

THE ETHIOPIAN IMMIGRANT – ANALYZING THE INTEGRATION PATTERNS AND THE FAMILIAL STRUCTURES.

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Abstract: Israel is a country comprised of immigrants who have many nationalities. In the past, the "Melting Pot" was one of the leading phenomena ruling society, Israeli literature, and especially children's literature. Nowadays, transnational immigration is a common phenomenon that influences immigrants' identity formation and identification with the new society, but the situation in Israel is still different compared to other countries. It starts with the different terminology of "Aliya," which means rising up. Religious influences and the Zionist ideology were designed to form a new type of Jew. Reality dictates a relationship between the individuals and the society where they live and to which they belong. In Israel, these relations between the private and the public are intensive, unique, and close-knit, with a sheer sense of belonging and sharing the same fate. Israeli society evolved in the shadow of the Holocaust, and the reciprocity between the individual and historical events is therefore inevitable. The individual's identification with this common ideal is the core of Israeli society, the fundamental of Zionism, that could manifest itself only through individuals who were and are ready to be one with the Zionist ideal and help it come true with their own body and soul.

This paper examines the various aspects influencing Ethiopian immigrants in Israel through children's literature: social, economic, and linguistic integration, the ramifications on the familial unit, and the gap between the first and second generations.

We observed an intergenerational gap and conflicts between parents and their children. Parents who practiced and valued their origin country's values and norms, such as obedience to authority figures and the honor code, found it challenging to maintain the integrity of the familial unit and the close ties with their children in Israel. The children opposed and disliked this set of values and their cultural heritage.

Key Words: Ethiopians immigration, first generation, second generation, children's literature, integration identity

Children's Literature

Children's literature has developed as a distinct literary branch following the literature work that adults had written. Adults and different regimes developed it as a tool to guide the youths and the children and as a means for controlling their development into adulthood and citizenship as well as enabling them to follow the ideas of the regime (i.e., socialization)(Carmi-Laniado 1983; Nir-Yaniv 1979; Regev, 1980; Regev, 2002; Smilansky, 1979). This genre has been harnessed from its beginning to influence children's beliefs, morals, and behavior.(Eban, 1968; Almog 2004; Hadad 1980). Children's literature was initially educational, but it changed from being dependent to being independent and artistic over time. At the same time, it was still educational, nevertheless. This kind of literature is said to give a reflection of the norms of the society. They express the point of view of the author. They respond to the regime's ideology and to its social guidelines. Each regime is praised for how it defines and governs interactions in it. For instance, in a communist society, social interaction and public ownership of property are embraced. Under the Nazi regime, racial purity was praised. At the same time, in the democratic rule in the U.S. during the 20th century, children's literature was used to foreground issues such as patriotism, racial segregation, and work ethics(Ruth, 1977).

Children's Literature and the Family

For a long time, Hebrew children's literature has developed parallel with children's literature worldwide. Its development has accelerated following the development of Zionism as well as the revival of the Hebrew language. Children's Literature has started reinforcing some of the core values of Zionism, such as the melting pot (everyone should look and behave the same-as the new Israeli figure), the myth of Sabra (a prickly fruit on the outside while soft and sweet inside like the population in Israel), and the settlement in the land of Israel (Baram 2007, Ohana & Wiestrich, 2005, Ofek, 1988, Ofek 1979). In addition, it reinforced the belittling of the foreign Jews, ignoring subjects not connected to Zionism. Children's literature disvalued the individual while praising patriotic acts of self-sacrifice. Contempt was used as a literary device for treating individuals who tried to refute society's norms. (Bergson, 2003, Bettelheim, 1976, Ofek, 1988)

This literature displayed them as weak, sick, different, and broken. These characters were pale and unhealthy; their clothes were ill-fitting to the local weather; their values and integrity were uncertain, unlike the Sabra's. The deviating characters were said to be dependent and fragile. They were not like the Sabra. Typically, in each story, other characters have made the life of the outsider more difficult. There was a helper, a character whose role was to assist the outsider. These helpers served as educational figures for the different, deviating characters. The writers of children's literature made use of the positive characters as well as of

the adults who were available and of the painful acclimatization of the outsider to manifest society's need to incorporate the outsider within their limits. By doing this, the results would show that the character has started intermingling with the rest of the people, and their character traits have changed to fit the positivity of the society as well as their feelings resembling those of the positive people and adults who acted as an educational figure. (Ofek 1977, Eilon, 1981; Shechter & Iram, 2002)

Along with the development of children's literature, another branch has developed. This branch focuses on children between the ages of 2 years to 6 years and deals with the problems that children face while growing up in the different growing stages, like potty training, new siblings, relocation, disabilities, and illness, in addition to family structure and physical or cultural difference.

Children's literature is a broad subject; it focuses on a child's development. It exposes children to themes that are seemingly not an integral part of their daily life experience or help them while tackling challenges and problems indirectly. Children's literature, as well as adult's literature, is a source of enrichment, reinforcement of values, development of imagination, and a broad set of experiences that accompany normal or local daily life (Cohen 1999). Since the impact of literature is more substantial at young ages, it is much more interesting to establish how literature handles the changes that affect the structure of a family and the modern society in this modern age (Bergson 1996; Shay & Kaniel, 2002). As this field is controlled and guided by adults looking to govern a child's socialization process, we will attempt to investigate whether other books facilitated the exposure to the subject or whether their absence or presence has become part of the deliberate trend set following the social or economic worldviews by the adult. A personal point of interest is formed following the researcher's link to the subject. The personal connection of the researcher also serves as an advantage to the world of single parenting. The researcher learned about the genre of children's literature and its attitude towards immigrants to Israel and discovered its instrumental role in reinforcing social and national norms in Israel throughout the years.

Ethiopians in Israel First Generation Ethnic Identity and Identification

The integration of black immigrants from Africa is seen as an unusual phenomenon in modern black history since they are the only African group who practiced Judaism. Furthermore, they are the only group of Africans who immigrated to a white society due to religious reasons (Ojanuga, 1993).

When looking at descendants of immigrants, there is a clear distinction between the first generation of immigrants and the second generation or "generation and a half." Research

usually defines the immigrant's first generation as the parents who chose to leave the country of origin and settle in a new country, while the children of the immigrants born in the new country are usually defined as the second generation (Cohen & Haberfeld, 2003).

While Ojanuga's study (1993) only looked into veteran Ethiopian immigrants who were defined as immigrants who have been in Israel up to 7.3 years, Shabtai's study examined both generations regarding their different life experiences due to differences in skin color. The first-generation members were defined as young people who immigrated to Israel during Mivtza Moshe in the winter of 1984 and completed their military service by the summer of 1992 (Shabtai, 2001).

The collective experience of the first generation includes a threat to their identity, doubts raised in regards to their belonging to the Jewish religion, an ethnocentric attitude born of negative stereotypical thinking patterns in relation to the color of their skin, which was irrelevant and a nonissue to them before and the questioning of their individual identity (Dotan, 1998; Shabtai, 2001 b).

Shabtai (2001) found a diffusion of identification but not an identity crisis. An identity crisis occurs when there is a conflict in identification and low self-esteem. Members of the first generation did not experience low self-esteem because they highly identified with the community, its past, culture, and values; the dream of immigration to Israel culminated in the difficult journey and also due to the achievement of Israeli identity through military service. That is, the construction of the Israeli identity was defined and completed, but the Jewish identity issue was left open and unresolved.

The study's findings show that most of the respondents, 83%, adopted strategies to deal with the threat to identity: reconstruction, translation of the threat into something less harmful, and negativism, a response that creates a change in the attitudes and behaviors of others. This finding contradicts the research literature regarding the cultural characteristics of Ethiopians. Korem, Tatar, and Horenczyk (2010), in their study, found that adolescent immigrants, immigrants from the Soviet Union, and immigrants from Ethiopia demonstrated a lower level of assertiveness compared to the group of veterans and that immigrants from Ethiopia specifically were characterized by a higher level of passivity both in relation to the group of veterans and immigrants from the Soviet Union. Another study conducted among teenagers reported that Ethiopians speak more softly and appear more shy compared to the veteran group (Ringel, Ronell & Getahun 2005).

Shabtai's (2001) research shows that a low percentage of respondents, 17%, responded in a pattern of internalization, where the individual sees no way out and feels trapped. Also, two subjects reported suicidal tendencies.

Ojanuga (1993), found in her article that there does not seem to be overt racism in Israel. Ethiopian immigrants and veterans reported little discrimination related to their skin color. Ethnocentrism and prejudices constitute the main problem for the perception of the old immigrants. They feel that Israelis have stereotypical views towards them that stem from their African roots. Also, despite the lack of communication with Israelis, Ethiopians reported that they have few non-Ethiopian friends, immigrants, and veterans said that they have a sympathetic opinion of Israelis. Still, they believe that Israelis do not hold a sympathetic view of them.

The early experience of the old Ethiopian immigrants is that the color of their skin is not as important as their religion and ethnic identity (Ojanuga, 1993). In addition, this finding corresponds to the finding of Shabtai's research. The struggle to understand the identity of the first-generation Ethiopians as Jews better indicates optimal integration into society (Shabtai, 2001).

Ethiopians in Israel, identity and ethnic identification of the second generation

In her article, Shabtai defined "adolescents" as Ethiopian immigrants between the years 1995-1999, who immigrated to Israel during all waves of immigration, as well as people born in Israel (Shabtai, 2001). This definition contradicts the definitions reviewed in the relevant literature regarding the second generation (Cohen and Haberfeld, 2003).

Also, this generation is characterized by an identity crisis, an increase in the crime rate, a high rate of dropping out of school, and an increase in the number of youth who are in risky situations (Lifshitz, Noam, Gila and Haviv, 1998; Fishbain, 1998; Shemesh, 1998; Kahan Strawczynski, Levi and Konstantinov, 2010).

In her research, Shabtai (2001) found that a significant part of the generation expresses a high degree of identity conflict. They do not identify with the community's past and reject their parents and culture to varying degrees.

We observed a pattern of internalizing the negative messages and stereotypes and difficulty dealing with them. Some subjects reported self-hatred and confusion (Shabtai, 2001; Shabtai, 1996).

In the second generation, in contrast to the first generation, it can be seen that color is a dominant element in the adolescent's identity, and it precedes religion. Color acts as a mechanism of rejection from society instead of religion, which is a generalizing mechanism. This finding contradicts a finding from a previous study regarding the best indicator for

adapting to society. In the latter, it was noted that Jewish identity indicates integration into society. Among the second-generation members, we see a renunciation of coping and belonging to Israeli society while adopting alternatives to identity, part of the identity of black people worldwide (Ojanuga, 1993).

Shabtai (2001) even mentioned the development of the hyphenated identity among the second generation, i.e., the construction of identity formulas that are a compound of Jewish-Black-Israeli along with other mixes.

Social Integration and Social Networks

The social network is a central concept influencing the immigrant's decision-making process and socioeconomic integration. Social networks are based on social connections, friendship, and a common origin country. Thus, it reduces the risks and costs of immigration and increases the probability of international immigration. Social networks provide information, employment, and short-term housing assistance for migrants and their families (Massey, Arango, Graeme, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1994; Dietz, 1999).

Language integration

Israel has ethno-national heterogeneity built from international immigration over the years. One of the main reasons for emigration is the desire to improve the immigrant's quality of life. To achieve this, an immigrant must learn the local language, find suitable employment, and assimilate into the new society. Knowing the new country's language is an essential skill that affects the integration process of the immigrant in the destination country. The higher the migrant's knowledge and mastery of the local language, the greater his chances of raising his status and income level (Berman, Lang & Siniver, 2000; Borjas,1994; Chiswick, 2008; DeVoretz & Werner, 2000). Moreover, it was found that the lower the language knowledge, the less the migrant's access to information sources and the local culture. However, knowledge of the local language is not the only condition for linguistic integration since using the local language is the key to connecting the group of immigrants with the local population and creating economic and social mobility (Remennick, 2004; Mesch, 2003).

Education is another factor influencing linguistic integration beyond personal characteristics such as age and human capital during migration. Thus, education contributes to the process of new language acquisition. Moreover, the process of language acquisition among educated immigrants is more efficient. Highly educated immigrants are willing to allocate time and money to learn the language, assuming they realize their employment potential only with appropriate language skills and knowledge (Berman, Lang Kevin & Siniver, 2000; Mesch, 2003).

Another important factor related to language acquisition is the immigrant's residency length in the destination country. The longer the duration of residence in the destination country, the more the immigrant acquires the values and norms, and the greater the chance that the immigrant will use the language to establish connections with the society of the destination country. The longer the duration of exposure to the language, the greater the chances that immigrants will improve their language skills and the number of situations in which they will use the language (Ibid).

Studies have shown that when a large minority group settles in the same geographical area, also called an ethnic enclave, it tends to create its linguistic infrastructure, thereby limiting the development of the target country's language skills and language knowledge (Remennick, 2004; Chiswick, 2008). However, it was found that the integration process is better when immigrants know both the languages of the country of origin and the destination country compared to immigrants who had difficulty with one of the languages (Vedder, 2005).

Studies conducted in Israel on Ethiopian Israeli youth found that there is a direct link between not knowing Hebrew and dropping out of school. It was also found that one of the reasons for not imparting the language stems from the youth's lack of mastery of their mother tongue, Amharic (Shani, 2006; Apel, 2001).

For most people, the first language is related to the core of their identity because it is the language in which they developed their identity. They also developed their social identity as part of a family and a social group. They have created values that are meaningful to them regarding religious and cultural identity. The more people have to leave behind when immigrating, the more significant the source language is because it is often the main stable component of their lives (Krumm & Plutzar, 2008). Based on the studies mentioned, we will examine the various characters' integration through different cultural aspects: one of them would be language knowledge and education.

Economic Integration

The economic aspect is another dimension when it comes to assimilation in society. Studies examining this aspect have found that the socioeconomic achievements of immigrants are measured in three parameters: labor market participation, wages, and employment status. These aspects are influenced by personal characteristics, characteristics related to human capital, the length of stay in the destination country, and the economic similarity between the country of origin and the country of destination (Borjas, 1994).

As mentioned, human capital was identified by the researchers as a factor that explains the economic achievements of immigrants in the target countries. High human capital enables easier integration into the labor market, as well as receiving higher financial rewards (Ibid).

Studies have also emphasized the importance of using and developing human capital in new countries. For example, professionals who need specific additional skills may encounter difficulties, especially in the early stages of migration (Raijman & Semyonov, 1995).

The literature on economic integration argues that tenure in the destination country is an essential factor in understanding the integration processes of immigrants into the labor market. It is assumed that the more extended the stay in the destination country, the greater the chances of acquiring the language, understanding how the market works, and expanding social networks, thereby increasing the likelihood of economic mobility. The lack of skills required in the labor market of the destination countries is the cause of the differences in wages and employment between immigrants and locals (Terrazas, 2011)

A Chiswick article(2008) has found that after 10-15 years, immigrants are often adjusted in their wages and employment status to locals. However, following the global economic crisis, there has been a slowdown in the rate of economic integration of new immigrants in the United States.

In a study conducted by Dobromyslin in Israel (2015), which examined the integration of three groups of immigrants, including Ethiopian immigrants, it was found that Ethiopian immigrants are the weakest group when it comes to active participation in work, occupational prestige, and wages. The researcher pinned the explanation for the differences in salaries and reputation on a model proposed by Chiswick (1978). According to this model, the economic integration of immigrants depends on employment potential, which is a derivative of human capital and seniority in the destination country. According to the data in the study, it was found that the employment potential, education, and work experience of Ethiopian Israelis is low compared to the immigrant groups examined.

Studies on immigrant employment in the United States have found that the age at which immigrants arrive is a factor that allows research to predict how much they will earn in the labor market. It has been argued that immigrants who came before the ages of 12 to 14 are expected to earn equally and sometimes even more than their peers. In contrast, immigrants who arrived as adolescents before entering the labor market face more significant challenges to academic success. It was also found that young immigrants tend to adapt their expertise to the market needs of the new country. In contrast, older immigrants with significant experience in a particular field and who have reached high levels in their country of origin find it more

challenging to adapt to the local market's needs and to acquire new skills required in the new situation. It should be noted that some older immigrants pay a heavy price in terms of employment status (Rajiman & Semyonov, 1998); Rajiman & Semyonov, 1995).

Moreover, it was found that young immigrants tend to acquire language skills and language knowledge in the destination country more quickly than older migrants, thereby increasing their chances of achieving a higher income level because language skills are predictors of economic integration (Remennick, 2004; DeVoretz & Werner, 2000)

Another contributing factor is gender. Studies point to gender differences between ethnic groups in their integration patterns and economic achievement: First, women have fewer employment opportunities than men. Moreover, women are mostly employed in clerical, teaching, and service provision positions. These professions often require high linguistic skills that immigrants usually lack. Women also tend to work part-time due to their role as mothers and pay a heavier price in terms of wages and employment status than men (Rajiman & Semyonov, 1997; Rajiman & Semyonov, 1995).

Based on the research literature reviewed here, it can be assumed that the higher the human capital, seniority in the country, and knowledge of the local language, the higher the participation in the labor market, employment status, and wages. We will examine the employment aspects that arise in the books and the involvement of the various figures in the Israeli labor market as proof of the extent to which they integrate into society.

Social Integration and Identity Patterns

The identity of the immigrants is another dimension that influences the way in which they integrate. According to studies, several factors influence the identity definition of immigrants. First are the immigrants' characteristics, linguistic knowledge, and the characteristics of the social networks and their strengths (Al-Haj, 2002; Zimmermann, Zimmermann & Constant, 2007).

The literature review on the subject shows that the initial social networks of immigrants are created based on ethnic similarity. They are built in ethnic concentrations in certain neighborhoods and cities and create ethnic enclaves while providing support to immigrants and enabling the consumption of information in a familiar language. Social networks also create a buffer between the immigrants and the majority group, because of this, they may reduce the degree of exposure of the immigrants to the new society, damage their linguistic skills and their employment status (Bauer and Zimmermann, 1997; Gold, 2001). It was also found that the larger and more concentrated the immigrant group is in the geographic area, the less exposed the immigrants will be to the new society in the new country (Dietz, 1999).

The second factor affecting the scope of exposure of immigrants to the values and norms of new society is society's attitudes towards immigrants. Researchers have found that when immigrants are seen as resource competitors, locals avoid including the immigrants in the community's social life. As a result, immigrants are attracted to other immigrants and create ethnic enclaves. These preserve the old identity and associated values or create a dual identity. Therefore, ethnic enclaves affect attitudes, values, and norms and consequently affect the identity of the immigrants (Massey, Arango, Graeme, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1994; Terzano, 2014).

In addition, it was found that young immigrants want to integrate socially into a new society. As a result, they learn the local language and new social norms, unlike older immigrants, who tend to maintain their ethnic identity and find it challenging to adopt a new set of values (Vedder, 2005).

Seniority and education are other variables that influence the definition of identity. The longer immigrants live in the new country, the less likely they are to identify with their country of origin. They adopt a dual identity that includes values from both cultures. As far as education is concerned, it was found that the higher the level of education of immigrants, the greater their chances of integrating into the labor market in the company of the destination country. As a result, they will tend to adopt the new identity (Zimmermann et al. 2007).

The literature on the subject claims that the different levels of integration of the immigrants will lead to varying types of identities: the first is a pattern in which the immigrants maintain the previous identity and the identity of the new country. This pattern is called integration. The second is assimilation, where the immigrants give up their old identity and adopt the new one. Another pattern is the separation, where the immigrants keep only the identity of the old country. The fourth pattern is fringe. It is characterized by denying both the identity of the country of origin and the identity of the destination country (Liebkind, Tuuli, Varjonen & Jasinskaja-Lahti in Sam & Berry (ed.) 2016, Berry, Phinney & Vedder 2006).

Studies conducted on Ethiopians who immigrated to Israel indicate that Ethiopians develop a pattern of maintaining their ethnic identity, and some even develop marginal identity patterns (Shabtai 2001A, 2001; Shabtai 2001B)

Acculturation and Adaptation

One of the main challenges in the era of globalization is immigration. Some of the difficulties are related to the exchange of cultural codes, learning a new language, social adaptation, as well as the exchange of values and norms to best integrate culturally and socially into the host society (Ben David, 1995).

One of the models attempts to explain the immigrant's conflict between the social-cultural identity of the country of origin and the new identity created upon arrival in the new country. To illustrate the changes experienced by immigrants, Berry proposed the term acculturation, which refers to the process of cultural and psychological changes that occur in people due to prolonged contact between cultural groups and their members (Berry, 2019).

Berry also mentioned that the cultural aspects can be transmitted through communication, remotely without direct contact between migrants and other groups, in a process called "cultural diffusion." Moreover, he emphasized that the acculturation process can occur over extended periods of time, longer than the lifetime of human beings, contrary to previous assumptions on the subject. It was further argued that the change could occur both at the group level and thus affect the social structures of the group and at the individual level and thus affect the implementation of the cultural customs of the immigrant (Berry, 2019).

Thus, the immigrant who experiences cultural differences can decide whether to adopt the new cultural codes, abandon the old ones, combine the two cultures, or even deny them. The way the immigrant chooses to deal with cultural differences and gaps is an "Acculturation Strategy" (Berry, 2019). The term includes practices and attitudes. The researcher defined four cultural strategies: integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization.

We should note that most studies on the subject have examined the cultural process and its implications through questionnaires and correlations. For example, Piontkowski and colleagues (2000) investigated primary factors that influence the choice of acculturation strategies, while other studies by Zagefka and her colleagues (2009; 2012) examined the effects of prioritization and selection in the acculturation process on the perception of minority groups.

The Family in Israel

Demographic data demonstrates that Israel is more family-oriented than other European countries. Compared to these countries, Israel has an increased birth rate and a lower divorce rate. There is also a low rate of extramarital births in Israel.

Families in Israel are said to be stable due to the following reasons. The first reason is related to the influence of Israel's security matters on families. The second reason is that many Israeli families live by traditional family values. The third is the central status of religion and the religious folklore in Israel, which affect the state policy and the individual's norms. Israel is going through a modernization process during which its structure changes occasionally. Society's structure is changing, thus influencing the family structure. The intergenerational family relationship in Israel is reinforced by economic dependence. Sapir (1993) claims that the stability of the Israeli family results from the patriarchal values stemming from the Jewish

religion. She points out the importance of fertility in Israeli society, especially in light of the demographic challenges. Sapir illustrates the centrality of the family experience in Israel. The common social norm is that women are expected to take care of their offspring even after they leave the house, their offspring's children – i.e., their grandchildren, while taking care of their aging parents. Despite the changes within the society, the family institution in Israel is still stable as it is regulated by religion as well as the traditional values within the society. Israeli society gives major significance to family and parenthood. That significance characterizes the religious and secular societies alike, both in the Jewish and the Muslim sectors. A normative Jewish family in Israel consists of a Jewish man and a Jewish woman who are married according to the following Orthodox Halacha. Biological parenthood, as well as heterosexual relationships, are the mainstream models in society. According to Rubinstein, (1994)., this social norm describes only 42% of all the families in Israel. More than half of the families in Israel do not fit this definition: families of single mothers by choice, single-parent families, co-religious couples, common in-law partners, mixed couples, and same-sex families.

Changes occurring in the Western world also influence the structure of Israeli families. One of the catalysts is technological advancements, which enable individuals to procreate without the use of body induction. Examples are conceiving using a sperm donation as well as an egg donation.

The family is a part of society, and changes that occur in society affect the family. These changes in Israel opened a window of opportunity to a wide variety of alternative family structures.

Books Analysis

Yaldat Hakeshet Beanan - The Rainbow Girl (Nomi Shmuel)

Identities construction

In reviewing the literary pieces, one can't help but notice how immigrants shape and structure their new identities upon arrival in the host country and how they deal with the tension of maintaining the traditional culture of the country of origin and its integration into the culture practiced in the society. In most books dealing with immigration, the new life, culture, and society require immigrants to reconstruct their cultural identity in light of the traditions and social values they encounter in Israel.

The book "Rainbow Girl" by Naomi Shmuel refers to the struggle of the second generation of Ethiopian immigrants in the new society, including stigmas and denial of identity. The book tells the story of an 11-year-old girl, Maskaram, and her mixed family. Her father immigrated from the United States, and her mother immigrated from Ethiopia. The family first

settled in Katzirin, a small city in the north of Israel, then moved to Herzliya, a large city in Israel's center. Maskarm finds it challenging to integrate socially in Herzliya. While in Katzirin, there were other Ethiopian children, or their families came from Ethiopia in Herzliya, she was the only Ethiopian pupil: "Great,' I said. I was sure that the new girls had an easier time in Katzirin than it was for me in large, inhuman Herzliya" (Shmuel, 2000, p. 28). In the beginning, Maskaram tells the children that she came from the United States, denying her Ethiopian origins. "My name is Macy," I repeated loudly, lifting my head... when class started, and Ariella asked to take out a notebook and pencil case, I froze. My pencil case, grandma's gift, will turn me in." (Samuel, 2000, p. 26). The girl's attempts to conceal her origins are also evident in her clothing. She hid her clothes in her closet: "On top of the pile, I put the shirts my grandfather from America sent me last year with prints of New York and Miami. I put the two dresses, grandma, in Katzrin sewed and embroidered for me behind the others" (Shmuel, 2000, p. 32). In a similar symbolic way, the main character unravels her braids and removes the braided beads in the braids.

The story immediately indicates Odessa, the main character's mother, occupation, and education. She is an educational consultant with a master's degree, studied at the university, and is responsible for integrating new immigrants in the northern region. The main character's father works with computers. Maskarm's grandmother works as an African style urns creator at Katzirin Museum. It is evident that members of the second generation of immigrants acquired an education and succeeded in integrating socially and in the host society's labor market.

One can't help noting that, even towards the end of the book, the mother mentions that even after all those years, she is still exposed to racist experiences and stereotypical thinking patterns: "You see, Maskaram, the initial attitude towards us will always depend on our skin color. They will always ask you when you immigrated to Israel, even though you were born here. It's something you have to get used to. You can't escape the reactions and associations our color evokes in people." (Samuel, 2000, p. 79).

The mother elaborated further by saying: "... As in my case, it is taken for granted that if you are black, you have no education, that you are a simple worker or at best an interpreter" (Samuel, 2000, p. 80).

The immigration experience.

The grandmother mentions the difficulty of the journey and the integration difficulties in her stories to her granddaughter. She notes that had she known what awaited her, she would not have immigrated. "When grandma arrived in Israel, after the difficulties and arduous journey she underwent, a journey that lasted two years in which she lost her young husband,

only then did she realize that things were not so simple. In the mornings, she would toss and turn in bed and cry" (Samuel,2000, p. 49)

Grasshopper Day and Other Days \ Dorit Orgad

Identity construction

In the book "Grasshopper Day and Other Days" written by Dorit Orgad (2001), it is initially told that the main character Asmerch or Osnat, according to the Israeli name given to her at the absorption center, is not interested in thinking about Ethiopia: "In the first days I thought only about our village and what happened in Ethiopia, but the thoughts saddened me and who needed a bad mood. So we're done with it." (Orgad, 2001, p.8). While Asmerch tries to forget the memory of Ethiopia, her mother, a first-generation immigrant, argues that it is important to remember as life is a journey where one must remember everything and learn the necessary lessons.

The speaker also refers to the issue of name change. It is present among her friends Yehudit and Miriam and Gabi Tseghun's daughters later on. It is evident from the story that not only do the characters not mind the name change, but they adopt it, some even in their immediate home environment (Orgad, 2001, pp. 11-12; 106-108).

In the story, there are many references to the norms and values practiced in Ethiopia and the tension around them, such as the shared living customary in Ethiopia, kissing the father's keens as he leaves, giving birth, and getting married at young ages, work in Ethiopia, and the concept of time. "Of course, I heard my father's arguments, and even if I disagreed with what he said, I could understand him. He worked on the farm in Ethiopia and brought Mom everything they needed. There he was like the king of the house, and here they wanted him to work late on Fridays, and how would he manage to prepare for Shabbat? After all, Shabbat must enter slowly at rest." (Orgad, 2001, p. 27). In addition to these differences, many of the main character's first experiences were noted, such as the first walk to the sea and her reactions, Purim and Hanukkah (Jewish holidays), cuisines, and customs.

Socialization agents and the relationship with authority figures

In this book, there is great significance to the educational characters in the main character's life. Their opinion is important to Asmarch. Rachel, the homeroom teacher, works hard to facilitate Asmarch's integration with her classmates by demanding that Asamrach attend class events and by coming to these events to help her overcome challenging situations. She gives her a way to shine at every opportunity and enhances her sense of capability. When Asmerch arrives for a classmate's birthday, the teacher asks her questions about how birthdays

were celebrated in Ethiopia, and when she notices that this puts Asmerch in an uncomfortable place, she moves on to a conversation about holidays practices.

Asmerch, greatly appreciates the confidence and trust given to her and does not refuse the teacher's requests even when it is difficult for her. She finds it difficult to approach her teacher with requests, "What strange ideas come to my mind, who would I dare think of a conversation with my teacher. I will never approach her during recess to make requests." (Orgad, 2001, p: 56) . It should be noted that it was explicitly stated, "And it is more important to me that Rachel the teacher and the principal of the school appreciate me" (Orgad, 2001 p: 126)

The writer is not trying to embellish reality; therefore, not all the experiences and characters encountered by Asmerch are positive. A good example is how Sigalit and most of her classmates treat Asmerch throughout the book. Another example is when she meets a group of children on the hill that demands that she would leave, the way Asmerch was treated at the watch shop, and when she tells her mom and ETTY at home her experiences, the mother responds that there is nothing that can be done and that there are people that are bothered by their brown skin color. The most significant example, in our opinion, is the attitude of the parallel class teacher, in which Yehudit and Miriam study, who calls them blatant derogatory nicknames, and any attempt to address her receives a blunt response. When Judith's grandfather turns to the teacher to clarify the subject, "Judith and Miriam's teacher did not respect the honorable grandfather by rising, ... And stuck her gaze look straight into the Kess's eyes (a religious and respected person) She raised her voice and began to shout: "Excuse me, sir, this is rude" (Orgad, 2001, p. 71).

The Family Unit

Osnat's parents argue frequently, and the tension created by immigration leaves its mark on the family unit. At first, at sea when the father demands his wife to go to the beach and get food despite her requests that they come to the house together to eat, and then when they argue because he is not satisfied with the way the injera (traditional Ethiopian bread) is prepared "He got angry and said he wanted the sauce separately, like we're used to eating at home. Mom told him it tasted good anyway and they started arguing." (Orgad, 2001, p. 9). The girl claims that in the past, her father did not behave like this: "I wanted to say: Please, Daddy, go back to the way you were before we came here" (Orgad, 2001, p. 10). The father quits his job as a guard when he is required to work overtime on Friday, making it difficult for the family to manage financially.

The Ethiopian originated families of the main character and the supporting characters emphasize the importance of studies and education as a critical component for social mobility. "My parents say that you have to learn a lot in Israel. Anyone who succeeds in school and gets a good diploma can get a worthwhile job," Yehudit said. I smiled and nodded: I was told the

same thing at home" (Orgad, 2001, p. 13). The story revolves around Asmerch's impressive academic abilities, which are revealed later in the story as she passes tests of gifted children and the opportunities they possess. Her academic skills contribute to the plot since, on the first test round, her mother meets the person who would later become Asmerch's stepfather, Gabi Tseghun.

As the familial unit goes through changes, the main character, Asmerch, fulfills her father's role in various situations after he returns to Ethiopia, such as accompanying a mother to the maternity ward. By then, it is evident that she begins to behave in a manner that does not conform to the previous norms and practices. An example of this can be found when her mother is sick and therefore cannot breastfeed her sister, and the baby cries: "We had a carton of milk in the refrigerator, and I took it out. ' I don't know if this milk is good for babies," Mom said. "I've heard that a powder diluted with water should be used. You should have bought it, mom, to have at home,' I heard myself speaking, and I was amazed at my audacity." (Orgad, 2001, p. 38).

Another event that illustrates the distance created between the family members is when Asmerch is sent by her mother to the pharmacy, and the pharmacist sexually harasses her but does not share her experience with her mother, who is unaware of her daughter's distress.

The immigration experience.

In this story, too, one can find references to the experience of emigration, the journey, and the severe losses along the way. The journey, which includes a challenging walk and violent bandits or robbers, is being told concerning several characters of the family and the father's sister. Asmerch mother tells her, after receiving the news that her father's sister had died, "Don't you know that every family that came from Ethiopia paid a heavy price for the right to immigrate to Israel" (Orgad, 2001, p. 116).

Absorption and economic-social integration

In this story, too, the characters' occupation is an issue. The father was a guard at a security company, and after he resigned, he found it difficult to find work. The mother in the story worked with clay in Ethiopia while she sews in her home in Israel. The economic situation described in the story is challenging. The family is on the verge of starvation when the father does not send alimony to help support the family. The mother seems to, even when struggling to make ends meet, refrains from turning to him for financial assistance.

The story incorporates characters who help the family both from the Ethiopian and local communities. An excellent example of this can be seen in Naftali and his family, the bus driver who drove Asmerch and her mother to the hospital when she went into labor. They accompany Asmerch's family from this point on and help them by referring work and help when Asmerch's

mother is injured. Other characters are Naama and Ronit, local girls, non-Ethiopian, who became Asmerch's friends. It should be noted that, at some point, the main character realizes she is even more comfortable in their company. "It's a shame I don't live near Naama," I thought, with whom I feel most comfortable. What about Ronit?" (Orgad, 2001, p. 127)

Identity construction

In this story, unlike its predecessors, many characters kept their original names, such as Nano and Dassa, Yossi's brother, the speaker. The family moved from Ethiopia to an urban settlement whose name is not specified. This book shows the differences and tension between the new norms, values, and practices of the old society and the new one. An excellent example is the neighborhood grocery store that seemed to Yossi like a new world, as a trip to another country. "No! No, there is nothing like Sasson's grocery store. Visiting there was like a trip to another country." (Vasa, 2015, p. 16). Another example of cultural differences is the mother's refusal to buy on credit at the local grocery store, telling her son, "That's a stupid idea. First you pay, then you eat." (Vasa, 2015, p. 43).

The speaker also refers to Purim and his first experience of celebrating the holiday as celebrated in Israel, and the mother is unfamiliar with the foods eaten on the holiday and its customs. The speaker wants to dress up as a ninja like his friend, but the family cannot afford to buy the costume. Only after his brother Dassa arrives does he purchase the costume for him on the last day of Purim, so it turns out that he goes to school on a weekday wearing a ninja costume.

Social and Economic Integration

The food is very present and serves as a means to illustrate the family's social integration. The speaker notes that his sandwiches for school would contain chocolate or an Ethiopian spicy spread called Chaw. When one day he exchanges sandwiches with his friend, Ofer, he discovers the possibility of putting baloney in a sandwich. The sandwich exchange didn't go well, and the boy's mother, who had difficulty withstanding the heat, comes to the school and scolds Yossi (Vasa, 2015, pp. 37-38)

The economic theme is also present in the book. The family mainly relies on social security benefits. The father initially works in a crate factory, but because he has no one to talk to, he gets up one day and decides to join the bus to the harvest without knowing the payment for his work. He brings lots of sacks of oranges from his work. The mother resents his decision and place of work and asks him to return to the crate factory. He eventually goes to work in a beer factory. There, he is told to work at a slower pace and, with the help of a colleague, discovers alcoholic beverages and television watching. The speaker compares watching the

television to sitting in front of a fire in Ethiopia. He even notes that Rambo is his father's only love in Israel (Vasa, 2015, pp. 47-48)

The narrator mentions other customs prevalent in Ethiopia longingly, in contrast to the traditions of the new society, such as sleeping in a shared bed until a teenager is old enough. Due to his age, the speaker moves to live with his grandmother, who lives nearby. "Grandma told me that everything would be fine and that I could sleep with her as long as I wanted. I eventually moved in with her, and I was no longer afraid to sleep alone." (Vasa, 2015, pp. 55).

The family unit

In this family, it is clear that the father is the primary breadwinner, yet he quits his job in the factory and goes to work in the harvest because he is not satisfied without notifying the rest of the family. The mother does not work, and the family relies on social security benefits. From the speaker's words, there is tension between the couple; the father gets angry and stressed, and the mother, on the other hand, tries to keep quiet about the food shortage in the household but: "In the end, she told him to go back to working in cart factory, because that's what she really needs now" (Vasa, 2015, pp. 46). The father and mother are depicted as having different approaches to life. While she is not afraid of the new world and environment, the father is more afraid. Later, it is described that he collects objects from the street and tries to repair them, to the mother's dismay. "Dad says Mom is ungrateful. She is always like that. She is not being appreciative." (Vasa, 2015, p. 97).

This book also addresses the subject of new language knowledge. For about two pages, the hierarchy in the family regarding mastery of the Hebrew language is explained. The speaker notes that his older brother knows Hebrew best in the family and then himself when his parents are at the end of the ranking. "What Dad had in his mouth was less clear than gibberish, and that sums it all up" (Vasa, 2015, p. 81). Due to the difficulty in mastering the language, the father avoids interaction with others. "Mother says that Dad has shrunk like a needle and only knows how to get in and out" (Vasa, 2015, p. 81). The mother in the story also needs her children's assistance communicating with the environment. An example of this can be seen when she goes to the clinic and asks her son to translate her distress to the doctor. When the boy is helpless in the face of her wailing, he asks the doctor to prescribe a washing machine for her, "I told him just to prescribe her a washing machine fast! My mother was shocked when she heard me say washing machine in front of the doctor... I realized that I had ruined the whole show for her" (Vasa, 2015, p. 92).

Another important topic presented in the book is the use of language. This is the first book in which we have encountered the use of the word "fringe" (whites). Ethiopians usually use

this term to describe the local community: "The factory also employed (white) fringe. (Vasa, 2015, p. 47). We can only assume that the writer used this term and nickname due to his origin.

The Journey to Israel

Unlike its predecessors, this story describes the journey to Israel in more detail. The speaker notes the hardships that the family members went through and the impressive manner in which the father behaved. He notes the length of walking and staying in the refugee camp and the mixed reactions to the plane. "The interpreter said to listen carefully so we don't panic and run away from engines because that's exactly what happens when you see an airplane for the first time in your life, in darkness and in the middle of the desert." (Vasa, 2015, p. 83). He noted the losses they suffered along the way, the loss of his grandmother on the journey to a disease. In this book there is a detailed reference to events that took place in Ethiopia, such as the recruitment of the boys to the army and hiding his brother, Dassa, in the fields to evade them. He also mentions that he and his friends were shepherds in Ethiopia and what they used to do: "We would do competitions, steal sugarcane, honey, pick berries, swim in the stream, throw stones at monkeys, and they would do the same." (Vasa, 2015, p. 52).

Agents of Socialization and Authority Figures

The writer does not elaborate much about the surrounding society other than the friendship with Omer, who volunteered to be Yossi's friend during breaks, and the revelations that this friendship brought and how it ended. The teacher in this story is not as inclusive and meaningful as the teachers presented in the previous books. However, it can be said that at the end of the story, she bridges the cultural gaps and softens the classmates' reaction to Yossi's arrival with a costume on a weekday (Vasa, 2015, p. 108).

Summary and Discussion

This study sought to examine the processes of identity construction and integration of Ethiopian immigrants of the first and second generations, while examining books written about the experience of Ethiopian immigrants by Ethiopian writers and local popular leading writers.

According to the research literature, a difference was observed between the first and second generations. The findings of the various studies indicate that Ethiopian immigrants to Israel faced identity problems, and that members of the first generation formed an Israeli identity for themselves, while members of the second-generation experience identity conflict due to the internalization of negative messages and the difficulty in coping with stereotypes. Therefore, they adopt hyphenated identities as well as a general black identity. A similar pattern of identity construction was observed in several studies conducted among members of the second generation. An examination of the books shows that the authors' emphasis was placed

on members of the second generation, their integration and interaction with both members of their ethnic group and the local population.

It was also found that both men and women feel confused between the different parts of their identities and coping with the new culture. There is a gap in the desire to preserve traditional cultural values between men and women, apart from the first generation who also tended to preserve the values and culture customary in Ethiopia. The findings of this study emphasize the importance of exposing newcomers to new ways to communicate and protect discourse between men, women, state institutions, and religious authorities to support men as well in light of cultural changes and the process of identity construction and identification. In the analyzed books, men mostly found it challenging to integrate occupationally, linguistically, and socially (Chacko, 2003 ; Ben-David & Tirosh Ben-Ari, 1997; Shabtai, 2001A; Shabtai, 2001B)

In Orgad's book (2001), the father felt cut off and returned to Ethiopia. The books present the fathers as characters living in an undefined zone of neither being in Israel nor Ethiopia, having a temporary and volatile sense of belonging. Understanding how the fathers' characters felt is crucial for an in-depth understanding of the process of immigrants' identity construction. They are unable or incapable of forming a sense of self, based on rigid categories such as ethnicity, religion, and nationality. The characters transcend physical boundaries and cultural boundaries. It seems as if the multicultural nature of Israeli society also influenced the experiences of the various characters.

An intergenerational gap was observed as disagreements and conflicts were discovered between parents and their children. Parents who practiced and valued their origin country's values and norms, such as obedience to authority figures and the honor code, found it difficult in light of the new value system in Israel. The children opposed and disliked this set of values and their cultural heritage. Girls who learn new knowledge based on the values of Israeli culture embrace this knowledge. As a result, the status of mothers as the sole authority on imparting values is damaged (Shabtai, 1996; Kassen & Shabtai, 2005).

These findings indicate the importance of developing prevention programs that will focus on the younger generation at high risk of an identity crisis, using strategies that have been found to be effective in the first generation, such as construction and negativism. Also, learning about the history, traditions and finding meaning in the origin country. Another suggestion is to expand their knowledge about Israeli culture and social networks with native-born peers to increase their sense of belonging and identification with the local culture. In her book (2000), Shmuel emphasizes the importance of connecting the younger generation to traditions and customs in a way that forces the reader to reach the same conclusion. "It was written: 'Young

people should understand their roots and be proud of them. The cultural symbols that the family brings with it from the country of origin constitute a source of strength in dealing with immigration" (Shmuel, 2000, p. 10)

In conclusion, there is a need for an in-depth understanding of the processes of identity construction and identity formation of Ethiopian immigrants, considering that each person is in a different place in the identity construction process and on a different identification continuum. No literature review dealing with the gender aspect in this context was found. Therefore, a further examination for a thorough understanding of the processes of identity construction and identification in relation to gender is needed. Moreover, the importance of niche writers (Ethiopian) writing literature for youth is evident. In books written by Ethiopian writers, the descriptions were very detailed and authentic, as was the exposure and use of language jargon, mentioning customs and experiences extensively and leaving the reader with a good sense of both the culture and the experience of immigrants' integration.

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