children better educ. opportunities	17	17	15	32	18
America gives sense of purposeful existence	4	8	14	66	8
America offers me higher living standard	20	20	25	28	7
Higher living standard in America for all	9	15	22	46	8
War with Arabs	5	7	15	66	7
No separation between religion and state in Israel	11	12	20	50	7
Israel not as religious as I would like	7	7	12	68	7
Not enough Yiddish culture in Israel	3	2	6	81	7

*Questionnaire (Appendix A) questions 270-91 in order as appear on questionnaire.

**Wording of hypothetical motivational factors is condensed from the questions.

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them in order of their importance to him. The responses to these additional factors are also dealt with in this chapter. It should be noted that the questionnaire was administered in Israel and may have colored the answers of some of the respondents.

Each of the twenty-one items indicated was determined to be a motive for considering a decision to leave Israel. Some are "push" factors (reasons for leaving Israel), others are "pull" factors (attracting Americans back to their home country). None of the items, however, was indicated as such on the questionnaire.

"Red-tape and bureaucracy in Israel" was cited by 25 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor in considering a decision to leave Israel, and by 70 per cent in the combined group. Its rank position was highest in both the "very important" and combined groups of importance (Tables 7.2 and 7.3).

The new immigrant finds himself in the position of having to deal with many government agencies and institutions in setting up his new home. He must accustom himself to new style banking, and an entirely new way of establishing business arrangements. In dealing with the various agencies he may find frustration in finding exactly the right person to handle his particular situation. The responsibility in agencies is divided rather than given to one person. Thus, the oleh must deal with a series of clerks and agents in order to obtain a loan, find government housing, job opportunities, get his belongings through customs and handle bank transactions. Until settled, this can cause tremendous pressure and frustration. Halkin tells us that,

TABLE 7.2.--Very Important Motivational (Hypothetical) Factors for a Decision to Leave Israel.*

Motivational "Pull" and "Push" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents***
Red-tape and bureaucracy in Israel	25	290
America offers better occupational opportunities	23	266
America offers me higher living standard	20	231
Not happy being away from family	18	209
America offers children better educ. opportunities	17	200
Easier mortgages and loans in America	15	173
Have difficulties with Hebrew language	12	279
Sense of belongingness in America	11	132
No separation between religion and state in Israel	11	125
Higher living standard in America for all	9	108
Don't feel at home as an American in Israel	9	107
Prefer living with Americans rather than Israelis	9	101
Not happy being away from friends	8	98
Children cannot keep up in school (in Israel)	8	96
Feel American Jewry needs my services	7	83
Israel not as religious as I would like	7	79
Feel at home as a Jew in America	6	71
War with Arabs	5	58
America gives sense of purposeful existence	4	53
Feel America needs my services	3	38
Not enough Yiddish culture in Israel	3	34

*Very important hypothetical motivational factors are ranked by the percentages of the total population stating "very important" and not by the order on the questionnaire.

**Wording of the hypothetical motivational factors is condensed from the questions.

***N in each case signifies the total number of respondents who replied to the item.

TABLE 7.3.--Combined Motivational (Hypothetical) Factors for a Decision to Leave Israel.*

Motivational "Pull" and "Push" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents***
Red-tape and bureaucracy in Israel	70	820
America offers me higher living standard	65	768
America offers better occupational opportunities	64	759
Not happy being away from family	61	716
Not happy being away from friends	51	604
Sense of belongingness in America	51	596
America offers children better educational opportunities	49	587
Have difficulties with Hebrew language	47	691
Higher living standard in America for all	46	541
Easier mortgages and loans in America	45	530
No separation between religion and state in Israel	43	501
Don't feel at home as an American in Israel	41	485
Prefer living with Americans rather than Israelis	40	461
Feel at home as a Jew in America	33	395
Feel American Jewry needs my services	32	378
War with Arabs	27	318
Children cannot keep up in school in Israel	26	311
America gives sense of purposeful existence	26	307
Israel not as religious as I would like	26	300
Feel America needs my services	29	233
Not enough Yiddish culture in Israel	11	136

*Hypothetical combined motivational factors are ranked by the percentages of the total population stating "very important," "important," and "somewhat important" and not by the order on the questionnaire.

**Wording of hypothetical motivational "pull" and "push" factors is condensed from the questionnaire.

***N in each case signifies the total number of respondents who replied to the item.

TABLE 7.4.--Non-Important Motivational (Hypothetical) Factors for a Decision to Leave Israel.*

Motivational "Pull" and "Push" Factors**	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents***
Not enough Yiddish culture in Israel	81	957
Feel America needs my services	73	861
Israel not as religious as I would like	68	800
War with Arabs	66	774
America gives sense of purposeful existence	66	774
Feel American Jewry needs my services	61	717
Feel at home as a Jew in America	59	690
Prefer living with Americans rather than Israelis	53	628
Don't feel at home as an American in Israel	52	612
No separation between religion and state in Israel	50	589
Higher living standard in America for all	46	547
Have difficulties with Hebrew language	46	547
Easier mortgages and loans in America	45	527
Sense of belongingness in America	43	512
Not happy being away from friends	42	497
Children cannot keep up in school in Israel	35	409
Not happy being away from family	32	382
America offers children better educational opportunities	32	378
America offers me higher living standard	28	325
America offers better occupational opportunities	27	316
Red-tape and bureaucracy in Israel	24	285

*Not Important Hypothetical Motivational Factors are ranked by the percentages of the total population stating "not important" and not by the order on the questionnaire.

**Wording of the hypothetical motivational factors is condensed from the questions.

***N in each case signifies the total number of respondents who replied to the item.

> The amount of bureaucratic red-tape to which he is subjected and which to a somewhat lesser extent is the permanent lot of every Israeli, can still reduce a brave man to tears; the overall quality of services and manners is as off hand as ever; the general level of efficiency and lack of it, cannot be said to have noticeably improved.[1]

If he is willing and has the patience to "wait it out," the
›leh will in time find out the diverse office hours of various
ıgencies, which person is the "key" to solving his problem in the
ıdividual offices, and, in general, establish himself in the way
›f life.

Those aspects of American life most frequently indicated as
ases for decisions to return included "efficiency and no red-tape,"
'administrative efficiency," "efficiency and ingenuity," "less
ed-tape--easier to get information or things in U.S.A." less red-
ape and government interference with problems," "lack of bureau-
racy, efficiency," "ease of every-day operations," "everything is
n English."

This seeming apathy on the part of officialdom in Israel,
s compared with the relative efficiency of the American office, is
ery difficult for every new immigrant to the country to cope with,
articularly so since he rarely knows the language well and finds it
.fficult, at least at the outset, to communicate. As one American
een packing to leave said, "these little things you know have been
›setting me very much and its not worth it."

For the American without any commitment to aliya who went on
trial basis there is a tendency to compare the efficiency of
erica with the seeming incompetence of Israeli bureaucracy. To
e Israeli it is simply a matter of "eyn brera," no choice, this is

the way it is and this is how things are done in Israel. He looks back on the progress made in the last twenty-five years and is happy with the achievement. However, the American feels he has regressed by several decades.

The American who comes with the commitment to stay chooses to make light of the annoyances and says as does the Israeli, "there is no choice." He adjusts to this aspect of the new way of life with the optimistic hope of helping to change the system someday.

"America offers better occupational opportunities "was cited by 20 per cent of the respondents and is second in rank order as a "very important" motivational factor in considering a decision to leave and was cited by 64 per cent and is third in rank order in the combined group in leaving.

It is clear from this that almost two-thirds of the residents felt that "America offers better occupational opportunities." In merica high school education is "free" and youngsters are given many pportunities for vocational education through specialized courses nd curricula. By contrast, in Israel high school or vocational ducation is not free. Furthermore, acceptance at any such institu-ion is difficult because of the limited number of spaces available nd further, once one is accepted, he finds that the selection of ourses or the programs are limited in scope. Similarly, in higher ducation the possibility of acceptance to a degree program is slim ecause of the tremendous number of applicants per opening. Indeed me Israelis find it necessary to study overseas because of over-owding at their own universities.

But for the immigrant who is already trained, it is even more difficult to find a position in Israel. There is a surplus of professional talent, particularly in law and teaching. And it is difficult, as one might conclude to find positions in the major cities. Even for physicians and dentists who are in the highest income bracket, a position in a metro area is difficult to find.

The principal difficulty in obtaining a professional position in Israel lies not with over-training, as might be the case in the United States, but with the large immigration from the Western countries. More recently, the immigration from the Soviet Union has caused a surplus of professionals seeking positions. As reported by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, "The heavy influx of Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union is posing problems of employment. Difficulties have been experienced in finding jobs for physicians and dentists arriving here from the USSR.[2]

Labor Minister Yosef Almogi pointed out to the Knesset that the Israeli economy was not geared to absorb so large an influx of highly trained professionals and predicted that employment would be one of the major challenges of 1972.

Almogi said that 10,000 of the 70,000 immigrants expected in 1972 would be holders of academic degrees in the free professions. He noted that this category of immigrants numbered 17,000 over the three years 1969-1971 and represented a 15 per cent increase to their sector of the labor force based on the 1968 figures.[3]

The American olim who may have found positions in their field were also concerned about their children's professional future. The

ung immigrant students studying in Israel in preparation for rious professional positions might also find themselves in diffi-lty when seeking employment. As reported by the Zionist Informa-on News Agency, Jerusalem:

> Israel will have too many academicians by 1976 according to a special government commission report. Two factors are cited: The large number of graduates from Israel's universities and increased aliya from the Soviet Union, which includes many academic professionals. According to the findings there will be an excess of between 8 and 12,000 graduate engineers and architects and a surplus of 5,000 in the life sciences.[4]

"America offers me higher living standard" was cited by 20 cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor in consider- a decision to leave Israel and was cited by 65 per cent of the pondents in the combined group. It ranked third in the "very ortant" group and second in the combined group of importance.

Two-thirds of the respondents felt that America offered them igher living standard. Although most people knew that by going to ael they might have to lower their standard of living, this was not eterrent. Interestingly enough, the one problem that first occurs Americans, that of the different standard of living, causes some ible because although it might be lower in American terms it is not er in Israeli terms. The average American oleh is aware of the er standard of living but feels he will have less pressure to "keep with the Joneses." But the trouble with the Israelis is that they to "keep up with the Americans." They do want cars, television , freezers and other creature comforts. Many Americans find that rat-race they left behind in America has an Israeli counterpart.

Many Americans tend to incorrectly think of the pound in terms of the dollar. That is, a person who earned $10,000 in America would earn I.L. 10,000 in Israel. This, however, fails to account for the higher cost of living in Israel and the considerably higher rate of taxes. The cost of food is much higher, electrical appliances such as washing machines or refrigerators are almost ten times more expensive in pounds, and an automobile costing $4,000 in America would cost over 50,000 pounds ($11,905) in Israel.

A further important factor in considering income is the high tax rate. An example will suffice: Along with his pay the Israeli receives his "loksh," the accounting slip accompanying his pay check. (Loksh is derived from the Yiddish meaning noodle.) A long slim piece of paper whose length is in inverse proportion to the amount of money received, the longer the "loksh" the slimmer the check. Of his gross salary the wage earner keeps less than 65 per cent. Following is the breakdown whereby his IL 1,300 salary has been trimmed to IL 834.40:

Gross Salary	1,300.00
Income Tax	210.20
Defense Loan	52.50
National Insurance	49.40
Sick Fund	49.50
Pension Fund	65.00
Professional Improvement	39.00
Total Deductions	465.60
Net Salary	834.40

The most important deduction is the income tax. In addition, e is obliged to lend money to further finance defense expenditures. his is the defense loan which has no definite term of repayment. rthermore, he is required to contribute to a multiplicity of social

security and pension schemes. The National Insurance Plan takes a compulsory 3.8 per cent from the gross, the largest portion covering reimbursement of wages while doing the yearly tour of duty as an army reservist. The Sick Fund (Kupat Holim) providing full medical care varies according to income. One is expected to contribute 5 per cent of his monthly earnings to the Pension Fund from which benefits will accrue at age 65. Finally, the Professional Improvement Fund obliges workers in the academic and technical fields to contribute 3 per cent of their gross wages with the employers contributing an additional 4 per cent. The purpose of this fund is to finance extension courses and other study and improvement programs. The amounts deposited can be withdrawn at the end of three years.

As in the United States rising prices and high taxes have given rise to moonlighting. In a radio interview, Labor Minister Yosef Almogi stated that "some 100,000 Israeli workers currently have two jobs. He stated that there are 750,000 wage-earners but that 850,000 are registered on all payrolls. This meant, he said, that 100,000 are moonlighting.[5] There are additional workers who in order to help make ends meet work on second jobs for "black money," the phrase Israelis use for undeclared income. As reported by a Tel Aviv housewife, "Try paying your plumber, cleaning lady and the electrician by check, and chances are you'll be seeing the last of them."[6]

The truth is that if you live in Israel you have to pay taxes for virtually anything you do, from the "womb to the tomb," as the saying goes. In all business transactions, there is a purchase tax element. This ranges from 10 per cent on the price of a can of instant

coffee to 20 per cent for an Israeli-made handkerchief. If the product
ou buy is imported, the cost is much more. To the original price,
ou add the customs duty excise, which could reach as high as 80 per
ent of the original value, plus 20 per cent Defense Tax, plus a 30
er cent Purchase Tax, plus another 30 per cent, the latter for no
pparent reason at all. You either pay it all or you do not buy.
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he consumer saves 12 agorot (cents) on each loaf of bread, because
f the subsidy paid by the government.

Entertainment requires a high contribution on the taxpayer's
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hare of taxes includes: Entertainment Tax IL 1.65; Stamps 15 agorot;
ewish National Fund 0.2 agorot; War Damages Fund 2.5 agorot; Collect-
g fees 2.5 agorot. One pays a yearly tax of IL 85 to watch tele-
sion at home and IL 25 for listening to the radio. Unlike the United
ates where television and radio are commercially sponsored, in
rael they are State owned and must be paid for by the users.

A car license costs between IL 260 and IL 1,000 depending
on the value and horsepower of the car plus IL 195 in car property
x.

For Israelis there is a service tax of 20 per cent on hotels,
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they are in the country, another of the privileges extended to help new olim in the adjustment process.

According to economists, the average Israeli wage earner contributes more than two-thirds of his gross earnings to keep the government operating. When asked how he manages, the Israeli smiles and answers, "Well, isn't this the land of miracles?"

The American oleh may not feel this "pinch" the first three years in the country for two main reasons: the first being that since the 1967 financial year newcomers have been entitled to a special income tax exemption over and above those deductions allowed for all residents, provided they entered the country after April 1, 1967;[7] the second is that the American oleh comes to Israel prepared with all the personal and household effects, new appliances as well as an automobile which will not need to be replaced for a while. Newcomers are exempt for three years from paying customs tariffs on personal and household effects, provided the items are in reasonable quantities, as defined in the Official Customs Guide and are intended for their own personal use. Personal and household effects may either be brought with the newcomer or imported within the first three years in the country. Newcomers have the privilege of purchasing within their three-year eligibility period locally manufactured items tax-free. They may pay for the locally manufactured tax-free items in Israel currency or foreign currency. Newcomers have two years in which to import a car, motorcycle, motor scooter, or commercial vehicle under 3.5 tons. The owner does not pay purchase tax, but pays customs duty on cars at the rate of 25 per cent of the value of the new car newly

arrived at an Israeli port (C.I.F.) but not less than IL 1 per kilo-
gram of its weight.[8]

Since the Israeli resident has to pay high levies on such luxuries as foreign television sets, washing machines, food mixers and tape recorders which rank from 145 per cent to 230 per cent of their list prices, the American oleh tries to make the best purchases he can while in tax exempt status.

The Ministry of Immigrant Absorption pays the tuition for all high school and college immigrant students for the first three years, tuition ranging from IL 1,200 to IL 1,800 per year.

With all these special privileges, the new oleh does not feel the "pinch" during his first three years. However, once the three years have expired it becomes a major problem to maintain the same living standard as before, especially when one considers the inflation rate which is twice that of the United States. It is at this point that the oleh often must stop and consider how much his standard of living will change, and whether he can manage at this new point.

"Not happy being away from family" was cited by 18 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and by 61 per cent of the respondents in the combined group as a motive in considering a decision to leave Israel. It ranked fourth in both the "very important" and "combined" groups.

Note: The restrictions on immigrant loans, rent subsidies and customs exemptions have been under consideration by the Israeli government for some time, due to the country's serious economic situation and also from pressure by Israelis who feel that the new immigrant is getting "too many" privileges. These privileges were to have ended by July 1, 1973, however, the date was extended to December 31, 1973.

This factor seems to be more important after one arrives at the destination and realizes that he misses what he had always taken for granted--the proximity of family, particularly at holiday times as well as times of need or sorrow. This is also evidenced in the reverse when looking into reasons for aliya: many people came because married children, or parents had already come on aliya and they wanted to be near.

One may also consider the distance and the expense involved in making trips back to America to visit family. If an American oleh would like to visit the United States after three years he must consider also the 100 per cent travel tax plus IL 500 in addition to the cost of the ticket.

"America offers children better education opportunities" was cited by 17 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and by 49 per cent of the respondents in the combined group in considering a decision to leave Israel. It ranked fifth as "very important" and seventh in the combined group of importance. Apparently half of the respondents attached some degree of importance to this factor.

In America secondary school is tuition free. High schools in America are generally larger than Israeli schools. They offer a variety of courses in many subject areas. They offer programs geared to the individual student according to his aptitude, desires, and interests. Guidance counselors assist the student in making choices according to present ability and future plans. The trend in the United States is toward a lessening of required subjects and more

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lectives by the students. Most of the respondents had moved from arge metropolitan areas or developed suburbs where such programs xisted, had experienced well-qualified teachers, fully stocked ibraries or media centers replete with the kinds of hardware which akes a modern school program so highly effective. In Israel by ontrast these are luxuries either unheard of, or in the dream stage, arely in the planning stage. As Ruth Seligman suggests:

> The Israeli schools are factories, workshops for knowledge. Efficiency is assessed only by coverage of data. There is no "real education." The emphasis is on dry facts, on subject matter which in this day of the knowledge explosion becomes obsolete almost before it is taught. Methods which belong to the Dark Ages are being used. Teachers in Israel exert pressure through external means--through grades, tests and punishments. Teachers and parents are conditioning our children to want to know only what they will find on the matriculation exam (given upon completion of high school studies). Anything which doesn't appear on exams is regarded as irrelevant.
>
> There's learning but no education--learning by rote without understanding. There is no chance for the pupil to express opinions, to develop original ideas. There is an over-abundance of subjects--15 courses taken in the secular high schools, 19 in the Orthodox high schools. Taken simultaneously this leads to fragmented learning. There is little chance for depth or real development. The approach is pedantic with content remote from reality: subjects studied are irrelevant to what is going on in the child's life. No one is interested in capturing the heart and interest of the student. They just want to foster on him quantities of material to be memorized.
>
> Children aren't treated as individuals. There's no attempt to develop creativity, to stimulate independent work, to recognize differences in ability levels and interests. Kids are being stifled. Schools in Israel are designed with a mixture from Prussia and Russia--with the worst of both: authoritarianism from Prussia and pseudo-equalitarianism from Russia. In a country with such vast cultural differences it's unfair to give the same education to everyone.[9]

Such harsh words are frequently echoed by American olim. worthy is the effort on the part of American olim, dissatisfied

with the educational system as it exists, who are trying to bring innovation and change to the system. Many parents are instrumental in founding such new-type schools as a part of "new Western aliya," that immigration to Israel since the Six-Day War from the West which includes a large number of young, educated parents seeking a "better life" for their children and not satisfied with the existing educational system in Israel.

For years, the average Israeli parent has been totally unaware of the rigidity of the school system in which his child studies, the non-relevance of much of the subject-matter, the overemphasis on memory work at the expense of developing thought processes, the stress on regurgitation of information pre-chewed by teachers and passed on frontally via the lecture system. This is the system in which he studied, and to him it seemed as school should be. The Israeli parent lacks a tradition of vocal and organized opposition. Not so for the American whose voice on school boards throughout the States has helped shape his children's education.

Comparing the educational opportunities offered in America with that offered in Israel, the American oleh may find himself remembering only the good about American education, seeing only the difficulties his child may be facing in his new situation and thus see this as an important factor in his decision to leave Israel.

"Easier mortgages and loans in America" was cited by 15 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and 45 per cent of the combined group in considering a decision to leave Israel. Its rank position was sixth as a "very important" factor and tenth in the "combined" group of importance.

Housing is a major problem in Israel. Since the Six-Day War costs have skyrocketed. It is very difficult to get a mortgage loan If one should get a mortgage, it will be a ten-year mortgage of IL 10,000, for which one pays a "low" yearly 12 per cent interest. f needed, an additional loan can be taken from the bank to be epaid within a two-year period at a 12 to 18 per cent interest rate.

The American oleh who is fortunate enough to come with means s able to make a down payment on an apartment and obtain a loan from he Jewish Agency at much better terms, 5 to 6 per cent. Most immi- rants avail themselves of the opportunity of obtaining loans from he Jewish Agency and try to obtain housing through government housing rojects where the prices may be lower than on the private market. oans are given according to the size of the apartment and are imited according to the number in the family.

Olim are eligible for full housing rights and assistance for period of three years as of entry to the country. These include: artments built by private or public contractors, allotted by the nistry of Absorption; a loan for acquisition of an apartment in the ivate sector; a loan toward key money; rent participation for a riod of three years.

The Ministry of Absorption offers apartments either on a ital basis or for sale. The size of such an apartment, as well its location, depends on the number of persons per family, on the fessional requirements of the family, subject to the number of ts available in the various areas. The immigrant can receive such apartment on easy rental terms, subject to the size of

he apartment and the residential area. The apartment can be pur-
hased whenever desired. To the disappointment of many an American
leh, project housing units for immigrants are available primarily in
parsely settled development towns and outside main urban areas.

To enable olim to more easily purchase an apartment, the
inistry of Absorption has provided for mortgage assistance. This
ssistance comes in the form of a mortgage on the following scale:
amilies--up to IL 40,000 (females above 35) up to IL 25,000. Single
ersons above 18--up to IL 15,000, pensioners above 60-65--up to
L 15,000, pensioner couples--up to IL 20,000. The maximum ceiling
f the mortgages is not to exceed 75 per cent of the value of the
partment. The person selling the oleh his apartment will receive
he specified sum upon transfer of the property to the name of the
leh during registry or upon equivalent guarantees of such.

The ceiling on the mortgage can be raised to 90 per cent of
he price of the apartment, providing the price of the apartment
tself is not above IL 45,000 (Jerusalem IL 50,000) and the oleh is
ble to meet the monthly mortgage. Installments and interest rates
re of twenty years duration. Three gurantors are required for this
cheme if the apartment can be registered in the name of the person
uying it.

Newcomers sometimes find apartments on the open market sub-
ect to key money requiring payment of a certain sum to the owner
nd/or tenant of a rent-controlled apartment on which the monthly
ent is low. Newcomers renting against key money may receive a loan
f up to IL 12,000 for single person, IL 18,000 for married persons,

depending on the size of the family, and couples without children, up to IL 15,000. Such loans are repayable over a period of ten years carrying 8.5 per cent interest rate, and require cosigners. One-third of the loan is in the form of a Standing Loan for a period of three years, and becomes a grant after this period. When the tenant vacates the apartment, if he brings in another tenant approved by the landlord, he receives two-thirds of the key money value of the apartment at that time. Such apartments in Israel are unfurnished, except for minimal closets in the kitchen and bath.[10]

The American olim who qualify for Jewish Agency loans of IL 50,000 still find that the cost of apartments in Jerusalem may run upwards of IL 150,000, requiring considerable ready-cash for the down payment, not to mention such additional costs for cabinets and appliances. Costs have skyrocketed to such an extent that in the choice neighborhood of Rehavia, Jerusalem, a three-room apartment is priced at between IL 160,000 ($38,400) to IL 180,000 ($43,000). A four-room dwelling carries a price tag in excess of IL 200,000 ($48,000), in Tel Aviv, where the prices are somewhat more "reasonable," a comparable four-room apartment is "only" IL 180,000.[11]

Considering the high cost of apartments and difficulty in obtaining a mortgage at a favorable interest rate it is not surprising to note that 45 per cent of the respondents indicated some degree of importance to the factor that "easier mortgages and loans in America" may be a factor in their decision to leave Israel.

"Have difficulties with Hebrew language" was cited by 12 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and 47 per

cent in the combined group in considering a decision to leave Israel. It ranked seventh as a "very important" factor and eighth in the combined group of importance.

The ones who have most difficulty with the Hebrew language are high-school age students who must study such subjects as physics, chemistry, geography and mathematics in Hebrew. These subjects may be difficult in themselves, but learning technical vocabulary in a foreign language compounds the problem, as does required reading in Hebrew literature, Bible and history. In some instances students enroll in private American schools in Israel to enable them to study academic subjects in English. Language barriers also keep the teenager apart from his Israeli counterpart so that he is unable to keep up with the idiomatic "street language."

The younger child, much more readily adaptable to local language and customs, finds far fewer problems in schooling and companionship. Children will learn the language more quickly than their parents and often the parents will learn Hebrew from their children.

For adults the problem of Hebrew language varies according to occupational requirements. While it may not be totally necessary to have a command of the Hebrew language for simple everyday transactions, the oleh may feel frustration when he wishes to have an in-depth conversation with an Israeli, read a best-seller in Hebrew, hear a lecture, or go to the theater. In these instances, the language requirements become more precise and the use of idioms more widespread. A simple situation, getting the point of a joke across, can be

extremely frustrating if the proper meaning of the key word is lost.

For senior-citizen immigrants learning Hebrew is difficult. It is certainly desirable but hardly essential since one can live throughout Israel in English, as it were, there being English daily newspapers, English newsbroadcasts, as well as periodicals and books printed both in Israel and abroad.

In a study by the Absorption Ministry, the two areas of deficiency among new arrivals are the lack of knowledge of Hebrew and the lack of contact with either native Israelis or veteran immigrants. After one year, only 35 per cent of the immigrants interviewed said they could not participate in a simple dialogue in Hebrew. Only 24 per cent claimed to have frequent or very frequent social contacts with veteran immigrants after one year while 48 per cent said they had only sporadic contacts or none at all.[12]

American olim seem to have more difficulties with the Hebrew language than olim from other countries. As noted by ulpan directors, they have less perseverance to sit down and study in the ulpan. Americans can get by with speaking English since most Israelis speak some English; other immigrants are forced to learn the language for communication.

"Sense of belongingness in America" was cited by 11 per cent f the respondents as a "very important" factor and by 51 per cent the combined group of importance in considering a decision to ave Israel. Its rank position is eighth in the "very important" oup and sixth in the combined group of importance. Although only

11 per cent felt that "Sense of belongingness in America" is very important, 51 per cent attached some degree of importance to that factor. A majority of American olim still felt a sense of kinship to America. Although in Israel, they remain nonetheless Americans. As some respondents have commented:

"America is my cultural heritage, I know it best and it is meaningful for me."

"I am socially and economically adjusted there."

"American society is more concerned about the future than the archaic past."

"My native language is America's native language."

"Since being in Israel I have come to like almost all aspects of life in America better than here."

From these comments it may be concluded that as much as eople may enjoy Israeli life, there remains a strong tie with their ative America, this is spite of the fact that they have acquired a ense of belonging in Israel.

To those who decided to leave Israel the tie to America is mehow never completely overcome by a sense of belongingness. The use of this varies, of course, but there are a number of factors ich, in varying degree, offer some insight into such feelings. me feel very strongly that Israelis, especially among the Sabras, e very "cliquish." This has been stated especially by students tending the Hebrew University who found difficulty in tryint to into Israeli social circles.

"In America," one oleh commented, "I was a Jew, but here n people think of me, they think of me as an America." Here we not all Israelis together, but we are Americans living in Israel."

The situation in which the American oleh finds himself because of his higher standard of living, his usually new apartment in a new area, his being surrounded by other American olim adds to the problem. Many Americans do belong to the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel and other English-speaking cultural groups where they keep their ties with other Americans.

This is another of those dilemmas where, on one hand, one tries to become assimilated, and, on the other, tries to stick together with one's own cultural group. From conversations with many merican olim it was found that with the passage of time their dependency on the Association and other Americans diminished and they elt more in the "mainstream" of Israeli society.

Some Israelis blame the "rich American" who buys those new partments in the nicest areas around Israel for the high prices. me feel that these Americans are taking away their jobs since many me trained in various professions. Because of all this situation e responsent commented, "Yes, there are prejudices against Americans." other stated, "I belong more in America where there is no discrimination." "Americans are disliked by Israelis" said another pondent. "Yes, they like tourists to come here and spend their ey but not olim who take away the best jobs and buy the best homes get privileges."

Many American olim have said that the Israelis tend to look them either as super-idealists or super-fools, often as both. Israelis themselves are looking forward to coming to America, dim" (opposite of olim, literally meaning descending, referred to

leaving Israel), who think a person has to be "out of his mind" to choose to leave the secure comforts of big America and take on the insecure comforts of little Israel.

It seems to follow then, that from these feelings of Americans and the attitudes of Israelis toward them, the majority responded that "a sense of belongingness in America" is a factor in the decision to leave Israel.

"No separation between religion and state in Israel" was ited by 11 per cent of the respondents as "very important" and by 3 per cent in the combined group of importance in considering a decision to leave Israel. Its rank position was ninth as "very important" nd eleventh in the combined group of importance.

To understand this particular response entails some understanding of a problem unique to Israel. This problem was noted by per cent of the responses in this study.

In Tel Aviv and Jerusalem no busses travel on Shabbat, the fficial day of rest. The same is true for inter-urban busses as ll as railways. Haifa, however, is not affected. Busses operate gularly there on Shabbat and Festivals. The municipality of Haifa d not receive the same pressure from religious groups as did rusalem and Tel Aviv. Moreover, the same company that shies away om passenger service between Tel Aviv and Haifa operates lines thin Haifa. This does not mean that all transportation stops; ivate cars, minibus lines, and interurban taxis operate throughout e whole of Shabbat.

While on Shabbat one may not see a play or a movie or listen to a concert in Tel Aviv. One can, by contrast, attend a night club to watch a striptease performance accompanied by a jazz combo or dance in a discotheque to the strains of a rock band. While the large theater companies are forbidden to perform, many small theater groups are free to present their wares in side-street halls and clubs. The same religious conscience that cannot bear a concert of classical music on Friday evening does not bat an eyelash at a striptease show. These are but a few examples of the system of paradoxes that are called the status quo in religious affairs in Israel.

The origin of this status quo can be found in the months between the U.N. decision to create a Jewish State in Palestine and its actual establishment. In that same apprehensive period, the Jewish leadership wanted to gain the greatest possible support from the widest possible circles within the Jewish people. An extreme religious element, which was at the time anti-Zionist, threatened that it would not only oppose efforts to guarantee the existence of the state but would also act against its establishment on the international scene. The promise to maintain a status quo in religious affairs within the state to be founded was seen as a small promise in return for removal of the threat that Jews would turn to the United Nations in opposition to the establishment of the State of Israel.

Today, twenty-five years later, the status quo appears as a kind of tense armistice that is likely to explode at any moment. The official Jewish religion, as expounded by religious circles in Israel, is traveling along a collision course with the decisive majority of

the nation, and it seems that nobody is capable of preventing the unavoidable clash.

That the status quo has maintained itself to date is not solely a heritage of the desire to preserve the promise given by Ben-Gurion to Rabbi Levine in 1947. This fact reflects a tangible political situation which has remained practically unchanged for twenty-five years. It reflects the balance of power between two large blocs, the workers' bloc and the right wing, while a minority that never in its whole existence exceeded an electoral strength of 20 per cent--the religious bloc--holds the pivot in its hands, and ensures the continued dependence of the majority required for the exercise of stable government. Affairs have never reached the stage where the religious bloc could assist in establishment of an alternative government were to hold its votes back from the Labor government that has been in power since the foundation of the state. But in most cases it has been impossible to acquire a parliamentary majority without the vote of this bloc. Almost certainly, even without the need of assistance from religious votes, governments in the early years would not have gone to extremes in separating religion and state. These were years of massive immigration. The majority of immigrants came from countries where the Jewish communities had strong religious backgrounds. Jews of the Diaspora had been accustomed to seeing a connection between their existence as a separate national entity in their countries, and the Jewish religion. It did not seem wise for that generation to apply pressure for decisions on the place of the Jewish religion in the Jewish State, or to try to obtain a definition of Jewish identity

different from the accepted norm. The concessions made by the majority of Israel's citizens whose life style was not dictated by the "Halacha" to the religious minority did not seem to be vital concessions at the time. Peace within the house appeared more important than constant striving for principles.

The greater the political success of the religious establishment, the stronger the tendency to see religion not as a spiritual movement seeking to gain souls by moral persuasion and implantation of values, but as a governing arm whose status is granted by the power of law. Religious circles devote no small part of their resources to education, but it exists within a closed autocratic frame that they carved out for themselves within the general educational system. "Establishment" is the most important element in this system and most of the energies are devoted to the struggle to isolate religious education from the general system, a struggle in which they won a major victory twenty years ago, and have preserved to this day.

A similar situation prevails in the legislative field where religious parties have succeeded in installing Jewish law as the legal criterion in certain aspects of life. This situation intensified the dependence of society as a whole on the religious Establishment's view of Jewish law. The growing conservative tendency within this establishment is responsible for the prevalent tensions between the religious public and the vast majority of the non-religious public.

In 1971, Rabbi Amram Blau, leader of Jerusalem's zealots, the Neturei Karta (Guardians of the Walls) each week led his band of Shalwarts on a march from Mea Shearim to the Romema quarter, at the

ntrance of Jerusalem, where the Egged bus terminal is situated. ere, gathering on the pavement facing the terminal, they shouted Shabbes" (Hebrew for Sabbath) at any bus seen moving around, or imply at private cars. A demonstration against the "desecration f the Sabbath by the Egged Bus Cooperative" ended in a riot leaving en persons including two policemen injured.[13] In another incident n the anti-bus campaign in the Mea Shearim quarter, sixty-four ersons were arrested and seven injured.[14]

The feud between Egged and Neturei Karta has simmered for irty years, with sporadic outbreaks of heightened activity. rlier in the summer of 1971, Egged reached an accord with the thodox "establishment" rabbis of Jerusalem whereby it promised to ep its Romema terminal shut until the end of the Sabbath. The turei Karta, however, objects to the sight of hired Egged busses legedly plying the runs from the Capital to the sea-side from her points of departure throughout the city.

Just as this group opposed privately-hired Egged busses aveling to the sea-side on the Sabbath, the non-religious groups pose the interference of the extreme Neturei-Karta in their private ves. "A counter-demonstration against religious coercion" was unted by blue-shirted members of the Hashomer Hatza'ir youth move- nt (Mapam). Displaying placards demanding "An End to Religious oliganism" the young Mapam demonstrators passed out leaflets to ssersby which stated: "Gangs of stone-throwers are trying to timidate the public and the country's institutions. Through acts violence, a negligible minority has succeeded in defeating Egged d seriously disrupting essential public services."[15]

Besides the matter of Sabbath travel, there is the "autopsy" ssue. A campaign of harrassment and death threats has been waged by eligious zealots against pathologists who perform autopsies in ublic hospitals. According to Jewish halacha (law) no part of the ody may be removed--the body must be buried in its entirety with all rgans intact.

This causes complications when a teaching hospital feels it ust perform autopsies in order to maintain a high level of research d health care. Much of the controversy is due to the fact that in me cases autopsies have been performed without the consent of the mily. This has caused demonstrations, which in some instances have come violent, on the part of the orthodox community and has led to riction in the country.

A particular problem that grows and renews itself as more ses become public knowledge is related with the inability of certain tizens to marry as they wish. At first these were cases in the tegory of Cohanim (familial descendants of Biblical priests) who uld not marry divorcees or converts. This is an old problem which d usually found its solution by the man concerned forgetting to clare that he was a Cohen. In Europe and in the early days of rael, the rabbi usually did not ask questions; if he did ask, there s always a rabbi in another town who did not. The marriage would ke place and afterwards would be considered legitimate, even though should never have taken place according to the Halacha.

As the militancy of the rabbis increased, it became apparent at they were holding national lists of people "unfit for marriage,"

and the solution of holding the wedding in a different town ceased to be effective. Those who could afford it would go to Cyprus or elsewhere. Others lived without the formality of a Jewish wedding and ran into formidable problems in the arrangements of their affairs.

Meanwhile, attention has been drawn to a number of cases of marriage forbidden for an additional reason. The rabbis remembered that mamzerim--who are children and their descendants to the tenth generation, born of a woman married (even if only technically) to a man other than the father of the children--cannot be wed except to other mamzerim. A brother and sister who were both serving in the Israeli Army and had grown up as citizens in every respect, were suddenly found to fall withon the definition of an outdated law, considered barbaric by most of the public, and were not permitted to marry their sweethearts.

Rabbi Goren, the Ashkenazic Chief Rabbi stated, "The halachic problems arising in the state today represent national problems despite their personal character. Under these circumstances, it is necessary, in my opinion to search for any halachic possibility to act leniently rather than strictly." Concerning the problem of a brother and sister whose legitimacy is in question under Jewish law, Rabbi Goren said that he had "discovered new documents pertaining to the case as well as witnesses, had made a halachic analysis and had come to the definite conclusion that there was wide scope to recognize their claims to legitimacy under the Jewish law." He expressed concern at the fact that "certain circles within the religious public had waged a kind of war against the brother and sister's claims

without any justification and had threatened great scholars in Israel in an attempt to dissuade them from deliberating upon this problem."[16]

Rabbi Goren published his controversial ruling January 3, 1973 but continued to withhold the name of the nine dayanim (rabbinical judges) who concurred in it because of the "ugly atmosphere created by extremist elements."

The ruling cited four halachic grounds on which Rabbi Goren contends the Langer children were free to marry. It stated that there was no evidence that their mother's first husband, Avraham Borokowsky, was properly converted to Judaism; that even if he was properly converted his reversion to Christian practices afterwards nullified his conversion; that there was no evidence that Mrs. Langer was ever married to Borokowsky; and that even if they were married, Borokowsky's divorce of her after she remarried and bore children by her second husband nullified the original marriage bond.

The Langer children had been declared "mamzerim" (illegitimate) by a Petach Tikva rabbinical court seven years before. That court claimed that Mrs. Langer had never divorced Borokowsky whom she married in Poland shortly after World War II and who subsequently disappeared.

Borokowsky later turned up in Israel claiming to be a practicing Jew. He appealed to the Supreme Court to prevent publication of Rabbi Goren's ruling but the court deferred action at that time. Borokowsky claimed that the ruling, published under the official seal of the state of Israel, injured and offended him.[17]

While this particular case was resolved by the convolutions of Halachic logic, this device could not be used for solving the majority of such problems.

As public opinion rebelled against these prohibitions, the rabbis hardened their positions. Even those among them who prepared to find Halachic solutions by means of legal fiction, recoiled from doing so under the pressure of extremists who even resorted to threats of personal violence.

Another problem that has recently come to the fore concerns children of mixed-marriages where the wife is a non-Jew and therefore, according to the Halacha, the children are also considered non-Jews even though their self-identification is with Judaism and they have been brought up as Jews in every respect. The Russian immigration brought with it a great number of technical non-Jews of this type. Some of them ran into problems while still in school. But many only learned of their "disability" after they had truly settled into the country, even served in the army, and were about to marry. Then it became clear that the rabbinate saw them as non-Jews and refused to perform the marriage.

Their problem was aggravated when they asked to convert. The rabbinate took an extremist outdated viewpoint, born of the ghetto when Jews were a tiny, persecuted minority seeking to prove at any price that their religion was not out to convert Christians; they therefore placed insurmountable difficulties in the way of those who ought to convert. And still today, anyone who asks to convert not from reasons of deep religious conviction, but for the purpose of

marrying a Jew, is turned down. More, the applicant for conversion must prove that he maintains a religious way of life. The rabbis interpret this in its most extreme form. This implies that any Jew may live as he desires; but someone who seeks to convert must prove that he is more Jewish than the native-born Jew and that he lives according to the religious code of laws. Otherwise, his conversion will be refused and he will not be able to wed his Jewish fiancee.

The state has always recoiled from an official definition of who is a Jew. This definition was important, however, since the Law of Return determines that any Jew may immigrate to Israel and receive citizenship automatically. But under the threat of government crisis, a law was passed that defines a Jew as anyone considered a Jew under the Halacha or who has converted. Religious pressure is at present aimed at amending the last clause so that conversion must also be according to the Halacha. The majority meanwhile opposed this amendment, which is likely to cause a rift between Israel and non-Orthodox streams in Diaspora Judaism, such as Conservative and Reform, whose conversions would not be recognized if this amendment were passed.

Other religious controversies have added to the seriousness of the situation. The current issues over autopsies have aggravated matters. The total control over marriage and divorce and the related problems involving recognition of the status of new settlers often appear to be threatening the unity of the people in Israel.

Reform and Conservative Jews in America are annoyed by restrictions imposed upon them. New settlers are faced with difficulties when they are asked to prove their Jewishness.

In the interview Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir gave to ndre Fontaine of Le Monde of Paris, one of the questions addressed to er was: "What place, in your view, does religion occupy in Israel oday and are you satisfied with that place?" She said:

> Israel is not a religious state: there is no state religion. Nonetheless, no one can separate the Jewish people and the Jewish religion. There is no obligation to strict observance of Jewish religious teaching, but every citizen must know something of Jewish history and of the role of their religion in the very existence of the Jewish people. There has been no dispersion comparable to the Jewish diaspora. The Jews have always been a tiny minority, but they have continued to be one people. There isn't the shadow of a doubt that the religion and the fact of saying the same prayers helped to preserve their unity. It doesn't matter whether a Jew prays three times a day or three times a year. There are plenty of Jews in New York, for instance, who are totally integrated. But the big stores there close for Yom Kippur, for their owners identify themselves with the Jewish people. At the Jewish New Year, every Jew makes a vow to be in Jerusalem the following year.
>
> Nonetheless, I must add that religion has created problems. Rigidly Orthodox Jews don't want a state. A modus vivendi will have to be reached. The government must assume control of marriage and divorce, particularly. But as these now come within the powers of the various religious bodies, quite a few problems are going to be created in many a family. The easy way out would be to set up two sorts of weddings, civil and religious. But that again would create other problems. Patience and understanding are needed on both sides to eliminate the difficulties. We'll tackle this within hours of reaching a peaceful settlement with the Arabs.[18]

Most Israelis feel that secular law must prevail over reli- us law when there is conflict between the two. The Public Opinion earch of Israel Ltd. conducted a poll showing that 51 per cent of ie questioned felt that state law must prevail over Jewish religious when a conflict arose. Only 21 per cent insisted that Halacha must precedence over governmental edicts, while 10 per cent suggested a compromise should be found. Although the range of opinions is

slight, a breakdown of the respondents' answers indicates that more highly educated Israelis felt less constrained by religious law and gave greater credence to secular law than did those with grade school education or less. Even among the latter, however, more than half suggested that civil law must take precedence over religious law.

Nonetheless, over 58 per cent of those who identified themselves as religious said that Jewish law must prevail in any conflict. Sixty per cent of those who called themselves traditional suggested that civil law must prevail and 79 per cent of those defining themselves as non-religious agreed with the latter.[19]

The majority of the Israeli public recognizes that even if it were possible to continue avoiding decisions on the separation of religion and state, there can still be no alternative to legislation that will guarantee, at least in the first stage, the rights of those unable to marry according to Jewish law but unsuited for the right of marriage by general consensus. Many are convinced of the need to reach a redefinition of the status of members of Jewish families whom rabbis have refused to convert but who live as Jews in every respect. A first step was taken when a specific amendment was passed stating that the members of the family of a Jew are entitled to the benefits of the Law of Return even if they are not Jews according to the Halacha.

Clearly, such statutes are only short-term solutions. For the long run, however, there will be no alternative to the creation of a new system of relationships between religion and state. Perhaps religious reforms will be enacted in time to prevent a total rift, but the chance seems slight when official religion spokesmen tend toward extremism.

Olim have reacted to this situation:

"Religion more personal in America."

"More religious freedom to deviate in America."

"Religious experience is different and less satisfying."

"Separation of church and state. (Didn't think this would bother me in Israel--it does.)

This extremely dichotomous make-up of religious groups--the eturei Karta adhering to strict Halachic concepts on one hand with he Shomer Hatzair which wants to see an ultimate, complete separation f church and state are cause for considerable foment and concern in rael and are reflected in the responses in this study. As one re-ondent put it, "There is a brighter future for 'Judaism' as distinct om mere 'Jewishness' in America than in Israel."

"Higher living standard in America for all" was cited by 9 r cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and 46 per nt of the respondents in the combined group as a factor in considering decision to leave Israel. Its rank position was tenth in the "very portant" group and ninth in the combined group of importance.

Just as Americans have generally the highest standard of ving in the world, so too do those American olim have generally a gher standard of living than the average Israeli. To be sure this mpler kind of "rich American" figures prominently in the standard of hostile stereotypes that govern Israeli prejudices against ricans. These are applied to America and Americans in general, ther as part of the universal response of the weak to the strong, eficiary to benefactor. As noted by Isaacs:

> Americans who have settled in Israel are also looked on as "rich Americans" by the Israeli bureaucracy, which concludes therefrom that Americans need no help, and by Israelis generally, who envy them for it. Americans are often materially better off than a great many people in Israel and they feel this difference with a certain embarrassment. On the other hand, a great many Americans living in Israel feel anything but "rich"--they feel pinched and poor and pressed to struggle hard to maintain what most of them feel is a lower standard of living than they like. This complicates their embarrassment as being viewed by Israelis as "rich Americans"; it makes them feel uncomfortable about themselves, and this comes out in the form of resentment against Israelis who, they know, would dearly love to be "rich" too.[20]

Therefore, American olim would like to see a higher living tandard for all in Israel. Since this is not immediately possible, ome see the "pull" factor to America where "higher living standard n America for all" is in reach of a greater number of people. As ne respondent stated, "It is important to acquire new things without aving the feeling that I'm depriving an Israeli, or an immigrant rom another country other than Anglo-Saxon because I can get them ithout taxes. Government officials with a little status act like hey're playing 'G-d' when they allow you to have something if you are day late, etc.!" Other comments from respondents include:

> "America is consumer oriented and prices are not way above average or way below average income."
>
> "Easier living and wider and more efficient consumer services in America."
>
> "It is less costly to live, much higher wages, and availability of material things in America."
>
> "Home consumer goods, discount houses, lower prices and higher pay in America."
>
> "Possible to save money in America, but not in Israel."

From the comments of the respondents it can be seen that most American olim have felt discomfort at what they have felt to have been a lower standard of living being looked upon as "better living" in the eyes of their Israeli neighbors. The resulting pressures have been a "push" factor for some olim to leave Israel and return to the United States.

"Don't feel at home as an American in Israel" was cited by 9 per cent as a "very important" factor and by 41 per cent in the combined group of importance in considering a decision to leave Israel. Its ranking position is eleventh in the "very important" group and twelfth in the combined group.

It may be surprising to note that such a high percentage of American olim do not feel at home as Americans in Israel. As it has been already stated, language may be one factor, however, discrimination in jobs may be another. Sometimes, the problem is not with getting the job, but with conditions on the job. Some olim have remarked that they felt "not-wanted" by the people already in. One American oleh who came to Israel to be director of a school for the handicapped found that some people he worked with resented his being there and tried to force his resignation. His superiors who hired him for his high level of training and qualifications for this position wanted him to stay on for another year. After the second year he did leave for another position because he felt "not wanted" or "not feeling at home" in that position. He found a second position working with an individual who himself was an American oleh and seemed now to feel more secure in his new position.

Another American oleh, a physician, who left a successful private practice in America and a teaching position in a medical school went on aliya with a desire to contribute something in the medical profession in an Israeli hospital as well as share his knowledge and experiences with colleagues in the hospital. He found that there was resentment against him by other doctors and that he felt "not wanted" and "not at home." He seemed to feel as though he were doing the kind of job that a nurse could satisfactorily do. His frustration caused him to return to America after one year.

These are but a few of the many incidents of people in various occupations and with great academic talent who desired aliya, went on aliya but became disappointed and returned with a feeling that it just was not "worth it." As one commented, "If I don't feel at home here as an American in Israel, I may as well go back where I feel more at home as an American in America." There were those olim who, disappointed and dissatisfied with their first job, attempted to find other employment and/or another place of employment. Particularly true for those with a greater commitment to stay or those too embarassed to return to America many felt committed to stay because of their children whose schooling they did not want to interrupt. Many felt that there was a conspiracy to get rid of Americans, but those who enunciated this feeling represented just 9 per cent of the population considering it a "very important" factor in a decision to have Israel and 41 per cent attaching some degree of importance to in the decision to leave Israel. Some of the comments by respondents include:

"More friendly society and consideration of others."

"There is more honesty and friendliness in America."

"Easier to get information or things in the U.S.A."

"Contracts are final and decisions are made and carried out with dispatch."

"Freedom to dissent and/or non-conform."

"Prefer living with Americans rather than Israelis" was cited by 9 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and by 40 per cent of the combined groups in considering a decision to leave Israel. Its rank position was twelfth in the "very important" group and thirteenth in the combined group of importance.

From this it would seem that after some American olim settled in Israel 40 per cent found that they preferred living with Americans as opposed to Israelis. An odd statement but perfectly understandable when the distinction between "Israel" and "Israeli" is made clear. As one respondent stated, "I love Israel, but I hate Israelis." The emphasis seemed to be with many that the idea was to live in Israel but not necessarily among Israeli people. A further distinction which must be drawn is that between being an "Israeli" and being a "Jew." As Isaac states:

> The sensation of being a Jew among Jews holds only for as long as one can go on seeing all Jews as a great undifferentiated mass. This seems most possible at the beginning, perhaps more strongly of all at the actual time of arrival when a Jew come to Zion can feel washed over with the total presence of other Jews and all things "Jewish."[21]

Most American olim were thrilled the first time they set foot in Israel where "everybody is a Jew and everything is Jewish," accompanied by signs in Hebrew, advertisements in Hebrew, Hebrew newspapers

and magazines, customs officials greeting each other in Hebrew, the policeman, soldier, and taxi driver all speaking Hebrew. This made them feel "at home" and this was the feeling that made them want to make Israel their home.

In spite of the fact of their enthrallment with the state of Israel and the Jewish environment there, American olim nonetheless felt little kinship if any with the Israeli people. As one American resident of Israel put it,

> When I first came to Israel, I had a discussion with an Israeli girl. She firmly denied being Jewish and identified herself as an "Israeli." She said: "What have I in common with some Jew in Paris who has a long beard and stinks from garlic? That kind of remark we often hear from . . . young Israeli Jews; and only yesterday one of them admitted to me that they are the worst anti-Semites around . . . I have found . . . gross failure on the part of Israeli youth . . . to hold up their heads as Jews."[22]

While this statement is obviously fraught with prejudice, it does in many instances typify the attitude of the American oleh and is more than vaguely reminiscent of the "wasp" mentality found in the United States. Along these lines, then, we can quite easily understand the other comments made by respondents who preferred their American environment even in Israel.

Other statements by olim include:

"I'm looked upon more as an American in Israel, than as a Jew in America."

"I like the American mentality better."

"More friendly society, and more consideration for others."

"Freer attitude toward life in America, people leave one another along a mark of respect for difference. Less stress on material things in America. Much fuller cultural life in America and broader and deeper thinking on almost any subject. People not afraid in America of new things and ideas. People in Israel very much more friendly on a superficial basis, but

its impossible to form deep relationships unless you give your identity over to them."

As can be seen, a distinction exists between Israel as a country, and Israelis. The American oleh feels a warmth and a sense of belongingness when he first comes to Israel, seeing that "everyone is a Jew," and "everything is Jewish." He is happy to see that the Hebrew language which was the language of scripture and prayer for thousands of years became a living language in Israel. However, as he tries to become part of the Israeli society he feels rejected by some and finds it difficult to feel a part of Israeli circles. He encountered even greater difficulties with Israeli officials as noted by many in their comments. It seems that those Americans who choose to remain in Israel do so more of love of "Israel" than of "Israelis."

"Not happy being away from friends" was cited by 8 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and by 51 per cent of the respondents in the combined group in considering a decision to leave Israel. Its rank position was thirteenth in the "very important" and fifth in the combined group of importance.

While only 8 per cent felt the unhappiness as being "very important," the majority of American olim did attach some degree of importance to that factor. Unlike "not happy being away from family," some people may have come with their entire families. As far as friends were concerned younger people found it much easier to make new acquaintances in their school and club associations in contrast to the older people who found it somewhat more difficult to establish friendships especially when they participated in fraternal activities

:o a lesser degree than younger people. Furthermore, older people left behind them friendships of greater duration and in greater number than did younger olim. These were the ones who seemed to be 'not happy away from friends."

This particular factor although noted with some importance by the majority of respondents was not as crucial as it might seem to the new oleh during his first few years in the country. Obviously as time goes on the new oleh makes new friends and friendships, the unhappiness fades with time.

"Children cannot keep up in school in Israel" was cited by 8 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and by 26 per cent in the combined group of importance in considering a decision to leave Israel.

American teen-age olim found it particularly difficult to compete with Israeli students especially because of the language barrier with the exception of the American student who had acquired Hebrew background while still at home in America. Nonetheless, even for such an individual the study of science or math in Hebrew posed a considerable problem.

The Israeli system of education is a more rigid type of education with many subjects taught at each grade level. Each student has many more required courses each year than in American schools. High school is not mandatory, but rather for the student of above average academic ability. It is academically oriented and is not geared for the average student, unlike the American comprehensive high school where anyone can receive a high school diploma providing

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he attends. In Israel he must keep up high academic performance and must pass the "bagrut," the national examination.

Since the Israeli student who attends high school is already part of an elite group, there exists much competition among students. The competition is greater due to the high cost of tuition which puts pressure on students from their parents. For those students on scholarships the competition may be even greater. Thus, academic seriousness abounds in Israeli schools to a greater degree than in the American high school.

Besides keeping up in school academically, there is also a problem of keeping up socially. Here, too, it is found that the younger the student the easier it was to break into social circles. The most difficulties are found with students entering the universities as olim and finding Israelis completely indifferent to them. Today, an American is not a new phenomenon to them. Many have been here before and many are still coming, not only as immigrants but also as one-year students. In the eyes of the Israeli, all such students are simply "American students." Comments by respondents seem to be in accord with this:

> "The Israeli students don't go out of their way to become acquainted with strangers."
>
> "The Israeli students don't understand us, American Jews."

The Israeli feels his relationship may only be a short-lived one and, therefore, he might not have bothered to make contacts. Most Israeli students are older as they attend universities after serving in the armed forces. In some instances, the Israeli student is more serious minded, the necessity for study and work being utmost in

importance to him. He has no time to look around for new friends. In such a situation American students would find contacts with Israelis extremely limited. As one student wrote,

> "an attempt to force relationships with Israelis in some classes not succeeding and even casual relationships with Israelis were difficult to form in comparison with Americans."

She gave up attempts and spent more time with Americans.

Herman writes in his study of American students in Israel,

> The idyllic image had already been impaired somewhat in the United States by what the students had heard about the Israeli's lack of the social graces. In respect to these qualities the Israeli was viewed in a less favorable light even before the students reached the shores of Israel. He was rated as less "sociable" than either the American Jew or non-Jew, as less "courteous" than either. He was suspected of being less "warm" than the American Jew, but yet "warmer" than the American Jew's gentile neighbor. Similarly he was regarded as less "tolerant" than the American Jew but more "tolerant" than the non-Jew. The students rated their future hosts high on "hospitality"--on a par with the American Jew and non-Jew.
>
> When the Semantic Differential was readministered in the second half of the sojourn (for the concepts "American Jew," "Israeli" and "myself as I am") the responses reflected some of the disillusionment which the students had suffered in their encounter with Israelis. There was a marked decline in the favorableness of the picture of the Israeli drawn by the students. The contact with the Israelis made manners a salient issue for the students. In reply to a question asked at the time they were on the ship as to what was "not so good about Israel" 18 per cent of the students gave responses which could be categorized as relating to negative behavioral characteristics of Israelis such as "arrogance" and "bad manners." When this question was repeated later during the sojourn itself, the responses of 58 per cent of the students fell into this category . . . Also significant statistically are the lower ratings on "sociable" and "warm"--reflections of the disappointment of the students in social contact with Israelis.[23]

"Feel American Jewry needs my services" was cited by 7 per ent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and by 32 per cent

in the combined group in considering a decision to leave Israel. Its rank position was fifteenth in the "very important" group and the combined group of importance.

Many American olim believed that when they came to Israel they were going to contribute something to the State. After a while, however, they realized they were not as important as they had believed themselves to be and, correspondingly, were not as appreciated as they had expected to be. In returning to America they decided they could be of greater help to American Jewry. As one respondent put it, "I can help Israel more by being in America than by being in Israel." This might be interpreted in a number of ways. It has an economic meaning, not taking away something from an Israeli, his job or apartment; it could mean financial assistance being able to contribute to Israel from American earnings or profits; it could mean politically more help as an American citizen towards Israel than an Israeli citizen living in Israel. Therefore, they felt they could be of greater value and assistance to American Jewry.

"Israel not as religious as I would like" was cited by 7 per cent as a "very important" factor and 26 per cent in the combined group in considering a decision to leave Israel. Its rank position was sixteenth in the "very important" group and nineteenth in the combined group of importance.

This comment was expressed most often by orthodox olim who were dissatisfied with a State which was different from what they had envisioned. To the orthodox Jew it is difficult to understand that while in Israel it is easier to observe Shabbat and holidays

since all government offices and businesses are closed, most Israelis are not observant. The orthodox Jew knows halachically "Who is a Jew." To the non-religious it is not a problem of any seriousness whatever, as one respondent stated, "If you're crazy enough to say you are a Jew, you are a Jew."

The orthodox Jew always looked upon Israel as the "center" of religion and felt it should be an example for world Jewry. Seeing Israel as a secular state, to him, brings only harm to the faith. In spite of this, many olim who said that "Israel is not as religious as I would like" remained in Israel feeling that their presence would be of help and encouragement in maintaining the status quo of the government. This took the form of encouraging others to help maintain the religious pre-eminence in Israel.

"Feel at home as a Jew in America" was cited by 6 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and by 33 per cent in the combined group in considering a decision to leave Israel. Its rank position was seventeenth in the "very important" group and fourteenth in the combined group of importance.

From that 6 per cent who felt "At home as a Jew in America" came the persons who felt they could not integrate themselves into Israeli society. These people may have come without a knowledge of Hebrew and found it difficult to learn and thus could not enjoy Israeli culture due to the language barrier. Some comments of respondents were:

"There is no sense of community in Israel as in the community in the United States."

"Tighter organization of the Jewish community in America."

"Israelis are too cliquish and conservative."

"Feeling of Jewish community and lack of discrimination within the Jewish community."

"War with the Arabs" was cited by 5 per cent of the respondents "very important" and by 27 per cent in the combined group in con- dering a decision to leave Israel. Its rank position was eighteenth the "very important" group and sixteenth in the combined group of portance.

This factor may have been of much greater importance prior to e Six-Day War (June, 1967), where the Arab countries were getting weapons in large quantities and threatening annihilation of the te of Israel. By 1971, however, Israel has successfully fought ee major wars and has proven it can defend itself against the Arab ions. This was most reassuring to most American olim living there.

More than two-thirds of the American olim, at the time of s research, are not afraid of war with the Arabs. They feel that ael must defend herself against the enemies and the general feeling 'ein bre-ra" meaning "no choice," if we must fight again we will. 27 per cent attached some degree of importance to this factor as use for leaving Israel, however, most seem philosophical and pt the political situation.

"America gives sense of purposeful existence" was cited by 4 cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and by 26 cent in the combined group in considering a decision to leave el. Its rank position was nineteenth in the "very important" p and eighteenth in the combined group of importance.

This may be best described by some of the comments made by some respondents in this study.

"Sense of being a total human individual entity."

"Struggle to improve society for all people."

"Financial or material stability which leaves one time to delve into other spiritual areas."

This factor, as indicated, was "very important" to a very small group. However, about one-fourth of the respondents did attach some degree of importance to the factor that "America gives sense of purposeful existence" in considering a decision to leave Israel.

"Feel America needs my services" was cited by 3 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and by 20 per cent in the combined group in considering a decision to leave Israel. Its rank position was twentieth in the "very important" as well as in the combined group.

Some olim who felt they could not contribute to Israel as they had anticipated, felt more needed in America and this was their motive for a decision or at least entered into the thinking for a decision to return.

"Not enough Yiddish culture in Israel" was cited by 3 per cent of the respondents as a "very important" factor and by 11 per cent of the respondents in the combined group in considering a decision to leave Israel. Its rank position was twenty-first, last in the "very important" and in the combined group of importance.

Yiddish culture refers to the "east European culture that was built around the use of the Yiddish language. There are still many Yiddish-speaking Jews in Hebrew-speaking Israel, but the use of Yiddish was sharply discouraged by Zionists who saw it as an obstacle to the revival of Hebrew as well as a symbol of the mongrelization of the Jews in the Diaspora. The parting and the joining of the Yiddish and Hebrew strands in the new culture of Israel is, again in some part a matter of generalization: the constituency for Yiddish literature and the Yiddish theater is among the older and more recent immigrants, not among the Israeli-born youth. There is a Yiddish-language paper now in Israel with a circulation, I was told, of 25,000--larger than that of the English-language "Jerusalem Post"--and in the last few years there has been a reappearance of Yiddish theater, marked by the 1965 success of a play based on the work of a contemporary Yiddish poet, Itzik Manger. The show played to empty seats until "Yiddish theatre goers, mostly elderly immigrants from Rumania" according to a newspaper report, began to come to the out-of-the-way theater where it was playing. The musical "Fiddler on the Roof," created in English in New York out of Sholem Aleichem's famous stories of Eastern European ghetto life, was produced in Israel in a Hebrew version. The leading role of Tevye was played by a Sabra--an Israeli born actor, who was criticized as lacking "the Jewish touch." . . . The Yiddishkeit of American Jews is foreign to Israel. Danny Kaye came here and thought he had it in the bag among all these Jews, but he just fell flat. Israelis read Sholem Aleichem in school in Jewish translation. They eat blintzes and kugel, not bagels and lox."[24]

The Yiddishkeit* of American Jews is foreign to Israel. The only people in Israel who speak or understand Yiddish in Israel are the immigrants who came from Eastern Europe and the ultra-orthodox families. In America, too, Yiddish, although it may be taught in some schools, and may be offered in a few universities alongside established courses in Hebrew language and literature and Jewish culture and history, is on the decline. Two decades ago there were three Yiddish newspapers in America, since then only one has survived. English has replaced Yiddish as the language in the home and community.

*Refers to Yiddish culture.

Some olim thought that in Israel there would be more Yiddish culture. They found, however, that the majority of Israelis do not even understand Yiddish and are not interested because of its connotations of life in "exile" for the Jews. Thus, the oleh who sought more Yiddish culture in Israel may have been somewhat disappointed. However, only a very small percentage felt it important enough to be considered as a motive to leave Israel.

Of the responses and those respondents who returned their questionnaires it was found that 25 per cent had already left the country (the envelopes were marked "left the country--no forwarding address"). Of those who responded, 5 per cent indicated that they intended to leave the country but it is not known at the time of this writing how many in fact did so. Of this group about one-half were American olim in the age group 18-24, single, who came to a kibbutz or ulpan kibbutz for a five-month period to try kibbutz life. Some looked upon this form of settlement with less favor than before their coming, and chose to try city life. However, due to the many problems of housing for young singles, many chose to return to the United States.

In a recent report by the Israeli Government Central Office of Statistics it was noted that,

> three years after arrival in the country 8 per cent of all olim, and 31 per cent of potential immigrants or temporary residents, age 18 and upwards, who had arrived in the country in September-December 1969, had returned to their countries of origin. Most of the emigrants returned within one year of their aliya.[25]

The figures in this study concur with those of the government. ince the population study deals with potential or temporary residents, is referred mainly to American olim who came, not as olim, but as mporary residents (immigrants from other countries who don't want to turn or cannot return to their country of origin declare themselves be olim, immigrants, at time of arrival.)

Many departures may be found in the single persons ages 18-24 asmuch as this group could more easily uproot themselves. They had ss commitment to remain and less reason to do so. Their responsi- lities were great but their privileges were few, even with such sic things as housing.

American olim have the opportunity to come to Israel when ey please and leave whenever they wish. If they don't like it, they n, and some do, pick themselves up and leave. Therefore, it is ry difficult to say exactly how many really leave. Some may leave d then decide to come back after six months or a year. American im also have the advantages of becoming Israeli citizens if they nt to without ceasing to be citizens of the United States.

There is an attitude of ambivalence on the part of Americans wards Israelis. On one hand they were aghast at the Israeli lack courtesy and propriety, their amazing inefficiency and bureaucratic d-tape. On the other hand, they were impressed by the phenomenal hievements of a people who, in the span of less than twenty-five ars, have fulfilled goals thought impossible by the rest of the rld.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 7

[1]Hillel Halkin, "Americans in Israel," Commentary, LIII, No. 5 (May, 1972), 60.

[2]Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Tel Aviv, "Influx of Emigres Poses Employment Problems," The Detroit Jewish News, February 25, 1972, p. 24.

[3]Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jerusalem, "Job Shortages Hit Immigrant Professionals," The Detroit Jewish News, February 25, 1972, p. 21.

[4]Zionist Information News Agency, Jerusalem, "Israeli Academicians to be Surplus by '76," The Detroit Jewish News, November 17, 1972, p. 18.

[5]Murray Zuckoff, Jewish Telegraphic Agency News Editor, "Human Factors," Detroit Jewish News, July 28, 1972, p. 35.

[6]Thomas Ackerman, "Tax-Dodging Gains as Israeli Pasttime," The Detroit News, July 26, 1973.

[7]The Rights of the Oleh (State of Israel Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, The Jewish Agency Department for Aliyah and Absorption, Information and Publication Division, 1970), p. 25.

These exemptions amount to:

a) A monthly deduction of IL 1,200 during the newcomer's first 18 months.

b) A monthly deduction of IL 700 during the newcomer's first 18 months.

c) A monthly deduction of IL 200 during the following 12 months.

Israel generally taxes foreign income which is received in Israel. However, newcomers receive a seven-year exemption.

People living in Israel are generally subject to a capital gains tax on their profits from selling assets, no matter where the assets are located. At present, however, Israel is not taxing gains from selling real estate located abroad. In addition,

newcomers only are also exempt from capital gains tax on the profit from selling other assets, as for example securities on the New York Stock Exchange, provided they were acquired before their arrival in Israel, and provided that they are sold within a period of 10 years. Certain income from abroad such as social security payments are not taxable in Israel.

[8]The Rights of the Oleh, op. cit., pp. 11-25.

[9]Ruth Seligman, "An American Rebellion," Israel Magazine [Tel Aviv], Vol. IV, No. 12, December, 1972, p. 32.

[10]The Rights of the Oleh, op. cit., pp. 13-21.

[11]Zionist Information News Service, "4-Room Apartment in Jerusalem Now Costs More than $48,000," Jerusalem, The Detroit Jewish News, February 11, 1972, p. 8.

[12]Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jerusalem, "Study Shows Most Olim Decide to Stay for Good: Hebrew Still a Problem," Detroit Jewish News, September 3, 1971, p. 38.

[13]"Sabbath Demonstration in Capital Turns into Riot," Jerusalem Post [Jerusalem], July 4, 1971, p. 12.

[14]"7 Hurt, 67 Arrested in Mea Shearim Riot," Jerusalem Post [Jerusalem], August 8, 1971, p. 2.

[15]"Religious-Counter-Religious Demonstrations in Capital," Jerusalem Post [Jerusalem], July 18, 1971, p. 10.

[16]"How Goren Interprets Jewish Law, The Detroit Jewish News, September 1, 1972, p. 33.

[17]"Israel Chief Rabbis at Odds over Langer Ruling," Detroit Jewish News, January 12, 1973, p. 6.

[18]"Israel's Religious Issue: Golda Meir's View," Detroit Jewish News, November 16, 1971, p. 2.

[19]"Secular Law First, Most Israelis Feel," Detroit Jewish News, April 14, 1972, p. 36.

[20]Isaacs, op. cit., pp. 115-16.

[21]Isaacs, op. cit., p. 106.

[22]"Second Dialogue in Israel," Congress Bi-Weekly, XXX, No. 12 (September 16, 1963), 39.

[23]Herman, op. cit., pp. 111-13.

[24]Isaacs, op. cit., pp. 138-39.

[25]Haim Schachter, "Most of Israel's Immigrants Absorbed," Detroit Jewish News, August 10, 1973, p. 37.

CHAPTER 8

LIFE IN ISRAEL

In a series of questions concerning the acceptance of Israel as one's new home, the respondent was asked about the extent to which aspects of life in Israel concerned him, and then to rate them according to their importance. Of the three, "feeling at home as a Jew in Israel," "sense of belongingness in Israel," and "feeling a part of the people in Israel," the first was ranked highest with 59 per cent of the respondents stating "yes, very much." The second highest was "sense of belongingness in Israel" with 48 per cent of the respondents and "feel yourself to be part of the people of Israel" was third with 46 per cent (Table 8.1). That these three factors ranked highest has been substantiated in previous chapters. "Feel at home as a Jew in Israel" ranked highest both as a motive for coming and remaining in Israel, "sense of belongingness in Israel" ranked second as a motive for coming and remaining. However, "sense of belongingness in Israel" is 11 per cent lower than "feel at home as a Jew in Israel." "Feel yourself to be part of the people of Israel" is 13 per cent lower than "feel at home as a Jew in Israel." The major problem is that while the new oleh feels at home as a Jew in Israel he does not feel as strongly about a belongingness to Israel or as part of the people in

TABLE 8.1.--Acceptance of and by the Host Country as One's Home: Existence of Various Aspects of Life in Israel.

We would like to find out if these various aspects in Israel do exist for you.*	Yes, Very Much		Yes, to Some Degree		A Little		Not at all		No Response	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Do you have a sense of belongingness in Israel?	48	(565)	28	(335)	13	(151)	5	(64)	5	(63)
Do you feel at home as a Jew in Israel?	59	(700)	22	(259)	8	(100)	5	(55)	5	(64)
Do you feel yourself to be a part of the people of Israel?	46	(541)	26	(309)	15	(175)	7	(87)	6	(66)

*Questions 220-222 as appear on questionnaire (Appendix A).

Israel. This could be explained in the following way: although the American oleh may feel at home as a Jew in Israel, the Jewish homeland, he does not have the feeling that he belongs in his own homeland. Furthermore, although the oleh may feel at home as a Jew in Israel and feel somewhat a sense of belongingness in Israel, he feels less a part of the people of Israel. He feels the differences in cultural background, language gap and social customs.

The respondent was further asked "Do you feel like an Israeli or an American?" The response of "I feel completely Israeli" was only 6 per cent, while "I feel completely American" was the response of 11 per cent. Almost twice as many felt completely American as felt completely Israeli. The majority who felt "a bit like an Israeli and a bit like an American or to about the same degree like an Israeli and an American" was 69 per cent which was more than two-thirds of the entire study population (Table 8.2). From this it may be suggested that the American does not easily shed his "American identity." One can still have the feeling of belonging even though he is an American. However, one does not feel a part of the people of Israel if he is not more completely involved in the totality of Israeli society, as, for example, in Israeli politics. In a country in which the majority of the people are immigrants[1] one might expect it to be easier to adjust. But that is not so. The problem is that the American oleh feels unwanted because of a feeling of jealousy on the part of the Israelis who were not given any of the advantages that he was. They were the earlier immigrants who came with little or nothing, as laborers for a Zionist cause; or as post World War II

TABLE 8.2.--Acceptance of and by the Host Country as One's Home: Feeling as an Israeli or an American.

Do you feel like an Israeli or an American?*	Percentage	Number
I feel completely Israeli.	6	(68)
I feel like an Israeli and a little bit like an American.	22	(260)
I feel like an Israeli and an American to about the same degree.	20	(239)
I feel like an American and a little bit like an Israeli.	27	(321)
I feel completely American.	11	(133)
I feel neither like an Israeli nor like an American	12	(140)
No response	1	(17)

*Question 295 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

immigrants from displaced person camps with few belongings; or as the oriental Jews with very few belongings and little or no education. The government gave them no privileges.

Another reason for the American oleh's feeling results from his coming with better training and "know-how" and consequently is more efficient than an Israeli. As a result of the American's inability to become a part of Israeli society he is compelled to seek other relationships and associations. Immigrant groups have thus formed associations to help each other. American olim have formed the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel (AACI) whose main purpose is to act as a liaison between the official immigration and absorption authorities and the newcomer. This helps the oleh to feel he has a friend or "listening ear" in Israel.

The oleh was further asked how he perceived himself in the eyes of the Israeli. To the statement, "I think Israelis see me as a foreigner," 66 per cent, or two-thirds of the study population, agree or agree somewhat, although 59 per cent had stated they felt "at home as a Jew in Israel." In spite of the fact that he does his best to not only make Israel his home but to belong to the State, the oleh is never permitted by the Israeli to become a member of the "in-group." To the Israeli he is always a foreigner, and consequently is not accepted except on those terms. It is possible that because of his own self image, that of being an American in Israel, he perceives this feeling that the Israeli sees him as a foreigner simply as a result of Israelis tending to classify American Jews as "Americans" rather than as a part of Israeli society. Being perpetually

classified as an American is a source of frustration to the oleh according to two-thirds of the study population who indicated that Israelis see them as foreigners.

The Jewish Agency has been trying hard to bring American olim to Israel, having done a fairly good job of selling Israel to the potential oleh by having spent considerable sums in bringing olim to the country, building absorption centers, ulpanim and other facilities. However, the Jewish Agency has failed on the human side of the problem. Having taken care of the financial and physical needs of olim, the Agency has failed to give necessary attention the sociological and psychological needs of an oleh, especially important in an immigrant situation. This is no more dramatically proven than by the recent effort on the part of a number of Russian Jews who demanded to return to the Soviet Union after suffering severe privations in emigrating to Israel. Although their physical needs had been cared for they had not felt acclimated to the country or to the society. Although the Israeli government has done much to encourage immigration to Israel, it has not sufficiently educated the people of Israel in the importance of aliya to the growth of the country. The Israeli should understand that although the oleh receives certain privileges, within a three-year period, the education, trade, skills and experience he brings far offsets the privileges he receives. Also, by the end of the three-year period, he too will be paying full taxes, will be obliged to fulfill his obligation to the Israel Defense Forces, and will be a contributor to the gross national product of Israel. Whatever problems may have

been encountered as a result of American aliya, it has been a good investment for Israel.

With regard to the statement, "I feel as an American in Israel I am at a disadvantage," 21 per cent of the respondents tended to agree (Table 8.3). There were several causes for such feelings. Inability to cope with the language was an important one. Another was as a consequence of being in a poor financial position. A third cause was the lack of an education at least as good as an Israeli.

The oleh was further asked to agree or disagree with the statement, "I feel that my disadvantage could be minimized with increasing adjustment to Israeli society." The majority of respondents, 54 per cent, tended to agree. They stated that if they felt at all disadvantaged as an American in Israel their disadvantage could be minimized with increasing adjustment to Israeli society, feeling more accepted by the host country and not thinking that the Israelis saw them as foreigners.

In connection with the statement, "I feel that in Israel I don't belong quite as much as in America," the majority of the respondents, 52 per cent, disagreed. Not really a contradiction, it could be answered that the American oleh, even though he is not a part of the Israeli society and thinks that the Israeli sees him as a foreigner, still believes that he belongs here and feels more at home since in Israel he is part of the majority rather than the minority, as in America.

Herman writes about variations in the common identity in regard to American Jewish students in Israel:

TABLE 8.3.--Acceptance of and by the Host Country as One's Home: According to the Degree of Agreement.

We would like to find out to what extent each of the following statements applies to you according to your degree of satisfaction with each:*	I agree		I agree Somewhat		I am Undecided or I Don't Care		I Disagree Somewhat		I Disagree		No Response	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
I think Israelis see me as a foreigner.	34	(402)	32	(380)	9	(111)	12	(139)	10	(119)	2	(27)
I find it difficult to adapt to the new way of life in Israel.	8	(92)	28	(324)	6	(69)	25	(292)	31	(370)	3	(31)
I feel I am an integral part of American community.	8	(93)	13	(154)	15	(177)	19	(222)	41	(483)	4	(49)
I feel I am a member of an "out group" here in Israel.	10	(122)	19	(223)	12	(141)	18	(213)	37	(436)	4	(43)
I feel as an American in Israel I am at a disadvantage.	8	(99)	13	(159)	10	(121)	21	(244)	44	(518)	3	(37)
I feel that my disadvantage could be minimized with increasing adjustment to Israeli society.	31	(360)	23	(267)	14	(163)	5	(63)	14	(170)	13	(155)
I feel that in Israel I don't belong quite as much as in America.	8	(99)	12	(146)	9	(102)	15	(175)	52	(613)	4	(43)
I feel that my "Jewishness" is more important than my being an American.	53	(619)	15	(177)	12	(143)	6	(72)	10	(121)	4	(46)
I feel that my "Jewishness" is more important than my being an Israeli.	31	(361)	15	(178)	17	(202)	13	(151)	20	(230)	5	(56)

*Questions 261-269 as appear on questionnaire (Appendix A).

> Although they live in so many diverse environments Jews have maintained everywhere a kernel of sameness that can be designated as peculiarly "Jewish." At the same time their socialization in the different cultures has produced variations in the common identity. The differences are likely to be particularly pronounced when one environment is that in which Jews are a minority. Moreover, a Jewish identity (or more correctly, subidentity) exists nowhere in isolation; it is in every country joined in interaction with another ethnic[2] subidentity the influence of which is imprinted on it.[3]

The relationship between "Jewishness" and "Israeliness" may be a source of considerable confusion to the American reader because on one hand there is a special relationship between "Israel" and "Jewishness" and on the other hand the American oleh thinks of his "Americanism" and his "Jewishness" as being distinct and separate. The non-orthodox Jew associates his religious affiliation in the United States as an act of Jewishness. The affiliation with a religious congregation is frequently an act of Jewish identification. Since the Israeli lives already in a "Jewish environment," he does not need to demonstrate his Jewish identification by being affiliated with a religious congregation as does the American.

The respondent was asked to agree or disagree with the statement, "I feel that my 'Jewishness' is more important than my being an American." Sixty-eight per cent agreed with the statement. They did so because this ingredient of "Jewishness" was so strongly felt that the majority responded to the previous statement, "I feel that in Israel I don't belong quite as much as in America" in the negative as "I disagree." In this statement "Americanism" was equated with "Jewishness" (Table 8.3).

In equating "Jewishness" with "Israeliness," feeling of being Israeli, 46 per cent of the respondents agreed with the statement,

"I feel that my Jewishness is more important than my being an Israeli." In sum, almost half the study population agreed with the statement that "Jewishness" was more important to them than being an Israeli. It is that feeling of "Jewishness" which pulled them to Israel and while in Israel they had a stronger feeling of being Jewish than of being Israeli. Being Israeli has been fittingly described by one respondent who stated, "It isn't just living in Israel, being a citizen and carrying an Israeli passport but rather referring to Israelis as 'us' and 'we' rather than 'they.'" Consequently, as one remains in the country his feeling of "Israeliness" will increase. However, his "Jewishness" will not necessarily diminish or decline; it may even become strengthened.

Almost all American olim gave as one of their reasons for coming to Israel, "Jewishness." And most of the American olim expected that the Jewishness which they shared with their hosts would eventually become a bridge to mutual understanding and social acceptance. They felt that this "Jewishness" would become a common denominator between themselves and their hosts. However, there have been some disappointments in that direction because the Israelis are more Israeli oriented and less Jewish conscious, as distinguished from their American counterpart who has a greater Jewish consciousness, possibly because he acquired his Israeli sub-identity after his Jewish identity. One reason that the American oleh had a greater "Jewish consciousness" was that he lived in a Christian culture and his "Jewishness" was always on his mind. He behaved as a Jew in definite times and occasions. There was a sharp distinction between specifically Jewish

and general activities unlike the Israeli who was socialized in a culture developed by a Jewish majority, where there is no differentiation between specifically Jewish and general activities.

In this study, the respondent was asked about his religious affiliation in order to determine what had happened, if anything, to his observances after his arrival to Israel. Was his synagogue affiliation strengthened, weakened or did it remain the same? Each respondent was asked about his synagogue affiliation before and since coming to Israel. The question was asked, "Before coming to Israel with which of the trends in Jewish religion were you affiliated?" Thirty-six per cent of the respondents stated Orthodox, 29 per cent Conservative, 12 per cent Reform, 2 per cent reconstructionist, and 21 per cent mentioned no trend. The respondent was further asked, "Since coming to Israel with which of the trends in Jewish religion do you identify?" Thirty-seven per cent responded Orthodox, 15 per cent Conservative, 5 per cent Reform, 2 per cent reconstructionist, and 39 per cent suggested no trend (Table 8.4). As indicated, the American Orthodox Jew continued to be Orthodox in Israel. To the Orthodox Jew, because of basic philosophy, it was far easier to continue to observe in Israel. The percentage of the Orthodox affiliation showed an increase of 1 per cent most likely from the Conservative group who wanted to be affiliated with a conservative synagogue and could not and therefore joined the orthodox. However, this was a small group. Almost half of the conservative group gave up their affiliation completely. From the reform group the affiliation dropped from 12 to 5 per cent, more than half its membership. It is

TABLE 8.4.--Jewish Religious Life Before and Since Coming to Israel--Synagogue Affiliation.

	Percentage of Respondents	Number Respondents
Before coming to Israel with which of the trends in Jewish religion were you affiliated?*		
Orthodox	36	426
Conservative	29	343
Reform	12	140
Reconstructionist	2	23
No trend	21	245
No response	0	1
Total	100	1,178
Since coming to Israel with which of the trends in Jewish religion do you identify?*		
Orthodox	37	432
Conservative	15	177
Reform	5	64
Reconstructionist	2	23
No trend	39	464
No response	2	18
Total	100	1,178

*Questionnaire (Appendix A) questions 3 and 136 as appear on questionnaire.

true that until recently there were no conservative or reform synagogues in Israel; they were never needed before Americans started coming to Israel in large numbers. The religious bloc in Israel has always opposed any movement other than orthodox in Israel. However, as pressures from American groups grew, conservative and reform synagogues came into being. But again, the number is small because of the absence of any real need.

The non-orthodox Jew in America without active religious or fraternal affiliation loses his Jewish identity. In Israel, however, he does not have to belong to a synagogue or be a member of a Jewish organization to keep his Jewish identity. The Jew in Israel by his mere presence can be such because he is already one of the majority. Therefore, synagogue affiliation is rare, certainly unneeded. People come just for services and for various religious shiurim (lessons), talks and discussion groups on the Shabbat.

The respondent was further asked, "During your last years prior to coming to Israel how often did you attend a synagogue?" Twelve per cent of the respondents stated "daily or almost daily," 22 per cent "about once a week," 34 per cent "only on festivals and during the High Holidays," 21 per cent "not at all." The respondent was then asked to answer the same question "since coming to Israel." Twelve per cent responded "daily or almost daily," 23-1/2 per cent "about once a week," 24-1/2 per cent "only on festivals and during the High Holidays," and 38 per cent "not at all" (Table 8.5).

It is noteworthy that the respondent who attended synagogue services daily before coming to Israel continued to do so after

TABLE 8.5.--Jewish Religious Life Before and Since Coming to Israel--Synagogue Attendance.

During your last years prior to coming to Israel how often did you attend a Synagogue?*	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Daily or almost daily	12	142
About once a week	32	382
Only on festivals and during the High Holidays	34	401
Not at all	21	243
No response	1	10
Total	100	1,178

Since coming to Israel how often do you attend a Synagogue?*		
Daily or almost daily	12	136
About once a week	23.5	281
Only on festivals and during the High Holidays	24.5	289
Not at all	38	447
No response	2	25
Total	100	1,178

*Questionnaire (Appendix A) questions 2 and 135 as appear on questionnaire.

coming. To this individual, worship was not a matter of identity but rather personal, religious commitment. The percentage of once-a-week synagogue attendees dropped from 32 per cent before coming to 23-1/2 per cent since coming. A similar drop is noted on those who attended synagogues on festivals and during the High Holidays. The number of people, as reflected in the percentages, also dropped 10 per cent from before coming to since coming to Israel. The 21 per cent who did not attend at all in America increased to 38 per cent since coming to Israel. All this seems to indicate that of those whose synagogue attendance was primarily a source of Jewish identification in America, if they did attend in Israel, they did so out of a sense of religious rather than "Jewish" commitment. To the others the problem of fulfilling one's own Jewishness was solved mainly by his presence in Israel.

Herman in his study of American Students in Israel lends support to this conclusion:

> They will find a greater measure of Jewishness among members of the older generation of Israelis as compared with the younger, and among religious youth as compared with secular youth. The religious young Israelis not only feel themselves more "Jewish" than do the nonreligious but also their attitude to Jews everywhere is more strongly positive--although a serious concern for the fate of Jews in other countries is present in nonreligious youth as well. Israeli educators have expressed anxiety about the weakening of "Jewish consciousness" among secular youth, and the American Jewish students may experience a sense of disappointment when meeting them.[4]

Exemplifying a unique need of American olim, housing figured largely among the "problems and frustrations" of adjustment to life in Israel. Typical of American feelings were these responses:

"The housing problem is a big problem!"

"Housing is my biggest single problem. If I solve that things should work out. That would be the failing point."

It should be pointed out that housing is basically different in Israel than in America. For new olim, housing generally consists of an apartment unit purchased within a housing project (as opposed to a rental unit which is rare, usually available on short-term basis, fully furnished, and very expensive). Thus the oleh must purchase his apartment and if he wishes to take advantage of a more favorable mortgage rate must apply to the Jewish Agency for a loan.

To the question, "To what extent are you satisfied with your present housing conditions?" 28 per cent stated "definitely," 46 per cent "fairly well," 13 per cent "not very," and 19 per cent "not at all." Seventy-four per cent of the combined group of definitely and fairly well, or almost three-fourths of the respondents, were satisfied with their present housing conditions. On the question "To what extent are you satisfied with the size of your apartment (including temporary accommodations) the city or town in which you live and with your present neighborhood?" 71 per cent of the combined group responded as "definitely" and "fairly well" regarding the size of their accommodations, 80 per cent of the combined group were satisfied with the city or town, and 75 per cent with their present neighborhood. Thus indicating that about three-fourths of the respondents were satisfied with the housing aspects in Israel (Table 8.6).

The American oleh who came to Israel was not in a complete dream about Israel. This research shows that a strong majority, 62 per cent of the study population, had spent from one month to

TABLE 8.6.--Satisfaction With Various Aspects of Life in Israel--Housing.*

	Definitely		Fairly Well		Not Very		Not at all		No Response	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
To what extent are you satisfied with your present housing conditions?	28	(330)	46	(546)	13	(157)	19	(101)	4	(44)
To what extent are you satisfied with the size of your apartment (including temporary accommodations)?	30	(349)	41	(481)	16	(188)	9	(103)	5	(57)
To what extent are you satisfied in the city or town in which you live?	47	(552)	33	(390)	10	(112)	7	(79)	4	(45)
To what extent are you satisfied with your present neighborhood?	37	(431)	38	(445)	12	(141)	9	(111)	4	(50)

*Questions 139-142 as appear on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 8.7.--Satisfaction With Various Aspects of Life in Israel--Social Life.*

	Very Satisfied		Fairly Satisfied		Not Very Satisfied		Not Satisfied at all		No Response	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
To what extent are you satisfied with the quality of your social life in Israel?	27	(316)	45	(528)	19	(223)	7	(86)	2	(25)
To what extent are you satisfied with the frequency with which you meet friends in Israel?	30	(349)	42	(493)	19	(226)	7	(83)	2	(27)
To what extent are you satisfied with the attitude towards you by your neighbors in Israel?	29	(345)	46	(545)	14	(168)	6	(73)	4	(47)

*Questions 143-145 as appear on questionnaire (Appendix A).

twenty-one years in Israel prior to aliya and knew generally what size town or neighborhood they wanted to live in. A great number of Americans had even made such arrangements prior to their coming so that the disappointment in that area was not as great as one might have expected. Also, most of the Americans came with some money and were able to make the down payment for a new apartment. They were also able to select their own size apartment, the town or city they liked and the neighborhood they preferred. However, the problems and frustrations which they did encounter were with the officials of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, the Jewish Agency and the contractors. Once the oleh moved into his apartment, his problems and frustrations with taking up residence diminished and he seemed quite satisfied.

Not all olim, however, were satisfied with their housing. Following are some comments cited by respondents who encountered problems and frustrations regarding housing:*

> "Finance or lack of it has become a more important problem than it was in Canada, as has frustration with bureaucracy. . . ."
>
> "The biggest current problems after jobs are, I believe, finding proper housing and at a reasonable cost, having the Jewish Agency have a resident attorney to consult on legal questions (i.e., housing and talking to builders, contractors and for real estate agents)."
>
> "We have experienced and are in the midst of many difficulties with housing, bureaucracy and other specific and (we hope) transient problems. The solution or passing of these specific problems would greatly improve day-to-day state of mind. Except for these problems our adjustment has been OK. The immigrant benefits are generous, but they are administered so badly as to leave a bad taste."

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*Comments by respondents on response sheets to the questionnaire. For additional comments see Appendix F.

It is evident that buying an apartment in Israel can be a most trying and frustrating experience. One must deal with a variety of government officials if he is trying to obtain government housing (which may be less expensive than the free market) and a loan from the Jewish Agency at a more favorable rate. Along with this is the frustration of dealing with a private contractor, attorneys and building codes, all of which are unfamiliar to the new oleh and consequently most frustrating. However, once the apartment is completed and the oleh moves in, his frustration eases with time and diminishes in intensity.

Because one's social life has for him a distinctly personal meaning, for the purpose of this study, it was left to each respondent to express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the quality of his social life in the light of his individual feelings. Seventy-two per cent of the respondents expressed satisfaction with both the quality of their social life and frequency with which they meet friends in Israel. Regarding the question "To what extent are you satisfied with the attitude shown towards you by your neighbors in Israel?" 75 per cent or three-fourths of the respondents indicated satisfaction.

The responses do not indicate, of course, the extent to which the oleh's social life included both Israelis and fellow Americans. However, since many Americans lived among other olim, the closest new associations began with them. Olim naturally gravitated to those with whom they had the most in common. And thus if the early transition period met with frustrations they looked for others who shared

similar experiences and with whom they would have sympathetic ears. As the ratio of early frustrations and language difficulties decreased, the proportion of Israeli friends and socializing increased.

It is possible to immigrate to a country which one loves and in which one feels at home without having the same feeling towards its inhabitants. Some respondents have expressed their feelings towards Israel and Israelis:*

> "I feel a love for the land I never felt in America; I feel for the land of Israel as I hope to feel some day for my husband."
>
> "Israelis have too much of a conceited attitude towards Americans. I feel more bigoted here as an American than I did as a Jew in America."
>
> "I feel Israelis resent American newcomers. On the whole they are ill-mannered. I like the country very much. Feel more Americans should be encouraged to come."

"Regarding the question about Israel and Israelis the American oleh was asked "What has been your general impression about Israel?" 25 per cent stated "very favorable," 65 per cent "favorable," 8 per cent "unfavorable," and 1 per cent "very unfavorable." However, when the question was asked "What has been your general impression about Israelis?" only 11 per cent stated "very favorable," a considerable drop from those stating "very favorable" with reference to their impression about Israel. On "favorable" the percentage remained constant, at 65 per cent. This does not mean that the same individuals rated "favorable" for both Israel and Israelis. This may be explained

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*Comments by respondents on response sheets to the questionnaire. For additional comments see Appendix F.

by the drop down the line starting from the top "very favorable" to "very unfavorable." On the "unfavorable" the percentage more than doubled from 8 per cent on Israel to 17 per cent on Israelis, and the "very unfavorable" response quintupled from 1 per cent of "very unfavorable" towards Israel to 5 per cent "very unfavorable" towards Israelis (Table 8.8).

Following are some comments by respondents concerning Israel and Israelis:

> "Israel and Israelis are primitive--a primitiveness which is sometimes attractive but can be difficult to live with."
>
> "For Israelis I feel great ambiguity--admiration for their abilities when they exert them, dismay at their apathy, lack of intellectual interest and manners."
>
> "Israel is a good country but Israelis could stand some improvement personality wise."
>
> "In the U.S. people are generally friendly, but if they see you lying on the ground they will ignore you. In Israel people are rude, will push and shove you, but if they knock you down and see you lying on the ground they will stop to help you get up."

From the sampling above, it becomes clear that one must distinguish between Israel as a country and the Israelis as a people. One must also take into consideration that even as a people the Israelis are not all alike. Since they come from various backgrounds and cultures they cannot be lumped together as one group. However, the comments by respondents seemed to reflect an unfavorable response as a consequence of personal experiences with the Jewish Agency and government officials as well as day-to-day contacts with Israeli citizenry in the various areas of social and business intercourse. It was the generalized feeling of many that Israelis were arrogant, snobbish, and

TABLE 8.8.--General Impressions About Israel and Israelis.

Impression	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
"What has been your general impression about Israel?"*		
Very favorable	25	296
Favorable	65	763
Unfavorable	8	95
Very unfavorable	1	10
No response	1	14
Total	100	1,178
"What has been your general impression about Israelis?"*		
Very favorable	11	131
Favorable	65	765
Unfavorable	17	195
Very unfavorable	5	58
No response	2	29
Total	100	1,178

*Questionnaire (Appendix A) questions 300 and 301 as appear on questionnaire.

cliquish, no wonder that so many respondents were more favorable to Israel as a country than toward the Israelis as a people.

Some olim expressed great admiration for the Israeli state and the courage of the Israeli people as a whole, a great source of pride. But the few negative experiences at the hands of officious agency or government officials left most olim very disillusioned, certainly colored their thinking, and resulted in a negative attitude towards Israelis. Despite all of this, however, all olim believed that in time of national need or emergency, even the most disagreeable Israeli would still be more trusted than any other individual outside of Israel.

That aspect of life in Israel which ranked highest was "the feeling of being at home as a Jew in Israel" with 75 per cent, "the climate in Israel" with 74 per cent being a close second. "Sense of belongingness in Israel" and "your being a part of the people in Israel" ranking third and fourth in rank order with 68 per cent. "Sense of belongingness in Israel" was first in rank order as a combined motivational pull factor in a decision to come to Israel. However, it went down to third in rank order of satisfactions in Israel. This is indicative of the idea that although the oleh felt "at home" in Israel he did not fully feel a "sense of belongingness" and "being a part of the people in Israel." "The Jewish national life in Israel" ranked fifth with 63 per cent of the respondents being satisfied with this aspect of life in Israel. "The feeling of purposeful existence in Israel" was sixth in rank order with 62 per cent and "Being a part

of the majority rather than the minority in the country" ranked seventh with 61 per cent (Table 8.9).

These seven items are indicative of the greatest positive satisfaction with the various aspects of life in Israel. These aspects have been very strong as motives for coming as well as for remaining and remained strong for those who remained or wanted to remain. These were the factors which pulled them to Israel and which made them stay in Israel. As some respondents commented:

"I like being Jewish here."

"I love Israel. I worship every foot of ground I step on."

"This is my country, my people, and I feel deeply that I belong here."

"I don't feel Israeli but very Jewish in Israel--without having to use religion to remind myself of my Jewishness."

Red-tape and bureaucracy, although a "necessary evil" was a source of endless frustration to the American oleh. Coming from a country where the governmental bureaucracy moved with some degree of efficiency and expedition many respondents were dissatisfied, even appalled with the lack of efficiency in government. What with an over-abundance of officials, forms to be completed in quadruplicate or quintuplicates, mid-morning coffee breaks where everything stops and one must simply stay in line or sit in place and patiently wait until the official he is waiting to see has finished his break, was the source of great frustration on the part of many American olim.

As a result of this it is no surprise that "red tape and bureaucracy" ranked first among the dissatisfactions of various aspects of life in Israel with 72 per cent of the respondents so stating

TABLE 8.9.--Satisfaction With Various Aspects of Life in Israel.

To what extent are you satisfied with: *	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
the feeling of being at home as a Jew in Israel?	75	879
the climate in Israel?	74	865
sense of belongingness in Israel?	68	804
your being a part of the people in Israel?	68	795
the Jewish national life in Israel?	63	740
the feeling of purposeful existence in Israel?	62	732
being part of the majority rather than the minority in the country?	61	718
your present housing?	57	668
Israeli food in general?	56	666
your social life?	56	657
contacts you made with Israelis?	56	657
Jewish cultural life in Israel?	56	652
Israel as a place for children to grow up?	53	627
your cultural life?	52	611
the feeling that Israel needs you or your services?	50	591
progress in learning Hebrew?	46	535
seeing here friends you knew in America?	45	531
the pioneering spirit in Israel?	42	502
the job you are holding in Israel?	41	490
your fresh start in Israel?	35	419
the religious life in Israel?	33	395
your education or your children's education	32	387
religious control by the State over personal status matters?	24	290
attitudes toward you by government employees?	18	215
red-tape and bureaucracy?	8	95

*Questionnaire (Appendix A) questions 236-260.

(Table 8.10). One could write an entire book on the stories which people have recounted of their experiences with Israeli red-tape and bureaucracy. However, this study will limit itself to the facts and some comments by respondents.

> "What bothers me most is the need for 'protectsia' and the abuse of the petitioner, whether Israeli or newcomer by the bureaucracy."
>
> "Nothing except direct American control can crack the red-tape and bureaucracy and inefficiency of the Jewish Agency and official circles. This has been the single exasperating experience in Israel. If I hear the word 'savlanut' (patience) once more I'll do something violent."
>
> "Bureaucracy is terrible--there is much jealousy, resentment of lower class workers. They discriminate. They aren't educated. They don't face problems of new olim and display total hostility towards those who weren't around to struggle in the land."
>
> "It is difficult to buy a postage stamp without some person getting ahead of you when waiting in line. The way things are at government offices it is impossible to pay a bill without being aggravated. But this is my country, my people, and I feel deeply that I belong here. The things that are really meaningful and inspiring compensate for some of the irritations."

How much harm this red-tape and bureaucracy has done to American aliya depends a great deal on the real motives for coming and the commitment to Israel. This is the most frustrating experience for the American oleh and thus seems to be a serious problem to American aliya. As summed up by one respondent:

> "Israel is too technocratic for me--in fact I'm a technician but not by choice. On 'red-tape' my answers indicate a negative attitude towards the subject, however I must tell that I feel that the 'red-tape' seems worse than it is because of: 1) language, 2) not knowing what office is for what, 3) generally not used to the 'deal.' In America I can put up with the red tape because I know my 'way around' and I'm not fighting for basic things--job, housing, etc. The urgency of getting settled, and the complete strangeness of it all certainly blows it out

TABLE 8.10.--Dissatisfaction With Various Aspects of Life in Israel.

To what extent are you satisfied with: *	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
red-tape and bureaucracy?	72	846
religious control by the State over personal status matters?	50	583
attitudes toward you by government employees?	41	490
progress in learning Hebrew?	32	376
the religious life in Israel?	29	348
your present housing?	22	266
Israeli food in general?	20	234
contacts you made with Israelis?	20	230
the pioneering spirit in Israel?	18	210
your cultural life?	18	207
the job you are holding in Israel?	17	205
your social life?	17	201
your education or your children's education?	16	190
the feeling that Israel needs you or your services?	15	180
seeing here friends you knew in America?	14	170
your fresh start in Israel?	14	161
sense of belongingness in Israel?	12	147
your being a part of the people in Israel?	12	147
the feeling of purposeful existence in Israel?	11	133
Jewish cultural life in Israel?	11	125
the Jewish national life in Israel?	9	100
the feeling of being at home as a Jew in Israel?	7	87
the climate in Israel?	8	84
being part of the majority rather than the minority in the country?	6	78
Israel as a place for children to grow up?	5	65

*Questionnaire (Appendix A) questions 236-60.

of proportion--however, this being the cause does not change the frustration. I recommend that for olim, a little less red tape and more and better informed employees who deal with olim. The amount of misinformation is simply staggering--unbelievable in fact. No one knows what the hell they're doing--my impression."

The point of this respondent is well taken, as the American oleh has the tendency to compare the red-tape and bureaucracy in Israel with the American system with which he is more familiar and which seems much more efficient. Only his sense of humor and commitment to stay will keep him from running back to America. As length of time in the country increases, he becomes more accustomed to the system and though it may still be frustrating it at least becomes more tolerable to him.

Another problem which caused dissatisfaction among American olim was the religious control by the state over matters of personal status. Many of the non-religious American olim felt dissatisfied that Israel imposes a state religion whereas in America they had been used to complete separation of church and state. On the other hand those who were religious were disappointed that Israel was inadequately religious--after all Israel is a Jewish State and implicit in that is religiousness. Thus, the conflict. "The religious control by the state over personal status matters" ranked second in terms of the oleh's dissatisfaction of aspects of life in Israel with 50 per cent of the respondents so stating. Americans who always felt that religion and state were not to mix found such in Israel more than a mere inconvenience. Those who are not observant felt that the government improperly imposed itself in such matters as marriage,

divorce, even concerning prohibiting public transportation on Sabbath in most areas. On the other hand the orthodox were equally dissatisfied with a state that was not as religious as they had expected it to be. The whole problem of religion remains a thorny one and the lack of unity among the religious groups themselves creates problems which demand resolution. The following comments illustrate the feelings of olim:

> "I am against the imposition of the orthodox Jew on all the Israelis."
>
> "I feel that if Israel is not a religious state then it will not be a national state very long."
>
> "There has to be separation of church and state."

To each respondent there were both satisfactions and dissatisfactions in the adjustment process. As with any adjustment process, each day brings a new experience and it is the background of the individual along with his sense of humor and commitment which will determine the success or failure of his adjustment. This hope of most olim was typified by these responses:

> "I feel completely at home and fulfilled. This is my country, my people and I feel deeply that I belong here. The things that really are meaningful and inspiring compensate for some of the irritations."
>
> "I want to be successful here because I feel that Israel is my home. People are generally different than in America, sometimes better, sometimes worse. I will try to make it. It takes time."

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TABLE 8.11.--Satisfaction With Various Aspects of Life in Israel.

To what extent are you satisfied with: *	Very Satis.		Satis.		Neither Satis. nor Dissatis.		Not Satis.		Very Dissatis.		No Response	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
being part of the majority rather than the minority in the country?	32	(374)	29	(344)	26	(301)	4	(50)	2	(28)	7	(81)
the Jewish national life in Israel?	23	(274)	40	(466)	23	(266)	6	(65)	3	(35)	6	(72)
the religious life in Israel?	12	(143)	21	(252)	31	(362)	18	(215)	11	(133)	6	(73)
Jewish-cultural life in Israel?	16	(184)	40	(468)	28	(332)	8	(93)	3	(32)	6	(69)
sense of belongingness in Israel?	33	(389)	35	(415)	14	(169)	10	(113)	3	(34)	5	(58)
the feeling of being at home as a Jew in Israel?	44	(513)	31	(366)	13	(155)	5	(62)	2	(25)	5	(57)
your being a part of the people in Israel?	36	(421)	32	(374)	15	(179)	9	(110)	3	(37)	5	(57)
the pioneering spirit in Israel?	13	(159)	29	(343)	33	(394)	13	(154)	5	(56)	6	(72)
Israel as a place for children to grow up?	27	(323)	26	(304)	10	(117)	4	(48)	1	(17)	31	(369)
the feeling that Israel needs you or your services?	16	(188)	34	(403)	28	(326)	10	(120)	5	(60)	7	(81)
the feeling of purposeful existence in Israel?	25	(296)	37	(436)	21	(243)	7	(86)	4	(47)	6	(70)
your fresh start in Israel?	12	(145)	23	(274)	41	(482)	8	(90)	6	(71)	10	(116)

To what extent are you satisfied with:*	Very Satis.		Satis.		Neither Satis. nor Dissatis.		Not Satis.		Very Dissatis.		No Response	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
seeing here friends you knew in America?	14	(168)	31	(363)	33	(389)	9	(107)	5	(63)	7	(88)
the job you are holding in Israel?	16	(194)	25	(296)	17	(200)	9	(106)	8	(99)	24	(283)
your education or your children's education?	11	(135)	21	(252)	10	(120)	11	(131)	5	(59)	41	(481)
your present housing?	21	(245)	36	(423)	13	(149)	13	(155)	9	(111)	8	(95)
red-tape and bureaucracy?	2	(22)	6	(73)	14	(168)	26	(309)	46	(537)	6	(69)
attitudes toward you by government employees?	3	(33)	15	(182)	34	(397)	22	(264)	19	(226)	6	(76)
your social life?	16	(183)	40	(474)	22	(258)	12	(145)	5	(56)	5	(62)
your cultural life?	11	(128)	41	(483)	25	(290)	13	(150)	5	(57)	6	(70)
progress in learning Hebrew?	14	(162)	32	(373)	16	(193)	21	(250)	11	(126)	6	(74)
religious control by the State over personal status matters?	11	(134)	13	(156)	21	(245)	20	(233)	30	(350)	5	(60)
contacts you made with Israelis?	15	(172)	41	(485)	20	(240)	15	(176)	5	(54)	4	(51)
Israeli food in general?	13	(154)	43	(512)	20	(232)	15	(173)	5	(61)	4	(46)
the climate in Israel?	26	(305)	48	(560)	16	(186)	6	(65)	2	(19)	4	(43)

*Questions 236-60 as appear on the questionnaire (Appendix A).

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 8

[1]Facts About Israel, Special Edition for the Oleh, 1969, p. 52.

[2]The term "ethnic" is being used in a broad sense similar to that in which Otto Klineberg employs it: "An ethnic group may be defined . . . as one which is set off from others by inherited physical type (or 'race'), by religion, language, or national origin, or any combination of these" ("The Multi-National Society: Some Research Problem," Social Sciences Information, VI [1967], 84).

[3]Herman, op. cit., p. 35.

[4]Herman, op. cit., p. 43.

CHAPTER 9

PROBLEMS AND FRUSTRATIONS IN ISRAEL

"The most frustrating aspects of adjustment are the bureaucratic procedures, inefficiency, waste of time, lack of rational system, connected with everything in the absorption process from landing in Haifa through finding housing, getting medical insurance, etc. . . ."*

The more problems and frustrations one encounters, or perceives at one encounters, the less satisfied will one be; the less one els at home, the more will one feel that he has made a mistake in ning on aliya. These feelings showed up in the series of questions various aspects of life in Israel.

With regard to the question "How important is it for you it government and public offices should be run efficiently and hout undue red-tape?" 96 per cent of those responding felt that a ernment without red-tape was of importance to them (Table 9.1). ety per cent of the respondents stated clearly that red-tape and eaucracy does indeed exist in Israel. Only 3 per cent believed t none existed (Table 9.2).

To the extent the respondent was prepared to put up with -tape and bureaucracy as a necessary evil in a contemporary society,

*Comment by respondent on response sheet to the question-re. For additional comments see Appendix F.

We would like to find out how important these various aspects of life in Israel are to you in your daily routine.

	Very Important		Important		Somewhat Important		Not Imp. at all		No Response	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
How important is it to you to have your children grow up in Israel?	41	(483)	18	(211)	8	(100)	5	(62)	27	(322)
How important is it to you to be satisfied with your job in Israel?	54	(633)	24	(288)	7	(79)	7	(85)	8	(93)
How important is it for you to have good housing in Israel?	44	(519)	37	(440)	12	(142)	3	(32)	4	(45)
How important is it for you that government and public offices should be run efficiently and without undue red-tape?	64	(755)	23	(273)	9	(105)	1	(17)	2	(28)
How important is it for you to have a good social life?	44	(519)	38	(447)	14	(161)	2	(29)	2	(22)
How important is it for you to have a good cultural life?	43	(501)	38	(446)	14	(169)	3	(36)	2	(26)

We would like to find out if these various aspects in Israel do exist for you.

	Yes, very much		Yes, to some degree		A little		Not at all		No response	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Are your children getting a good education in Israel?	16	(188)	19	(221)	9	(105)	5	(61)	51	(603)
Do you have (or did you have) a problem getting a satisfactory job in Israel?	16	(186)	16	(185)	14	(164)	35	(409)	20	(234)
Do (or did) you have a problem getting satisfactory housing in Israel?	23	(266)	20	(241)	16	(191)	28	(325)	13	(155)
Is there a problem with red-tape and bureaucracy in Israel?	56	(659)	25	(295)	9	(101)	3	(37)	7	(86)
Is there a good attitude toward you by government employees?	7	(77)	39	(465)	28	(330)	17	(201)	9	(105)
Do you have a good social life?	24	(287)	44	(521)	19	(225)	6	(73)	6	(72)
Do you have a good cultural life?	17	(198)	44	(517)	25	(299)	7	(82)	7	(82)
Is it beneficial for your children to grow up in Israel?	39	(460)	19	(227)	6	(74)	3	(40)	32	(377)

We would like to find out how satisfied you are with various aspects of life in Israel.*

To what extent are you satisfied with:	Very Satis.		Satis.		Neither Satis. nor Dissatis.		Not Satis.		Very Dissatis.		No Response	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
your education or your children's education?	11	(135)	21	(252)	10	(120)	11	(131)	5	(59)	41	(481)
the job you are holding in Israel?	16	(194)	25	(296)	17	(200)	9	(106)	8	(99)	24	(283)
your present housing?	21	(245)	36	(423)	13	(149)	13	(155)	9	(111)	8	(95)
red-tape and bureaucracy?	2	(22)	6	(73)	14	(168)	26	(309)	46	(537)	6	(69)
attitudes towards you by government employees?	3	(33)	15	(182)	34	(397)	22	(264)	19	(226)	6	(76)
your social life?	16	(183)	40	(474)	22	(258)	12	(145)	5	(56)	5	(62)
your cultural life?	11	(128)	41	(483)	25	(290)	13	(150)	5	(57)	6	(70)
Israel as a place for children to grow up?	27	(323)	26	(304)	10	(117)	4	(48)	1	(17)	31	(369

*Questions 244 and 249-255 on questionnaire (Appendix A).

We would like to find out how satisfied you are with various aspects of life in Israel.*

To what extent are you satisfied with:	Very Satis.		Satis.		Neither Satis. nor Dissatis.		Not Satis.		Very Dissatis.		No Response	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
your education or your children's education?	11	(135)	21	(252)	10	(120)	11	(131)	5	(59)	41	(481)
the job you are holding in Israel?	16	(194)	25	(296)	17	(200)	9	(106)	8	(99)	24	(283)
your present housing?	21	(245)	36	(423)	13	(149)	13	(155)	9	(111)	8	(95)
red-tape and bureaucracy?	2	(22)	6	(73)	14	(168)	26	(309)	46	(537)	6	(69)
attitudes towards you by government employees?	3	(33)	15	(182)	34	(397)	22	(264)	19	(226)	6	(76)
your social life?	16	(183)	40	(474)	22	(258)	12	(145)	5	(56)	5	(62)
your cultural life?	11	(128)	41	(483)	25	(290)	13	(150)	5	(57)	6	(70)
Israel as a place for children to grow up?	27	(323)	26	(304)	10	(117)	4	(48)	1	(17)	31	(369

*Questions 244 and 249-255 on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.4.--Importance, Existence, and Satisfaction of Aspects of Life in Israel.*

	Importance	Existence	Satisfaction
Red-tape and bureaucracy	96%	90%	8%
The job you are holding in Israel	85%	46%	41%
Your present housing	93%	59%	57%
Your social life	96%	87%	56%
Your cultural life	95%	86%	52%
Israel as a place for children to grow up	67%	64%	53%
Your education or your children's education	--	44%	32%
Attitudes toward you by government employees	--	74%	18%

*The above are total percentage figures from Tables 9.1, 9.2, 9.3.

8 per cent were "very satisfied" or "satisfied" and 14 per cent "neither satisfied nor dissatisfied." Seventy-two per cent of the respondents were in some way dissatisfied with the red-tape and bureaucracy and were in some way not willing to accept the necessary red-tape which is a part of contemporary society. Of the 90 per cent of the respondents who recognized the existence of bureaucratic red-tape in their daily lives, only 8 per cent were satisfied. That this is a major concern of olim is indicated by some of the comments which follow:

> "People are crazy with bureaucracy (one office sends you to another) and still nobody knows the answer, why must the day be split in two parts, why must a place have all the workers take break at one time . . ."

> "The inefficiency and red-tape make just getting through the day a major task. It is this plus the fact that if this hinders my being able to do my job the way I have to, I will seriously consider not remaining in Israel. I am not alone in this feeling, having spoken to many professionals who feel the same way. We can't fathom how the country manages to function given the impossible attitude of employees and government workers. We can only guess that the productivity level is terribly low--if westerners are to be persuaded to stay the bureaucracy and the attitude of those who run it will have to change."

Eighty-five per cent of the respondents felt that satisfaction with one's position was to some degree necessary to their occupation in Israel, but 46 per cent noted that they had a problem in finding such a position in Israel (Tables 9.1 and 9.2). Forty-one per cent of the respondents were satisfied in some degree with the job they held in Israel.

If one were to compare the fact that 85 per cent of the respondents indicated the necessity for job satisfaction with the

41 per cent who expressed satisfaction with the job they were holding, it would suggest that less than half of the respondents were satisfied with their occupations. This would be consistent with the 46 per cent of the respondents who noted the existence of the problem of finding satisfactory employment in Israel, a problem which half of the respondents observed. To be noted was the fact that 20 per cent declined to respond to the question. It is noteworthy that one of the reasons for dissatisfaction with the job lay with the inefficiency in the work and with the inexperienced and untrained personnel who wanted no part of American know-how but who insisted upon changing American work habits. The American work environment is different from the Israeli work environment, and while the American wanted or expected to find the Israeli world of work the same as his he found it to be quite different. He found that he had to adjust to a different kind of world. This is what created the dissatisfaction. Many American olim came with training, experience and know-how and felt that they could make a contribution on that basis to the Israeli world of work and were disappointed when they found themselves in the position of having to do things the way they were already done in Israel rather than being allowed, in the American tradition, to innovate or make full use of their own particular experience.

Man's first problem in a new land is that of finding shelter. His second problem is that of finding gainful employment. However, an oleh to Israel does not face the problems in that order as the Jewish Agency provides shelter in the form of absorption center, hostel, or ulpan while the oleh finds employment and housing. The

location of permanent housing depends in large measure on the location and type of employment. For example, a stock broker would have to live in close proximity to Tel Aviv. A diamond-cutter would also have to be in the Tel Aviv area, the center of the diamond industry.

Ninety-three per cent of the respondents attached some kind of importance to housing in Israel as a priority (Table 9.1). Fifty-nine per cent of the respondents found a problem in obtaining satisfactory housing in Israel (Table 9.2). On the other hand, 57 per cent of the respondents indicated some degree of satisfaction with their present housing (Table 9.3).

Of the 93 per cent of the respondents who attached a degree of importance to finding housing, 59 per cent noted a problem in obtaining such housing. While most Americans came with sufficient funds to enable them to make a down payment on a house, they were satisfied that, under Israeli standards of living, they could not expect what they had in America. Thus did 22 per cent express dissatisfaction with housing in Israel, those who came with either no means or very little means and were unable to make the down payment necessary for those accommodations which would have been satisfactory for them.

Following the priorities of establishing employment and housing, the oleh next considered his social and cultural life. This seemed to take on the role of cushioning the every-day pressures and frustrations of establishing himself in a new society. A good social life, as perceived by the oleh, would enhance his adjustment, while on the other hand, a lack of good social life where it is desired, would compound the frustrations.

While 87 per cent of the respondents believed that they had a good social life in Israel 96 per cent felt that a good social life had some importance to them. Only 6 per cent of the respondents felt that their social life was not adequate (Tables 9.1 and 9.2). Fifty-six per cent of the respondents stated that they were satisfied with their social life.

It can be noted that while a great majority of the respondents felt that a good social life existed for them they did not necessarily express satisfaction with that social life. In many instances they felt it lacked what they would have preferred.

A good cultural life in Israel may not have been among the primary motives of an American in deciding on aliya. While he may have felt the importance of a cultural life no matter where he lived, it was not the moving force behind his decision to immigrate to Israel. However, once there, he found the need for a good cultural life in Israel just as he may have had the same need in America. It was an important aspect of his life. In many instances it may have been interrelated with his social life, and in others separated. He did have certain expectations and anticipations, and thus was asked a series of questions to determine how important it was to him to have a good cultural life, if indeed he did have a good cultural life in Israel, and if he was satisfied with it.

Ninety-five per cent of the respondents attached some degree of importance to the necessity for a good cultural life in Israel and 86 per cent felt that such a life existed for them. However, only 52 per cent expressed satisfaction with their cultural life.

A number of reasons may explain the diversity between the 95 per cent who expressed a need for a good cultural life and the 52 per cent who expressed satisfaction with what they had found. Language may have been the most important problem, for understanding plays, poetry, lectures, and the like requires a good command of the language. Proximity to centers of learning may have also been a problem to some who found themselves either in absorption centers or hostels away from the cities with transportation difficult to obtain. Some olim found the adjustment period in and of itself taxing and thus had not as yet sought to satisfy their cultural interests, waiting to be more settled. It can be seen therefore that a dichotomy would exist between desiring a good cultural life and realizing its expectations.

In order to deal with the topic of problems and frustrations, a number of miscellaneous questions were asked. Among these were questions dealing with children growing up in Israel, children's education, and attitudes by government employees.

While 64 per cent of the respondents believed it to be a benefit to their children to grow up in Israel, 67 per cent attached some degree of importance to this. Unfortunately, only a bare majority, 53 per cent were satisfied with Israel as a place for their children to grow up (Tables 9.1, 9.2, and 9.3).

It should be mentioned here that 27 per cent of the respondents did not respond to this question, being single or retirees whose children were already grown. The difference between those attaching

importance to their children growing up in Israel, and those who were satisfied with their children growing up in Israel may be explained by the attitude of parents in planning aliya. They thought Israel would be a "utopia" as far as children were concerned, that there was no crime, drug problem, or problem of intermarriage. However, upon coming to Israel they realized that these problems do exist. There is some crime, petty thievery and robberies, a growing drug problem and intermarriage with non-Jews coming to work on kibbutzim and in the Israeli population.

While most olim seemed to weigh the material advantages of living in America with those spiritual or cultural advantages of living in a country where they were part of a majority group, and could live a "Jewish" life, and appreciate other more basic qualities of a more quiet and simple life, others felt disappointment that things were not as they had anticipated in regard to their children growing up in Israel.

Education has always been of much importance in the life of a Jew. Jews have been referred to as "Am Hasefer," the people of the book, and education has always been highly praised with parents exercising a great influence upon their children in their receiving an education. Thus, the question of importance was eliminated, with the respondents asked if their children were in fact receiving a good education, and if they were satisfied with that education. Forty-four per cent of the respondents believed that their children were getting a good education in Israel (Table 9.2). This appeared to be a small percentage. However, 51 per cent of the respondents did not respond

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to the question. Of these, 40 per cent had no children, including the unmarried, the married without children, the divorced and widowed without children. There were additional respondents not responding to this question as their children were either below or above school age.

Thirty-two per cent of the respondents expressed satisfaction with their education or their children's education (Table 9.3). It should be noted that religious education is a part of the public school system, and parents have the option to send their children to a religious public school or a secular public school, unlike the United States where religious education is private. The 12 per cent difference between satisfaction with the children's education and the belief that their children are getting a good education may be explained in this way, parents were satisfied with the religious aspect of the education, but not the secular. They may have felt also that the education is good, but not "good enough." University students were also included in this study. Some expressed dissatisfaction with their education on that level. They felt that the university did not offer the courses they would have liked, and that they did not get the personal attention from faculty and advisors that they sought.

Eighteen per cent of the respondents expressed dissatisfaction with their children's education. Some stated that large classes, learning by rote, unqualified teachers, poorly trained administrators, as well as lack of physical facilities, i.e., libraries, gym, and audio-visual equipment and materials were detriments.

Many problems and frustrations which the oleh felt in his adjustment to Israel were caused by his lack of proper information and preparation for aliya. In some instances he did not know whom to approach for information and assistance, in others he did not receive correct information from those he did approach. As stated by one oleh:

> "Olim are not well prepared for life in Israel. The Jewish Agency would do well to set up courses 'preparatory instruction' in the U.S. for prospective immigrants rather than try to fill a quota without any idea on the part of the newcomers what they are getting into. To give financial assistance is not enough. Far more important is psychological help by telling olim what life is like BEFORE they come . . ."*

The various agencies to which potential olim could turn to for information and assistance included the Jewish Agency or Israel Aliyah CENTER (IAC), whose main purpose is to recruit potential immigrants and to offer information and assistance to them: the Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA), an organization whose principle purpose is to assist and represent the interests of people planning for and going on aliya, and to disseminate specific information about the realities of aliya in cooperation with existing agencies: and friends and relatives who were familiar with the process of aliya having been through it themselves, or who lived in Israel and could provide helpful information.

With regard to general information on aliya, 85 per cent of the respondents approached the IAC. Of these, 85 per cent received the general information they sought, while 15 per cent felt the IAC

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*Comment by respondent on response sheets to the questionnaire. For additional comments see Appendix F.

was of no help in providing the information they sought (Table 9.7). Of the 49 per cent of the respondents who approached the AACA for general information on aliya, 87 per cent received the information they sought and 13 per cent received no help at all (Table 9.16). Seventy-four per cent of the respondents approached friends and relatives for general information on aliya. Of these, 88 per cent received some degree of information and 12 per cent stated no help at all (Table 9.24).

In planning for aliya, a potential oleh would most naturally try to glean information from as many sources as possible. The most obvious source of information would be the IAC, as this is the agency which processes aliya applications. Friends and relatives, too, were a likely source of information as they might be able to provide more specific information, knowing the individual and the life he sought. While the AACA had the potential of providing much information, it was not as known to the potential oleh, and might be more difficult to locate in areas outside the large metropolitan areas. The great majority of olim were satisfied that they had received the general information they sought from the organizations they approached.

With regard to housing, 60 per cent of the respondents approached the IAC for information. Of these, 58 per cent stated some degree of helpfulness and 42 per cent felt they received no help at all (Table 9.5). Twenty-nine per cent of the respondents approached the AACA for housing information, of which 58 per cent stated some degree of helpfulness and 42 per cent no help at all (Table 9.13). Of the 57 per cent of the respondents who approached friends and

TABLE 9.5.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Information Regarding Housing--Jewish Agency.

We would like to find out how helpful the following institutions were in preparing you for life in Israel:

"How helpful was the Jewish Agency or Israel Aliyah Center in providing you with the following":*

Information regarding housing	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	6	74
Helpful	10	119
Of some help	19	214
No help	25	294
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	37	436
No response	3	41
Total	100	1,178

*Question 51 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.6.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Information Regarding Employment--Jewish Agency.

"How helpful was the Jewish Agency or Israel Aliyah Center in providing you with the following":*

Information regarding employment	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	5	59
Helpful	6	75
Of some help	16	191
No help	28	328
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	40	463
No response	5	62
Total	100	1,178

*Question 52 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.7.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: General Information--Jewish Agency.

"How helpful was the Jewish Agency or Israel Aliyah Center in providing you with the following":*

General information	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	9	111
Helpful	23	271
Of some help	40	474
No help	13	147
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	12	141
No response	3	34
Total	100	1,178

*Question 53 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.8.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Information Regarding Transportation, Shipping, and Customs--Jewish Agency.

"How helpful was the Jewish Agency or Israel Aliyah Center in providing you with the following":*

Information regarding transportation, shipping customs, etc.	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	19	223
Helpful	28	330
Of some help	26	307
No help	11	132
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	14	158
No response	2	28
Total	100	1,178

*Question 54 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.9.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Giving Housing--Jewish Agency.

"How helpful was the Jewish Agency Representative in America or Israel Aliyah Center in the following":*

Giving you housing (including absorption center)	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	27	317
Helpful	14	166
Of some help	9	102
No help	14	163
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	32	379
No response	4	51
Total	100	1,178

*Question 55 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.10.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Arranging for Employment or Connections for Employment--Jewish Agency.

"How helpful was the Jewish Agency Representative in America or Israel Aliyah Center in the following":*

Arranging for employment or connections for employment	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	4	46
Helpful	4	51
Of some help	9	105
No help	28	327
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	49	582
No response	6	67
Total	100	1,178

*Question 56 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.11.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Arranging for Education for Adults--Jewish Agency.

"How helpful was the Jewish Agency Representative in America or Israel Aliyah Center in the following":*

Arranging for education for adults (i.e., ulpan or university)	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	21	242
Helpful	11	131
Of some help	9	104
No help	16	185
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	39	463
No response	4	53
Total	100	1,178

*Question 57 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.12.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Arranging for Transportation, Shipping--Jewish Agency.

"How helpful was the Jewish Agency Representative in America or Israel Aliyah Center in the following":*

Arranging for transportation, shipping, etc., to Israel	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	25	297
Helpful	24	281
Of some help	15	174
No help	13	153
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	20	240
No response	3	33
Total	100	1,178

*Question 58 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.13.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Information Regarding Housing--Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA).

"How helpful was the Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA) in providing the following":*

Information regarding housing	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	4	40
Helpful	6	75
Of some help	7	84
No help	12	145
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	66	779
No response	5	55
Total	100	1,178

*Question 59 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.14.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Information Regarding Employment--Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA).

"How helpful was the Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA) in providing the following":*

Information regarding employment	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	3	30
Helpful	4	42
Of some help	8	100
No help	13	150
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	67	795
No response	5	61
Total	100	1,178

*Question 60 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.15.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Information Regarding Transportation, Shipping, and Customs--Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA).

"How helpful was the Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA) in providing the following":*

Information regarding transportation, shipping, customs, etc.	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	7	87
Helpful	9	105
Of some help	11	133
No help	8	88
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	60	712
No response	4	53
Total	100	1,178

*Question 61 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.16.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: General Information--Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA).

"How helpful was the Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA) in providing the following":*

General information	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	11	134
Helpful	15	170
Of some help	17	196
No help	6	75
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	47	554
No response	4	49
Total	100	1,178

*Question 62 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.17.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Giving Housing--Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA).

"How helpful was the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel in the obtainment of the following":*

Giving you housing (including absorption center)	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	2	19
Helpful	1	17
Of some help	2	25
No help	11	129
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	79	931
No response	5	57
Total	100	1,178

*Question 63 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.18.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Arranging for Employment or Connections for Employment--Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA).

"How helpful was the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel in the obtainment of the following":*

Arranging for employment or connections for employment	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	3	32
Helpful	2	24
Of some help	5	54
No help	12	138
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	73	868
No response	5	62
Total	100	1,178

*Question 64 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.19.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Arranging for Education for Adults--Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA).

"How helpful was the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel in the obtainment of the following":*

Arranging for education for adults (i.e., ulpan or university)	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	2	19
Helpful	2	19
Of some help	2	22
No help	8	99
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	81	960
No response	5	59
Total	100	1,178

*Question 65 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.20.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Arranging for Transportation, Shipping--Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA).

"How helpful was the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel in the obtainment of the following":*

Arranging for transportation, shipping, etc. to Israel	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	2	28
Helpful	3	38
Of some help	4	44
No help	8	96
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	78	912
No response	5	60
Total	100	1,178

*Question 66 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.21.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Information Regarding Housing--Friends/Relatives.

"How helpful were friends or relatives in providing the following":*

Information regarding housing	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	18	207
Helpful	13	149
Of some help	13	159
No help	13	154
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	39	465
No response	4	44
Total	100	1,178

*Question 67 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.22.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Information Regarding Employment--Friends/Relatives.

"How helpful were friends or relatives in providing the following":*

Information regarding employment	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	14	162
Helpful	10	113
Of some help	13	152
No help	14	168
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	44	521
No response	5	62
Total	100	1,178

*Question 68 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.23.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Information Regarding Transportation, Shipping, and Customs--Friends/Relatives.

"How helpful were friends or relatives in providing the following":*

Information regarding transportation, shipping, customs, etc.	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	9	110
Helpful	13	149
Of some help	14	169
No help	15	174
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	45	533
No response	4	49
Total	100	1,178

*Question 69 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.24.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: General Information--Friends/Relatives.

"How helpful were friends or relatives in providing the following":*

General Information	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	21	249
Helpful	22	262
Of some help	22	257
No help	9	102
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	23	268
No response	3	40
Total	100	1,178

*Question 70 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.25.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Giving Housing--Friends/Relatives.

"How helpful were friends or relatives in the obtainment of the following":*

Giving you housing (including absorption center)	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	16	196
Helpful	5	59
Of some help	4	43
No help	15	176
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	55	650
No response	5	54
Total	100	1,178

*Question 71 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.26.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Arranging for Employment or Connections for Employment.

"How helpful were friends or relatives in the obtainment of the following":*

Arranging for employment or connections for employment	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	14	164
Helpful	6	68
Of some help	8	92
No help	13	154
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	54	636
No response	5	64
Total	100	1,178

*Question 72 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.25.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Giving Housing--Friends/Relatives.

"How helpful were friends or relatives in the obtainment of the following":*

Giving you housing (including absorption center)	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	16	196
Helpful	5	59
Of some help	4	43
No help	15	176
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	55	650
No response	5	54
Total	100	1,178

*Question 71 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.26.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Arranging for Employment or Connections for Employment.

"How helpful were friends or relatives in the obtainment of the following":*

Arranging for employment or connections for employment	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	14	164
Helpful	6	68
Of some help	8	92
No help	13	154
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	54	636
No response	5	64
Total	100	1,178

*Question 72 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.27.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Arranging for Education for Adults--Friends/Relatives.

"How helpful were friends or relatives in the obtainment of the following":*

Arranging for education for adults (i.e., ulpan or university)	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	5	61
Helpful	3	41
Of some help	4	52
No help	16	180
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	67	782
No response	5	62
Total	100	1,178

*Question 73 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

TABLE 9.28.--Preparation for Coming to Israel: Arranging for Transportation, Shipping--Friends/Relatives.

"How helpful were friends or relatives in the obtainment of the following":*

Arranging for transportation, shipping, etc. to Israel	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
Very helpful	7	84
Helpful	5	57
Of some help	6	68
No help	15	174
I did not approach said institution for help in this matter	62	738
No response	5	57
Total	100	1,178

*Question 74 as appears on questionnaire (Appendix A).

relatives for housing information, 77 per cent expressed some degree of helpfulness and 23 per cent no help at all (Table 9.21).

It should be noted that the largest group of respondents sought information regarding housing from the Israel Aliyah Center, which was to be expected since the Israel Aliyah Center is a part of the Jewish Agency which provides temporary housing, ulpanim, hostels, and absorption centers for olim. It can be stated that more than half of the respondents who turned to the IAC and AACA for information regarding housing received such to some degree, while almost half received no help at all.

In connection with providing employment information, 55 per cent of the respondents approached the IAC for such information. Of these, 50 per cent stated some degree of helpfulness and 50 per cent found no help at all (Table 9.6). Of the 28 per cent of the respondents who approached the AACA for information regarding employment, 53 per cent reported some degree of helpfulness and 47 per cent no help at all (Table 9.14). Fifty-one per cent of the respondents approached friends and relatives regarding information of employment. Of these, 72 per cent stated some degree of helpfulness and 28 per cent no help (Table 9.22).

The largest percentage of respondents turned to the Israel Aliyah Center for information regarding employment. Of these only half felt they were helped to some degree whereas almost three-fourths of those who turned to friends or relatives for information felt they had been helped to some degree. It has been commented by some of the respondents that the shaliach (emissary) had painted a "rosy" picture

which was not necessarily true of the employment situation for the oleh. They felt they had been misled about the information they had received from the IAC which caused some problems and frustrations while seeking employment. Friends or relatives were more realistic in providing employment information. Perhaps they had a better knowledge of the oleh's capabilities and the job market in his trade or profession. The AACA was also not depicted as helpful by almost half of those who approached them for job information. This organization, too, was not always able to assess the individual in light of his abilities and his prospects on the job market.

In connection with transportation, shipping, and customs, 85 per cent of the respondents approached the IAC for information. Of these, 87 per cent stated they found some degree of helpfulness, 13 per cent, no help at all (Table 9.8). Of the 35 per cent of the respondents who approached the AACA for information on transportation and shipping, 79 per cent reported some degree of helpfulness and 21 per cent no help (Table 9.15). Fifty-one per cent of the respondents approached friends and relatives regarding transportation and shipping information. Of these, 71 per cent reported some degree of helpfulness and 29 per cent stated no help (Table 9.23).

The largest group of American olim (85 per cent) turned to the Israel Aliyah Center for information regarding transportation, shipping, and customs. It was only natural that they do so since as already stated the IAC is the Agency expressly established to prove for such arrangements for the oleh. The great majority of the olim were satisfied, however, there were some who felt they received

misleading information or not enough information to be of help to them. Fewer respondents approached the AACA for this information and found them to be helpful. It is most likely that the respondents queried many sources for information but an organization like the AACA may not have had complete information and thus a potential oleh was less likely to approach them for information. For these same reasons friends and relatives were a less likely source of information. While they could offer advice based on personal experience, they might not have had up-to-date information regarding transportation, shipping, and customs.

While preparing for aliya, the first step for the potential oleh was to gather information regarding the necessary basics on housing, employment, education, transportation and shipping. Many sources of assistance were approached for information and then for actual assistance in arranging for and obtaining these necessities. The respondent was first asked to consider how helpful the agencies he had approached had been in providing information on aliya. He was then asked to determine how helpful the agency had been in providing for those necessities.

With regard to arranging for transportation and shipping, 77 per cent of the respondents approached the IAC. Of these, 83 per cent found them to be of some help while 17 per cent stated no help at all (Table 9.12). Of the 17 per cent who approached the AACA for help, 53 per cent reported some degree of helpfulness with 47 per cent reporting "no help" (Table 9.20). Thirty-three per cent of the respondents approached friends or relatives for help in arranging transportation and shipping. Of these, 55 per cent stated some degree of helpfulness and 45 per cent stated "no help" (Table 9.28).

More than three-fourths of the respondents approached the IAC for providing transportation or shipping arrangements and a great majority found them to be of some help. However the 17 per cent who stated "no help" cannot be minimized as this is the organization which provides these arrangements for olim and it is thus important that the oleh receives the help he needs, to help avoid unncesssary problems and frustrations in the early transition period. The AACA and friends and relatives were approached by a smaller group of respondents and were able to help to some degree only about half of those who approached them. An explanation for this is that neither group was prepared to provide such arrangements and therefore could not be very helpful in this area.

With regard to providing arrangements for education for adults (i.e., ulpan or university), 57 per cent of the respondents approached the IAC. Of these, 72 per cent found some degree of helpfulness and 28 per cent found no help (Table 9.11). Of the 14 per cent of the respondents who approached the AACI for such arrangements, 38 per cent reported some degree of helpfulness and 62 per cent stated "no help" (Table 9.19). Twenty-eight per cent of the respondents approached friends or relatives. Of these, 46 per cent found some degree of helpfulness and 54 per cent found "no help" (Table 9.27).

Along with the other "provisions" provided by the Jewish Agency is that of providing for education, ulpan for adults. Of those who approached the agency for educational provisions almost three-fourths found some degree of helpfulness. It should be noted that only slightly more than half the respondents approached the

Agency for help, and this may be surprising as the Agency is prepared to provide this assistance. However, not every American oleh goes to an absorption center, hostel, or kibbutz, choosing instead to make private arrangements on a part-time basis. Some American olim found no need to attend ulpan, already having sufficient knowledge of the language, others chose to settle themselves first and later consider learning the language.

Because it is difficult to secure employment without an in-person appearance, few organizations were contacted in this respect. However, there were a number of contacts, as the responses indicate. In the case of IAC 45 per cent approached them for help. Of that 45 per cent, 38 per cent stated some degree of helpfulness and 62 per cent "no help" (Table 9.10). Fewer respondents, 22 per cent approached the AACI for help. Of these 44 per cent stated some degree of helpfulness and 56 per cent stated "no help" (Table 9.18). Forty-one per cent of the respondents approached friends and relatives with 68 per cent of these stating some degree of helpfulness and 32 per cent "no help" (Table 9.26).

Obviously none of these groups could be of much help because of the nature of securing employment and it is not so much a criticism of the IAC to say that they were not of help to the respondents. It is just a reality of life in getting a job.

Of the 64 per cent who applied to the IAC for assistance in housing, 78 per cent stated IAC was helpful, while 22 per cent found "no help" (Table 9.19). Of the 16 per cent of the respondents who approached the AACI for housing, 32 per cent indicated some degree of

helpfulness, 68 per cent "no help" (Table 9.17). Forty per cent of the respondents approached friends and relatives for assistance in housing. Of these, 63 per cent stated some degree of helpfulness and 37 per cent "no help at all" (Table 9.25).

The largest percentage of respondents approached the IAC for help and of these more than three-fourths were, in fact, helped. One must note that it is the Jewish Agency in Israel which owns, manages, and supervises all ulpanim, hostels and absorption centers and thus olim seeking temporary housing turned to them for assistance. On the other hand, of those approaching friends or relatives for help, almost two-thirds were helped by them, no doubt in the form of hospitality or help in arranging for private living quarters. A very small percentage of the olim approached AACI for such assistance, and of those only a small percentage, one-third, received help. As the AACI is not equipped to provide housing, having limited funds and resources, it is not a likely source for the oleh in his quest for housing.

In sum, the Israel Aliyah Center or the Jewish Agency was the organization to which the greatest number of queries were presented in connection with aliya problems. The reason, of course, lies in the basic purpose of this center which is to encourage aliya and aid the oleh wherever possible. The degree of success or failure in advising and helping the oleh depended in large measure upon the knowledge and capabilities of the shaliach in his dealings with each individual and his understanding of the specific needs of the individual. The same holds true for the Jewish Agency official in Israel.

While the AACA, AACI, and friends and relatives wanted to assist the oleh in every way, they were lacking in specific information in many instances, as well as funds and resources. Much personal advice and assistance was given, but neither had the responsibility for handling all aspects of aliya as had the IAC. Therefore, while most olim were satisfied with their dealings with the IAC, and the Jewish Agency, there was much resentment on the part of those who felt they received "no help" as they had felt dependent on the agencies for their needs.

Each respondent was queried about his pre-knowledge of conditions in Israel: job opportunities, housing availability, general standard ov living and the social composition of the people in Israel (Table 9.27).

From these statistics, it becomes apparent that only one-third of the respondents had a good knowledge about job opportunities, two-thirds either knowing very little or without any idea about job opportunities. This accounts for the disappointment these people encountered when they came to Israel and were seeking employment.

The 10 per cent in this group of respondents who stated "I knew a lot" about housing are the ones, it is apparent, who in most cases made these arrangements prior to aliya. However, the 41 per cent who stated they had "some idea" about housing were the ones who had but vague ideas or location, costs, and size. These were the olim who found problems and frustrations later. They were in many instances totally unprepared for life in the hostel or absorption center. They found it necessary to learn Hebrew and become properly

acclimated to the way of life, and were often compelled to expend considerable time and energy in a quest for housing.

As to knowledge in regard to the availability of housing the smallest percentage of respondents who indicated considerable knowledge (10 per cent), as well as the largest percentage of the respondents who stated "I had no idea" (28 per cent), American olim were both most uninformed and misled by the various schlichim (emissaries). This caused, naturally, a great deal of dissatisfaction. Many times American olim had to wait in excess of a year to acquire their own apartment. Since most olim had to leave the absorption center after a six-month period, it resulted in some hardship.*

How many olim actually comprehended the Israeli standard of living? Forty-eight per cent of the respondents claimed to have knowledge about the general standard of living in Israel, with 41 per cent having had some idea.

It is noteworthy that within this area more respondents had some degree of knowledge than in any other area. Generally speaking they knew that they would earn less in Israel than in America and that their general standard of living would be reduced accordingly. Most olim, however, felt they could make the necessary adjustments. Clothing, for example, was one item that, while very expensive in Israel, would be cut, for not as much was needed. Urban transportation, very good and reasonable, obviated the need for two cars, not infrequently even the need for one car.

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*Sometimes an oleh might have obtained an extension for a month or two if his apartment were almost completed, but this depended on the then current number of persons at the absorption center, other new immigrants, lately arrived.

TABLE 9.29.--Before Coming to Israel--Knowledge of Aspects of Life in Israel.

"How much did you know about the following aspects of life in Israel?"*

	I knew a lot		I knew		I had some idea		I had no idea		No response	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Job opportunities	14	(163)	20	(238)	44	(520)	20	(239)	2	(18)
Housing availability	10	(122)	19	(221)	41	(483)	28	(333)	2	(19)
General standard of living	18	(211)	30	(351)	41	(487)	10	(118)	1	(11)
Social composition of the people in Israel	20	(239)	28	(331)	38	(448)	13	(149)	1	(11)

*Questions 15-18 as appear on questionnaire (Appendix A).

Many persons who claimed such knowledge erred by comparing the Israeli pound and its purchasing power in Israel to the American dollar in America. The comparison is invalid, the only fair estimate being by determining the number of hours of work required to purchase various items.

Despite supposed foreknowledge many who had trouble making ends meet suffered some degree of privation, not so much in the beginning but rather later after a year or two. The oleh given certain concessions, primarily taxes and exemption of import tax on items as appliances, vehicles, furniture which may have been brought from America or purchased in Israel, was cushioned from this shock in the first three years. It was anticipated that by the end of this period the oleh would have totally adjusted to the new standard of living and "do as the Israelis do."

Almost half the respondents felt they had knowledge regarding the social composition of the people in Israel, and 38 per cent felt they had some idea before coming to Israel.

For the 13 per cent of the respondents without any idea of the social composition of the State it must have been a "cultural shock" to discover the slight majority of Israelis to be of Sephardic (non-Western) stock with different background and cultures, with different educational values, differing Jewish practices and customs from the accustomed American ones. Still other olim were not prepared for the high cultural level of many Israelis who were advanced in major scientific institutions, theater companies, athletic clubs, newspapers, art schools, symphony orchestras, and the number of outstanding men in literature, science, art, law and scholarship.

Those who professed considerable knowledge of the social composition of the people of Israel were usually prior visitors to the country or had lived there previously. Some acquired their knowledge through reading about the problem Israel faces with the socio-economic gap among the different segments of the population. The top 20 per cent of Israeli's population receives over 40 per cent of the national income, after taxes, while the bottom 20 per cent gets less than 5 per cent.

The group who "had some idea" probably got their idea from a tourist visit and may have heard or seen some problems but they lacked full knowledge of the situation. The 13 per cent who had no idea are doubtless those who had no prior exposure to Israeli life and thought of any kind.

A controversial matter, particularly touchy to native Israelis, were the special privileges given to new olim previously noted. Only 11 per cent of the respondents stated that this was a very important factor in their decision to settle in Israel. On the other extreme, 48 per cent of the respondents stated that it had no effect on their decision to settle in Israel (Table 9.30). Privileges, of course, were extended to all American olim, and most everyone took advantage of them even if they did not need them. As one oleh stated, "If they give, why shouldn't I take?" Another oleh commented, "I like to take whatever I am entitled to." But almost half of the people felt that privileges had no effect on their decision to settle in Israel. Clearly, American olim did not come to Israel for a better standard

TABLE 9.30.--Special Privileges Given to New Olim.

"To what extent did the special privileges given to you as a new immigrant influence your decision to settle in Israel?"*

	Percentage of Respondents	Number of Respondents
It was a very important factor in my decision	11	125
It was an important factor in my decision	15	177
It was somewhat important in my decision	26	304
It had no effect on my decision	48	560
No response	1	12
Total	100	1,178

"If the Israeli government did not give privileges to new immigrants what effect would it have on your decision to settle in Israel?"*

I would definitely not settle in Israel	5	60
I might have come--but after much thought and deliberation	19	223
I would have come--but with hesitation	26	306
I definitely would have come to settle here	47	552
No response	3	34
Total	100	1,178

*Questions 19 and 20 as appear on questionnaire (Appendix A).

of living. They came because they wanted to live in Israel and thus were willing to reduce their standard of living to do so.

Some olim took advantages of privileges and then left the country after a year or two, or possibly three, when things became "tough" for them. Included were those who bought apartments at lower rates with a Jewish Agency loan, only to turn around and sell them shortly after for a profit. There were those who honestly decided they would prefer to buy an apartment on the free market rather than go through the red-tape of getting a house from the Ministry of Absorption. The special privilege was offensive to many officials particularly those who may themselves have been immigrants, without privileges. Some may have been children of oriental Jews who lived under extremely difficult conditions in crowded urban housing projects, who felt that had they come from America, they would long ago have received large mortgages, various benefits, and proper housing.

Olim do not come to Israel primarily because of the privileges; Israelis are rightfully resentful of this discrimination. Still, olim needed these concessions--at least to the extent of bringing in their personal and household belongings duty free and receiving a somewhat favorable mortgage rate. Without them aliya would require postponement.

A series of interesting anecdotal comments which typify the problems and frustrations of the olim whose responses have comprised the basis of this study are included in Appendix H. These comments

are not necessarily complete in their scope nor are they to be construed as the opinion of the writer. A bit of background has been included with each of the responses so that the reader may gain a better perspective.*

*Background information includes the following as taken from the personal background section of the questionnaire: sex, Jewish religious trend or affiliation, family status (according to range), age (according to range), country of birth, residence in Israel, occupation or profession, gross income per year in America, income per month in Israel, time of arrival to Israel.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Aliya is the lifeblood of Israel, especially American aliya. After security, aliya is the most important, a fact acknowledged in all government circles. Whether the Israeli citizen willingly accepts this truth or not, Israel needs its mainstream of new blood, ideas, know-how, skills and new capital. The cost of absorption is very small in comparison to the contributions by the olim, who in a short time are ready to be integrated into the country as productive citizens, contributing to the Israeli economy, if not from the outset, soon after the five-month ulpan.

While noting this great need, the government has, at the same time, ignored the fact that the new Western aliya which, stimulated by the Six-Day War, may have been the most idealistic the country has yet seen. Although it was not what could be termed a mass movement, it was triple and quadruple the pre-Six-Day War aliya. But, unfortunately, aliya from North America has begun to drop. In 1972, 42,000 immigrants entered Israel,[1] but relatively few of them came from the free nations. This drop from the free nations may be attributed to a passing of the spirit of pull engendered by the victory of the Six-Day War, a desire to be part of Israel's historical destiny. Indeed, some olim returned,

not having anticipated at the time of their aliya the difficulties and frustrations of adjustment to life in a new country. The government has failed to realize that here was an aliya of intelligent, educated, motivated and serious people who deserved accurate, reliable information and some occasional small help over a difficult aliya, made so because of the lack of knowledge of what to expect. American olim were told and they believed when they arrived in Israel that they would get red-carpet treatment. Instead, they were subjected to, in the words of one oleh,

> a seeming nightmare of inefficiency. Due to Shabbat we were, of course, unable to dock until after sundown, but then we were kept standing in lines for hours on end (with friends and relatives waiting on the piers) while innumerable officials applied rubber stamps to endless pieces of bureaucratic paper. By 11:00 P.M. we were finally disgorged amidst cries of hundreds of wailing children to spend the next few hours trying to find the pieces of hand baggage that had been strewn about at random. Finally the waiting busses and taxis took the olim to their destinations--our group arrived at the Ulpan in Netanya at 3:00 A.M.! Lest you think that taking the plane will spare you all this--a South African family complained that when they arrived, well after midnight at Lod, they were greeted by munching and tea-sipping officials, who casually and very deliberately tended to the olim's affairs after finishing their repast. My friend was ready to take the next flight back to South Africa--except there wasn't any.[2]

The fact that aliya from the United States and Canada continues to drop is discouraging, not only to Israeli officials, and the Jewish Agency, but also to Americans living in Israel. Nonetheless remains the apathetic attitude of some Jewish Agency officials who dismiss the problem with "We don't know how many American olim are leaving every year and we don't worry about them . . . they'll be back again, they come and go."* But will they?

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*As told to the writer by Deputy General Mr. Bar-Giora, the Jewish Agency, Department of Immigrant Absorption, on various visits to his office.

That some olim are still coming on aliya is certainly cause for some satisfaction, but the smugness typical of all-too-many government functionaries, is a cause for anything but satisfaction.

While conditions in America may create push factors, this is more than offset by the specter of inadequate housing, unequal education, and petty officialdom. Disenchantment with the Israeli way of life could not be overcome, despite the Jewish identity and the Jewish pride.

The one factor among all others which stands above and apart as the highest single motivating factor for aliya, if it can be succinctly identified, is "Jewishness." This was the one conscious awareness which was able to blot out the negative aspects of housing, employment, standard of living, even red-tape and bureaucracy, as a profound source of commitment, a feeling of belonging. In some few instances Jewish identification caused some ill feeling: "It hurts more to be discriminated against in Israel than in America, because one is among his own kinsmen and brothers and he came with high hopes that he is 'coming home.'"*

Obviously, all too few olim come with a positive attitude. It behooves all officials, particularly of the Jewish Agency and Ministry of Absorption who work with American olim to understand that the oleh of the 1970's is different from the oleh of the 1880's. Their motivations are different, and their expectations diverse. In most cases they are content to leave their homeland but Americans have a unique choice, not available to the olim of Europe and of

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*As commented by one respondent on the questionnaire.

yesteryear; they can return to America if they are not satisfied with their life in Israel!

The American oleh who comes with a positive attitude, realistically arrived at can good-naturedly cope with the frustrations of bureaucratic red-tape so long as he knows that ultimately he will settle in.

It is obvious that the Israeli attitudes, both official and communal must change if the downward trend in American aliya is to be reversed. The following recommendations, drawn from the data of this study offer some hope for reversal of this trend.

Recommendations of This Study

1) Completely accurate and up-to-date information should be provided regarding employment opportunities. Realistic projections of job opportunities and their availability should be listed, with a means for contacting prospective employers. Complete job descriptions, specifications and salaries and fringe benefits should be listed through a special clearing house at the aliya office readily accessible to all who require it.

2) Accurate housing information and housing availability, as well as approximate costs and all pertinent specific details of what is included with a house should be accessible to olim. Also important is an indication of differences in housing costs in different areas.

3) Some readily understandable explanation of the Israeli standard of living, perhaps in the form of a price list for the

consumer should be given to the prospective oleh enabling him to accurately calculate what it would cost him in Israeli pounds to live in Israel. This information should be frequently updated.

4) Social Composition--a true picture of the socio-economic situation should be given to the prospective oleh so that he would be aware of the composition of the country he seeks to adopt. He may then be able to determine his own position relative to that of those already in the country.

5) Privileges--a new system should be developed to help the oleh ease his way into Israeli society without offending the Israeli citizen who finds it difficult to accept the fact that the "so-called rich American" gets even more while he must struggle just to exist.

6) The Israeli authorities should recognize the importance of the immigrant associations as a most positive reason for their existence to help the newcomer to the country. Such associations were very helpful in America and would be even more helpful in Israel.

7) A social worker or case worker should be assigned to each oleh or oleh family at the time of arrival. That caseworker should get the file and background of the oleh to enable him to know the needs of the oleh and help him in every way. He would serve as a "trouble-shooter" to help in accomplishing all the details required in settlement. He would know which office and which individual to approach for each of the needs of his oleh. This would eliminate many needless frustrations on the part of the new oleh and make his adjustment process more pleasant.

8) Aliya officials should be constantly evaluated since their jobs are very crucial to American aliya. Much damage was already done by incompetent officials. It is important that the Jewish Agency improves the image of the shaliach with better training, better informed shlichim who would be better able to evaluate the prospective oleh in his motives in coming on aliya.

9) The Israel aliya officials should not only promote Israel but promote the Israel Aliyah Center. The goal should not only be to recruit the number of people going on aliya but to increase happiness, increase satisfaction with one's life and increase fulfillment. Most American olim are not going to Israel to raise their standard of living or their financial security. They are going to search for a more significant, meaningful life. The Aliyah Office could be helpful in these areas with posters, speakers, ads, and most important the proper personnel.

10) Absorption officials in Israel have to be better trained and updated with the new laws and regulations regarding the new olim. They have to be serious in their approach in the new olim and not offend them as had been the case previously. Officials who work with olim should be evaluated on their performance objectives and on their services to olim. Workshops could be held so each official could be better informed. Officials who do a good job should be so recognized publicly and others who do not should be placed on probation.

11) Rapid economic development should be encouraged to provide not only employment for a growing immigrant population, but an industrial sector geared to the high level of education and skills brought by olim from America.

12) Rapid construction of housing should be designed for a variety of family sizes and located near areas with employment opportunities.

13) Israelis should be educated to welcome olim with open hearts and make them feel at home, not as "Americans in Israel," but as Jews in their homeland.

14) The people should be more completely educated on the importance of immigration to the economic growth and defense of the country.

15) A "Hot Line" in the Department of Immigrant Absorption should be established to which a person who has a problem can telephone at any time and receive immediately required advice and assistance.

A more complete knowledge on the part of Israeli absorption officials of the American's psyche, his ethnocentric quirks, his prejudices and fears, and his often naive and unfounded expectations would not only make the adjustment process more bearable but would result in important savings of time, effort, money--and souls.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 10

[1]"World Jewish Population," The Detroit Jewish News, December 22, 1972.

[2]Perry Strauss, "Six Months Later . . . or Aliyah Revisited," Aliyon [Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah], New York, July, 1971, p. 4.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

המכון למחקר חברתי שמושי

THE ISRAEL INSTITUTE OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH

Head Offices:
19 George Washington St.
P. O. B. 7150
Jerusalem, Israel
Cable Address : ASRI, Jerusalem Israel
Telephone : 24062 - 25231

משרד ראשי:
רח' ג'ורג' וושינגטון 19
ת. ד. 7150
ירושלים
טלפונים: 24062 - 25231

Dear Respondent:

You are being asked to participate in a study of American and Canadian olim in Israel, the aim of which is to investigate your adjustment to Israeli conditions and your integration into the Israeli life style and society.

This study is being done under the auspices of Michigan State University, Hebrew University and the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research with the full cooperation of the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel, the Jewish Agency, and the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption. The questionnaire deals with problems of adjustment that you and members of your family may have encountered in your initial period in Israel, and your attitudes, feelings, satisfactions or dissatisfactions with the various aspects of your new life here. All questions have been carefully examined and tested before inclusion in the questionnaire.

I am sure you will realize the importance of this study to Americans and Canadians who have arrived and to those who are planning to come. It will also serve as great value to directors and advisors of organizations and agencies who are attempting to ease the integration process for all of us.

You will be contributing to the growth of Western Aliyah through your participation in this important study. PLEASE DO NOT DELAY. It is very important that we receive the completed response sheets as soon as possible. Won't you please take time NOW and fill in this response sheet?

Thank you very much for your help and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harry L. Jubas, B.A., M.A., Ed.S.
Project Director

Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Israel Institute of Applied Social Research

This is to introduce Harry L. Jubas, a Ph.D. candidate at Michigan State University, who has come to Israel to do a doctoral dissertation on the Adjustment Process of Americans and Canadians in Israel and Their Integration into Israeli Society.

This study is being done with the cooperation of the Hebrew University Department of Sociology and the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research. The results of the study will help serve and guide the policy in the future to the respective immigrants, and deserves the fullest cooperation. The responses will be held in confidence since only the results of this study will be published.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Dr. Moshe Lissak
Associate Professor
Department of Sociology
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Dr. Louis Guttman
Scientific Director
Israel Institute of
Applied Social Research

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, East Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A.

Mr. Harry Jubas is a Ph.D. candidate in Education at Michigan State University. He is currently doing research on the Adjustment Process of Americans and Canadians in Israel and Their Integration into Israeli Society.

The work is supported by the sociology department of the Hebrew University and the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research.

We believe the study to be of the greatest significance to Israel and its future, for the reports may well aid those persons moving to Israel from the North American lands.

Any help with the questionnaire that Mr. Jubas has produced will certainly be appreciated.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Dr. Daniel Jacobson, Director
Social Science Teaching Institute
Michigan State University

DIRECTIONS:

You are asked to go over this questionnaire carefully. Please state frankly what your opinion in each case actually is -- not what you think it ought to be. Each question deals with YOU, how you think and what has been your situation. Since you have been selected, YOUR opinions and experiences are vital to the success of this study. We want this questionnaire to be filled out by you, the individual to whom it was addressed. You have been chosen by a scientific random process which will represent the entire American-Canadian population in Israel since June, 1967 (after the Six-Day War). In cases of married couples, one member of the family has been chosen according to the random sampling procedure.

The questionnaire is composed of several parts:

Questions concerning the period before coming to Israel.
Questions concerning the initial period in Israel.
Questions concerning the present life in Israel.
Background information.

You will note that the questions are of multiple choice variety. Please read carefully all of the possible answers and then circle the number of the answer on your answer sheet which most closely expresses your feelings or experiences. Please do not write anything on the questionnaire itself. On some questions you may like to add a word or two; this too should be done on the answer sheet.

Do not put your name on the answer sheet. Since all information will be kept confidential and anonymous. We are not interested in the identity of the individual -- only in your response. However, your name is on the envelope to help us keep track of forms as they come in.

Please place the filled response sheet in the return envelope which is addressed to the AACI Main Office in Tel Aviv. Upon receipt of the envelope your response sheets will be removed and sent to the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research in Jerusalem to be punched on IBM cards for computer analysis.

Note: "American" will be used throughout this questionnaire to include those from the United States and those from Canada.

BEFORE COMING TO ISRAEL

1. What was your feeling about the Jewish Culture before coming to Israel?

   1. I strongly liked the Jewish culture
   2. I was sympathetic with the Jewish culture
   3. I had no feelings at all about the Jewish culture
   4. I somewhat disliked the Jewish culture
   5. I disliked the Jewish culture

JEWISH RELIGIOUS LIFE BEFORE COMING TO ISRAEL

2. During your last years prior to coming to Israel how often did you attend a synagogue?

   1. Daily or almost daily
   2. About once a week
   3. Only on festivals and during the High Holidays
   4. Not at all

3. Before coming to Israel, with which of the trends in Jewish religion were you affiliated?

   1. Orthodox
   2. Conservative
   3. Reform
   4. Reconstructionist
   5. No trend

4. We would like to find out your opinion about the following: "There is no place for laws of Kashrut (dietary laws) in modern society."

   1. I agree
   2. I agree somewhat
   3. I am undecided, or I don't care
   4. I disagree somewhat
   5. I disagree

5. "Holidays are a part of the Jewish tradition and therefore must be observed in the traditional way."

   1. I agree
   2. I agree somewhat
   3. I am undecided, or I don't care
   4. I disagree somewhat
   5. I disagree

ZIONIST ACTIVITY BEFORE COMING TO ISRAEL

To what extent did you participate in each of the following aspects of Zionist activity in America?

Use the following key, circle the appropriate number on your answer sheet corresponding to the following questions.

1. Very much
2. Much
3. Some
4. Not at all

6. I was active in fund raising for UJA or selling bonds.

7. I contributed funds for UJA or bought bonds.

8. I was active in a Zionist youth movement.

9. I was active in a Zionist organization.

10. Other. What?_____(Fill in answer sheet and circle corresponding number.)

11. What was your position about Zionism?

1. I strongly agreed with Zionist ideology
2. I was sympathetic with the Zionist ideology
3. I had no feelings at all about Zionism
4. I was somewhat opposed to Zionism
5. I was strongly opposed to Zionism

KNOWLEDGE OF HEBREW BEFORE COMING TO ISRAEL

12. Could you speak Hebrew before coming to Israel? (i.e., were you able to carry on a simple conversation in Hebrew?)

1. I could speak fluently or almost fluently
2. I could speak fairly well
3. I could speak a little
4. Not at all

BEFORE COMING TO ISRAEL

13. Would you say you were, generally speaking, successful in America?

1. Yes, very successful
2. Rather successful
3. Average
4. A little successful
5. Not at all

14. Did you feel "rooted" in America?

    1. Completely
    2. Sufficiently
    3. Not so much
    4. Not at all

How much did you know about the following aspects of life in Israel?

Use the following key, circle the appropriate number on your answer sheet corresponding to the following questions:

    1. I knew a lot
    2. I knew
    3. I had some idea
    4. I had no idea

15. Job opportunities

16. Housing availability

17. General standard of living

18. Social composition of the people in Israel

19. To what extent did the special privileges given to you as a new immigrant influence your decision to settle in Israel?

    1. It was a very important factor in my decision
    2. It was an important factor in my decision
    3. It was somewhat important in my decision
    4. It had no effect on my decision

20. If the Israeli government did not give privileges to new immigrants what effect would it have on your decision to settle in Israel?

    1. I would definitely not settle in Israel
    2. I might have come -- but after much thought and deliberation
    3. I would have come -- but with hesitation
    4. I definitely would have come to settle here

MOTIVES FOR A DECISION TO COME TO ISRAEL

There are various reasons for which people from America come to Israel. Following are listed a number of factors which may or may not have played a role in making YOUR decision to come to Israel. For each of the factors (21-49) below please indicate how important it was in your decision to come. Please circle the number on the answer sheet which corresponds to your answer according to the following key:

Key: 1. Very important
2. Important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not important at all

21. I thought there will be no prejudice or discrimination against me as a Jew in Israel.
22. I thought I could live a Jewish national life in Israel.
23. I thought I could lead a fuller religious Jewish life in Israel.
24. I thought I could live a more complete cultural Jewish life in Israel.
25. I thought I would have a sense of belongingness in Israel.
26. I thought I would feel at home as a Jew in Israel.
27. I thought I would like the people in Israel.
28. I thought I would like the pioneering spirit in Israel.
29. I thought I would get a better education in Israel.
30. I thought my children would get a better education.
31. I felt it is a better place for children to grow up. (leave blank if it doesn't apply to you)
32. I felt Israel needed my services or skills.
33. I thought I would be able to get a better job or a higher position with more status in Israel.
34. I thought Israel would give me a sense of purposeful existence.
35. I wanted a fresh start.
36. I worried about anti-Semitism in America.
37. I worried about assimilation in America.
38. I worried about racial tensions in America.
39. I worried about political unrest in America.
40. I worried about the drug problem in America.
41. I worried about the high crime-rate in America.
42. I worried about the danger of unemployment in America.
43. I thought I would have difficulty holding on to my job in America.
44. I felt America is an undesirable place to raise children.
45. I was against the war in Viet-Nam.
46. Because my husband/wife wanted me to go.
47. My close friend/friends went to Israel.
48. I thought I would try it out. I can't quite pinpoint why.
49. Some other factor. Which?_____ (Write on answer sheet and circle corresponding number.)

BEFORE COMING TO ISRAEL

50. Upon making your decision to come to Israel, to what extent were you certain that you would remain in Israel?

    1. I was very sure I would remain here
    2. I was quite sure I would remain here
    3. I didn't know (about equal chance)
    4. I didn't believe I would remain here
    5. I was quite sure I would not remain here

PREPARATION FOR COMING TO ISRAEL

We would like to find how helpful the following institutions were in preparing you for life in Israel. Please circle 1,2,3,4, or 5 on your answer sheet according to the following key?

    1. Very helpful
    2. Helpful
    3. Of some help
    4. No help
    5. I did not approach the said institution for help in this matter

How helpful was the Jewish Agency or Israel Aliyah Center in providing you with the following information regarding:

51. Information regarding housing
52. Information regarding employment
53. General information
54. Information regarding transportation, shipping, customs, etc.

How helpful was the Jewish Agency representative in America or Israel Aliyah Center in the following:

55. Giving you housing (including absorption center)
56. Arranging for employment or connections for employment
57. Arranging for education for adults (i.e., Ulpan or university)
58. Arranging for transportation, shipping, etc. to Israel

How helpful was the Association of Americans and Canadians for Aliyah (AACA) in providing the following information:

59. Information regarding housing
60. Information regarding employment
61. Information regarding transportation, shipping, customs, etc.
62. General information

How helpful was the association of Americans and Canadians in Israel in the obtainment of the following:

63. Giving you housing (including Absorption Center)
64. Arranging for employment or connections for employment?
65. Arranging for education for adults (i.e., Ulpan or university)
66. Arranging for transportation, shipping, etc. to Israel

How helpful were friends or relatives in providing the following information:

67. Information regarding housing
68. Information regarding employment
69. Information regarding transportation, shipping, customs, etc.
70. General information

How helpful were friends or relatives in the obtainment of the following:

71. Giving you housing (including Absorption Center)
72. Arranging for employment or connections for employment
73. Arranging for education for adults (i.e., Ulpan or university)
74. Arranging for transportation, shipping, etc. to Israel.

STUDIES OF HEBREW SINCE COMING TO ISRAEL

75. Since you came to Israel did you attend (or are you attending) any kind of an Ulpan?

    1. Yes, an "intensive" Ulpan at Absorption Center
    2. Yes, "intensive" Ulpan in town (at least 5 days/week) or university)
    3. Yes, an "intensive" Ulpan at a kibbutz
    4. Yes, an "extensive" Ulpan, Ulpanit, or Hebrew course
    5. Yes, more than one type of Ulpan
    6. No, I did not attend any Ulpan

76. To what extent have you been or are you studying Hebrew in an Ulpan? (In any of its forms)

    1. I began studying in an Ulpan but I stopped
    2. I am now taking first course in an Ulpan
    3. I have completed one Ulpan course
    4. I have completed more than one Ulpan course
    5. I did not attend nor am I attending any Ulpan

77. Do you feel the learning of Hebrew at the Ulpan was worthwhile?

1. Yes, it has helped me greatly
2. Yes, it has been of some help
3. It has been of little help
4. It has been of no help
5. I did not attend an Ulpan

PRESENT KNOWLEDGE OF HEBREW

Different activities require different degrees of knowledge of Hebrew. Different individuals may have different expectations as to the "kinds" of Hebrew they ought to know. We would like to find out to what extent the knowledge of Hebrew is important to you for each of the following purposes. For example . . .

78. To what extent is it important for you to know Hebrew for the purpose of shopping?

Use the following key, circle the appropriate number on your answer sheet corresponding to this question.

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Some importance
4. Of no importance

In a similar fashion circle 1,2,3, or 4 for each of the following purposes, according to how important it is to you to know Hebrew for that purpose:

79. To deal with government and other institutions
80. To listen to lectures or attend a theatre (drama, university lectures, radio and public lectures, etc.)
81. To read a standard Israeli newspaper
82. To read material related to your occupation
83. To write a note, application and other everyday writing

84. To what extent are you now able to use Hebrew for each of the purposes mentioned: For example . . .
To what extent are you now able to use your knowledge of Hebrew for the purpose of shopping?

Use the following key:

1. I am very able
2. I am quite able
3. I am not so able
4. I am not able at all

In a similar fashion circle 1,2,3 or 4 for each of the following purposes according to how able are you to use Hebrew for that purpose:

85. Dealing with government and other institutions
86. Listening to lectures or attending a theatre (drama, university lecture, radio and public lectures, etc.)
87. Reading a standard Israeli newspaper
88. Reading material related to your occupation
89. Writing a note, application and other everyday writing

To what extent are you satisfied with your knowledge of Hebrew for the purpose of: For example . . .

90. To what extent are you satisfied with your knowledge of Hebrew for the purpose of shopping?

    Use the following key, circle the appropriate number on your answer sheet, corresponding to the following questions:

    1. Very satisfied
    2. Satisfied
    3. Somewhat satisfied
    4. Not satisfied at all

In a similar fashion circle 1,2,3, or 4 for each of the following purposes according to how satisfied you are with your present knowledge of Hebrew for that purpose.

91. Dealing with government and other institutions
92. Listening to lectures or attending a theatre (drama, university lectures, radio and public lectures, etc.)
93. Reading a standard Israeli newspaper
94. Reading material related to your occupation
95. Writing a note, application and other everyday writing

To what extent do you actually use Hebrew for the purpose of: For example . . .

96. To what extent do you use Hebrew for the purpose of shopping?

    Use the following key, circle the appropriate number on your answer sheet corresponding to the following question:

    1. Always
    2. Almost always
    3. Sometimes
    4. Occasionally
    5. Never

In a similar fashion, circle 1,2,3,4, or 5 for each of the following purposes according to how much you actually use Hebrew for that purpose:

97. Dealing with government and other institutions
98. Listening to lectures or attending a theatre (drama, university lectures, radio and public lectures, etc.)
99. Reading a standard Israeli newspaper
100. Reading material related to your occupation
101. Writing a note, application and other everyday writing

And in the future, say 3 years from now, do you think you will be able to use Hebrew for the purposes mentioned? For example . . .

102. Do you believe that 3 years from now you will be able to do shopping in Hebrew?

Use the following key, circle the appropriate number on your answer sheet corresponding to the following questions.

1. I am sure I will be able
2. I expect to be able but I am not sure
3. I am not sure I'll be able
4. I don't believe I'll be able

In a similar fashion circle 1,2,3,4 for each of the following purposes according to how much you believe you will be able to use Hebrew for that purpose:

103. Dealing with government and other institutions
104. Listening to lectures or attending a theatre (drama, university lectures, radio and public lectures, etc.)
105. Reading a standard Israeli newspaper
106. Reading material related to your occupation
107. Writing a note, application and other everyday writing

108. To what extent does the degree to which you know Hebrew help or hinder you in your adjustment?

1. It helps me a great deal
2. It helps me
3. It neither helps nor hinders
4. It hinders me
5. It hinders me a great deal

If you did not attend absorption center, intensive ulpan, hostel, or kibbutz ulpan, please go to question number 135.

We would like to find out if these aspects of life in the absorption center existed for you. Circle 1,2,3, or 4 for each of the following aspects of life in absorption center according to the degree in which it existed for you.

Use the following key, circle the appropriate number on your answer sheet corresponding to this question.

1. Yes, to a great degree
2. Yes, to some degree
3. A little
4. Not at all

109. Was there a feeling of economic security?

110. Was there time for becoming oriented in the country?

111. Were there people who actually helped you by making things easier, quicker or smoother in the adjustment process?

We would like to find out how satisfied you were (are) with the following aspects of life in the absorption center which you attended (or attend). Circle 1,2,3,4, or 5 for each of the following aspects of life in the absorption center according to the extent of satisfaction of each.

Use the following key, circle the appropriate number on your answer sheet corresponding to this question.

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Not satisfied
5. Very dissatisfied

112. To what extent were you satisfied with the feeling of economic security in the absorption center?

113. To what extent were you satisfied with the time you had (have) in absorption center for becoming oriented in the country?

114. To what extent were you satisfied with the opportunity of having direct contact with people who could help you with your first steps in the country?

To what extent were you satisfied with the following aspects of the absorption center which you attended (or attend)?

Use the following key:

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Somewhat satisfied
4. Not satisfied at all
5. I did not attend an absorption center.

Use the following key, circle the appropriate number on your answer sheet corresponding to this question.

1. Yes, to a great degree
2. Yes, to some degree
3. A little
4. Not at all

109. Was there a feeling of economic security?

110. Was there time for becoming oriented in the country?

111. Were there people who actually helped you by making things easier, quicker or smoother in the adjustment process?

We would like to find out how satisfied you were (are) with the following aspects of life in the absorption center which you attended (or attend). Circle 1,2,3,4, or 5 for each of the following aspects of life in the absorption center according to the extent of satisfaction of each.

Use the following key, circle the appropriate number on your answer sheet corresponding to this question.

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Not satisfied
5. Very dissatisfied

112. To what extent were you satisfied with the feeling of economic security in the absorption center?

113. To what extent were you satisfied with the time you had (have) in absorption center for becoming oriented in the country?

114. To what extent were you satisfied with the opportunity of having direct contact with people who could help you with your first steps in the country?

To what extent were you satisfied with the following aspects of the absorption center which you attended (or attend)?

Use the following key:

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Somewhat satisfied
4. Not satisfied at all
5. I did not attend an absorption center.

115. Learning Hebrew
116. Sleeping arrangement at the absorption center
117. Housing arrangement through the absorption center
118. Employment arrangements through the absorption center
119. Tours to get to know the country
120. Leisure time activities
121. Cultural activities
122. Bulletin or general information
123. Socialization with other Olim
124. Facilities for children
125. The general stay at the absorption center (considering all the assets and drawbacks)

To what extent did the stay at the absorption center help you in the following aspects of life in Israel?

Use the following key:
1. Very helpful
2. Helpful
3. Somewhat helpful
4. Not helpful at all
5. Doesn't apply

126. Adapting to cultural life in Israel
127. Adapting yourself to way of life in Israel
128. Providing you with job opportunities
129. Providing you with housing opportunities (after leaving absorption center)
130. Opportunities of making new friends (social contacts) for after leaving absorption center
131. Opportunities of making contacts -- business contacts, for after leaving absorption center

132. Were (are) the facilities for leisure time activities in the absorption center or hostel adequate?

1. Yes, there were (are) ample facilities for leisure time activities
2. Yes, there were (are) some facilities for leisure time activities
3. There were (are) almost no facilities for leisure time activities
4. No, there were no facilities for leisure time activities

133. Do you feel there were good facilities for children? (Such as playground equipment, toys)?

1. There were excellent facilities
2. There were good facilities
3. There were few facilities
4. No such facilities were provided

134. Knowing what you now know about absorption centers, if you were to come now as a new Oleh would you still choose to come to an absorption center?

1. Yes, very definitely
2. Yes, with reservations
3. Possibly
4. Definitely not

JEWISH RELIGIOUS LIFE SINCE COMING TO ISRAEL

135. Since coming to Israel how often do you attend a synagogue?

1. Daily or almost daily
2. About once a week
3. Only on festivals and during the High Holidays
4. Not at all

136. Since coming to Israel, with which of the trends in Jewish religion do you identify?

1. Orthodox
2. Conservative
3. Reform
4. Reconstructionist
5. No trend

STANDARD OF LIVING IN ISRAEL

137. Has your standard of living changed since your coming to Israel?

1. It has dropped a great deal
2. It has dropped somewhat
3. It has not changed at all
4. It has risen somewhat
5. It has risen a great deal

138. To what extent do the special privileges given to you as a new immigrant affect your decision to remain in Israel?

1. It has a great effect
2. It has some effect
3. It has little effect
4. It makes no difference

To what extent are you satisfied with your present housing conditions?

Use the following key, circle the appropriate number on your answer sheet corresponding to the following questions:

1. Definitely
2. Fairly well
3. Not very
4. Not at all

139. To what extent are you satisfied with your present housing conditions?
140. To what extent are you satisfied with the size of your apartment (including temporary accommodations)?
141. To what extent are you satisfied with the city or town in which you live?
142. To what extent are you satisfied with your present neighborhood?

SOCIAL LIFE IN ISRAEL

Use the following key on the corresponding question number on your answer sheet:

1. Very satisfied
2. Fairly satisfied
3. Not very satisfied
4. Not satisfied at all

143. To what extent are you satisfied with the quality of your social life in Israel?
144. To what extent are you satisfied with the frequency with which you meet friends in Israel?

To what extent are you satisfied with the attitude towards you of:

145. Your neighbors in Israel

To what extent is it important to you to have contacts with:

Use the following key:

1. Very important
2. Fairly important
3. Not very important
4. Not important at all

146. Other Americans and Canadians
147. Israelis

To what extent do you meet socially with:

Use the following key:

1. Very often
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Seldom
5. Not at all

148. Other Americans and Canadians
149. Israelis

MOTIVES FOR A DECISION TO REMAIN IN ISRAEL

Once in Israel, your reasons for remaining here may or may not be the same as the reasons for coming to Israel. For each of the possible reasons please indicate how important it is in your decision to remain in Israel. Please circle the number on the answer sheet which corresponds to your answer according to the following key:

Key: 1. Very important
2. Important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not important at all

150. There is no prejudice or discrimination against me as a Jew in Israel.
151. I can live a Jewish national life in Israel.
152. I can lead a fuller religious life in Israel.
153. I can live a more completely cultural Jewish life in Israel.
154. I have a sense of belongingness in Israel.
155. I feel at home as a Jew in Israel.
156. I like the people in Israel.
157. I like the pioneering spirit in Israel.
158. I like the Mediterranean climate of Israel.
159. It is a better place for children to grow up. (Leave blank if it does not apply to you.)
160. My children can get a better Jewish education.
161. Israel needs my services.
162. Israel gives me a sense of purposeful existence.
163. I made a fresh start.
164. I worry about anti-Semitism in America.
165. I worry about assimilation in America.
166. Because my husband/wife wants to stay.
167. My close friend/friends are here.
168. I worry about racial tensions in America.
169. I worry about political unrest in America.
170. I worry about the high crime rate in America.
171. I worry about the danger of unemployment in America.
172. I worry about the drug problem in America and possible effects on my children.

173. I am against the war in Viet-Nam.
174. I am economically bound to remain (no money to go back or to pay conditional debts).
175. Some other factor, which_____. (Write on answer sheet and circle corresponding number.)

We would like to find out how important these various aspects of life in Israel are to you in your daily routine. Following are listed a number of such aspects. Please circle the corresponding number on your answer sheet according to the degree of importance each plays in your daily life. Use the following key:

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not important at all

176. How important is it to you to be a part of the majority rather than minority in the country?
177. How important is it to you to live a Jewish national life in Israel?
178. How important is it to you to live a religious life in Israel?
179. How important is it to you to live a Jewish cultural life in Israel?
180. How important is it to you to have a sense of belongingness in Israel?
181. How important is it to you to have a feeling of being at home as a Jew in Israel?
182. How important is it to you to be a part of the people in Israel?
183. How important is it to you to feel a pioneering spirit in Israel?
184. How important is it to you to have your children grow up in Israel? (Leave blank if it doesn't apply to you.)
185. How important is it to you to feel that Israel needs you or your services?
186. How important is it to you to have a feeling of purposeful existence in Israel?
187. How important is it to you to have a fresh start in Israel?
188. How important is it to you to see here friends you knew in America?
189. How important is it to you to be satisfied with your job in Israel?
190. How important is it to you that you should get your education in Israel?
191. How important is it for you to have good housing in Israel?

Now we would like to ask some questions about specific aspects of life in Israel.

192. How important is it for you that government and public offices should be run efficiently and without undue red-tape?

193. How important is it for you to be satisfied with attitudes toward you by government employees?
194. How important is it for you to have a good social life?
195. How important is it for you to have a good cultural life?

We would like to find out if these various aspects in Israel do exist for you. Following are listed a number of such aspects. Please circle the corresponding number on your answer sheet according to how often you experience that aspect.

Use the following key:

1. Always
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

196. Do you feel that you are a part of the majority rather than the minority in the country?
197. Are you living a Jewish national life in Israel?
198. Are you living a religious life in Israel?
199. Are you living a Jewish-cultural life in Israel?
200. Do you have a sense of belongingness in Israel?
201. Do you feel at home as a Jew in Israel?
202. Do you feel yourself to be a part of the people of Israel?
203. Do you have a pioneering spirit in Israel?
204. Are your children getting a good education in Israel? (Leave blank if it doesn't apply to you.)
205. Is it beneficial for your children to grow up in Israel?
206. Do you feel that Israel needs you or your services?
207. Do you have a feeling of purposeful existence in Israel?
208. Are you getting a fresh start in Israel?
209. Do you see friends here whom you knew in America?
210. Do you have (or did you have) a problem getting a satisfactory job in Israel?
211. Do (or did) you have a problem getting satisfactory housing in Israel?
212. Is there a problem with red-tape and bureaucracy in Israel?
213. Is there a good attitude toward you by government employees?
214. Do you have a good social life?
215. Do you have a good cultural life?

We would like to find out if these various aspects in Israel do exist for you? Following are listed a number of such aspects. Please circle the corresponding number on your answer sheet according to how intense or how strongly each aspect applies to you.

Use the following key:

1. Yes, very much
2. Yes, to some degree
3. A little
4. Not at all

216. Do you feel that you are a part of the majority rather than the minority in the country?
217. Are you living a Jewish national life in Israel?
218. Are you living a religious life in Israel?
219. Are you living a Jewish cultural life in Israel?
220. Do you have a sense of belongingness in Israel?
221. Do you feel at home as a Jew in Israel?
222. Do you feel yourself to be a part of the people of Israel?
223. Do you have a pioneering spirit in Israel?
224. Are your children getting a good education in Israel? (Leave blank if it doesn't apply to you.)
225. Is it beneficial for your children to grow up in Israel?
226. Do you feel that Israel needs you or your services?
227. Do you have a feeling of purposeful existence in Israel?
228. Are you getting a fresh start in Israel?
229. Do you see friends here whom you knew in America?
230. Do you have (or did you have) a problem getting a satisfactory job in Israel?
231. Do (or did) you have a problem getting satisfactory housing in Israel?
232. Is there a problem with red-tape and bureaucracy in Israel?
233. Is there a good attitude toward you by government employees?
234. Do you have a good social life?
235. Do you have a good cultural life?

We would like to find out how satisfied you are with various aspects of life in Israel. Following are listed a number of such aspects. Please circle the corresponding number on your answer sheet according to your degree of satisfaction with each.

Use the following key:

1. Very satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
4. Not satisfied
5. Very dissatisfied

236. To what extent are you satisfied with being part of the majority rather than the minority in the country?
237. To what extent are you satisfied with Jewish national life in Israel?
238. To what extent are you satisfied with the religious life in Israel?
239. To what extent are you satisfied with Jewish-cultural life in Israel?
240. To what extent are you satisfied with your sense of belongingness in Israel?
241. To what extent are you satisfied with the feeling of being at home as a Jew in Israel?
242. To what extent are you satisfied with your being a part of the people in Israel?

243. To what extent are you satisfied with the pioneering spirit in Israel?
244. To what extent are you satisfied with Israel as a place for children to grow up? (Leave blank if it doesn't apply to you.)
245. To what extent are you satisfied with the feeling that Israel needs you -- or your services?
246. To what extent are you satisfied with the feeling of purposeful existence in Israel?
247. To what extent are you satisfied with your fresh start in Israel?
248. To what extent are you satisfied with seeing here friends you knew in America?
249. To what extent are you satisfied with the job you are holding in Israel?
250. To what extent are you satisfied with your education or your children's education? (If this doesn't apply to you, go to next question.)
251. To what extent are you satisfied with your present housing?
252. To what extent are you satisfied with red-tape and bureaucracy?
253. To what extent are you satisfied with attitudes towards you by government employees?
254. To what extent are you satisfied with your social life?
255. To what extent are you satisfied with your cultural life?
256. To what extent are you satisfied with your progress in learning Hebrew?
257. To what extent are you satisfied with religious control by the State over personal status matters?
258. To what extent are you satisfied with contacts you made with Israelis?
259. To what extent are you satisfied with Israeli food in general?
260. To what extent are you satisfied with the climate in Israel?

Each of us sees oneself in a different light since coming to Israel. We would like to find out to what extent does each of the following statements apply to you. Please circle the corresponding number on your answer sheet according to your degree of satisfaction with each.

Use the following key:

1. I agree
2. I agree somewhat
3. I am undecided or I don't care
4. I disagree somewhat
5. I disagree

261. I think Israelis see me as a foreigner
262. I find it difficult to adapt to the new way of life in Israel.
263. I feel I am an integral part of American community.
264. I feel I am a member of an "out group" here in Israel.
265. I feel as an American in Israel I am at a disadvantage.
266. I feel that my disadvantage could be minimized with increasing adjustment to Israeli society.
267. I feel that in Israel I don't belong quite as much as in America.

268. I feel that my "Jewishness" is more important than my being an America.
269. I feel that my "Jewishness" is more important than my being an Israeli.

Hoping things are working out well for you, let us ask you a hypothetical question . . .
Should you fail to make the adjustment to life in Israel, how important would each of the following factors be in influencing your decision to leave Israel?

Using the following key, circle the number on your answer sheet that corresponds to the appropriate answer.

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not important at all

270. I have a sense of belongingness in America.
271. I am not happy being away from my family.
272. I am not happy being away from my friends.
273. My children cannot keep up in school because of language difficulties.
274. I do not feel at home as an American in Israel.
275. I feel at home as a Jew in America.
276. I feel America needs my services.
277. I feel American Jewry needs my services.
278. I prefer living with Americans rather than Israelis.
279. I have difficulties with Hebrew.
280. I have to go through much more red-tape and bureaucracy in Israel than I go through in America.
281. I can obtain loans and mortgages much faster in America than in Israel.
282. I like certain aspects of life in America. Which?_____ (Fill in on answer sheet and circle corresponding number.)
283. America offers me better occupational opportunities.
284. America offers me or my children better educational opportunities.
285. America gives me a sense of purposeful existence.
286. America offers me a higher living standard.
287. I like to live in a place where everyone has a higher standard of living.
288. The war with the Arabs.
289. The involvement of religious affairs with the state. (No separation between religion and state.)
290. Israel is not as religious as I would like it.
291. Not enough East-European Yiddish culture (or culture in the Yiddish language).

GENERAL FEELING

292. How are your spirits these days?

1. Almost always or always good
2. Good most of the time
3. Sometimes good and sometimes not
4. Good and bad at the same time
5. Bad most of the time
6. Bad almost all of the time

293. Do you think that your situation in Israel will improve as time goes by?

1. I am sure it will
2. There is a very good chance that it will
3. I don't know
4. I doubt it
5. I do not think so

294. Has there been any change in your state of health compared with how you felt when you were abroad?

1. I feel much better now
2. I feel somewhat better now
3. I feel the same as before
4. I feel slightly less well
5. I feel less well

295. Do you feel like an Israeli or an American?

1. I feel completely Israeli
2. I feel like an Israeli and a little bit like an American
3. I feel like an Israeli and an American to about the same degree
4. I feel like an American and a little bit like an Israeli
5. I feel completely American
6. I feel neither like an Israeli nor like an American

296. To what extent are you certain that you will stay in Israel?

1. I am very sure I will stay
2. I am quite sure I will stay
3. I don't know (about equal chance)
4. I don't believe I will stay
5. I intend to leave

297. Do you think you will adjust yourself to conditions in Israel?

1. I have adjusted myself already
2. I am certain I shall adjust myself
3. I am almost certain I shall adjust myself
4. I am doubtful whether I can adjust myself
5. I am sure that I won't be able to adjust myself

298. Would you say that you are generally speaking successful in Israel?

1. Very successful
2. Rather successful
3. Average
4. A little successful
5. Not at all
6. I cannot tell yet

299. Have you taken root in Israel?

1. Completely
2. Sufficiently
3. Not so much
4. Not at all

300. What has been your general impression about Israel?

1. Very favorable
2. Favorable
3. Unfavorable
4. Very unfavorable

301. What has been your general impression about Israelis?

1. Very favorable
2. Favorable
3. Unfavorable
4. Very unfavorable

302. This space is for personal and further comments_____

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

For each of the following questions circle the number on your answer sheet that corresponds to the appropriate answer.

303. Sex

1. Male
2. Female

304. What is your religion?

1. Jewish
2. Christian
3. Other (which?)_____
4. I have no religion

305. If Jewish, with which of the trends in Jewish religion were you affiliated?

1. Orthodox
2. Conservative
3. Reform
4. Non-affiliated -- or no trend

306. What is your family status?

1. Unmarried
2. Married without children
3. Married with 1-2 children
4. Married with 3-4 children
5. Married with 4+ children
6. Widowed without children
7. Widowed with children
8. Divorced without children
9. Divorced with children

307. What is your age?

1. 18-24
2. 25-29
3. 30-34
4. 35-39
5. 40-44
6. 45-49
7. 50-54
8. 55-64
9. 65+

308. What is your spouse's age?

1. 18-24
2. 25-29
3. 30-34
4. 35-39
5. 40-44
6. 45-49
7. 50-54
8. 55-64
9. 65+

309. In what country were you born?

1. United States
2. Canada
3. Israel
4. Eastern Europe (incl. USSR)
5. Western Europe (incl. Germany and Austria)
6. Arab or Moslem countries
7. Other (where?)_____

310. In what country was your spouse born?

1. United States
2. Canada
3. Israel
4. Eastern Europe (incl. USSR)
5. Western Europe (incl. Germany and Austria)
6. Arab or Moslem countries (incl. North Africa)
7. Other (where?)_____

311. If you were not born in the U.S. or Canada, at what age did you come to America? (If you were born in the U.S. or Canada, go on to the next question)

1. 0-4
2. 5-9
3. 10-14
4. 15-19
5. 20-24
6. 25-29
7. 30-34
8. 35-39
9. 40+

312. If your spouse was not born in the U.S. or Canada, at what age did he (she) come to America? (If he [she] was born in the U.S. or Canada, go on to the next question.)

1. 0-4
2. 5-9
3. 10-14
4. 15-19
5. 20-24
6. 25-29
7. 30-34
8. 35-39
9. 40+

313. How many years did you live in America?

1. 0-4
2. 5-9
3. 10-14
4. 15-19
5. 20-24
6. 25-29
7. 30-34
8. 35-39
9. 40+

314. How many years did your spouse live in America?

1. 0-4
2. 5-9
3. 10-14
4. 15-19
5. 20-24
6. 25-29
7. 30-34
8. 35-39
9. 40+

315. In what country was your father born?

1. United States
2. Canada
3. Israel
4. Eastern Europe (incl. USSR)
5. Western Europe (incl. Germany and Austria)
6. Arab or Moslem countries (incl. N. Africa)
7. Other (which?)_____

316. In what country was your spouse's father born?

1. United States
2. Canada
3. Israel
4. Eastern Europe (incl. USSR)
5. Western Europe (incl. Germany and Austria)
6. Arab or Moslem countries (incl. N. Africa)
7. Other (which?) _____

317. Where is your residence in Israel?

1. Absorption center
2. Hostel
3. Kibbutz
4. Moshav (cooperative settlement)
5. Moshava (cooperative village)
6. Quarter near a town (suburb)
7. City
8. University campus -- or student residence hall
9. Other_____

318. What is your general education background? How many years of schooling did you have or how many grades did you complete? Circle the number corresponding to the highest grade or degree completed?

1. No formal schooling
2. Elementary grades 1-4
3. Elementary grades 5-8
4. High school grades 9-10
5. High school grades 11-12
6. College or university -- without degree
7. College or university, B.A., B.S., or equivalent
8. Graduate school or technical school (Master's degree, law degree or equivalent)
9. Graduate school, doctorate degree (M.D., D.D.S., Ph.D., Ed.D. or equivalent)

319. What is the general education background of your spouse? How many years of schooling did he (she) have or how many grades did he (she) complete? Circle the number on your answer sheet corresponding to the highest grade completed.

1. No formal schooling
2. Elementary grades 1-4
3. Elementary grades 5-8
4. High school grades 9-10
5. High school grades 11-12
6. College or university without degree
7. College or university B.A., B.S., or equivalent
8. Graduate school or technical school (Master's degree, law degree, or equivalent)
9. Post graduate school 3 or more years (M.D., D.D.S., Ph.D., Ed.D. or equivalent)

320. What is your Jewish educational background? Circle one answer--the one that best describes your Jewish education or the highest institution you attended.

1. I did not have any formal Jewish or Hebrew education
2. I learned from a private teacher (or house teacher)
3. I learned in a Sunday School
4. I learned in an afternoon Jewish or Hebrew School
5. I learned in a Jewish or Hebrew Day School
6. I learned in a Cheder
7. I learned in a Yeshiva or Beth Jacob School
8. I learned in a college of Jewish or Hebrew studies
9. I learned in an institution of higher learning as Rabbinical School or Graduate Hebrew or Jewish Studies

321. What is the Jewish educational background of your spouse? Circle one answer -- the one that best describes his (her) Jewish education or the highest institution(s) he (she) attended.

1. He (she) did not have any formal Jewish or Hebrew education.
2. He (she) learned from a private teacher (or house teacher)
3. He (she) learned in a Sunday School
4. He (she) learned in an afternoon Jewish or Hebrew School
5. He (she) learned in a Jewish or Hebrew Day School
6. He (she) learned in a Cheder
7. He (she) learned in a Yeshiva or Beth Jacob School
8. He (she) learned in a college of Jewish or Hebrew Studies
9. He (she) learned in an institution of higher learning as Rabbinical School or Graduate Hebrew or Jewish Studies

322. In the two years just before coming to Israel were you or your spouse a student? If single, circle 5 or 6 on your answer sheet; if married circle 1,2,3, or 4 on your answer sheet.

1. Yes, we were both students
2. I was a student, my spouse was not
3. My spouse was a student, I was not
4. Neither of us was a student

If single, circle 5 or 6

5. I was a student
6. I was not a student

323. In the two years just before coming to Israel were you or your spouse a pensioner -- living on private insurance, company insurance, or government pension? If single, circle number 5 or 6 on your answer sheet; if married, circle number 1,2,3, or 4.

1. Yes, we were both on pension
2. I was on pension, my spouse was not
3. My spouse was on pension, I was not
4. Neither of us was on pension
   If single, circle 5 or 6
5. I was on pension
6. I was not on pension

324. In the two years just before coming to Israel were you or your spouse living on income from capital or property? If single, circle number 5 or 6 on your answer sheet; if married, circle number 1,2,3, or 4.

1. Yes, we were both living on income from capital or property
2. I was living on income from capital or property, my spouse was not
3. My spouse was living on income from capital or property, I was not
4. Neither of us was living on income from capital or property
   If single, circle 5 or 6
5. I was living on income from capital or property
6. I was not living on income from capital or property

325. What was your main occupation during the two years just before you came to Israel? (If you did not work go on to the next question.)

1. Doctor, dentist, lawyer, university professor
2. Accountant, pharmacist, engineer, social worker, teacher, or any other professional group
3. Executive, administrator, junior administrator or high government official
4. Merchant, agent, or engaged in business (such as brokers, insurance, or sales or any self-employed business)
5. Trades (electrical, plumbing, mechanical, etc.)
6. Private or public service, such as police, fire, post, government or any other clerical position
7. Agriculturist, fisherman or miner
8. Factory or shop worker
9. Unskilled worker with no special training for position

326. Since coming to Israel were you (or are you) or your spouse a student? If sincle, circle 5 or 6; if married circle 1,2,3, or 4 on your answer sheet.

1. Yes, we were (are) both students
2. I was (am) a student, my spouse was (is) not
3. My spouse was (is) a student, I was (am) not
4. Neither of us was (is) a student
   If single, circle 5 or 6
5. I was (am) a student
6. I was not (am not) a student

327. Since coming to Israel are you or your spouse a pensioner -- living on private insurance, company insurance or government pension? If single circle number 5 or 6 on your answer sheet; if married, circle number 1,2,3, or 4.

1. Yes, we are both on pension
2. I am on pension, my spouse is not
3. My spouse is on pension, I am not
4. Neither of us is on pension
   If single, circle 5 or 6
5. I am on pension
6. I am not on pension

328. Since coming to Israel are you or your spouse living on income from capital or property? If single, circle number 5 or 6 on your answer sheet; if married, circle number 1,2,3, or 4.

1. Yes, we are both living on income from capital or property
2. I am living on income from capital or property my spouse is not
3. My spouse is living on income from capital or property, I am not
4. Neither of us is living on income from capital or property
   If single, circle 5 or 6
5. I am living on income from capital or property
6. I am not living on income from capital or property

329. What was the main occupation of your spouse during the two years just before coming to Israel? If he (she) did not work, go on to the next question.

1. Doctor, dentist, lawyer, university professor
2. Accountant, pharamcist, engineer, social worker, teacher or any other professional group
3. Executive, administrator, junior administrator or high government official
4. Merchant, agent or engaged in business (such as brokers, insurance or sales or any self-employed business)
5. Trades (electrical, plumbing, mechanical, etc.)
6. Private or public service, such as police, fire, post, government or any other clerical position
7. Agriculturist, fisherman, or miner
8. Factory or shop worker
9. Unskilled worker with no special training for position

330. What is your main occupation or profession since coming to Israel? (If you did not work since you came go on to the next question.)

1. Doctor, dentist, lawyer, university professor
2. Accountant, pharmacist, engineer, social worker, teacher or any other professional group
3. Executive, administrator, junior administrator or high government official
4. Merchant, agent, or engaged in business (such as brokers, insurance, or sales or any self-employed business)
5. Trades (electrical, plumbing, mechanical, etc.)
6. Private or public service such as police, fire, post, government or any other clerical positions
7. Agriculturist, fisherman or miner
8. Factory or shop worker
9. Unskilled worker with no special training for position

331. What is the main occupation or profession of your spouse since coming to Israel? If she (he) didn't work since you came, go on to the next question.

1. Doctor, dentist, lawyer, university professor
2. Accountant, pharmacist, engineer, social worker, teacher, or any other professional group
3. Executive, administrator, junior administrator or high government official
4. Merchant, agent, or engaged in business (such as brokers, insurance, or sales or any self-employed business)
5. Trades (electrical, plumbing, mechanical, etc.)
6. Private or public service, such as police, fire, post, government or any other clerical position
7. Agriculturist, fisherman or miner
8. Factory or shop worker
9. Unskilled worker with no special training for position

332. What was the occupational status of the head of the family before coming to Israel? (If single, your status)

1. Employee (salary earner)
2. Self-employed with no employees
3. Employer of 1-4 persons
4. Employer of 5 or more persons
5. Working without pay in family business

333. What is the occupational status of the head of the family since coming to Israel? (If single, your status)

1. Employee (salary earner)
2. Self-employed with no employees
3. Employer of 1-4 persons
4. Employer of 5 or more persons
5. Working without pay in family business

334. What was your gross income per year before coming to Israel? If married, joint family income.

1. $ 100 - 3,999
2. $ 4,000 - 7,999
3. $ 8,000 - 11,999
4. $12,000 - 15,999
5. $16,000 - 19,999
6. $20,000 - 24,999
7. $25,000 - 29,999
8. $30,000 - 39,999
9. $40,000 - over

335. What is your income per month since coming to Israel? If married, joint family income.

1. IL. below 200
2. IL. 200 - 399
3. IL. 400 - 599
4. IL. 600 - 799
5. IL. 800 - 999
6. IL. 1,000 - 1,399
7. IL. 1,400 - 1,999
8. IL. 2,000 - 2,999
9. IL. 3,000 and over

336. When did you come to Israel?

1. I came to Israel before June, 1967
2. I came to Israel between June, 1967 - December, 1967
3. I came to Israel between January, 1968 - June, 1968
4. I came to Israel between July, 1968 - December, 1968
5. I came to Israel between January, 1969 - June, 1969
6. I came to Israel between July, 1969 - December, 1969
7. I came to Israel between January, 1970 - June, 1970
8. I came to Israel between July, 1970 - December, 1970
9. I came to Israel after January, 1971

337. When did your spouse come to Israel?

1. He (she) came to Israel before June, 1967
2. He (she) came to Israel between June, 1967 - December, 1967
3. He (she) came to Israel between January, 1968 - June, 1968
4. He (she) came to Israel between July, 1968 - December, 1968
5. He (she) came to Israel between January, 1969 - June, 1969
6. He (she) came to Israel between July, 1969 - December, 1969
7. He (she) came to Israel between January, 1970 - June, 1970
8. He (she) came to Israel between July, 1970 - December, 1970
9. He (she) came to Israel after January, 1971

338. If you have been in Israel before, prior to your last arrival, how much time (total) did you spend here? (If you have never been in Israel before, go on to the next question.)

1. 1-4 weeks
2. 1-4 months
3. 5-7 months
4. 8-12 months
5. 1-4 years
6. 5-10 years
7. 11-15 years
8. 16-20 years
9. 21+ years

339. If your spouse has been in Israel before, prior to his (her) last arrival how much time (total) did he (she) spend here? If he (she) has never been in Israel before, go on to the next question.

1. 1-4 weeks
2. 1-4 months
3. 5-7 months
4. 8-12 months
5. 1-4 years
6. 5-10 years
7. 11-15 years
8. 16-20 years
9. 21+ years

FOLLOW-UP LETTER

Dear Newcomer:

With the help and cooperation of the AACI and the Jewish Agency our questionnaire on the Adjustment of American and Canadian olim was sent to you. We are hoping with your help to bring about a deeper understanding of these findings and consequently favorably influence the programs of aliyah and klita.

As yet we have not heard from you and we will deeply appreciate your filling out the questionnaire. We have a limited time schedule and hope to include your contribution in our findings.

If however you didn't receive the questionnaire please call any branch of the AACI and it will be sent to you.

Many thanks for your participation.

Sincerely,

Harry Jubas
Project Director

P.S. If you have already sent in your response sheets my apologies and thanks to you.

APPENDIX B

COMMENTS BY OLIM ON MOTIVES FOR COMING TO ISRAEL

APPENDIX B

COMMENTS BY OLIM ON MOTIVES FOR COMING TO ISRAEL

"Push" from America

"To leave home."

"Tired of job in America."

"Wanted reflective non rat-race life."

"I wanted to get away from business pressures."

"For a challenging experience."

"Selective service."

"General malaise in Jewish American society."

"General social trends in U.S. are disintegrating."

"Town was too small for real Jewishness."

"The world does not care."

"The weather, location, history and physical things that did not exist in Canada, now I feel something more, though."

"Independence for my husband and myself from established family ties."

"Parents here, husband unable to find work, dislike USA non-democ., authoritarian gov't, dislike attitude of Chicago 'cops' toward citizens."

"I was totally alienated from American life and felt life had no meaning in America (existential crisis)."

"Pull" to Israel

"Kibbutz life."

"Kibbutz idealism."

"Kibbutz life."

"To join a kibbutz."

"Kibbutz way of life."

"Kibbutz is only here."

"Kibbutz-communal living."

"Belief in kibbutz ideology."

"Wanted to try kibbutz life."

"I came to Israel to live on kibbutz."

"Wanted to live on a religious kibbutz."

"Idealism--desire to live on a kibbutz or other communal settlement (urban)."

"I wanted to live communal life on kibbutz and out of rat-race."

Personal Reasons

"Adventure."

"Curious."

"Wanderlust."

"Instinct."

"Vacation."

"Climate."

"Ideology."

"Challenge."

"Experience."

"A new life."

"Wanted a change."

"Daughter in Israel."

"Previous visit."

"Travel, meet people."

"Ease of making friends."

"Adventuresome nature."

"I love to travel."

"I wanted to come."

"Learn about Judaism."

"Personal philosophy of life."

"Smog-free air."

"Learn more of Judaica."

"I wanted to see what Israel was like."

"I lived here as a child."

"It was a return for me."

"I've always wanted to come home."

"Was here 8 years ago and like it very much."

"I had lived here as a child and wanted to return."

"Post-doctoral fellowship."

"Less pressure of society."

"Wanted to hear Hebrew as a spoken language."

"People rather than $ or things."

"Political interest (socialism)."

"To introduce uncertainty and adventure into my life."

"Hitler."

"Holocaust."

"Jews suffered enough."

"To experience life as part of a majority and to learn Hebrew."

"To seek a better life."

"A better place to live here."

"Experience in a new life style."

"Good job offer and desire to see Israel."

"Jewish history in Israel."

"I spent one year studying in Jerusalem University with no thoughts of immigrating--after the year decided."

"There was none of the apathy present in the states."

"Because of the healthy atmosphere and society."

"I like living in a small country with more contact with problems and government than in the U.S."

"I thought I would have more close friends here (Jewish)."

"Without Israel my life as a Jew would be in danger from future Hitlers."

"Test of future ability to settle."

"Feeling of freedom and casual dress."

"I liked the song (Jerusalem of Gold) Yerushalayim Shel Zahav."

"I was driven by a curiosity to know about the life in Israel--a combined intellectual and emotional interest."

"To see for myself if it was really so great here as Israeli friends in the U.S. were telling me."

"A profound emotion which is impossible to explain."

"Felt American middle class and American Jewry were losing sense of intrinsic values of life."

"We are members of a new-type of moshav-shitufi. The excitement of this and the appeal of a socialist Jewish community was the main factor."

"Break-up of unhealthy relationship with non-Jewish girlfriend."

"I came to Israel for a year to study Hebrew on a kibbutz and returned to the U.S. for 5 months to convert. (I was Christian, i.e., my family was Christian.) Now I love Judaism as a concrete way of life but am against mixture of religious and state . . . I am planning to marry an Israeli girl.

Family Reasons

"Relatives."

"Relatives in Israel."

"My parents."

"My parents came."

"Sick mother."

"It was my father's decision."

"Israeli husband."

"My father's health condition brought my family here."

"Remarriage."

"To get married."

"Fiance sabra."

"My boyfriend is Israeli."

"I married a sabra."

"I married an Israeli."

"Husband-to-be an Israeli."

"I was engaged to someone in Israel."

"Hoped to meet a man with value system as mine."

"Husband is Israeli--most important reason of all."

"Met Israeli and wished to see if I could live here."

"To marry an Israeli who wanted to be here--that's simply why I came."

"I was coming to marry an Israeli and try it out here."

"As a Junior year student in the University of Jerusalem I met a young Israeli."

"In-laws here."

"To be independent of parents."

"Joined family."

"My family was here."

"Independence from parents and in-laws."

"Son lives here."

"Family came here."

"Most of the family is here."

"Children wanted to go."

"My children came earlier."

"My children and grandchildren were here."

"Married daughter here."

"My married daughter settled in Israel."

"My oldest daughter and son were strong factors in our decision."

"My daughter and grandchildren are here."

"My son, native Israeli lives here."

"Interest in Israel, my 2 sons live in Israel."

"Daughter lives and works in Jerusalem."

"Our children preceded us to Israel."

"My brother lived in Israel."

"Wanted to be united with family."

"My parents are living here and wanted me to join them."

"Friends were already here--Israelis I was close with from the states."

"My Israeli born wife."

"Husband and children wanted to live here."

"I am an Israeli by birth and conviction."

"Children insisted on living in Israel."

"Logical conclusion to education and family background."

"To be together with my children and grandchildren."

"Parents, brother, sister will move to Israel."

"Family here, daughter and grandchild."

"I came to see if my handicapped son could have a productive life in Israel."

Old-age Retirement

"Retired."

"Here in retirement."

"Retired on social security."

"I thought I'd be more economically comfortable."

"Social security benefits provide a better standard of living here."

"Suitable climate--for health reasons."

"I felt better here--I feel better here, climate!"

"Unemployed, and experience no longer counted because of age."

"Worried that it might be too late if I waited."

"I am 81 years old, I am living here in an Old Age Home. My financial circumstances could not give such a type of Old Age Home as I have here."

"To live after 120 in Israel."

Religious Reasons

"Religions zionism."

"Religious obligation."

"Religious holiness."

"Holiness of the country."

"This is the Holy Land."

"Kotel" (Western Wall) redeemed."

"The mitzvah in the Torah."

"Undisturbed religious study."

"Commandment to settle the land."

"It is a positive commandment from the Torah."

"To fulfill the commandment of settling in the land."

"It's a mitzvah to live in Israel."

"Because the Torah commands us to live in Israel."

"The commandment that a Jew should live in Israel."

"Natural culmination of religious zionist upbringing."

"Help Israel."

"I felt that God would have me come home to Israel."

"Studying the Torah was probably the main and only reason I came."

"Fulfillment of a desire of many years motivated by religious precepts."

"A religious Jew who can; must come to live in Israel."

"As a Jew who was brought up in Torah I believe this is the only place for me."

"Religious obligation to live in Israel. Current fulfillment of Biblical prophecies."

"I feel that the religious powers of the country will be strengthened if my people like myself will move here."

"To learn about the heritage of our people in the homeland, to see how our Jewish traditional ancient ideals are integrated into a modern technological society."

"'Integrity' I pray 'Assemble us from the four corners of the earth.' God has too much to do for me to ask him to do something which I can do myself. So we all six of us bought tickets and came on aliyah. Now I feel that my daily prayers have integrity."

"My strong feelings for the land from studying and teaching about Eretz Israel. My Rabbi lives here. I liked the way of living and inner happiness of Israelis (which I noticed upon visiting here as a toursit) wife was born here and has many relatives here and longed to return."

A Feeling of Importance, Being Needed

"Job offer."

"Offer of job contract."

"Israel needs people."

"Making a contribution."

"Interesting job opportunity."

"I got a job before coming."

"To establish a business."

"Israel needs me and I need Hebrew."

"The possibility of establishing a machine-tool business."

"I want to train Israelis in the skills of machine-shop practice."

"I have something extremely special to give."

"Individual contribution to national progress."

"Came as a tourist and felt caught--needed and wanted to stay."

"I was unemployed at the time. I wanted to go to Israel for about two years so this was the time."

"I wanted self-satisfaction and sense of doing something worthwhile."

"Wanted to help people and feel as though I was contributing to the country."

"I felt I could contribute to Israel's technical capability."

"I identified with Israel's problems and felt able to do something about them."

"Opportunity to advance in my profession--I am here on a post-doctoral appointment."

"I felt that I would have an opportunity to use my education in a meaningful way."

"I felt Israel needed my husband's skills that he would get a better job, more purposeful existence and he would get a fresh start."

Feeling of Belonging--Fulfillment of Zionist Dream

"I belong here."

"I am a Jew."

"A Jew belongs in Israel."

"Sense of belonging."

"Being a Jew and Israel a reality."

"Because I am a Jew."

"Because I feel every Jew belongs here--sorry I did not come sooner."

"I personally feel the Jew belongs in Israel."

"Jews belong in Israel."

"Because Israel, 'The Land' is where I belong."

"The only place to raise Jewish children is in Israel."

"I thought my children would get a better Jewish cultural and religious education."

"Israel only place for Jews who wish to remain Jews."

"I wanted to live among my people in the 'Holy Land.'"

"Children's future."

"I wanted to live among my people in my 'Holy Land.'"

"Children's future."

"Feeling of importance of Israel to Jewish future."

"Six-day war."

"Strong sense of national identity after Six-day war."

"Desire to help Israel and Jewish people at the outbreak of Six-day War."

"To join Zahal."

"Liked the country."

"Identification."

"Identity with Israel."

"Full sense of identification with Israel, willingness to be involved with problems here rather than problems of Canada, necessity for western aliyah."

"Self-fulfillment."

"Desire to live in Israel."

"Personal participation."

"I love it that's why."

"True Zionist."

"Zionist motives."

"Culmination and continuation of Jewish Zionist reality."

"Because I am a Zionist."

"I was raised to be and still am a Zionist."

"We remembered an ancient conscious living vision."

"High pull emotionally for Israel."

"Time had come for aliyah!"

"Israel needs more aliyah--Jews of Western origin in particular."

"Duty to help populate."

"Set an example."

"To start immigration of my relatives by my own example."

"Always wanted to go and see Israel, after the War I felt something special towards Israel."

"National duty."

"Felt Jewish duty."

"Emotional attachment."

"It was my life dream."

"Idealistic dream of years."

"There must be a haven for Jews."

"A strange instinct that I would find roots."

"A sense of history and the opportunity to be 'where it's at.'"

"To participate in the present focus of Jewish history."

"To be a participant in Jewish history and not a spectator."

"Learning Jewish history I got the belief that now that we have Israel we must live here."

"Always wanted to live in Israel, historical destiny or something."

"Need to share the dangers and problems of our people."

"To participate in a historic return comparable to that which took place under Cyrus in 5th Century b.c."

"I believe in Israel and want to help it exist."

"Belief in existence of Israel and the need to make it viable."

"In addition to the concretes, I fell in love with a dreamer whose dreams added to my own seemed more realizable here."

"I thought it was important to be Jewish and it could only be assured in Israel."

"As a Canadian who loves Canada, its values, its life, I came to Israel because as a Jew I wanted to identify with this 'Jewish-Israeli' phenomenon."

"5,000 years Jews have cried for their own land. I happen to be lucky to live where it exists. It's my place."

"I felt that I should leave my hometown of Pottstown, Pa. and if I was to go to a place that had Jews they shouldn't be too Jewish. Israelis resemble American non-Jews."

"I had been a student here at Hebrew U. 1968-69 and had loved the country. I returned although not because I was unhappy in America but because of a sense of commitment."

"Close affiliation with Israel activity for 25 years created strong desire to see what living in Israel would be like."

"I believe that in the historical course of Jewish existence Israel is where our people's current development will go on with other centers fading. It is important for every Jew to attempt to be part of that historical process."

"Two main factors caused me to come a) my feeling of helplessness and shame for not being in Israel, which I felt on the first day of the Six-Day War a feeling of what am I doing not helping to defend my Israel in her time of life or death battle for survival, b) coupled with my job skill as an electronic engineer which is much needed in Israel and which I would prefer to earn my living while working for Judaism rather than for a purely secular end."

"I am a Jew."

"Israel is the only place for Jews."

"Nationalism."

"A Jew needs Israel."

"Was here as a tourist and loved the country."

"Came as a tourist and fell in love with Israeli and my husband."

"Love of Israel."

"I love Israel, I feel it is my place in life."

"I love Israel and the land and can be a Jew here without worry."

"For me it is a home."

"I like to live here, this is my home."

"I wanted to go home."

"I was coming home."

"Israel is my country."

"A very deep Zionist background in my home."

"Because Israel is the homeland for the Jews."

"I'm interested in preserving the Jewish homeland."

"I believe every Jew must live in his own homeland."

"Jews need a strong home because no one else cares."

"I wanted to live in a Jewish homeland and raise my children here."

"I felt that my culture was being made subservient to Christian culture; examples 17 public celebrations for Christians and the 'Christmas Spirit' of winters in N.Y. 2) Why should I not wear a yarmulka when teaching in N.Y. City College?"

"Because in my judgment Israel is the only country in the world where a Jew can live in complete dignity. It's the only place I know of where if a man is called 'a dirty little Jew' it could only mean that he's small in stature and needs a bath."

APPENDIX C

COMMENTS BY OLIM ON MOTIVES FOR REMAINING IN ISRAEL

APPENDIX C

COMMENTS BY OLIM ON MOTIVES FOR REMAINING IN ISRAEL

As is the case with every study which involves a questionnaire, there are inevitably those responses which, being very personal and very individualistic, defy categorizing. The following exemplify this situation:

"This is my home."
"For me it is my home."
"This is my home now."
"As a Jew this is my home."
"I found a home in Israel."
"A Jew needs Israel."
"I'm still a Jew."
"Israel is the Jewish homeland."
"There must be a haven for Jews."
"I believe every Jew should live in Israel."
"It is my duty as a Jew to stay."
"Israel needs people to safe-guard it."
"Israel is the fulfillment of 4000 years of history."
"This is my home and has always been."
"I have opted to live in Israel, now consider it my home."
"Our community, sense of fuller life here, Jewish life, beauty."
"I like Israel."
"I like it here."
"We like it."
"I just like it here."
"I just like it better here."
"I just plain like it here."

"I love Israel."

"I'm happy here."

"I love the country."

"I love Jerusalem."

"All in all I love Israel."

"I like the physical land itself."

"I like the way of life and people."

"I like the size and government of Israel."

"I really love Israel and I have a strong sense of faith in the endurance of human feeling because people have always been here."

"Holiness of the land."

"Religious obligation."

"Spiritual contentment."

"I wanted a Torah state."

"It is a mitzvah (commandment) to live in Israel."

"Commandment to settle in the land."

"Torah commandment to settle if possible."

"To open up the Torah as a living joyous gift."

"Because of religious reasons--the Torah commands us to live here."

"I can find a proper religious educational environment."

"I would remain if the discrimination against the religious people would stop completely."

"As a religious Jew I feel I belong here in spite of the difficulties and lower standard of living and education, I want to help improve these. My husband disagrees."

"Kibbutz."

"Kibbutz ideology."

"Kibbutz is here."

"Kibbutz way of life."

"Kibbutz life experiment."

"I want to live on a kibbutz."

"I am drawn to kibbutz life."

"Life on the kibbutz is very good, can't go back to live in U.S."

"Sense of history."

"Sense of obligations."

"Emotional attachment."

"Emotional feelings."

"Enriching social life."

"More informal society."

"Building Eretz Yisroel (Land of Israel)."

"Must be able to contribute to Israel."

"The possibility of helping forge a unique and vigorous society."

"Israel is a much more relaxed country and people can be humans, not machines."

"I identify more with Israel than with America."

"It is important to be a Jew, Judaism is doomed outside Israel."

"I became a Zionist."

"A better place to live."

"Importance of my job."

"Excellent, scientific position."

"My life and work are here now."

"A clean slate with myself."

"Professional satisfaction."

"Finding friends (group)."

"Social life better here."

"Personal philosophy."

"Set a successful example for others to emulate."

"I can better develop my potential here."

"I am a human being in Israel."

"I met people I love and who need me here."

"Don't want to interrupt children's schooling."

"Not to interrupt the education of my boys."

"I'm one of those 'crazy positive Jewish reactionaries.'"

"It's fun and feels good."

"I still love it."

"Informality and honesty in social relations."

"Friendly atmosphere and greater opportunities which are presently lacking in America."

"Whom I marry."

"Married here."

"Relatives here."

"My family is here."

"Emotional feelings."

"Enriching social life."

"More informal society."

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"Must be able to contribute to Israel."

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"I still love it."

"Informality and honesty in social relations."

"Friendly atmosphere and greater opportunities which are presently lacking in America."

"Whom I marry."

"Married here."

"Relatives here."

"My family is here."

"I am engaged to an Israeli."
"I married an Israeli."
"I am married to a kibbutznik."
"My husband is Israeli."
"Husband-to-be Israeli."
"My children are Sabras."
"Children want to remain."
"Married daughter in Israel."
"If I get married here."
"Rest of my family will now come."
"All of my family is happy living here."
"I would have to live near the in-laws again."
"To live near my daughter and other family."
"Family, daughter and grandchildren wanted to remain."
"Happy to live here--daughter and granddaughter live here."
"Husband satisfied with job, I with friends, city, etc."
"We are adjusted, our children feel themselves as Israelis."
"Retirement."
"To enjoy better our 'golden age.'"
"It is economically advantageous to remain."
"Financially to my advantage to stay (social security)."
"I want to stay."
"I am happy here."
"I'm making a living."
"Lazy to leave."
"I want to remain."
"I'm too lazy to move again."
"I can't imagine leaving."
"I'm here."
"Determined to stay."
"Inertia, I'm here."
"Uprooting family."
"Scared of being a quitter."
"Shame of failure."
"Reluctance to give up."

"Hitler."

"There is no other alternative."

"Because I want to stay (period)."

"I just want to be here."

"Don't want to start again."

"I'm getting accustomed."

"If I can be happy here."

"Not interested in going back to stay."

"It would not occur to me to go back."

"I don't want to start all over somewhere else."

"I am happy here, can't really say why."

"Losing face in former community."

"No place else to go, don't like to move again."

"I have no desire to go home."

"I don't consider myself an American."

"I don't want to go back to the rat-race."

"Would feel 'let down' and guilty at leaving excitement and commitment here."

"I've never really considered going back, the question doesn't interest me, I came to do something and I'm going to do it."

"A general sense of freedom resulting from many of the factors mentioned above as well as the kibbutz life and other factors difficult to pin-point."

APPENDIX D

COMMENTS BY OLIM ON MOTIVES FOR LEAVING ISRAEL

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COMMENTS BY OLIM ON MOTIVES FOR LEAVING ISRAEL

"There is more cultural and intellectual activities in America."

"Social, entertainment and sense of humor in America."

"Missing the cultural level of New York life."

"I know the system."

"Places to go and things to do and especially the public library and coffee houses."

"U.S. is more flexible society."

"Cultural opportunities and certain technological things are easier."

"Easier living and more worldly atmosphere."

"America still leads the world. If America can be changed, the forces to do it will be generated in America."

"The kind of private life its possible to lead in America, not the wealth, but the privacy."

"Young Americans are much more idealistic than young Israelis."

"Everybody minds their own business."

"Certain things and ways we are used to in America."

"Missing the general courtesy of American living."

"No discrimination."

"No controlled institutional type of life for me in America."

"Importance of synagogue as social and religious center for all members of family."

"A rabbi ministering to a congregation, and decorum."

"Higher standard of living in America."

"Material and financial advantages in America."

"Higher standard of living, less conservatism among my peer group."

"Financial security in America."

"Conveniences of every-day living in America."

"No discrimination."

"Liberalness, freedom of academia."

"Americans do things with ease, things get done."

"Conveniences, politeness, and promptness."

"Sense of fair play, sense of orderliness, and sense of hygiene."

"Good manners, no shoving or pushing."

"Americans have more organized sports."

"Americans have a better customer-business relationship."

"Freedom, sports, and diversity of culture."

"People are more polite in public places, no pushing and animal behavior."

"Sense of fair play and just treatment."

"The greater respect people seem to have for others, less assertion of individual ego, pride or dignity on another."

"Open-mindedness dissent."

"Privacy, honesty, courtesy, and graciousness."

"Higher level of sophistication of many people."

"Safer driving conditions with Americans."

"Driving habits and general courtesy."

"Being up-to-date and not an illiterate."

"More varied population and lack of feeling of insulation."

"Intellectualism, free thought."

"Cultural diversity, social."

"Courtesy, respect for fellow man, no fear of responsibility for action, waiting in lines, primitive thinking."

"Economic freedom and personal freedom, unrestricted by narrow, all pervasive social customs."

"Freedom (the kind only an American can understand)."

"Many essential items at reasonable prices, i.e., children's clothing and toys."

"Higher wages and better quality of material things."

"Easier to be a consumer in America."

"Material comforts easier to obtain in America."

"Cost of living is less compared to income in America than in Israel."

"Reasonable prices and decent meat."

"Food is better. Easier to make a living."

"Easier access to things that Americans take for granted."

"Availability of a better quality of consumer goods and luxury items."
"Availability of goods and products at reasonable prices."
"Can earn enough to support a family in America."
"Wages and standard of living in America."
"Financial security, more or less in America."
"Cheaper domestic items and more consumer luxuries in America."
"Conveniences such as shopping centers and lower cost of living."
"I was richer and economically secure in America."
"Easier to obtain housing, rental at reasonable prices."
"Financial security and ability to earn and save money."
"Quality of things at not such high prices."
"More opportunities available for a better way of living."
"Higher earning power in America."
"Garbage disposal, defrost freezer, washer-dryer, car, telephone."
"Fairness and human treatment."
"Level of sophistication of people and the general cultural level."
"More courtesy in public in America."
"More personal freedom and liberty in America."
"Freedom of the individual in America."
"The U.S. is a more flexible society."
"Efficiency, cleanliness, generosity, and trust of America."
"English, plays, concerts, TV programs."
"The efficiency and the comfort in America."
"A lack of intellectual and cultural opportunities."
"More social and cultural activities, especially during Shabbat."
"No social barrier due to language."
"Language being a by-the-way thing and not a constant effort."
"People interested more in cultural entertainment, art, etc."
"More cultural possibilities, music, and theatre in America."
"More courtesy and cleanliness."
"Lack of bureaucracy, more efficiency and ease of every-day operations."
"More efficiency and ingenuity."
"No 'protectsia.'"

"No socialism."

"People are friendlier and polite in America."

"More courtesy and tolerance."

"More social life and cultural activities."

"More libertine, individuality and intellectual."

"America is a more progressive society, moral and personal freedom."

"Diversity of ideas and ways of viewing life and possibilities for living."

"Flexibility of life style."

"Less red tape and government interference with wide-open spaces."

"Concept that government that governs least governs best."

"Less academic pressure and less materialism."

APPENDIX E

COMMENTS BY OLIM ON SATISFACTIONS AND DISSATISFACTIONS WITH THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF LIFE IN ISRAEL

APPENDIX E

COMMENTS BY OLIM ON SATISFACTIONS AND DISSATISFACTIONS

WITH THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF LIFE IN ISRAEL

Following are some comments by respondents concerning Israel and Israelis:

"Israel has a long way to go and until it changes it has nothing to offer me. The people on the whole are horrible."

"I feel completely Israeli, however, on the norm Israelis tend to differentiate and make me feel American. I am certain, however, that this will pass with time."

"I dislike careless workmanship and sharp business practices and discourtesy, but I feel that over time there will be improvement in these areas."

"Israeli children are like animals let from a cage--many Israelis are not direct but rude. However the country is young and I am proud of it."

"The one or two houses we've been invited to, the Israelis have been most cordial; the man on the street is rude and discourteous."

"I find resentment towards the American and perhaps were I an Israeli I, too, would resent the 'privileges' they receive."

"Israelis (in general) speak poorly about American Jews, without seeming to appreciate the immense $ support (and other support) these Jews have given. Also, Israelis don't seem to care about making their country clean!! This is a great shock. So is the widespread petty thievery."

"It seems there is no average to describe the people, government and social aspects. I find certain areas extremely favorable and others completely unacceptable."

"In my opinion there is a great need for an upgrading in courtesy-politeness-hygienic standards-religious tolerance."

"Most Israelis are closed tight within their little family circle and won't venture out or let an outsider in."

"I don't like the chutzpah and lack of good manners."

"Find the Israelis not too well-mannered as a whole, also undisciplined, e.g., driving habits, lining up in queues."

"Like all over the world, there are nice Israelis and not nice ones. Mostly I have had the good fortune to meet some very nice people. Those who weren't friendly or nice I have nothing to do with. The telephones drive me crazy as does inefficiency in many offices, etc."

"Israel is a beautiful land. Israelis are generally pig-headed and pugnacious. The Israel Aliyah Center told us more lies than truth."

"Israeli drivers are a menace to themselves and anyone on the road."

"I loved my mother but she was not the most beautiful woman, and the same goes in this case (Israel, Israelis)."

"Israelis are different than Americans in many ways for the better, but in some ways for the worse: manners, planning (except for the army), public cleanliness, noise, and a sort of 'who cares' attitude . . ."

"If my current employer is representative of Israeli employers we all have problems."

"Generally, Israelis have been OK but I've come across many who hate Americans and are very nasty."

"I love Israel. I worship every foot of ground I step on. I do not like all of the people. Generally speaking the Israelis I met are very nice socially. In business they are not so nice. My main complaints: 1) Very poor standard of cleanliness. 2) Very poor manners, it is difficult to buy a postage stamp without some person getting ahead of you when waiting in line. 3) The way things are at government offices it is impossible to pay a bill without being aggravated. But this is my country, my people and I feel deeply that I belong here. The things that are really meaningful and inspiring compensate for some of the irritations."

"Many Israelis are resentful of Americans' three-year exemptions, etc. and they think all Americans have a lot of money. Therefore they often over-charge Americans."

"Israelis are the biggest bunch of liars, SOB's, and hypocrites I have ever met. Hating Americans, gossip, asserting themselves at someone else's expense and generally making trouble for others are their favorite hobbies."

"Israelis seem to be anti-immigrant right now due to jealousy of rights given to olim."

"Israeli boys are awful and so is the food. Too expensive to live on the salary I would make here."

"10 months here have not pinpointed my feelings. Israeli persons are no different than any other. There exists arrogance and much ethnocentrism. Israelis are too conscious of olim, less consciousness and thought would result in more naturalness and less prejudice. I myself have been made too conscious of my being a Jew. Results are not sympathetic."

"Israelis--people in the city are too materialistic and snobs, but in the kibbutzim they are generally nice, but that's only 3% of the population."

"I am disappointed that Israelis are not broadly educated and are materialistic. They are litterbugs also."

"Israelis are too indifferent to services they receive, quality of goods, the general social situation, indifferent as neighbors and as countrymen."

"There is much lack of basic manners in Israel which reflects itself in all aspects of life, work, travel, etc. There is appalling inefficiency and featherbedding, especially in the public sector and nothing is done to correct it."

"I have found that many Israelis are at first hard to get to know personally--socially."

"Israelis are rude and disorganized."

"The Israeli of Eastern European extraction is the most unpleasant and unattractive person I have ever met in all my travels, naturally with exception. I manage to enjoy my life here by avoiding Israelis outside of work as much as possible."

"In general, I think Israelis are very closed, inhibited, and materialistic people."

"The great difference in approach to life between Israelis and myself is most disconcerting. I feel that the psychological and emotional needs in adjusting to a new way of life are almost totally disregarded. Also, there is a feeling of anti-Americanism of which I disapprove. Although the latter does not seem to be true of the youth of Israel generally."

"Israelis lack courtesy, politeness in public places, but privately are friendly. However, the pioneering spirit (as I knew it in the 30's) is replaced by the profiteering spirit and materialism. America is too much with us here. The lust for luxury has overtaken the need for modesty in living standards, which little behooves this country, still struggling for its right to exist and absorb its newcomers. Its standard of living is an exaggerated one, trying to ape that of America."

"With few exceptions I find Israelis callous and indifferent, corruption is widespread."

"Israelis are too much Americanized adopting the negative qualities and ignoring the positive ones."

"Israelis resent the 'advantages' given to us, and that takes 'blood' of us to get (a lot of red tape and bad-will)."

"Many Israelis are quite provincial and conservative in their attitude toward innovation."

"Impressions favorable as to possibilities and potentialities of land and people, most unfavorable when one sees what they are doing (pollution, food processing, etc.) ugly building construction."

"I would like to see the Israelis becoming more honest and keeping more to their word instead of telling you one thing and doing the other--for example our builder, who promised the world and didn't do the minimum."

"Israelis are unfriendly, conservative, narrow-minded and overly critical of American youth--arrogant and Israeli men are bastards, intolerable!"

"Too much red tape, poor businessmen, not polite, lacking in efficiency, too many strikes, mail delivery very poor."

"I find Israel and Israelis more favorable than unfavorable but dislike the lack of manners and air of superiority of many Israelis which depresses my confidence in adjusting to 'their' land."

"I find Israelis have much to learn in dealing with people--short on manners."

"My attitude may seem quite negative, but I do actually like Israel though many aspects upset me."

"I am disappointed by the Israelis, especially the younger generation."

"Israelis, native born are fine, the old guard east European are a pretty tough lot to contend with."

"I am very fascinated with the vitality, spirit and warmth generated by the people in Israel--and we feel that this is where we want to stay."

"Israelis in general have been a disappointment while on a personal level my impression has been favorable."

"If they would re-educate the Israelis and teach them some tact and manners, make them more open-minded and kick some out, it would be one hell of a country."

"Israelis on the whole tend to dislike Americans. Probably because Israelis are envious of the standard of living that Americans are used to. Israelis dislike the privileges offered by the government to new olim."

"The Israeli is a rather different and special type of person which takes getting used to, but it is this uniqueness which enables them to survive against great odds."

"I have come in contact mainly with Israeli students and my impression of them is unfavorable."

"In general Israeli is unsympathetic of problems of American olim. They stereotype us too quickly. The unique Jewishness of this state is paling along side new western fads and thinking. Israel is becoming so westernized as to be a poor imitation of America instead of a unique, viable Jewish State, as it was so conceived. Religious toleration and understanding is definitely lacking."

"I look at people as individuals, I can't sum up a nation as favorable or otherwise."

"At present, I think Israel has the healthiest environment for intellectual, emotional and physical growth. But its social sphere, its stubborness, disorganization, bureaucracy, inability to think broadmindedly are holding it back from raising its standard of living."

"Israelis appear to be very relaxed and not terribly concerned about getting a job done 'right away,' business practices and services especially in banks and government offices appear to be very inefficient, 'customer is always or usually is right' does not exist in Israel."

"I had very bad experience with the contractor."

"Replace all Israeli contractors, craftsmen, and office workers with Americans, need more public service orientation here."

"Dissatisfied with the ugliness of the housing projects; with the domination of technology and organizations over peoples lives; with taxes; tv; . . ."

"We find there is no person available to help us when we really need it. Right now we have a problem. We bought a flat and for some reason we cannot get the contractor to finish the apartment for us. There is nobody to speak to either in the Sochnut (Jewish Agency) or at the Association. It is as if we were speaking to a blank wall. We are desperate because our temporary quarters will not be available anymore and there is just no place for us to turn. I believe there are more people in this situation because the apartment was made available for new olim (not at any special prices) and now the 28 families that bought this apartment at 70,000 Israeli pounds per apartment are desperate and there is nobody to turn to. We wrote to Nathan Peled, Minister of Absorption, but did not receive any answer. What are we to do?"

"I feel a certain sense of freedom as a Jew (cultural and heritage wise) here in Israel that I have never felt anywhere else in the world."

"I feel so grateful for the opportunity to live in Israel that I would want to come here and live here under any hardship as long as I could have food and shelter."

"Israel is my home as a Jew and even if none of the things I enjoy here (religious life, security, no prejudice, etc.) were attainable here I would stay."

"I love Israel more than anything. It's like a dream come true."

"I feel completely at home and fulfilled."

"The bureaucracy in offices, banks, etc., vandalism, vulgarity, all these upset me a great deal."

"Petty annoyances such as delays due to inefficiency and red-tape bother me more than anything else."

"I feel that the absorption centers and the Jewish Agency are run by inefficient political hacks who resent Americans (especially religious ones) and adjustment difficult for the oleh."

"It is difficult to buy a postage stamp without some person getting ahead of you when waiting in line. The way things are at government offices it is impossible to pay a bill without being aggravated. But this is my country, my people, and I feel deeply that I belong here. The things that are really meaningful and inspiring compensate for some of the irritations."

"I can't stand the inefficiency in every office, the lines, the red-tape, and the run around I am given in every office as well as the attitude of the officials to the public. They don't consider themselves as servants of the public but rather villains of the public. They are abrupt, discourteous and not helpful at all. The office hours are unbearable and as a result of this inefficiency, waste of the public's time is very great."

"Manners and courtesy could be much improved and red-tape and bureaucracy can be eliminated."

"Cause of most of my negative feelings toward Israel is the Jewish Agency and their red-tape and incompetent employees."

"Probably the two main reasons I will leave Israel is the problem of red-tape and bureaucracy in Israel and dissatisfaction with religious control by the State over personal status matters."

"I strongly believe that religious and state affairs be separated."

"The backseat of religion is the state and the clash of orthodoxy and non-orthodoxy is a particular bugaboo with me."

"I feel that Israel is the moral leader of the world due of course to its religion. Since my life is built on religion and morality, I would like stronger religious control."

APPENDIX F

GENERAL COMMENTS BY OLIM ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF LIFE IN AMERICA

APPENDIX F

GENERAL COMMENTS BY OLIM ON CERTAIN

ASPECTS OF LIFE IN AMERICA

General comments following the statement, "I like certain aspects of life in America. Which?_____" #282 on the questionnaire

"Americans"
"Affluence"
"Courtesy"
"Cleanliness"
"Conveniences"
"Honesty"
"Efficiency"
"Luxury"
"Capitalism"
"Communications"
"Comfort"
"Prosperity"
"Liberalness"
"Trust"
"Service"
"Transportation"
"Variety"
"Politeness"
"Manners"
"Individuality"
"Promptness"
"Familiarity"
"Honesty and material"
"Ease of living"
"Medical care and services"
"Courtesy and graciousness"
"Friendlier and politer"
"Private detached house"
"Customer business relationships"
"Courtesy in public"
"No red tape"
"People less primitive"
"Only physical comforts"
"Open-mindedness dissent"
"Job opportunities"
"Plurality, mobility"
"Root beer"
"Educational opportunities"
"Professional opportunities"
"Courtesy, tolerance"
"American mentality"
"Better manners"
"Consumer goods"
"Better communications"

"Drive-ins"
"Availability of products"
"The American youth"
"More general courtesy"
"Life in general"
"Sundays off work"
"5-day work week"
"2-day week end"
"Efficiency and manners"
"Efficiency of services"
"Open-mindedness"
"Larger homes"
"Business procedures"
"It's easier"
"Less conservatism"
"No protectsia"
"All aspects"
"Jewish sense of unity"
"Variety, opportunity"
"A variety of foods"
"Lack of institutionalization"
"Ability to function"
"I know the system"
"Conveniences of everyday living"
"Better food
"More leisure"
"Greater mobility"
"Road safety"
"Easier mortgages"
"Job satisfaction"
"Working conditions"
"Easy life"
"Leisure time"
"Physical comfort"
"No discrimination"
"Civil liberties"
"Everyday living"
"Easier life"
"Medical care"
"Free Sundays"
"House cleaning ease"
"Courtesy, food"
"Easy job opportunities"
"Family is there"
"A certain way of life"
"Superior medical care"
"Extra day off work"
"2-day week end, easier communication with people"
"5-day week and leisure time and efficiency"
"Cleanliness, politeness, quietness"
"The alternative in 'youth culture'"
"Idealism growing, here waning"
"Conveniences, manners, housing, food"
"Efficiency and no red-tape"
"Fairness and human treatment"
"Good manners, no shoving or pushing"
"All aspects of life"

"The efficiency and the comfort"

"Convenience and food, safe driving conditions"

"More comfort, higher standard of living, more free time"

"Conveniences and cost of living"

"Driving habits and general courtesy"

"Hobby shops, intellectual contacts"

"Ease with which things get done"

"Easier life as a housewife"

"Reasonable prices and decent meat"

"More job and housing opportunity"

"Lack of war tension"

"Less time in the army"

"More varied population and lack of feeling of insulation"

"Type of people, formalities, outlook and education"

"Easier living and more worldly atmosphere"

"Higher level of sophistication of many people"

"General failure to assimilate"

"Less contentiousness and petty jealousy"

"Lack of bureaucracy, efficiency, ease of every-day operations, everything in English"

"Hygiene-food-language-wages-honesty-friendliness"

"Higher standard of living, cleaner people, less cheating of buyers"

"Easier access to material things that Americans take for granted"

"Opportunity in general, lack of travel freedom"

"More libertine and intellectual"

"Being treated as human beings with dignity"

"People are more polite in public places, no pushing and animal behavior"

"Less of 'big brother' in USA"

"Everybody minds their own business"

"Food and week-ends, shopping hours and conveniences"

"Sense of fair play, sense of orderliness and sense of hygiene"

"Gov't organization, personal education standard, food standard"

"Sense of fair play and just treatment"

"More opportunity and more money and more anonymity, less closed society"

"More opportunities available for a better way of living"

"I think young Americans are much more idealistic than young Israelis"

"Sense of being a total human individual entity"

"More sense of individuality, questing spirit and tolerance for the different"

"The greater respect people seem to have for others, less assertion of individuals' ego, pride or dignity on another"

"America still leads the world, if America can be changed the forces to do it will be generated in America"

"Freedom (the kind only an American can understand)"

"Certain technological things are easier and money is easier to earn, but that would not make me go back"

"The kind of private life it's possible to lead in America--not the wealth but the privacy"

"I am a pilot and miss flying"

"My girlfriend"

"Home repair and services are available"

"No equipment to do the job properly, either at work or appliances at home"

"Friendlier people, people who know what they are doing"

"Less need to deal with 'officials'"

"Community work, longer school hours"

"Telephones and manners"

"Better human relations (manners)"

"Good manners and public courtesy"

"Israelis are too clickish and conservative"

"People are less nosey and noisy"

"Americans act more like civilized people than Israelis do"

"Young people aren't so materialistic"

"Efficiency and convenience of service"

"Efficiency and ingenuity"

"Conveniences, car, pool and good service"

"Open market for employment and goods"

"Less 'conservatism' among my peer group"

"Easier life for mother with small babies"

"Privacy, job opportunities, cleanliness, politeness"

"Efficiency, cleanliness, generosity and trust of American"

"Much easier to accomplish objectives"

"I miss the general courtesy of American living"

"Administrative efficiency, cleanliness, public places, courtesy"

"Sense of aliveness and interest in ideas and change"

"Garbage disposal, defrost freezer, washer-dryer, car, telephone"

"Unlimited free enterprise and chances of getting upwards"

"Work attitudes, courtesies, pioneering spirit, imagination, public activism"

"Struggle to improve society for all people"

"Food, climate, flora and things that are a waste of time"

"More personal individuality encouraged less conformism"

"Courtesy, respect for fellow-man, no fear of responsibility for action"

"Waiting in lines, primitive thinking"

"Money" (9)*

"Financial" (3)

"Financial security" (3)

"Economic security" (3)

"Economic standard" (5)

"Economic opportunities" (2)

"Materialism" (4)

"Material benefits" (3)

"Material products" (2)

"Material comforts" (3)

"Material opportunities" (5)

"Material things" (3)

"More luxuries" (4)

"Material luxuries" (3)

"Higher wages" (2)

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*Number in parentheses denotes number of respondents giving comment in same wording.

"Better income" (2)
"Cheaper domestic items"
"Possible to save money" (3)
"High earning power" (5)
"Purchasing power"
"Modern way of life" (5)
"Easier to be a consumer"
"Easier to make a living"
"More money, i.e., buying power"
"Financial security more or less"
"Style of living"
"Standard of living"
"Decent living standard"
"Standard of living and diversity"
"Higher standard of living" (18)
"Better standard of living"
"Housing in America, living standard"
"Luxuries offered by life in USA"
"Good, luxury, salaries"
"The money is goods--that's about it"
"Owning a home as opposed to owning an apt."
"Sports events, better economic opportunity"
"Cost of living"
"I was richer--economic security"
"You make more money--but big deal!"
"Wages after income tax"
"Material and financial advantages"
"Higher salaries, financial security"
"Higher living standard and better education"
"Can earn enough to support family"
"Nice clothing and cheaper prices"
"Material things like a telephone and a car"
"Quality of things at not such high prices"
"Higher wages, better quality of material things"

"Conveniences such as shopping center and lower cost of living"

"Availability of goods and products at reasonable prices"

"Home consumer goods, discount houses, lower prices, higher pay"

"Availability of a better quality of consumer goods and luxury items"

"Easier living and wider and more efficient consumer services"

"I think it's easier to earn a living in the U.S.A."

"Less costly to live, much higher wages, availability of material things"

"Cost of living is less compared to income in America than in Israel"

"Material comforts, easier to obtain housing rental"

"Many essential items at reasonable prices, i.e., children's clothes"

"Affluence makes possible discussion of topics other than how to manage financially"

"Taxes aren't as high, clothes, etc. are more in quality in quantity, university system is better and more inspiring"

"I like the higher earning power based on talent ability"

"People are polite and food is better, easier to make a living, higher standard of living and higher cultural standard"

"Higher standard of living and generally an easier life with more comforts in spite of more tensions"

"Efficiency, sports, less money worries, language being a by-the-way thing and not a constant effort"

"Standard of living, financial or material stability which leaves one time to delve into other spiritual areas"

"America is consumer oriented and prices are not way above average or way below average income"

"Much higher living standard; food, housing, clothing, transportation and education available to a working engineer makes life easier--may be impossible to maintain anything like my living standard if I stay here"

"Culture" (7)

"Cultural" (5)

"Higher culture" (5)

"Cultural aspects" (2)

"Cultural and political" (2)

"Culture and entertainment"

"Social/cultural/financial"

"Cultural diversity, social"

"Cultural advantages and opportunities"

"More diversified cultural life"

"Intellectual - cultural opportunities"

"Youth culture and awareness"

"Culture, standard of living, democracy"

"Cultural possibilities, music and theatre"

"Cultural level of N.Y. life and financial opportunities"

"General cultural level, level of sophistication of people"

"Cultural activities, social life, no language barrier"

"America is my cultural heritage, I know it best and it is meaningful for me"

"Cultural activities and intellectual activities"

"Cultural, social and entertainment, transportation, services, sense of humor"

"Sports"

"Recreation"

"Sports, diversity of culture"

"Sports and leisure time"

"Public libraries, media"

"Libraries"

"Entertainment and relaxation facilities"

"Sports, theatre"

"More organized sports"

"My friends, sports, i.e., skiing"

"News, broadcasts, TV"

"University education" (3)

"Education system far superior than Israeli system"

"Education, sophistication and materialism"

"Museums, art galleries, antiques"

"Tv programs, good manners"

"English plays--concerts"

"Social life, cultural life"

"Variety of things to do"

"Less academic pressure and less materialism"

"Cultural life, material aspects, flexibility of life style"

"More social cultural activities especially during Shabbat"

"People interested more in cultural entertainment, art, etc."

"Leisure activity and material advantages"

"Taking child to zoos, amusement parks, etc."

"America offers me greater cultural awareness"

"Language, schools, openness beyond petty money problems"

"Entertainment possibilities and cultural stimulation"

"Certain things and ways we are used to in America"

"Being up-to-date, not an illiterate"

"Excellent library and research facilities"

"Advantages, college courses that can be taken in English now"

"Material aspects, educational aspects, attitudes, courtesy"

"More in common with general population"

"My native language is America's native language"

"No social barrier due to language, no red-tape or bureaucracy and lack of religious coercion"

"Greater variety, better quality, cultural activities"

"Intellectualism, free thought"

"Education system in university, easy access to cultural life"

"Diversity of ideas and ways of viewing life and possibilities for living"

"General cultural life--music and theatre"

"More friendly society--more consideration for others"

"More leisure and more individual creativity in education"

"Life for a single woman is easier in America, socially and economically"

"The historic idealism and American culture and background but we wouldn't necessarily return to USA"

"No controlled institutional type life for me in America"

"Food, consumer luxuries, ease of access to books, entertainment, the High Sierra Mountains"

"I am socially and economically adjusted there"

"American society is more concerned about the future than the archaic past"

"Contemporary American poetry as well as related arts, e.g., painting and music. The opportunity to continue my professional pursuits."

"Places to go and things to do and especially the public library and coffee houses and things like clothes and food are cheaper."

"Sports, both as spectator on tv and participant as American football, baseball, basketball"

"More recreational activities, good cheap restaurants, places to dance, extensive group encounter activities"

"Availability of activities, culture, sport, travel; financial security, ability to earn and save money; don't need to be aggressive to get everyday services"

"More religious freedom to deviate"

"Separation of church and state"

"A Rabbi ministering to a congregation, decorum"

"Lack of rigidity within orthodox Jewish circles in matters of dress, educ."

"More advanced in every respect except religion"

"Importance of synagogue as social and religious center for all members of family"

"Ability to worship in any of the synagogues, reform, conservative, orthodox"

"Tighter organization of the Jewish community"

"Feeling of Jewish community and lack of discrimination within the Jewish community"

"Separation of Church and state (didn't think this would bother me in Israel--it does) 2) in comparison to Israel, the efficiency and politeness of government agencies in America, 3) absence of glorification of the military in USA (didn't think this would bother me here--it does), 4) no sense of dependency on other nations for the nation's existence as opposed to Israel's almost frantic pleading for arms and money. The American view of this problem (for Israel) is quite different from the Israeli view."

"Freedom" (2)

"Moral freedom" (3)

"Sense of freedom" (2)

"Freedom of the individual"

"Discover, freedom in academia"

"Freedom to dissent and/or non-conform"

"More personal freedom of space and privacy"

"Sense of freedom of space and privacy"

"More freedom in my teaching profession, better public service"

"Freedom of space and movement, government attitudes toward animals and pets"

"More personal freedom, more progressive society, lack of restrictive borders"

"Economic freedom and personal freedom unrestricted by narrow, all pervasive social customs"

"Greater personal freedom in the U.S., less bureaucracy, people more mannerly, religion more personal. There is no sense of community in Israel as in the Jewish community in the U.S. Religious experience is different and less satisfying"

"Less government control"

"Equality before the law; government by law"

"Concept that government that governs least governs best"

"Contracts are final, decisions are made and carried out with dispatch"

"Elected representatives represent districts or political subdivision, not political parties"

"Easier to get information or things in the U.S.A."

"Being able to travel freely, no stiff taxes"

"Less red-tape and government interference with wide-open spaces"

"Less red tape and government interference and problems"

"Efficient offices, better schools, less red-tape and fair distribution of wealth"

"No socialism"

"Social activism"

"Dislike socialism"

"U.S. is more flexible society"

"Prefer a capitalist to a socialist society"

"It is important to acquire new things without having the feeling that I'm depriving an Israeli, or an immigrant from another country other than Anglo-Saxon because I can get them without taxes. Government officials with a little status act like they're playing 'God' when they allow you to have something if you are a day late, etc.!"

"Israel is rapidly losing its sense of purpose and is adopting the superficial American values; we are returning to the inverted triangle management workers of economics"

"Pragmatism, progressive thinking, creative thinking, e.g., not stagnant conformism and conservatism as in Israel"

"Since being in Israel I have come to like almost all aspects of life in America better than here"

"The factor of being able to obtain or attain at a much higher rate than here where ambition is frowned upon except if you're boarding a bus"

"Freer attitude toward life in America, people leave one another alone, a mark of respect for difference. Less stress on material things in America. Much fuller cultural life in America and broader and deeper thinking on almost any subject. People not afraid in America of new things, ideas. People in Israel very much more friendly on a superficial basis but it's impossible to form deep relationships unless you give your identity over to them. The Naturei Karta sect are an epiphany of Israel. The groups all want you to be just like them. Only they know the way. It's very strange and causes much tension because there are so many ways of life here."

APPENDIX G

SPECIFIC COMMENTS BY OLIM ON ASPECTS OF LIFE IN AMERICA THEY LIKED

APPENDIX G

SPECIFIC COMMENTS BY OLIM ON ASPECTS OF LIFE IN AMERICA THEY LIKED

Following are comments by respondents in this study on aspects of life in America which they liked. Some of these comments have been already discussed in the chapter, those which were not mentioned are listed here:

"Entertainment possibilities and cultural stimulation"

"General cultural life--music and theater"

"Contemporary American poetry as well as related arts, e.g., painting and music"

"Superior medical care"

"People less primitive"

"Knowing the system"

"Shopping centers"

"Conveniences and material benefits"

"Less red-tape and government interference with problems"

"Elected representatives represent districts or political subdivisions not political parties"

"No equipment to do the job properly--either at work or appliances at home"

"Money"

"Comforts, five-day week"

"Sundays"

"Nice clothing and cheaper prices"

"My friends, sports, i.e., skiing"

"2-day week-end"

"Modern way of life"

"Efficient offices, better schools, less red-tape and fair distribution of wealth"

"Administrative efficiency, cleanliness, public places, courtesy, wages and after income tax, standard of living"

"Style of living"

"Economic"

"Communication"

"Efficiency"

"General failure to assimilate"

"Drive-ins"

"Gov't organization, personal education standard, food standard"

"Transportation"

"Private detached house"

"Working conditions"

"People are polite"

"Life in general"

"The alternative in 'youth culture'"

"Education, sophistication and materialism"

"Job opportunities"

"Larger homes"

"Physical comforts"

"Luxuries"

"Owning a home as opposed to owning an apt."

"News broadcasts, tv"

"Cultural"

"House cleaning ease"

"Family"

"Sense of freedom of space and privacy"

"Lack of institutionalization"

"Social activism"

"Variety, opportunity"

"Equality before the law; gov't by law"

"Less gov't control"

"Familiarity"

"Affluence"

"My girlfriend"

"Root beer"

"Museums, art galleries, antiques"

"Entertainment"

"Taking child to zoos, amusement parks, etc."

"Service"

"Business procedures"

"Greater mobility"

"Recreation"

"Trust"

"Youth culture and awareness"

"Language, schools, openness beyond petty money problems"

"Entertainment and relaxation facilities"

"More freedom in my teaching profession, better public services"

"Much easier to accomplish objectives"

"Work attitudes, courtesies, pioneering spirit, imagination, public activism"

"Idealism growing, here waning"

"You make more money--but big deal!"

"Prosperity"

"Consumer goods"

"Libraries"

"More free time"

"Dislike socialism"

"A certain way of life"

"Easier life as a housewife"

"Freedom of space and movement, government attitudes towards animals and pets"

"Life for a single woman is easier in America, socially and economically"

"Less conservatism"

"A variety of foods"

"Socially"

"Job satisfaction"

"Better manners"

"Cleanliness, politeness, quietness"

"Home repair and services are available"

"More advanced in every aspect except religion"

"Open market for employment and goods"

"Ease of living"

"Sports"

"Medical comfort"

"Americans"

"Leisure time"

"Financial"

"Housing in America"

"All aspects of life"

"Goods, luxury, salaries"

"Materialism"

"Material luxuries"

"Better income"

"Lack of war tension"

"Advantages, college courses that can be taken in English"

"Economic security"

"Everyday living"

"U.S. is more flexible society"

"Standard of living and diversity"

"Easier to earn a living in the U.S.A."

"Taxes aren't as high, clothes, etc. are more in quantity"

"Professional opportunities"

"More diversified cultural life"

"Civil liberties"

"Community work, longer school hours"

"Sports both as spectator on tv and participant as American football, baseball and basketball"

"Easier communication with people"

"Greater variety, better quality, cultural activities"

"Easier life for mother with small babies"

"Happy shops, intellectual contacts"

"Sense of aliveness and interest in ideas and change"

"I am a pilot and miss flying"

"I like the higher earning power based on talent ability"

APPENDIX H

PROFILES ON INDIVIDUAL RESPONDENTS, THEIR COMMENTS ON ASPECTS OF LIFE IN ISRAEL

APPENDIX H

PROFILES ON INDIVIDUAL RESPONDENTS, THEIR COMMENTS ON ASPECTS OF LIFE IN ISRAEL

My feelings of adjustment . . . at the present time are strongly affected by the question of long term housing. Single persons are at a disadvantage. . . . I still cannot buy a flat and will probably have to rent year-by-year at a cost approximately equal to half my net salary. For this reason it will not be practical for me to buy any major appliances, which are the main items to be purchased duty free. . . .

I have tried to treat this problem of housing as an extraneous factor in filling out this questionnaire except where a question specifically applies to it since the questionnaire deals mainly with deeper psychological attitudes towards life in Israel, rather than short-term economic factors. Regarding the "pioneering spirit" in Israel: I have found the opposite to be true. One reason I came here was to leave what seemed to be a highly materialistic culture [in the U.S.] Israelis seem to be no less materialistic nowadays than Americans, regardless of whether the country can afford it.

The only "pioneering spirit" seems to be that of the few Americans like myself who came looking for a place where people are happy without status symbols. This may have been the case in Israel 5 or 10 years ago, but not now. I am disturbed to think that Israeli society is borrowing from American culture not its best aspects (e.g., efficiency, good management) but its worst--and I wonder to what extent this is due to the motivation to new immigrants to indulge themselves in economic privileges. This both encourages materialism among immigrants and creates the "status urge" among their Israeli neighbors.

M, non-affiliated, single, age 30-34, native born American, urbanite, attended graduate school, no formal Jewish education, professional, salary $8-12,000/year, salary in Israel I.L. 1,000 0 1,400 monthly, arrived July, 1969.

I must emphasize that a) I have been dedicated all my life to the Zionist ideology of a Jewish homeland any my wife not; b) I am very concerned about my older (High School) children's adjustment to school; c) my wife is very upset about the loss of living standards we suffer, particularly housing and food; d) Israeli bureaucracy has a lot to do with our problems, particularly the many hours it takes to accomplish the most trivial transactions at the bank, at the Jewish Agency, etc., most of the problems could be settled by telephone, if the petty tyrants would come off of their "high horses" and not insist on personal visits, d) shopping especially at the supermarket, is a fantastic chore, with stupidity and inefficiency of checkout people deplorable. There is almost no facility for shipping for purchases with take more than a few baskets or bags--one box is about the limit, e) foods are not kept fresh, and the standard of purity and freedom from adulterants (bugs, cockroaches, etc. in bottled drinks and bread is not at all uncommon) is disgraceful. Frozen foods are kept at too high a temperature and dairy products are frequently spoiling by the time we get them home, f) the exorbitant cost of housing is an absolute must for government intervention. For anyone who has not 1) been here for more than 5 years or 2) not receiving German reparations, or 3) not already wealthy upon arrival housing is next to impossible. With my family of 9 (7 children) I had a gorgeous home of 11 rooms (380 sq. m) plus basement and garage in a beautiful neighborhood of New Jersey on my salary. I am afraid that I cannot obtain a house or apartment here of more than 100-120 sq. m., with high mortgage payments, less food for my children, and no money for education. In other words, the problem I have to face is this: In America it is difficult to be a Jew; America is geared to observe Christian customs. In Israel it is difficult to be a Jew: Israel requires you to be wealthy before you come.

Visited Israel 4 weeks, prior to aliyah, equal chance of remaining at this point, still living in Hostel, everything as yet unsettled.

Male, Orthodox, married with 7 children, age 40-44, born in the United States, living on a hostel, attended graduate school, high school Hebrew, Engineering executive, salary $25-30,000/year, salary in Israel I.L. 2-3,000 monthly, arrived January, 1971.

(The inefficiency and red tape make just getting through the day a major task. It is this plus the fact that if this hinders my being able to do my job the way I have to, I will seriously consider not remaining in Israel. I am not alone in this feeling, having spoken to many professionals who feel the same way. We can't fathom how the country manages to function given the impossible attitude of employees and government workers. We can only guess that the productivity level is terribly low--if westerners are to be persuaded to stay the bureaucracy and the attitude of those who run it will have to change.) Contrary to what many people believe westerners do not come here for material gain. Material factors plays almost no part in their decision. They come out of a desire to contribute. But they soon find they are hindered at every turn in their efforts to do so. This frustration causes many to leave, disenchanted with Israeli society.

Male, conservative, unmarried, age 30-34, native American, living on Hostel, doctorate level, afternoon Jewish education, professor, salary $8-12,000/year, salary in Israel I.L. 1,000-1,400, monthly, arrived January, 1971.

I feel that Israel and Israelis are too apt to imitate the worst aspects of American life and ways, that there is union only because of external pressure, and precious little idealism left. The Israelis are if anything more materialistic, more jealous of their neighbors and less nationalistic (but more chauvinistic) than the Americans on the average. I think the greatest dangers to Israel's survival are the prospect of a nation of people with little idealism, of absorbing immigrants merely for the sake of statistics (more citizens, more soldiers) of the dehumanizing effects of the so-called special privileges for newcomers, of overcrowding in large urban centers, and the general grasping attitude of the average Israeli. As far as my work is concerned, I find that I am employed way below my level. I am constantly fatigued due to the long hours (45 hours) but nobody is particularly concerned about my lack of output or how I could improve my efficiency by working shorter hours, or by being provided with a technician, etc. As long as I punch in and out on the time clock, nobody cares. In short, I am worried for Israel's survival due to internal pressures more than the Arab threat. I feel I am contributing little except existing as a statistic. I feel that this questionnaire

is not adequate because it asks the stock questions similar to those already posed to me by an Israel government employee. I feel that this survey also reduces me to a mere statistic rather than investigating me as an individual.

Male, Orthodox, widowed without children, age 50-54, born in Israel, spent over 40 years in America, living in city, attended graduate school, Hebrew college level, professional, salary $16-20,000/year, salary in Israel I.L. 2-3,000 monthly, arrived July, 1970.

I came to Israel because I believe there should be a place where Jews can live freely like gentiles live any place else. My personal religious activity is of no consequence. Israel's future lies in its ability to be financially independent in a modern technological world. I want to help as much as one man can in my field of electronic manufacture and export. Every dollar we earn means that much less charity we need from the diaspora. It will take another generation to overcome the oriental philosophies of the existing knesset. We must have separation of church and state. It will take many, many more olim who are productive not pensioners. I can live with the discomforts and frustrations because I enjoy the challenge and the "frontierism." I personally feel I am accomplishing something. Unfortunately in the 10 months I've been here I've seen too many people leave Israel. They were good and useful people but their "absorption" was a torture especially for the children. I truly hope something comes of this survey, because the ministry of absorption needs a complete overhaul. Too many of its people are untrained, hostile, and even ignorant of their own country.

Male, non-affiliated, divorced with children, age 45-49, native American, living in city, Bachelor of Arts, afternoon Jewish school, executive, Service position, arrived July, 1969.

I find most Israelis arrogant, intolerant and most rude and ignorant in the arts. A very pushy, self-confident people. Most Israelis couldn't care less about what's going on outside of their own homes. (not politically speaking) Israeli women seem to be cleaning house all day or else in the kitchen. No concern for art for art's sake. No market for paintings and generally taste, most of the people you find at museums or concerts or plays are tourists--level of thinking is generally the same. The same people look down on other people who don't do the same things they do general intolerance. Israeli people are the rudest people I have ever met--even waiting on a bus line becomes a nightmare. It's hard to live in a country where everyone thinks he's right.

Female, non-affiliated, married, no children, age 18-24, native American, husband from Iraq, living in city, college--no degree, Sunday school Jewish education, husband high school, salary $4-8,000/year, salary in Israel I.L. 200-300 monthly, arrived January, 1971.

I really wish something could be done about the deplorable way in which the Jewish Agency in New York handles new immigrants, you would think because her staff consists of Israelis they would be able to prepare a new immigrant in what to expect in Israel or at least give a few helpful hints as to what to bring or what type of ulpan or kibbutz would be best for the learning of Hebrew. For myself, being my first trip to Israel I received no such help at all. Many of my questions were unanswered and thus I came to this country unprepared in many aspects. . . . I do feel a person in this position should be able to speak English fluently in order to be any assistance at all or why bother coming.

And again in the live in Ulpan I was attending we also got very little communication with Israel. It was like living at an international resort without the luxury. We concentrated on learning Hebrew and that was all. Very little effort was made in 5 months to help us get acquainted with anything outside our walls. When we did venture out I felt sort of lost and was anxious to return to the protective walls of the Ulpan which I must say took care of all our needs. We had no responsibilities other than studying including maid service every day. They also hindered our assimilation into the life here.

Maybe if these are corrected 8 out of 10 Americans wouldn't return home.

Female, reform, single, age 18-24, native born American, urbanite, college graduate, Sunday School, salary $4-8,000 per year, salary in Israel below I.L. 200/month, arrived July, 1970.

Our biggest headache here in Israel is the Jewish Agency. They don't do their job but "pass the buck" to someone else. (I sometimes wonder if some of them actually know what his job is). We understand that we can't get more than a 3-1/2 room flat and not to exceed 65 sq. meter (of their housing). They don't allow people to plan for the future. We haven't any children yet, but once we get settled we plan to have at least 2 or 3. Their lack of consideration to allow people to plan for the future is very bad. If we can't get what we want soon, we're going to return to the States. (All we want is a 3-3 1/2 room apartment of 85-100 sq. meters.)

Male, Conservative, married, age 25-29, native born American, urbanite, 1-2 years of college, learned in cheder (intensive afternoon school), professional, salary $8-12,000/year, salary in Israel IL 800-999/month, arrived July, 1970.

The most pressing reason for staying here is the deteriorating moral and safe way of life in the States also the growing anti-semitism from the extreme left as well as the existing extreme right has given me a "It could happen here complex" based on what happened to my father in Europe. The lack of spirituality here and the following of goyish customs (black singers on radio, see-thru dresses, dope, etc.) as well as rampant poverty leading to prostitution is appalling.

Israel is generally free of air pollution although the beaches of Ashdod Ashkelon are as filthy as U.S. ones.

Israeli taxes are completely unfair.

The national-socialist structure is fascist in nature--democratic for the Israeli but fascist for the Arab. The necessary evil of identity cards further complicate this.

I do not like the cheating here or the mistrust--3 co-signers for loans, etc., that exists here or three weeks to cash checks from the states.

The multitude of papers and forms in this bureaucracy is ridiculous considering the population which is as small as Brooklyn.

I have become strongly anti-Zionist since coming here. My conservative political views often align me with Gahal and I am appalled at their treatment in the press as well as religious matters (generally negative). My new founded anti-Zionism will most likely keep me from becoming a citizen. My advise to Americans--if you can't line up a job from the States--stay home if you can.

Male, Orthodox, married with 1-2 children, age 18-24, native American, living in the city, college graduate, high Hebrew education, professional job, salary $8-12,000/year, salary in Israel I.L. 500 monthly, arrived July, 1970.

For a westerner the absorption system is degrading, demoralizing and certainly discouraging. Israelis themselves are great. The reason we are finding it so difficult and depressing is the Shaleach from Montreal actually fed us lies. We told the man we were coming--regardless. I have 7 children. Why not tell me the truth? People from S. America said that everything they were told was the truth. How can such a large organization not be ashamed to have such a man doing this particular job? Had we been physically prepared--and we still would have come. After we were here we discovered that even if my wife and myself worked at good paying jobs, it would be impossible to feed, clothe and educate our children and not by Canadian standards either. We "have" to go to a Kibbutz. Why weren't we told before. Everybody here knew it. Yes, we still would have come. That was the initial shock plus many others that we were fed. The Absorption Center staff are most certainly not suited for westerners. Aside from our crew having food poisoning quite regularly, it seems you have to be Russian to receive any assistance without asking.

Male, Conservative, married with 7 children, age 25-29, Canadian born, high school education, salary $12-16,000/year.

Because I was unable to get a job after the ulpan we came to a kibbutz. We are unhappy with kibbutz life and because I cannot get employment on the outside, we are returning to the U.S. we received absolutely no help from government agencies. There was no job offered to me for more than 500 lira a month. This is insufficient to feed and house my family. My wife likes Israel, my children speak Hebrew only, and if I were assured a decent job, I would definitely return. I think that prospective immigrants should be assured a job and housing before coming.

Male, married with 4 children, age 35-39, finished college or university with B.A., administrative position in America, salary $16,000-20,000/year.

I love the place in spite of all the troubles I encountered and the difficulties at first. I wanted to be here more than I wanted anything else in the world and no one or nothing was going to keep me from this purpose. I did not feel that because America's doors were open to me I should run back as soon as I had a little trouble, that is the mistake that most Americans make when they came here--Israel is only good when it lives up to the standards which they have set for her and if not, well, we can run back to the "fat land of plenty." What will they do if someday America just ceased to be fat and rich. This has always unfortunately been our fault. It was always richer, easier, better somewhere else. Jews are, after all, normal, greedy people like everyone else.

I am a trained artist and ceramacist. I have worked at all sorts of untrained and unskilled jobs since I have been in Israel.

Female, non-affiliated, married with 1-2 children, age 35-39, born in United States, living in city, college without degree, College of Jewish Studies, 8-12,000, 1400-2000 I.L., arrived June, 1967-December, 1967.

Having visited Israel 2 years ago I had some idea of the physical conditions but none about the people and dealing with the government. For the most part I find I have things in common with Israelis who have lived outside Israel as they have broader points of view--as for the government it is riddled with inefficiency and dead weight; unless one has "protectizia" it's darn hard to get anything. Before coming to Israel we are promised "Ha-olam Haba" [the future world]--but are not told that we will have to beg, cajole, fight and scratch for it. This is for me the most unbearable thing of all. Because I know that so many people here are without adequate housing, food, and money as they don't either (1) know the rules of the game, or (2) don't know someone who knows someone, i.e., "protectisia" they are forced to exist in a very low standard of living. This is neither socialistic nor democratic it just plain stinks. On the other hand, there is no other country that I know of that tries to help new immigrants as does Israel. But, I do feel that the methods employed by the government need to be thoroughly scrutinized. I do want to try to make a good life (not necessarily materialistic speaking) for my daughter and myself here in Israel--and I am trying--the trick is not to lose perspective!

Female, non-affiliated, divorced with children, age 35-39, born in United States, living in city, college without degree, afternoon Hebrew school, $4-8,000, I.L., 600-800, arrived July, 1970-December, 1970.

Library facilities are horribly inadequate for my field (medieval history) and all serious research involves trips abroad to adequate libraries. Not only money is involved here--those who make purchasing policy at Hebrew University deliberately buy monographs and not the texts, etc. that a Ph.D. candidate (or Ph.D.) finds essential to his work. Haifa University is more flexible in this respect.

After 4 years and the cholera epidemic I am still appalled by the lack of standards of hygiene in all phases of food-handling in Israel. Israel has an enviable reputation (internationally) on medicare--but local clinics are abominably organized and staffed and "specialists" appallingly inefficient and even primitive by comparison with N.Y. specialists. The general attitude of all medical personnel (from Kupat Holim clinics, through Bellinson and Tel Hashomer hospitals to IL 100 per visit specialists) is that it matters not at all to keep patients waiting 3 or 4 hours for treatment. If more American specialists (e.g., gynecologists) could be persuaded to come, I, for one, would be delighted.

Female, Orthodox, married with children, age 30-34, born in the United States, graduate school, high income in Israel, arrived June, 1967-December, 1967.

Although we are returning to the U.S. primarily for personal reasons a few are relevant to this study. These include:

1) Israeli High schools seem very poor. There is no structure, no individual concern for the needs of the student. Students are treated like "bricks" in a series, in the group. Teachers are very poorly qualified and seem to have no understanding of the psychological needs of their students. There is a lack of friendliness on the part of administrators and teachers towards students and parents. Teachers seem to delight in seeing how many can be failed rather than to push them up and see how many can be passed. Standards do not exist. There is a dichotomy between what is in the syllabus and what is actually learned. There is too much memory study and no learning of individual thinking; of a concern for learning skills and concepts. It's a purely factual learning which is meaningless.

2) Olim are not well prepared for life in Israel. The Jewish Agency would do well to set up courses in "preparatory instruction" in the U.S. for prospective immigrants rather than try to fill a quota without any idea on the part of the newcomers what they are getting into. To give financial assistance is not enough. Far more important is psychological help by telling "olim" what life is like BEFORE they come. This ought to be taught by immigrants who for whatever reason did NOT stay, not by Israelis who obviously give a slanted picture.

3) Inefficiency in most offices or official (public) places, with particular emphasis on banks. There are too many so-called officials who A) don't know their jobs, B) seem almost totally indifferent to those they deal with, C) seem to "go by the book" and don't consider each case. Banks are run in the most archaic way which to me goes back to the Ottoman Empire. There is needless duplication, waste of time, and a refusal to change when shown how to do things quicker and more efficient. I find many officals lazy, rude and bureaucrats in the classical sense.

4) The nation seems to be totally unconcerned and unprepared for serious social problems (Black Panthers, et al.).

5) Incomes are terribly out of proportion to the cost of living. This disproportion causes many hardships and enables only a few to establish a comfortable living standard comparable to Western nations. (Israel seems to desire and strive for Western standards). Housing is outrageously high, so are clothing, appliances and travel abroad.

6) Medical services are run poorly (Kupat Cholim) and the dispensation of drugs much too haphazardly and quickly. Many medical procedures are old and not the best.

The most frustrating aspects of adjustment are the bureaucratic procedures, inefficiency, waste of time, lack of rational system, connected with everything in the absorption process from landing in Haifa through finding housing, getting medical insurance, etc. Also in almost all cases officials were either incompletely informed or misinformed in details (as compared to official brochures, advice of non-official based on prior experience, etc.). The entire procedural process should be centralized, rationalized, simplified--and made uniform. Housing is another big deterrent to living in Israel unless one comes with lots of capital. Immigrant housing is unsatisfactory for U.S. immigrants and private housing is overpriced--even given the mortgage benefits, etc. Also information on housing, land, etc. is very hard to come by from any official sources--or anywhere for that matter.

Male, Orthodox, married, 1-2 children, age 40-44, born in Western Europe, living in city, graduate school, Hebrew college, $20-25,000, I.L. 1400-2000, arrived January, 1970-June, 1970.

I have been here six weeks and I am not impressed with the Israeli people as a whole, I get the feeling that Americans, especially are rejected. You get the run around and it seems like a joke to the Israelis. It is very difficult to get some cooperation including all of your Jewish Agencies. You are being misled in America as here in Israel. In my opinion, or as I see it, it is very important to correct all the Jewish Agencies that deal with immigration to Israel, the truth good or bad. Israel was a large burning flame in my heart before I came here, after about six weeks in Israel the flame is almost dead. Sorry if I seem to be rude or maybe ignorant of a lot of things but I have to call it as I see it and I assure you that I am not the only American that sees it that way.

Sorry, I am going back to the States, Thursday, 29th, I wish I could talk to some of you people, maybe we could get to have a better understanding and make improvements on the first impression an immigrant gets in Israel. Regardless of anything, it is my people and my land and that is the most important thing to me.

Male, non-affiliated, divorced with children, age 54-64, born in the United States, living in the city, elementary education, tradesman, salary $16-20,000/year, salary in Israel I.L. 600-800 monthly.

I love Israel though I am not blind to its faults. Life is difficult financially and technologically and education is spotty but the country is alive and I am part of it. The people are proud of it and I am too. We found friends that are closer than family. For this, I am happy to stay. We met people of all faiths, races and religions. My daughter has Jewish friends, Arab friends, and Christian friends as do I. We met people at the University born here or in Africa or Asia. The whole world is here or at least a little portion of each part of the world. I guess we always knew back home that people were people wherever they come from or whatever their race, religion, or color but it took coming to Israel to realize the truth of it to realize people really can live together. So even if there are frustrations in daily life here and everyone will admit there are it will be very hard to get me to leave . . . I have found that once here if you have as little to do with the Jewish Agency as possible you have a better chance of making it. All the incredible promises they made in Boston were just that . . . I find my actual jobs require a lot more physical effort for a lot less pay and satisfaction but somehow or other the jobs that I do for no pay give immense satisfaction. I work with a group of mixed Arab and Jewish teenage boys in my spare time. If a person is lazy this is not the country for them. But if you want to

work and are not too concerned for the money not only do they accept you but they let you. In the States this is so in theory but not fact. Living conditions are less physically ideal and certainly more expensive comparatively but this too can be compensated for by the fact the houses are easily adaptable to American standards if you can raise the money . . . I like living here, I like the people and after all that is what this country is really all about despite the hoopla about religious reasons, etc.

Female, Orthodox, divorced with children, age 25-29, born in the U.S., living in the city, graduate school, afternoon Hebrew school, salary $12-16,000/year, salary in Israel I.L. 2-3,000 monthly.

Much can be written about conditions and what has transpired with just our family, but in short our opinions are as such. 1) the JA in Los Angeles paints far too good a picture as to conditions here. The AACA in Los Angeles evaded most of the questions we asked and definitely did little or gave us very little satisfaction here in Israel. 2) We received fair housing here and although we had to do much to fix the place up and after spending a lot of money we finally have a decent place to live. This is all we ever received from Israel. We paid our own way in coming here and owe no one a penny for being here. Things could have been a lot easier had we have gotten the right answers and a little help. 3) Too much emphasis has been put on the question of the people in general being able to adjust themselves to Israel. This to my opinion is and should be reversed. It should be if Israel can adjust itself to the people instead. How can one adjust themselves to the bad sanitation and unclean conditions here. To the lies and deceit and the wide use of subterfuge by so many people here including the authorities themselves. How can one get conditioned to the rudeness, the inconsideration, the impolite manners, that is so relevant here . . . and so many other things. So far we love the country as a whole because of its Biblical and historical values. We came here because of the fact we wanted to be amongst Jews and wanted to be amongst our own people. This we have, but in having this we have to put up with so many things that we are not accustomed to and never can be. I have my pension and we get along nicely on what we have, however, I would hate to think of raising children here under these conditions as described above. We intend to remain for as long as we can and only hope that if only a small percentage of the Americans and Canadians that come here will stay and perhaps have some say and be of some help in reconditioning so many of these people in the right way to live.

Male, conservative, married with 1-2 children, age 55-64, born in U.S., living in city, college degree, cheder, business, salary $16-20,000/year, salary in Israel I.L. 1-1,400 monthly, arrived July, 1969.

We have experienced and are in the midst of many difficulties with housing, bureaucracy and other specific and (we hope) transient problems. The solution or passing of these specific problems would greatly improve day-to-day state of mind. Except for these problems our adjustment has been OK, the immigrant benefits are generous, but they are administered so badly as to leave a bad taste. I recommend that: a) the Ministry of Absorption do everything possible to reduce their own "red tape" and to simplify their procedures and rules, b) that various relevant responsibilities presently spread among various government departments (e.g., interior, treasury, etc.) should be transferred to the Ministry of Absorption or, at least, so arranged that the ministry can act as the agent for the immigrant who desires it.

Male, Orthodox, married with 3-4 children, born in Western Europe, living in the city, graduate school, afternoon Jewish school, professional, salary $20-25,000/year, salary in Israel I.L. 2-3,000/month, arrived July, 1969.

My life is upside down. Only to be home again - USA - I find it impossible to adjust here or identify. I miss "things" too much. All that was minor before (in the USA) are major to me now. One cannot live here in our circumstances (on 550 IL a month). The Jewish Agency has lied to us, no apartment, rent subsidy for 4 months instead of 12. How can we live? New York (JA) talks a "rosy" story of the wonderful life here. A job for all, housing, help, etc. Lies! We are sent on wild goose chases. Tel Aviv to Rehovoth to Rishon and back. In 2 years my husband is discharged, we are leaving Israel and I hope forEVER. Let a religious or Zionist with stars (of David) in his eyes take our places and our burden. If one could live like some Americans in Savyon, etc. than "Israel is Great" in their words. Why not? They are not down to 5 IL by the 15th of the month. Shalom Israel.

Female, Orthodox, married with no children, age 18-24, native of U.S., high school education, afternoon Hebrew, husband education 9-10 grade, clerical job, salary $4-8,000 dollars per year, salary in Israel IL 400-500 monthly, arrived July, 1970, husband born in Israel.

Regarding the decision to come and certainty of remaining--I believe that one reason for our successful absorption into Israel indeed perhaps the most important one, was the fact that when we decided to come, we decided we would be staying. We therefore met problems head-on, solving them, rather than throwing up our hands at them.

Before we came, we knew nothing of either AACA or AACI, something which could have been extremely helpful. The J.A. was extremely unhelpful, and what information we got out of the main N.Y. office was given begrudgingly, and some of it (e.g., regarding citizenship, laws) was entirely wrong. Our local Shaliach was extremely good, but for the most part, we made up our minds we would come to Israel in spite of the J.A. since we certainly weren't getting much help from it.

Those persons who helped our adjustment were not from the Absorption Center (I want this to be clear). Israeli families which took a personal interest in us. "Home Hospitality" is really the only effective absorption methods and a hospitality "network" should be set up around every center. Living in a center is not living in Israel--it's living in "Jewish-Agency-Lord" and personal outside contacts are the only way a new immigrant can really see his new country, get to know it, and understand why he has come.

Male, non-affiliated, married with 2 children, age 25-29, born in the U.S., living on a co-op village, graduate school, no formal Jewish education, professional, salary $4-8,000/year, salary in Israel IL 1,000-1,400 monthly, arrived January, 1968.

We do not consider ourselves typical olim as we do not have all the problems the others have. We are middle-aged, childless, well-to-do idealistic and optimistic to a fault, adaptable and resourceful. Frankly, we do not understand how most olim manage to adjust to Israel--in their situations, we doubt if we could manage. So while we are blissfully happy, please remember that we are not undergoing the frustrations and hardships that others undergo. We can ignore red tape or laugh at it or send our lawyer to take care of it--we are not alone dependent on ourselves and on the kindness of strangers, etc. We have made many friends, all Israeli, most of whom speak English, so we are supported by both types of help, paid and voluntary. We have money and luck--we don't need courage, determination or intelligence.

Male, Orthodox, married with no children, age 50-54, born in U.S., living in small town, some college, cheder, business, before and since coming salary $20-25,000/year, arrived January, 1971.

I feel my adjustment to Israel is complete and if I have any complaints they are the same as those of Israelis. I do feel there could be improvement in the education system. I have many Israeli friends from all walks of life and have no feeling of being an outsider. I do not feel I am a typical example for this survey. When I first came to Israel in 1961 I came just to see and know the country. I was not a Jew at the time. After I was here for 3 years I met and married an Israeli of Egyptian background. We had a son, went to America (on his request) and divorced there. It was only after this that I converted to Judaism and I returned to Israel with my son to make our life here. My adjustment to Israel and its people has been complete and my roots are planted here. I feel that if Americans want to come here and settle they must forget that they are Americans and not hold on to this fact.

Female, conservative, divorced with children, age 40-44, born in America, living in the city, graduate school, no formal Jewish education, professional, salary $4-8,000/year, salary in Israel IL 1-1,400 monthly, arrived June, 1967.

I think the Jewish Agency in the U.S. and Israel do not give you any help at all. They stink, everything that we did was on our own and with the help of family and friends. Israel is asking people to come and when they do come all they get is run around from all the agencies.

So far I have found what I came for.

Housing is a major problem, Help!

My main dissatisfaction lies with Hebrew University. Original thought is discouraged and the student is encouraged to memorize and parrot other opinions rather than formulate his own. . . .

I am unhappy at the lack of tolerance, the irreligious love for the religious.

There are many problems, religious, social national--but I have faith we can solve them because we all are part of the Jewish people and Jewish traditions.

I don't even consider the possibility of returning to the U.S. and feel optimistic about my future here. I think my current problems, mainly job-wise and social are reasonable considering the short time I've been here.

There are many problems, religious, social, national--but I have faith we can solve them because we all are part of the Jewish people and Jewish tradition.

I am satisfied living in Israel. I have much trouble getting an apartment. I have no means to buy one, so I have to rent one paying monthly every high rent and am never sure how long I will stay in it. I am not protected. After 10 months or one

year they usually raise the rent or give you notice finding always some reason for it. They need the apartment for their son or daughter or themselves, etc. Sometimes I am afraid that I will have to return to U.S.A.

For a female meeting and absorbing with Israeli guys is easy enough; but it's very difficult to get to know Israeli females. I don't have any Israeli girlfriends, all American. The guys seem to be shopping for olim who will bring good presents and tax free! or free passport abroad!

It cost too much to get started in Israel. The tax reduction is a farce. I don't understand yet how the Israeli can afford luxury items based on their average income.

It is exceedingly important for both husband and wife to have a speaking knowledge of Hebrew before aliyah. Successful adjustment very difficult without this. Two types of Americans come to Israel 1) religious Jews, 2) alienated Youth. If you are alienated in America to begin with then it is difficult to feel happy in any country.

Male, Orthodox, married with 1-2 children, 30-34 years, born in U.S., living on a hostel, college graduate, yeshiva, professional, salary $20-25,000/year, arrived January, 1971.

It's too early for me to make an honest evaluation at this time. I do not like being "absorbed" without a job or money coming in. When we finish at the A.C. we'll have no money for even necessities. Inadequate information from J.A. in America regarding C.O.L. including price of mercaz. Prospective employers are slow in responding to requests for interviews, etc. (cost of living).

The A.C. has no physical or social activities for teen aged children and adults. Cultural activities are not even considered here. The elementary school is undisciplined and so are the children--adult classes are held, but children's aren't and they fight in the streets. There is no one to watch them. Three times in the time we've been here a small child had to be stitched up from rock throwing. There is no "local" doctor for emergency treatment.

We find American children less able to survive the streets than their Russian counterparts who think nothing of picking up a knife when necessary. And Russian parents encourage it. This has made our adjustment more difficult. My kids want to go back to America where at least a small child was not molested by adult sized mentors.

I love Israel and all it stands for and I would not like to leave. If we are able to find a job and get out of the Mercaz we'll make it.

Female, conservative, married with 3-4 children, native American, living in an Absorption Center, B.A., salary $20-25,000/year, arrived January, 1971.

There is a deep and all-pervasive lack of sincerity by government officials who are personnel agents for government hiring in:

1) Doing what they say they will do when they say they are going to do it.

2) In doing anything unless you continuously push them for an answer.

3) Giving you an honest and direct answer as to what your pay and benefits will be.

4) In expecting a prospective employee to commit himself and his entire lifetime to moving and buying housing in the job area with no commitment as to job pay or stability on their part.

There is a concerted effort by real estate tycoons to take the immigrants for everything they have. Government control is needed here.

Israel is founded on idealistic principles and practices this idealism in the large picture--but for the individual living here the idealism comes apart at the seams.

Male, conservative, married with 3-4 children, age 55-64, born in United States, city, high school 11-12 grades, afternoon Hebrew school, $20-25,000, I.L. 0, arrived July, 1970 - December, 1970.

The attitude of Israeli shop-owners, towards people who do not speak or understand Hebrew and English people in particular, is disillusioning, disheartening, and disgusting in that either the price of any article (or even apartments on the open market) immediately goes up or, unless you give the exact amount asked for, you are short changed when giving a larger bill to cover the cost of purchases. And--when confronted with the dishonesty, you are told that Israel is a poor country, Americans are rich, and we shouldn't get insulted if we are cheated a little here and there; after all, we're all Jews aren't we? If that isn't Chutzpa, I'd like to know what is. In America, the Jews try to obliterate the image of the conniving Shylock image of the Jew and go to all lengths to stampede it out of existence, and in Israel they are proud of this image. Plus, the bigotry and anti-semitism amongst the Jews in Israel is scandalous. For a country built on religious freedom for all Jews, the attitude of looking down one's nose on the so called "black Jews or Morrocan, etc., is sickening. Aside for my great love for the country of Israel, one of the reasons for my immigrating to Israel was my belief that all Jews in Israel are and would be treated equally (socially and otherwise). So as that there will be no

doubt as to my sincere beliefs, I am an Ashkanazie, white, Jewess. As for your bureaucrats in offices dealing with Olim, it would be highly satisfactory if they were better informed, each agreed on information given, less of a captain and more of a mate pulling to keep the ship together. A little education in the above for the Israelis would not hurt.

Female, conservative, widowed with children, age 45-49, born in the U.S., high school education, 11-12, learned in Cheder, living in hostel, $8,000-12,000, I.L. 600-800, arrived after January, 1971.

The particular center (hostel) in which we were domiciled was as good as any concentration camp I have ever read about--but just barely. We would have enjoyed being in another center where we could have enjoyed an ulpan, a sense of economic security, tours, etc.

2) The Jewish Agency, Israel Aliyah Center representative was very helpful about assigning us to the hostel. He actually lied grossly about its charms, nearness to my employment, etc. and availability of other quarter.

3) I was asked to come to Israel to help change the economic base and also to help create a more westernized way of life. The first thing we heard upon arrival, and from a JA representative was "Don't think you're going to change us, we are going to change you!"

4) The JA representatives whenever I had had the misfortune to have to meet with them would always sound off about "When I came here in 1943 I lived in a tent." (Personally, I think for some of them tree, pig sty, hole in the ground, garbage dump, etc. would have been more appropriate.)

While I did not come to Israel because of any special benefits, I certainly did want to take advantage of all those made available to me.

For reasons such as the above, I am not interested in adopting to Israeli culture, etc. I did not come here through motives of culture, Zionism, nationalism (God forbid) or even Israeli-ism. I came here for my own personal Jewish way of life. In any way that I can help advance the Jewishness of the country, I am ready, willing, and able to work. If I can assist the individual Jews in the country, I am here and raring to go.

Therefore, the fact that the average run-of-the-sty Israeli civil servant acts as if he were still in the tree, does not relate in any way either to my coming here, my staying or my returning (which, again, God forbid).

Male, Orthodox, married with 4 children, age 40-44 years, native-born U.S., highest education--Jewish and general, salary $16-20,000/yr. salary in Israel IL 1,400-2,000/month.

I believe the failure of significant English-speaking aliya derives primarily from the questions regarding satisfaction with sense of belongingness, feeling of being at home, as a Jew in Israel, and being a part of the people in Israel--plus the open resentment of Israelis against olim and the failure to explain to Israelis what is involved for the affluent Westerner "(every English-speaking oleh is an American millionaire)" to come on aliya as well as more important by what it means for the future of Israel . . . and each Israeli (and his pocket book) when an American family settles here with 1,2,3 or more children. No serious sustained effort is made to reduce the resentment of Israelis (old-time olim and sabras) against newcomers and their "rights and benefits," Golda, Ben-Gurion, Sapir et al., simply say aliya from the west means life for us but they continue to doom aliya by allowing returnees to truthfully and regretfully tell their families and friends that the "Israelis don't want us." There is much less anti-semitism in the U.S. than anti-Americanism in Israel.

Male, conservative, married with 3-4 children, age 45-49, born in United States, graduate school, afternoon Hebrew school, income not stated, arrived January, 1970 - June, 1970.

There are times when I find it very hard to adjust to special social conditions on the kibbutz, e.g., tensions rising from such close living or boring manual labor. Having been on a kibbutz in one form or another all the time that I have been in Israel, my impressions of and integration into Israeli society have naturally been strongly influenced by my place of residence. Being on a kibbutz, I am not faced with such irritating problems as proper housing and work as are olim living in the cities, but on the other hand, kibbutz living presents its own special problems. The kibbutz is what first attracted me here and is certainly what has kept me here--I sometimes wonder if I would stay in Israel if for some reason I became disillusioned with kibbutz life. The kibbutz is certainly not the pioneering community that it was 30 years ago, but I still feel that it is superior to any other form of community.

Male, non-affiliated, unmarried, 18-24, born in United States, living on kibbutz, college without degree, afternoon Hebrew School, income (doesn't apply), arrived January, 1970 - June, 1970.

This sheet valid only for kibbutz life, for the most part. However I would not remain here even if I moved to the city. Red tape, attitude of Israelis, the way government is run would still bother me. There is no sense in coming 3,000 miles and end up in Tel Aviv. Some of the questions are not clear in meaning, for instance, #304 there is no place to indicate how long one has been here which is a factor in "belongingness" or "rootedness." To be quite blunt, Israel is fine, its the people who are driving me away. Physically the land is beautiful, physically I feel quite well, emotionally and spiritually I have never experienced worse. I would, and have felt safer and more secure about my person in New York City at 2 a.m. on the street than I have in any city in Israel at 2 p.m. I have never experienced the kind of interference with my head by complete strangers like the type here. These are only a few of my thoughts. I now sincerely question whether even the worst conditions in the states could drive me back here.

Female, reformed, unmarried, age 18-24, born in the U.S., living on a kibbutz, some college, Sunday School education.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF ABSORPTION CENTERS, HOSTELS, AND KIBBUTZ ULPANIM AND THEIR LOCATIONS

APPENDIX I

LIST OF ABSORPTION CENTERS, HOSTELS, AND

KIBBUTZ ULPANIM AND THEIR LOCATIONS

Absorption Centers

Center	Location
1. Afula A.C.	Afula
2. Arad A.C.	Arad
3. Ashdod A.C.	Ashdod
4. Beer Sheva A.C.	Beer Sheva
5. Carmiel A.C.	Carmiel (near Haifa)
6. Dimona A.C.	Dimona (South of Beersheva)
7. Givat Brenner A.C.	Givat Brenner (SE of Tel Aviv)
8. Haifa A.C.	Haifa
9. Jerusalem A.C.	Jerusalem
10. Kiryat Shmona A.C.	Kiryat Shmona
11. Mevasseret Zion A.C.	near Jerusalem Judean Hills
12. Nazareth Alef A.C.	Nazareth Illit
13. Nazareth Beth A.C.	Nazareth Illit
14. Natanya A.C.	Netanya
15. Sderot A.C.	Sderot (S. of Ashkelon)

Absorption Centers (Merkazay Klita) in Israel

Name	Address
1. Afula A.C.	R'chov Givat HaMore 185, Afula
2. Arad A.C.	Merkaz Klita, Arad
3. Ashdod A.C.	R'chov Shivei Zion 1, Ashdod
4. Beer Sheva A.C.	R'chov Yitzhak Sadeh 20, Beer Sheva
5. Carmiel A.C.	R'chov Hale'ena 11, Carmiel
6. Dimona A.C.	R'chov HaNitzahon 194, Dimona
7. Givat Brenner A.C.	Kibbutz Givat Brenner P.O.
8. Haifa A.C.	R'chov Shderot HaMeginim 131, Haifa
9. Jerusalem A.C.	R'chov Bar Yohay 146, Jerusalem
10. Kiryat Shmona A.C.	R'chov Trumpeldor 45, Kiryat Shmona
11. Mevasseret Zion A.C.	Harey Yehudah, Jerusalem
12. Nazareth Alef A.C.	Shkuna Dromit, Nazareth Illit
13. Nazareth Bet A.C.	Shkuna Dromit, Nazareth Illit
14. Natanya A.C.	Shikun Dora, Natanya
15. Sderot A.C.	R'chov Tzahal 508, Sderot

Hostels in Israel

Hostel	Location
1. Ashkelon Hostel	Ashkelon
2. Beer Sheva - Student Hostel	Beer Sheva
3. Beit Brodetzki Hostel	Tel Aviv
4. Beit Giora Hostel	Jerusalem
5. Goldstein Hostel	Jaffa
6. Kfar Chabad Hostel	Kfar Chabad
7. Lod Aleph Hostel	Lod
8. Lod Beth Hostel	Lod
9. Lod Gimmel Hostel	Lod
10. Nazareth Acadmaim Hostel	Nazareth
11. Nazareth Student Hostel	Nazareth
12. Ramat Aviv Hostel	Ramat Aviv
13. Ramat Yosef Hostel	Bat Yam
14. Rassco Hostel	Jerusalem
15. Sharonit Hostel	Herzliah Pituach

Hostels (Me'onot) in Israel

Hostel	Address
1. Ashkelon Hostel	R'chov HaNitzahon 20, Ashkelon
2. Beer Sheva Student Hostel	R'chov Bet Remet 3, Beer Sheba
3. Beit Brodetzki Hostel	R'chov Brodetzki 36, Tel Aviv
4. Beit Giora Hostel	R'chov Rabinowitz 33, Jerusalem
5. Goldstein Hostel	R'chov Yefet 74, Jaffa
6. Kfar Chabad Hostel	Kfar Chabad
7. Lod Aleph Hostel	Shikun Khisakhon Gimmel, Lod
8. Lod Bet Hostel	R'chov Feinstein, Lod
9. Lod Gimmel Hostel	Shderot David HaMelech 9, Lod
10. Nazareth Acadmaim Hostel	R'chov HaCarmel 25, Nazareth Illit
11. Nazareth Student Hostel	Shkhuna Dromit, Nazareth Illit
12. Ramat Aviv Hostel	R'chov Tagor 32, Ramat Aviv
13. Ramat Yosef Hostel	R'chov Katznelson 63, Bat Yam
14. Rassco Hostel	R'chov Shimoni 36, Jerusalem
15. Sharonit Hostel	R'chov Havatzelet Hasharon 37, Herzliah Pituach

Kibbutz Ulpanim

Name		Postal Address
1. Allonim	Haifa	Allonim PO
2. Amir	Tiberias	Ha-Galil Ha-Elyon Mobile PO
3. Ashdod Yaakov (Meuhad)	Tiberias	Emeq Ha-Yarden Mobile PO
4. Beerot Yitzhak (Religious)	Tel Aviv	Tel Aviv-Yafo PO
5. Beit Alfa	Afula	Gilboa Mobile PO
6. Beit Hashita	Afula	Beit Hashita PO
7. Dafna	Tiberias	Ha-Galil Ha-Elyon Mobile PO
8. Dovrat	Afula	Yizreel Mobile PO
9. Ein Dor	Afula	Ha-Galil Ha-Tachton Mobile PO
10. Ein Gev	Tiberias	Ein Gev PO
11. Ein Harod (Meuhad)	Afula	Ein Harod Meuhad PO
12. Ein Hahoresh	Hadera	Ein Hahoresh PO
13. Ein Hamifratz	Haifa	Asherat Mobile PO
14. Ein Hashofet	Haifa	Ein Hoshofet PO
15. Ein Shemer	Hadera	Shomron Mobile PO
16. Gan Shmuel	Hadera	Shomron Mobile PO
17. Gat	Ashkelon	Sde Gat Mobile PO
18. G'aton	Haifa	Maale Ha-Galil Mobile PO
19. Gesher	Tiberias	Emeq Bet Shean Mobile PO
20. Gil'ad	Haifa	Hevel Megiddo Mobile PO
21. Ginegar	Afula	Ginegar PO
22. Givat Brenner	Tel Aviv	Givat Brenner PO
23. Givat Haim (Ihud)	Hadera	Givat Haim Ihud PO
24. Givat Oz	Afula	Hevel Megiddo Mobile PO
25. Glil Yam	Tel Aviv	Glil Yam PO
26. Hanita	Haifa	Ha-Galil Ha-Maaravi Mobile PO
27. Haogen	Natanya	Lev Ha-Sharon Mobile PO
28. Hatzor Ashdod	Ashdod	Hatzor Ashdod PO
29. Hazorea	Haifa	Hazorea PO

Name	Postal Address
30. Heftzi Bah	Afula	Gilboa Mobile PO
31. Hulda	Tel Aviva	Ayalon Mobile PO
32. Kfar Blum	Tiberias	Ha-Galil Ha-Elyon Mobile PO
33. Kfar Hanassi	Tiberias	Hevel Korazim Mobile PO
34. Maabarot	Natanya	Maabarot PO
35. Maagan Michael	Hadera	Menashe Mobile PO
36. Maayan Zvi	Hadera	Hof Karmel Mobile PO
37. Manara	Tiberias	Ha-Galil Ha-Elyon Mobile PO
38. Matzuva	Haifa	Ha-Galil Ha-Maaravi Mobile PO
39. Merhavia	Afula	Merhavia PO
40. Mishmar Ha'emek	Haifa	Mishmar Ha'emek PO
41. Mishmar Hasharon	Natanya	Mishmar Hasharon PO
42. Mizra	Afula	Mizra PO
43. Msilot	Afula	Gilboa Mobile PO
44. Na'an	Tel Aviv	Na'an PO
45. Negba	Ashkelon	Nahal Lakhish Zafon Mobile PO
46. Netzer Sereni	Tel Aviv	Beer Yaskov PO
47. Nir David	Afula	Gilboa Mobile PO
48. Netiv Halamed Hay	Jerusalem	Ha-Ela Mobile PO
49. Palmachim	Tel-Aviv	Rishon LeZion PO
50. Parod	Tiberias	Merom Ha-Galil Mobile PO
51. Ramat David	Afula	Ramat David PO
52. Ramat Hakovesh	Tel Aviv	Ramat Hakovesh PO
53. Ramat Hashofet	Haifa	Ramat Hashofet PO
54. Ramot Menashe	Haifa	Hevel Megiddo Mobile PO
55. Regavim	Hadera	Menashe Mobile PO
56. Revivim	Beer Sheva	Ha-Negev Mobile PO
57. Ruhama	Ashkelon	Hof Ashkelon Mobile PO

Name		Postal Address
58. Sarid	Afula	Sarid PO
59. Sde Eliyahu (religious)	Afula	Emeq Beit She'an Mobile PO
60. Sde Nehemia	Tiberias	Ha-Galil Ha-Elyon Mobile PO
61. Sdot Yam	Caesarea	Shomron Mobile PO
62. Shefayim	Tel Aviv	Shefayim PO
63. Yad Mordechai	Ashkelon	Hof Ashkelon Mobile PO
64. Yifat	Afula	Yifat PO
65. Yizre'el	Afula	Yizre'el Mobile PO

APPENDIX J

CITIES, SUBURBS, AND COMMUNITIES WHERE AMERICAN OLIM HAVE SETTLED IN ISRAEL

APPENDIX J

CITIES, SUBURBS, AND COMMUNITIES WHERE AMERICAN OLIM HAVE SETTLED IN ISRAEL*

1. Afula
2. Ashdod
3. Arad
4. Ashkelon
5. Bat Yam
6. Beer Sheva
7. Bnai Brak
8. Carmiel
9. Eilat
10. Gedera
11. Givatayim
12. Hadera
13. Haifa
14. Herzliah
15. Holon
16. Jaffa
17. Jerusalem
18. Kfar Saba
19. Kfar Shmaryahu
20. Kiron
21. Kiryat Bialik
22. Kiryat Motzkin
23. Kiryat Ono
24. Kiryat Shmona
25. Nahariya
26. Natanya
27. Petach Tikvah
28. Raanana
29. Ramat Aviv
30. Ramat Chen
31. Ramat Gan
32. Ramat HaSharon
33. Rehovot
34. Remon
35. Rishon LeZion
36. Safed
37. Savyon
38. Tel Aviv
39. Tiberias
40. Tivon

*Respondents of this study have settled in these cities, suburbs, and communities.

APPENDIX K

COMMUNICATIONS

APPENDIX K

ISRAEL DEFENCE FORCES
GENERAL STAFF
PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICE
9, Itamar Ben-Avi st.
Tel. 229210

צבא הגנה לישראל
המטה הכללי
ענף יחסי ציבור
רח' איתמר בן-אבי 9
טל. 229210

TEL-AVIV, 17 November 1969
תל-אביב,

Mr. Harry L. Jubas,
14430 Sherwood,
Oak Park,
Michigan 428?37,
U.S.A.

Dear Mr.Jubas,

Thank you for your letter to the Minister of Defence of 6 October, 1969, which was handed to our office, which has caused the delay in replying.

Unfortunately, due to the security situation and the burden of work on the soldiers and officers of the Israel Defence Forces, we regret that we cannot fulfil your request.

In the future, when we will be able to be of assistance to you, we shall be pleased to receive any suggestions you have.

Yours sincerely,

E. Bar-Lev

LT.COL. E. BAR LEV
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS.

MF/ L.

6141 טופס (1/50)

מדינת ישראל

STATE OF ISRAEL

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

Public Relations Office

Tel-Aviv, December 7, 1969
IZ/400/1/19286

Mr. Harry L. Jubas,
14430 Sherwood,
Oak Park,
Michigan 48237,
USA

Dear Sir,

We have been asked to acknowledge hereby receipt of your letters dated October 6 and November 14, 1969 and addressed to the Minister of Defence.

Your request has been examined, but we are sorry to inform you that we can unfortunately not comply with your request.

Yours sincerely,

S. Ben-Moshe
In Charge of Information

מדינת ישראל
STATE OF ISRAEL
Ministry of Education and Culture

Jerusalem, December 7, 1969
Ref. 904172

Mr. Harry L. Jubas
14430 Sherwood,
Oak Park, Michigan
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Jubas,

We have received your letter of November 25.

The subject that you have chosen for your dissertation seems to me a most interesting one and we shall naturally do what we can to help you obtain material, meet people and visit schools.

However, I think it is somewhat early to work out a program for 1970-1971. I suggest that you inform us two or three months in advance of the date of your arrival and how long you intend to stay in this country. We could then draw up a tentative program.

Meanwhile, I suggest that you correspond with the Henriette Szold Institute, Columbia St., Kiryat Menachem, Jerusalem, and perhaps with the departments of education of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and The University of Tel-Aviv.

The process of the educational absorption of immigrants naturally begins with the immigrants themselves and includes their children at all levels of education up to and including the university. Different measures are taken at different levels.

I enclose a copy of the Educational Reform recently adopted by the Knesset which has as one of its objects the social and cultural integration of underprivileged children, who are in the main the children of immigrants from Moslem countries.

I am at your disposal if you have any other questions.

Sincerely yours,

Shmuel Bendor
Director,
Foreign Relations

בנדר 900

encl: 1 document - educational reform

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

בית הספר לחינוך

December 31, 1969

Mr. Harry L. Jubas
14430 Sherwood
Oak Park Michigan 48237
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Jubas,

Please excuse the delay of my answer to your letter of December 15th (with enclosures).

I quite agree with Mr. Bendor's and your own opinion that the "Ulpan" alternative would be a subject of great interest. You could possibly include the University Ulpanim and their impact on foreign student's integration in the Israeli Society. There are at least two of our members of faculty - Dr. Gina Ortar and Dr. Haim Adler - who could guide your work during the year here.

As to the formal aspect of registration you should register as "Visiting Student" with our office for Foreign Students to whom I sent a copy of this and your recent letter.

Looking forward to meeting you in due time.

I am
Sincerely yours,

Eve Salmon
Eve Salmon
Secretary for Academic Affairs

Copies: Office for Foreign Students
(with copy of Mr. Jubas letter).

Mr. Sh. Bendor,
Ministry of Education and Culture.

THE HENRIETTA SZOLD INSTITUTE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH
IN THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES
COLUMBIA ST., KIRYAT-MENACHEM
JERUSALEM, ISRAEL

TEL. 62402, 62403 טל.

מכון הנריאטה סאלד
המכון הארצי למחקר
במדעי ההתנהגות
רח' קולומביה, קרית-מנחם
ירושלים

Mr. Harry L. Jubas
14430 Sherwood
Oak Park, Michican 48237.

Jerusalem, 4th February, 1970.

Dear Mr. Jubas,

Your letter has been wandering around for some reasons, until it arrived at our place.

I was very happy to learn that you will be doing your Ph.D. theses on such an important problem as the absorption of immigrants in Israel.

T have sent you, via surface mail, our Progress Report for the years 1964-1966, in which some of the studies which we conducted are described. When the Progress Report for 1967-69 is finished we shall be sending it to you. We also sent you our List of Publications in which you might be able to find all the Research Reports printed in English on some of the topics of interest to you. We shall then be happy to furnish you any of the reports you will order.

In the Progress Report you will find (pages 60 - 102) articles which appeared in "Megamoth" the leading Israeli quarterly in the Behavioral Sciences. Most of the articles in Hebrew on the topics of immigration and its absorption which have been published in Israel were published in this quarterly since its inception in 1949. The names of the articles are printed in English so that you might find those which will interest you and, of course, see how you can come to learn their contents.

Wist best regards and wishes for success in your dissertation,
I remain,

Sincerely yours,
Chanan Rapaport
Dr. Chanan Rapaport
Director

אוניברסיטת תל-אביב
TEL-AVIV UNIVERSITY

January 4, 1970
Reference No. RCE/3072

Mr. Harry L. Jubas
14430 Sherwood
Oak Park, Michigan 48237
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Jubas:

I have your December 15 letter and am pleased to read that you will be spending your sabbatical leave in Israel.

As for your request for material on immigrant absorption, I would be pleased to offer any assistance I can. I suggest, first, that you try to obtain copies of Megamot, the Israeli Behavioral Sciences Journal, published by the Szold Institute in Jerusalem. Almost each issue has some article on the subject. You might write directly to them for material published by the Institute (Henrietta Szold Institute, Columbia Street, Kiryat Menahem, Jerusalem). Under separate cover I am sending you one of their brochures.

Aslo, Eisenstadt's book, Israeli Society, recently published in English, has a great deal of information on the subject. Perhaps you could obtain a copy of Influencing the Youth Culture, by Eaton and Chen, from the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and a copy of my dissertation which also deals with the subject, available from University Microfilms. I suggest that you see Sara Smilansky's book, Psychodramatic Play in Culturally Disadvantaged Children (Wiley, 1969) and Judith Shoval's, Immigrants on the Threshold (Atherton Press).

Finally, I recommend that you contact Professor Moshe Smilansky at the Tel Aviv University, who has done much research in the area.

I hope to meet you when you are in Israel.

Sincerely,

Michael Chen, Chairman
Department of Educational Sciences

RAMAT-AVIV, TEL-AVIV TEL. 416111 קרית האוניברסיטת רמת-אביב תל-אביב טל.

Bar-Ilan University
Ramat-Gan, Israel
Department of Sociology

אוניברסיטה בר-אילן
רמת-גן
המחלקה לסוציולוגיה

Phone 752103 טלפון
Cables UNIBARILAN מברקים

June 24, 1970

Mr. Zvi Tomkiewicz
Executive Director
Bar-Ilan University
23125 Coolidge
Oak Park, Mich. 48237
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Tomkiewicz:

Needless to say, I will be most happy to extend to Mr. Harry Jubas and his family any assistance they may need. I will certainly be willing to guide him on his doctoral thesis.

Yours sincerely,

Leonard Weller

Leonard Weller, Associate Professor
Chairman, Department of Sociology

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
AND MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Jerusalem, February 5, 1970

Mr. Harry L. Jubas
14430 Sherwood
Oak Park, Michigan
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Jubas,

The Deputy Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of January 5 concerning your intended research in Israel.

We shall be happy to help you make the contacts you mention, as well as others, perhaps.

I suggest that you call me upon your arrival in Israel (Tel. 86820).

Sincerely yours,

J. Leket
Public Relations

מדינת ישראל
STATE OF ISRAEL
Ministry of Education and Culture

Jerusalem, April 20, 1970

Ref. No. 904172

Mr. Harry L. Jubas
14430 Sherwood
Oak Park, Michigan
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Jubas,

I have received your letter of April 2.

I do not think that I am qualified to give you the guidance that you require.

May I suggest that you address your request either to Dr. Adler or Dr. Ortar. They will, I am sure, be able to offer you practical advice.

I will, of course, continue to help in any way I can.

Yours sincerely,

Shmuel Bendor
Director,
Foreign Relations

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

OFFICE FOR OVERSEAS STUDENTS

Mr. Harry Leib Jubas
14430 Sherwood
Oak Park, Michigan 48237
U.S.A.

Date: Jan. 25, 1970

Dear Mr. Jubas,

We are glad to inform you that you have been accepted by the Hebrew University for the coming academic year. (1970/71)

Your status at the Hebrew University will be:

Visiting Graduate Student

This acceptance notice is non-conditional/conditional:

Permit us to inform you once again that a good working knowledge of the Hebrew language is a basic prerequisite for success in your academic endeavors.

Please contact our office upon your arrival in Israel.

Hours are as follows: Sunday to Thursday – 11:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.

With best wishes for success in your studies.

R. Arden

Office For Overseas Students

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY JERUSALEM



בית הספר לרפואה של האוניברסיטה העברית הדסה · ירושלים
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY-HADASSAH MEDICAL SCHOOL · JERUSALEM
Department of Medical Education
ת.ד. 1172, ירושלים 38441
P.O.B. 1172, Jerusalem

May 12, 1970

Mr. Harry L. Jubas
14430 Sherwood
Oak Park, Michigan 48237.

Dear Mr. Jubas,

Thank you for your letter.

I will be pleased to assist you in whatever way I can in your work for your dissertation.

Please ring me at the Medical School when you arrive (38441, Ext.652).

I look forward to meeting you.

Sincerely yours

Judith T. Shuval
Senior Lecturer

THE ISRAEL INSTITUTE OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH
19 George Washington St.
P.O.B. 7150 Jerusalem, ISRAEL

M47/3370 May 14, 1970

Mr. Harry L. Jubas
14430 Sherwood
Oak Park 7, Michigan 48237
U S A

Dear Mr. Jubas:

In reply to your letter of May 4, we shall be pleased to do what we can to facilitate your work on your proposed thesis project here. I myself will be leaving Israel for a couple of months, beginning about August 10, but I hope to see you before I go, and to introduce you to some of our other staff members.

May I call your attention to the book by Dr. Abraham Weinberg, Migration and Belonging, Martinus Nijhoff: The Hague, Netherlands, 1961, devoted to an extensive analysis of the adjustment of immigrants attending Ulpan "Etzion" in Jerusalem in 1954, which is relevant to your topic.

Should you be planning to do systematic fieldwork and data analysis, your budget dollar for this will probably go further for these in Israel than in the States, but it still may be best to have the Institute staff advise you on facilities and optimal use of your research funds.

Please give my best regards to Dr. Ruth Useem and to her husband.

Most sincerely,

Louis Guttman

Louis Guttman
Scientific Director

המכון למחקר חברתי שמושי

THE ISRAEL INSTITUTE OF APPLIED SOCIAL RESEARCH

משרד ראשי:
רח' ג'ורג' וושינגטון 19
ת. ד. 7150
ירושלים
טלפונים: 24062 - 25231

Head Offices:
19 George Washington St.
P. O. B. 7150
Jerusalem, Israel
Cable Address : ASRI, Jerusalem Israel
Telephone : 24062 - 25231

November 29, 1970

A21/3808

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Mr. Harry Jubas is attending my courses at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Work on his dissertation ("the Adjustment of Americans and Canadians in Israel and their Integration into Israeli Society") is being done in consultation with me and my associates at the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research.

Louis Guttman

Louis Guttman
Professor of Social and Psychological Measurement, The Hebrew University, and Scientific Director, The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research

Ministry of Immigrant Absorption
Minister's Office

Jerusalem, 2 March, 1970

Mr. Harry L. Jubas
14430 Sherwood
Oak Park
Michigan 48237

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter of 16th Feb. 1970.

We appreciate your wish to do a research about the influence of Ulpamim in the absorption of immigrants into Israel society.

We would suggest that Dr. E. Ahiram, the Director of Planning and Research Division will assist you ~~in~~ with information regarding people you will have to meet.

May I say, that we are unable to assist you in finding a flat.

These arrangements you will have to do through the University.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Yours faithfully,

A. Eshed

A. Eshed

c.c. Dr. E. Ahiram

MINISTRY OF IMMIGRANT ABSORPTION

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to introduce Harry Jubas, a Ph.D. candidate at Michigan State University, who has come to Israel to do research on THE ADJUSTMENT PROCESS OF AMERICANS AND CANADIANS IN ISRAEL AND THEIR ASSIMILATION IN THE ISRAELI SOCIETY.

I ask that the Officials in the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption give all the necessary cooperation, assistance and information he may request in order to carry out the adove research.

S. Shenhar

S. Shenhar
Spokesman of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption

MINISTRY OF IMMIGRANT ABSORPTION

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

The Ministry of Immigrant Absorption in Israel is concerned with the problem of adjustment of immigrants in their new home, and the factors which influence this adjustment process.

We, therefore, welcome the initiative of Mr. Harry Jubas in this important field and will help him with informantion necessary to accomplish his study of the Adjustment of Americans and Canadian Immigrants in Israel and their Assimilation into Israeli Society.

S. Shenhar

S. Shenhar
Spokesman
Ministry of Immigrant Absorption

התאחדות עולי אמריקה וקנדה בישראל
Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel

משרד ראשי:
רחוב הירקון 53 א - תל-אביב
טלפון: 56201 - ת.ד. 26101

NATIONAL OFFICE
53 a, HAYARKON STREET
TEL-AVIV - ISRAEL
P.O.B. 26101
TELEPHONE: 56201-2
CABLES: AMCANION

November 4, 1970

To Whom It May Concern:

The Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel is vitally concerned with the question of adjustment of Americans and Canadians to their new home. One element is their adjustment provided by the Jewish Agency is the hostel or absorption center.

We, therefore, wholeheartedly support the work done by Mr. Harry Jubes in this field and will give him all the aid necessary to accomplish a scientific study of the role of the absorption center and the hostel in the adjustment of Americans and Canadians to Israel.

Sincerely,

Mel Borenstein

Melvin Borenstein
Director of Organisation

התאחדות עולי אמריקה וקנדה בישראל
Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel

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P.O.B. 26101
TELEPHONE : 56201-2
CABLES : AMCANION

Dear Member,

This is to introduce Mr. Harry Jubas, a Ph.D. candidate at Michigan State University who has come to Israel to do a study on the Adjustment of Americans and Canadians in Israel and their Integration into Israeli Society.

Many of you have been quite satisfied and feel yourselves to be well adjusted in Israel. Some of you have had problems which you have overcome. Having the knowledge and information of what helped you most or caused your difficulties will be helpful to Americans and Canadians who are already here and those who are planning to come to Israel to settle.

We, the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel are vitally concerned with the question of adjustment of Americans and Canadians to their new home. We therefore wholeheartedly support the work being done by Mr. Harry Jubas in this field and we ask you to give your assistance by completing the attached questionnaire without delay in order to accomplish this scientific study.

Give us a hand and cooperate in this vital research and study which is a great undertaking. It is very important that we receive the completed answer sheets as soon as possible.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

MELVIN BORENSTEIN
Director of Organization

הסוכנות היהודית המחלקה לעליה וקליטה
THE JEWISH AGENCY
IMMIGRATION & ABSORPTION DEPARTMENT

ירושלים, 30.11.70
ת"ד 92

בתשובה נא להזכיר:
מס' .....

ירושלים: טלפון: 39261
למברקים: JEVAGENCY
טלקס: עברי 022-210
לועזי 022-236

ת"א טלפון: 258211
טלקס: עברי 033-875

לכל המעוניין

הריני בזה להציג בפניך את מר הרי ג'ובס, המכין עבודת דוקטור באוניברסיטת מישיגן והנמצא בארץ כדי לערוך את המחקר על: "תהליך ההסתגלות של עולים מאמריקה וקנדה בישראל והתערבותם בחברה הישראלית".

הריני לבקש את עובדי מח' העליה והקליטה לסייע ולעזור למר ג'ובס בכל האינפורמציה הדרושה לו לשם ביצוע המחקר כנזכר לעיל.

בכבוד רב,

נ. בר-גיורא
ס/מנכ"ל



משרד לקליטת העליה

תאריך ירושלים, ב' בכסלו תשל"א
30 בנובמבר 1970

לשכת הדובר
טל' 61171

מספרנו 5/0/2

לכל המעונין

ברצוני להציג את מר הארי ג'ובס, דוקטורנט מאוניברסיטת מישיגן השוהה בישראל לצורך עריכת מחקר (דוקטורט) על "תהליך הסתגלות עולי ארה"ב וקנדה בישראל והשתלבותם בחברה הישראלית".

אני מבקש בזה מעובדי משרד הקליטה לתת למר ג'ובס את הסיוע והאנפורמציה שיבקש, על מנת שיוכל לבצע את מחקרו.

ש. שנהר
דובר המשרד לקליטת העליה.

שש/אא

משרד לקליטת העליה
אגף לתכנון ולמחקר

ירושלים, יז' בחשון תשל"א
16 לנובמבר 1970

לכל המעוניין

הננו להציג בזה את מר הארי ג'ובס, המכין עצמו לתואר דוקטור באוניברסיטת מישיגן, המכון ללמודים בין-לאומיים אשר בא לישראל על-מנת לערוך מחקר אודות "תהליך ההסתגלות של עולים מאמריקה וקנדה בישראל והתערבותם בחברה הישראלית".

הנני לבקש בזה מכל מנהלי מרכזי קליטה וסניפי משרד הקליטה, לעזור למר ג'ובס ולשתף עמו פעולה לצורך מחקרו כמיטב יכולתם.

ב ב ר כ ה

דייר א. אתרס
מנהל האגף.

מס' 90/23ת/3

תל-אביב, 28.10.70

אל: מנהלי מרכזי קליסה ומעונות

מאת: א. גוילי

הנדון: מר ב'וכס הרי

מר ב'וכס עורך מחקר על מרכזי הקליסה והמעונות
וכל הכרוך בקליסת העוליס מארה"ב וקנדה.

אבקשכם לקבלו ולעזור לו בעניינו ע"י מתן
הסברים ושיתוף פעולה כמיטב יכולתכם.

ב ב ה

א. גוילי

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN • ישראל גולדשטיין

Zipp No. 92-228 JERUSALEM, PINSKER STREET 12 ירושלים, רח' פינסקר 12
Tel. 36020 טל.

June 21, 1972

Mr. Harry Jubas
14430 Sherwood Street
Oak Park 37,
Michigan.

Dear Mr. Jubas:

I have been asked to prepare an article on AMERICAN ALIYAH TO ISRAEL.

I find that there is very little available material for the period commencing with the Six Days' War in June 1967. My attention has been called to the fact that you have been studying this period.

If any of your findings havebeen published, I would appreciate it very much if you would let me know where I can find them. If you happen to have available reprints of articles which you have published, I would be grateful for them and would be glad to return them to you.

Your work has been mentioned to me by Dr. Antonovsky.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Israel Goldstein

IG/dtc

הסוכנות היהודית, מחלקת העליה והקליטה
The Jewish Agency, Department of Immigration & Absorption

לשכת המנהל הכללי
Office of the Director General

Jerusalem, May 11, 1973

Dr. Harry Jubas
Director of Education and
Youth Activities
Beth Abraham-Hillel
5075 W. Maple Road
Birmingham, Michigan 48010

Dear Dr. Jubas:

Your letter of 20th April to Mr. L.A. Pincus, chairman of the Jewish Agency, has been handed over to me by his request.

1. The "Dichter Report" has not been shelved, although "The Jerusalem POST" did in fact report something to this effect.

2. The above mentioned report will be made available to you by our New York office.

Therefore, I would like to ask you to adress yourself to Mr. Y. Amitai, The head of our delegation for U.S.A. and Canada, at 515 Park Avenue.

Copy of this letter will be forwarded to Mr. Amitai for the purpose of allowing you to read the report.

3. We shall kindly request you in the event that you will use or quote from the "Dichter Report" in your research paper that you will submit to Mr. Amitai the final draft, according to our obligations vis-à-vis the "Dichter Institute".

A letter stating your agreement we would ask you to send to Mr. Amitai.

Sincerely,

Uzi Narkiss
Director General

cc. Mr. L.A. Pincus
Mr. N. Bar-Giora
Mr. Y. Amitai

APPENDIX L

GLOSSARY

APPENDIX L

GLOSSARY

AGORA (pl. Agorot): One hundredth of the Israeli lira.

AGUDAT ISRAEL: Religious party of Israel.

ALIYA (pl. aliyot) (literally "assent"): Immigration to Israel.

ALIYA BET: Jewish immigration into Palestine in defiance of immigration restrictions imposed by the British Government which referred to it as "illegal immigration."

AM HASEFER: The people of the book.

AM OLAM (Hebrew for "Eternal People"): Organization founded by Jewish youth in Russia in 1881, its objective was emigration, with the stress on agriculture as a means to national regeneration.

ASHKENAZAI (pl. Ashkenazim): Jew from Central or Eastern Europe, especially Germany.

ASSEPHAT HANIVHARIM: The Elected Assembly of the Jewish community.

BAGRUT: Matriculation.

BAR MITZVA: Religious celebration of the thirteenth birthday by a boy at which time he is initiated into full religious duties.

BILU (initials of the Hebrew sentence: Beth Ya'akov Lechu Venelcha "House of Jacob, come let us go!" Isaiah 2:5): Group of Jewish pioneer students who went to Palestine in 1882 and founded Rishon Le Zion, Petah Tikvah, Zihron Yaakov and Rosh Pina.

BRICHA: Underground organization which smuggled Jewish survivors out of post-war Europe and helped them reach the shores of Palestine.

CHAG: Holiday; festival.

CHALUTZ (pl. chalutzim): Pioneer.

CHIBAT ZION (pl. Chovevai Zion): Lover of Zion.

COHEN (pl. Cohanim): Priest.

DATI (pl. dati'im): Religiously observant.

DAYAN (pl. dayanim): Judge of religious court.

DIASPORA: All countries in which there are Jewish communities outside the State of Israel.

DUNAM: Land measurement unit of 1,000 square meters; four dunam equal one acre.

ERETZ ISRAEL: Land of Israel.

EYN BRERA: No choice.

GALUT: The exile.

GAR'IN: Nucleus or initial group of pioneers forming basis of a future collective settlement.

HAAPALA: Blockade running, immigration under difficult conditions (to Palestine during the Mandatory regime).

HABAD: (Abbreviation for Hochma, Bina, Dea--"Wisdom, Understanding, Knowledge"): intellectual hassidic movement founded in 18th century in Poland by Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liady and still surviving in small conventicles in the United States and Canada.

HACHSHARA: Pioneer training abroad and in Israel. Hachshara farms are training centers where youth movement members obtain initial agricultural preparation and experience of group life.

HAGANAH: Jewish self-defense organization before the establishment of the State of Israel.

HALACHA: Jewish religious law.

HALUKA (Hebrew for "Distribution"): Organized collection of charity funds for distribution among poor and pious Jews in Palestine.

HALUTZ: Member of Zionist youth movements who participate in the pioneering endeavor in Israel.

HALUTZIUT: (The qualities of) pioneering.

HANUKKA: Dedication, Festival of Lights.

HASHOMER: (Literally "The Watchman"); a defense organization in the early days of Jewish settlement.

HASHOMER HATZAIR: Zionist youth movement.

HASKALA: The enlightenment.

HASSIDIC: Appertaining to a religious movement among the Jews in 18th century Poland, which spread throughout Eastern Europe and, from there, in the 20th century, to America and Palestine.

HECHALUTZ: Organization composed of Habonim, Hashomer Hatzair, Haole, Hechalutz, Hatzair and other youth movements, with individual non-youth movement members.

HEDER: An elementary religious school.

HOVEVEI-ZION ("Lovers of Zion"): Early group of Zionists founded by Rabbi Z. H. Kalischer at Thorn in 1860, who advanced the view that the salvation of the Jews could only be accomplished through self-help and colonization in Palestine.

HOZER (pl. hozrim): Israeli emigrant returning home.

KASHRUT: Dietary laws.

KEREN HAYESOD: Palestine Foundation Fund, financial instrument of the World Zionist Organization.

KIBBUTZ (pl. kibbutzim): Collective settlement based upon communal ownership of all housing and property as well as the principles of full direct democracy and self-labor of all adult members.

KIBBUTZ GALYUOT: (literally, "in-gathering of the exiles"); in-gathering of Jews from the Diaspora.

KIBBUTZNIK: Colloquial reference to member of a kibbutz.

KIPA: Skull-cap worn by observant Jews.

KNESSET: Israeli parliament.

KOLEL: "Jewish Community" in Palestine, of which there were four, later seven, entitled to send out collectors to obtain Haluka donations from Jews abroad.

KVUTZA: Variation of the kibbutz-type of settlement; usually smaller in size and membership.

MA'APIL: A human blockade--runner defying immigration restrictions imposed by the British Mandatory Government in Palestine.

MACHON: Institute.

MAHAL: ("Mitnadvei Hutz-la-Aretz" Overseas Volunteers): Jewish volunteers, mainly from Western countries, who took part in the War of Independence.

MAMZER (pl. mamzerim): Illegitimate child.

MITZVA (pl. mitzvot): A religious obligation; commandment.

MIZRACHI: Orthodox party in the Zionist movement.

MIZUG HAGALUYOT: (literally, "integration of the exiles"); integration of Jews coming to Israel from various countries of the Diaspora.

MOSHAV (pl. moshavim): Cooperative smallholders' settlement based upon individual farm units and cooperative marketing and purchase.

MOSHAVA (pl. moshavot): Cooperative village.

MOSHAV SHITUFI: Semi-collective settlent combining the main features of kibbutz and moshav.

MUKHTAR: Headman of village under the Turkish and British administrations of Palestine.

NACHAL: A group combining military service with work in an agricultural settlement.

NETUREI KARTA: (literally city guardians); a small group of extreme zealots opposed to Zionism and a Jewish State.

OLEH (pl. olim): Immigrant.

OLIM CHADASHIM: New immigrants.

PROTECTSIA: Favoritism; influence; pull.

SABRA: (literally "cactus"); Israeli-born youngster.

SANHEDRIN: Jewish notables, assembly of seventy-one ordained scholars which was both supreme court and legislature.

SEPHARDI (pl. sephardim): Jew of Spanish (Iberian) stock.

SHABBAT: Sabbath.

SHALIACH (pl. Shlichim): Emissary, messenger, sent by Jewish Agency to promote aliya.

SHERUT LA'AM: "Service to the people, and sh'nat sherut, a year of service" work programs for visiting youth sponsored by the Jewish Agency.

SHTETL: (From the Yiddish); Jewish village in Eastern Europe.

TANACH: Bible "The Pentateuch," "The Prophets," and "The Writings."

TORAH: Pentateuch, also used more broadly to refer to the teachings of Judaism.

ULPAN (pl. ulpanim): Residential seminar for the intensive study of Hebrew.

VAAD LEUMI: National Council of Palestine Jewry recognized as the official representative in matters of local affairs by the British Mandatory Government.

YAHADUT: Judaism.

YERIDA: (literally "descent"); emigration from Israel.

YESHIVA (pl. yeshivot): Religious academy; a religion-oriented Jewish day school.

YIDISHKEIT: (From the Yiddish); Jewishness.

YISHUV: The Jewish community in Palestine.

YOM HA'ATZMAUT: Independence Day.

YORED (pl. yordim): An emigrant from Israel.

YOUTH ALIYA: Organization for the rescue of Jewish children from Nazi-occupied Europe and other countries, and their settlement in Israel.

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