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HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
California School

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
School of Social Work

/THE ISRAELI SCOUT MOVEMENT/ ITS IMPACT ON CHILDREN OF
ISRAELIS IN LOS ANGELES

A Thesis submitted in partial
fulfillment of the requirements
for the double degrees

MASTER OF ARTS
IN
JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE
and
MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

by
Ron Astor and Lindy Passer

May, 1985

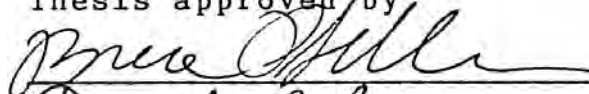

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Thesis approved by

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A Thesis Presented to the FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL
WORK OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA in
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ABSTRACT

Ron Astor and Lindy Passer, "The Israeli Scout Movement: Its Impact on Children of Israelis in Los Angeles." This study focused on the local chapter of Sabar, an Israeli Scouting Youth Movement in the United States. Sabar is an organization for children of Israelis. Our sample populations were organizers, parents, and children, who participated in the San Fernando Valley Chapter of Sabar. A qualitative ethnographic research design was employed. This included interviews with members of Sabar, parents of these members, and organizers of Sabar. Observations of meetings and events was done by the researchers. In addition, interviews with founders of Sabar, as well as members of the American Jewish Community, were conducted. This study's findings will provide: a history of Sabar nationally and locally; an examination of the organizers', parents', and childrens' goals for Sabar; an understanding of how each group's goals are achieved; and an assessment of the relationship between Sabar and the American Jewish Community. Recommendations for creating an alumni group for Sabar graduates, joint programming with Jewish youth organizations, increased parental involvement, and open communication with the Jewish Community Centers are suggested.

INTRODUCTION

Sabar is an American based organization designed and structured to create an Israeli cultural milieu for children of Israelis residing in the United States. Sabar's main goal is to influence these children to return to Israel and enter the army when they are eighteen. Organizationally, Sabar is modeled after the Israeli Scouting youth movement in Israel called Tzofim. Most of the children in Sabar come from families that have American citizenship or a green card. However, there are also families that have legal temporary resident status.

Sabar is an apolitical organization associated with the Scouts in Israel and the international scouting organization. Sabar differs from other Jewish youth organizations on several counts. First, Sabar is geared exclusively for children of Israeli immigrants. Second, its goal is to return these children to Israel. In addition, the organization has little contact with the organized Jewish community.

Sabar was established in 1979. There are currently thirteen chapters in the United States which are based in major East and West Coast cities. There are over one thousand children involved in the thirteen chapters and new chapters are continuously being formed.

This study will focus on the San Fernando Valley branch of Sabar which meets at the Valley Cities Community Center in North Hollywood.

The purpose of this study is to understand the Sabar organization and its members. Therefore, this research will:

- a) review the existing literature on the stresses and coping mechanisms of the Israeli immigrant experience.
- b) examine the history of Sabar both in the greater United States and in the San Fernando Valley.
- c) examine the parents', children's, and organizers' goals for Sabar.
- d) assess Sabar's relationship to the Jewish community.
- e) provide recommendations based on the findings.

In order to accomplish these objectives, a qualitative, ethnographic research design was employed. The researchers used participant observation as a tool to collect their data. Furthermore, face to face interviews were conducted with the parents, organizers, and children of Sabar. Additional interviews were conducted with community experts on Israelis in Los Angeles.

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We wish to extend our thanks and appreciation to a number of people who have enabled us to complete this thesis.

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Chapter I

Literature Review

In order to fully comprehend the dynamics between the parents, children and organizers of Sabar, it is important to view Sabar within the larger context of general migration acculturation patterns. Specifically, Sabar needs to be examined within the larger framework of Israeli migration to the United States.

The literature on migration is broad and covers numerous aspects of the migrant experience. The purpose of this review will be to highlight theoretical and empirical findings pertinent to the Israeli migration experience. Special emphasis will be placed on the psycho-social stresses which Israeli parents and children experience and the ways they reduce tension and dissonance resulting from the immigrant experience.

Types of Immigrants

Researchers have identified various types of immigrants. Douglass (1) describes three types of immigrants. They are: 1.) the permanent immigrant 2.) birds of passage and 3.) the sojourner. The permanent immigrant migrates with the intention of permanently residing in the host culture and has no intention of returning to the land of origin. The bird of passage is the

immigrant who oscillates between his country of origin and new country. The sojourner views the migration as a temporary experience. The sojourner's primary goals are to accumulate monetary wealth and return home with an elevated status.

Although there are individual Israelis in America who fall into all three of these categories of immigrants, the literature describes the majority of Israeli migrants as the sojourner type. Thus, the category of sojourner is of prime importance to this study.

The Sojourner Mentality

The sojourner is psychologically torn between the culture of origin and the new culture. According to Siu (2), with the passage of time, the sojourner begins to feel more at home with the new culture. Moreover, this type of immigrant is subject to a pervasive feeling of ambivalence because the intent to return home never subsides. The ambivalence manifests itself through the immigrant's continuous doubts relating to the migration. This ambivalence and psychological indefiniteness effects the family members of the immigrant. Thus, the children of sojourners may share this ambivalence with their parents. Nevertheless, many sojourner immigrants remain in the new culture because it becomes difficult to return to the

culture of origin after making numerous adaptations to the adopted country.

This sojourner mentality is a pervasive theme in the literature describing Israelis in the United States. In a study of Israelis residing in the United States conducted by Elizur (3) in 1973, eighty percent of the respondents indicated that they were planning to return to Israel. Only nine percent indicated that they had no intention of returning to Israel.

The sub-committee on services to Israelis in New York, of the New York Jewish Federation Council, described the importance of the sojourner concept:

"Many if not most Israelis view themselves as sojourners" that is temporary residents planning to return shortly or one day to Israel. Maintaining the sojourner status is important to their Israeli identity. . . maintaining the psychological and social connection to Israel, no matter how long one actually remains in the diaspora, and maintaining the sojourner status and mentality are of paramount importance." (4)

The Commission on Israelis sponsored by the Council on Jewish Life of the Los Angeles Jewish Federation Council described Israelis in Los Angeles in a similar fashion:

"Israelis tend to regard themselves as temporary sojourners within American society and have been characterized as having the "packed suitcase" syndrome. That is, they perceive themselves as planning to return to Israel while the reality is that few return. (5)

The portrait of the Israeli immigrant as a sojourner is evident in numerous articles written by academicians, journalists, and Jewish communal workers. (6) (7) (8) Thus, the phenomenon of sojourner is a commonly described characteristic of many Israeli immigrants.

Another commonly described factor that compounds the stress and ambivalence of the Israeli immigrant is the psychological implications of Zionist ideology.

Attitudes toward the Israeli Emigre

The stigma and personal pressures placed on Israeli emigrants by Israeli society are extreme. To some leaders in Israel the emigre represents the failure of the Zionist dream. They are seen as betrayers of the Zionist ideology. The term used to describe an emigre is "yored." It literally means "to go down" in Hebrew. The connotations of being a yored are very negative. Among many Israelis, there is a sense of abandonment by their countrymen who emigrated from Israel. In addition, Israeli society explains the emigration as the personal failure of the yored. Thus, the emigre is also stigmatized as having a weak character. Yitzhak Rabin, during his term as Prime Minister of Israel, called the emigres "the weakest of the weaklings." (9) The former Prime Minister was heavily criticized for the comment at the time. Nevertheless, it depicts the stigma with which

the Israeli emigre must contend.

Consequently, the Israeli emigre who internalizes these stigmas will feel guilty for leaving Israel. Many believe that because of these pressures, Israeli migration from Israel is substantially different than migration from other countries. Gladstein (10) lists three differential factors that are exclusively associated with Israeli migration.

1. Emigration from Israel causes almost universal guilt in Israeli emigres which remains after resettlement in the diaspora.
2. Emigration from Israel creates a great deal of hostility in both the Israeli and Jewish populations in the diaspora.
3. Israel is a nation that was reconstituted in its traditional homeland after an eighteen century absence. The irony of emigrants from Israel is that they represent voluntary exile, in spite of the fact that the Zionist prediction of the Jewish condition in the diaspora has largely been confirmed. (11)

Undoubtedly, this stigma must create stress in the emigre. In her Doctoral Thesis, Nili Shalev, an Israeli psychologist, reported that Israeli immigrants in the United States experience more psychosomatic sicknesses than other immigrants. (12) She also found that they experience their illness for a longer period of time than other immigrants. (13) Shalev suggests that these illnesses may be a result of the ambivalence and guilt created by being stigmatized by their home culture. (14) Thus, the move from Israel to the

United States is viewed by Shalev as a psychologically and possibly physically damaging migration.

The Internalization of Zionist Ideology:
Its Effect on the Parents' Perception of Their Children

Israelis view their form of secular-national Judaism as socially and psychologically healthier and, hence, superior to Jewish life in the diaspora.

Historically, Zionist ideology has sought to radically alter the millennial image of the diaspora Jew as a passive, weak, persecuted and helpless person. Zionist pioneers strove for the new image of an Israeli Jew capable of determining his own destiny and living a normal life in a Jewish State.

Therefore, for the immigrant Israeli parent who internalized this ideology, it is important to impart Israeli values and culture to their children. (15) Many Israeli parents prefer to expose their children to Israeli culture because the alternatives for their children are assimilation to American culture or becoming diaspora Jews. The fear of their children being socialized into a Jewish diaspora mentality may create added stress between the family members.

Parents Fear of Assimilation to American Culture

Another source of stress for Israeli parents stems from a fear that their children will assimilate to American society.

Kass and Lipset report that among the reasons cited by Israelis for wanting to return to Israel are "protecting our children from the drug culture and other perils of American adolescence" as well as "staving off the likelihood of intermarriage." (16) Other major "pull" factors bringing families back to Israel, as cited in various articles, are Israeli parents' fear of their children's assimilation into American society, the desire to impart an Israeli identity in their children, the wish to raise their children in a child oriented society, and the desire that their children will receive a Jewish education. (17) Nevertheless, despite these parental fears and concerns, children of Israelis in the United States tend to identify with the American culture.

"Most of the Yordim polled (81%) felt more Israeli than American. . .while a majority of their children (61%) identified more with America than Israel. (18)

The child of the Israeli grows up in two cultures; that of the home and that of the dominant society. The child caught between these opposing norms experiences conflict. "One dilemma that the children of Israelis might

have to face is a dual identity - are they Israelis or Americans? (19)

Therefore, in addition to other stresses, immigrant parents must also deal with the realization that they are raising an American child who internalizes many of the dominant culture's norms, and that these norms may be different than their own.

Up until this point, the stresses of the Israeli migrant and his family have been explored. What are the ways the Israeli sojourner immigrant copes with the cultural dissonance of immigration? The literature reveals that an important coping mechanism is the formation of immigrant groups or cultural enclaves.

The Cultural Enclave

An important and vital characteristic related to the sojourner immigrant experience is the creation of cultural enclaves. Siu (20) believes that these enclaves are based on identification with the ethnic group.

Immigrant enclaves provide social support during the process of acculturation and absorption into the receiving culture. They enable the migrant to: 1) maintain the atmosphere of the home culture, 2) slowly adapt to the new culture, and 3) restructure values and beliefs. Simply stated, they ease the culture shock and reduce cognitive

dissonance. They offer cultural support in a foreign land.

The cultural enclave consists of cultural elements that are recreated in the new country. The enclave is usually in a specific, geographic location and attempts to mirror the immigrant homeland. Chinatowns, little Mexicos, and little Italys are examples of cultural enclaves. Expressions of the cultural enclave also include immigrant newspapers, television shows, schools, youth groups, that reflect the home culture. The language spoken in cultural enclaves is usually that of the home culture.

Eisenstadt notes that there are differences among immigrant enclaves. In his book The Absorption of Immigrants he states:

"The nature of these groups, their composition, values, and roles is closely connected with the motive for migration. Thus, if the principle motive was economic, they may be existing families which maintain their old culture or relatively uncoordinated non-cohesive groups of unmarried men, women, or families who hope to amass a fortune and return home." (21)

This quote certainly reflects the Israeli sojourner experience in the United States. The financial attraction to the United States combined with the desire to return to Israel produces the fundamental ambivalence. Therefore, to relieve this ambivalence, Israelis attempt to recreate miniature Israels in cultural pockets of various urban

centers in America.

As Eisenstadt points out, there are clear connections between the motive for migration and the type of culture an immigrant will create in the new country. The sojourner will duplicate organizations, informal groups and the culture of the homeland.

There is an abundance of material describing Israeli enclaves in the United States. In New York, the sub-committee on services to Israelis reported:

"While there are Israelis living throughout the New York area, there tend to be several areas of high concentration of Israelis. About one-half live in Brooklyn and other concentrations are in Queens and Manhattan." (22)

In Los Angeles, Pini Herman and David LaFontaine reported in their Masters Thesis:

". . . Israelis in Los Angeles are clustered in two main areas; the Eastern San Fernando Valley and the Fairfax/Hollywood area." (23)

Although geographic clustering enables cultural enclaves to thrive, physical proximity is not the only factor in the creation of cultural enclaves. In Los Angeles and other major cities in the United States, Israelis truly create a cultural network.

In an article written by Drora Kass, the idea of cultural enclaves and "the creation of little Tel Avivs

across America's major cities" was described. (24) Kass wrote that it is possible for Israelis living in New York or Los Angeles to maintain contact almost exclusively with Israeli immigrants, both socially and financially. For example, there exist numerous Israeli restaurants, banks, nightclubs, garages, and youth activities, which cater exclusively to Israelis.

Hebrew is one major factor which contributes to the creation of a cultural enclave. Elizur found that 50% of the Israelis interviewed spoke Hebrew at home. (25) Several articles comment on the frequency of Hebrew heard in the streets of these culturally ghettoish neighborhoods. (26) There are newspapers printed in Tel Aviv that are imported daily from Israel. Moreover, there are Israeli newspapers, as well, that are published here in the United States. Several nights a week, there are Hebrew broadcasts on the radio directly from Israel. In Los Angeles, there are weekly Hebrew language television news and entertainment programs, which are locally produced and televised. There are even Israeli yellow pages. Elizur found that 85% of the Israelis interviewed in the United States read Israeli newspapers and 58% listen to the Hebrew broadcasts. (27)

Thus, it is probable that children of Israelis grow up in the Israeli enclave of their parents. Nevertheless, through school, friendships, and the media, these children

are exposed and acculturated to the norms of the dominant society. The difference between the two cultures may cause conflict in these children of Israeli immigrants.

Ambivalences of Children of Israelis

Herman (28) and Eisenstadt (29) suggest that second generation children of immigrants and children who arrived at a young age will be:

"...tormented by the conflict between the world of their immigrant parents and the new world into which they were born." (30)

The older the child is when he leaves the homeland, the stronger the child's connection is to it. Nevertheless, there is no evidence of high reemigration rates in children of immigrants in either first or second generations. In fact, emigration literature states that there is a tendency to reject the culture of the parent. Furthermore, the literature indicates that many children of immigrants acculturate and assimilate to the absorbing culture much more quickly than do their parents.

The immigrant peer group plays an extremely important role in easing the stresses and dissonance the children of immigrants' experience. In essence, the immigrant peer group serves as a coping mechanism which helps the child balance his parent's culture and that of the dominant

society. The child who finds peers in a similar situation may normalize his experience and reduce feelings of alienation and ambivalence.

The Peer Group for Children of Immigrants

The immigrant peer group is important to the children of immigrants because it reduces the tension felt between the home culture and the culture of the dominant society. It provides a referent group for children who experience similar ambivalences. According to Eisenstadt, the immigrant group for children can address the ambivalences in two ways. (31)

1. It can identify with the culture of the new society and reduce the significance of the parent's culture or . . .
2. It can be rebellious against the new culture and stress the culture of the parents. (32) When this happens, the culture of the parents becomes romanticized and idealized.

Even though immigrant peer groups cope with their ambivalences in different ways, the peer group helps the child survive in the new culture. The child who identifies with the parent's culture and rejects the absorbing culture uses the peer group as a support group with its "sanctuary type" qualities (a safe place in a hostile culture). The group that identifies with the absorbing culture helps the

child in actually socializing to the new society, and provides a "sanctuary" from parental pressure.

Policy Efforts to Return Children of Israelis to Israel

As noted earlier, the attitudes and policies of the Israeli government impact on and generate stress on the Israeli emigre and their children. Kass and Lipset describe the situation like this:

"While wanting to maintain close contact with children of Yordim who they view as potential returnees, Israeli officials believe that by extending more than a minimum help to emigres they may be encouraging or facilitating their stay abroad. " (33)

The Israeli government attempts to address the ambivalence of the children in an effort to bring them to Israel. For example, in a letter written to children of Israelis by the World Zionist Organization, it is stated:

"Young friend, in the name of the State of Israel, allow me to offer you an opportunity to add flavor to your life, to participate in the destiny and building of Israel. . . we've come to the conclusion that the sons should not be punished for the sins of their fathers and offer you full rights as immigrants." (34)

In the past, Israel has not been sure of how to implement policy concerning children of Israelis. As a result, they have sent letters, similar to the one above,

when the children are of army age.

In 1976, Gad Nachson expressed his anger at the government's policy toward children of Israelis.

"Indeed the epitome of Israel's tragically wrong approach can be found in the Israeli second generation - "the children of the light." These American sabras have suffered more complexities and frustration than their parents. They have to contest the Israeli environment at home and the American one outside. Israel has seldom paid attention to the problems of this group nor has there ever been an attempt to communicate or organize it. Suddenly, when these children become eighteen, the ice is broken- the Israeli government is willing to embrace them as potential soldiers in the Israeli army." (35)

Thus, it is only a recent development that programs were created to reach the children of Israelis before the age of eighteen. These programs try to keep children of Israelis in an Israeli atmosphere for the purpose of returning them to Israel. Sabar is one such organization.

Jewish Community Policies toward Israelis

The Jewish Community also has policies toward Israelis that impact on the immigrant experience. It is unsettling for the American Jewish Community to deal with the Israelis, because they are afraid that they may be helping them stay in the United States and as a result, harm Israel.

Even the progressive Commission on Israelis in Los Angeles states:

"We do not recommend policies that encourage emigration from Israel or any bonus or attraction for coming to the U.S.A." (36)

Therefore, the creation of any type of program for Israelis would exist only on a "savior basis," in other words, to save the assimilating Israelis from becoming non-Jewish.

The children of Israelis are viewed as an "at risk" population and thus, the policies that address them in the Jewish community are geared at preventing assimilation.

The American Jewish Community Response;
Policy towards Children of Israelis

The Jewish Federation Councils in New York and in Los Angeles are concerned about the children of Israelis losing both their Israeli and Jewish identities. In New York, the Jewish Federation released a report on services for Israelis that incorporated a sub-section titled "Education of Children of Israelis." It stated:

"Estimates gathered through the board of Education indicate that while 40% of New York's Jewish children receive a Jewish education, only 25% of the children of Israelis in New York are enrolled in Jewish educational programs. . . The result is that large numbers of Israeli children are left without the opportunity to learn Hebrew or anything about Judaism. Much of this is the outcome of the Israeli religious and secular schools." (37)

Fearing the assimilation of these young Israelis, this

report recommends several programs and approaches that are more concerned with helping these children acculturate to American society as Jews than in bringing them back to Israel. The report offers several helpful suggestions on how to incorporate children of Israelis into the American Jewish Community. Ironically, they suggest programs such as Sabar and other "enclave like" organizations as a model to help integrate, educate, and help these children feel a part of the community with a strong Jewish identity.

The Commission on Israelis in the Los Angeles Jewish Federation Council also emphasized the need for integrating children of Israelis in Jewish educational programs. They specifically mention Israeli Scouts (Sabar):

"Scouting and sports programs with an Israeli-Hebrew orientation should be supported by the general Jewish community. . . youth movements with this emphasis would reinforce the Israeli child's identity and maintain his connection to the land of Israel." (38)

The Jewish community, like the Israeli government, is addressing the ambivalence of the young Israelis and the tendency for many to assimilate into the host culture. Therefore, the Jewish community sees the need to create enclaves and immigrant peer groups for this youth population that addresses their ambivalences, but keeps them in a Jewish framework.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

This study focuses on the Sabar branch in the San Fernando Valley located at the Valley Cities Community Center in Van Nuys. The authors utilized a qualitative ethnographic research design as outlined in Spradley's The Ethnographic Interview. (39) Two components of ethnographic research were employed: (a) participant observation and (b) one to one interviews. Although ethnographic methodology and tools were employed, this study is not a pure ethnography because of the narrow questions it hopes to answer.

This study examined Sabar as a cultural enclave and asked four questions:

1. Does Sabar ease the transition for children of Israelis to life in America?
2. Does Sabar direct children of Israelis to reemigrate to Israel?
3. Does Sabar prevent the assimilation of children of Israelis to American culture?
4. What type of relationship does Sabar have with the American Jewish Community?

The researchers examined these questions by exploring goals of the parents, children and organizers for the organization. The combination of the broad ethnographic

approach and focus on the three group's goals for Sabar were chosen with the rationale that this would enable the researcher to obtain in-depth, qualitative information relating to the research questions.

Collecting the Data

In order to collect the needed data, the researchers conducted two sets of interviews. The first set was with community leaders and experts on the subject of Israelis. The second set was with persons directly involved with the local Sabar chapter i.e., children, parents, and organizers.

The first set of interviews were held with the founders of Sabar, experts on the Israeli population in Los Angeles, and key Jewish community leaders. They included:

1. Chagai Shmueli, who is the National North American Shaliach (emmissary) from the Israeli Scout movement.

2. Amir Shaviv, who is the American Zionist Youth Foundation Shaliach in Los Angeles. Sabar is a part of the American Zionist Youth Foundation.

3. Pini Herman, who co-authored a demographic study on Israelis in Los Angeles.

4. Avi Fagenbaum, who is the Aliyah Shaliach in Los Angeles.

5. Chana Polti at the office within the Israeli Consulate of Los Angeles.

6. Jerry Weber, director of the Council on Jewish Life in the Los Angeles Federation Council.

7. Rachel Chupin, who was a member on the commission on Israelis in Los Angeles and now conducts a class at the University of Judaism on Israeli-Jewish dialogue.

The purpose of these interviews was to secure the following: a.) background information on the Israeli immigrant population in Los Angeles; b.) the goals and objectives of Sabar as an organization; c.) the history of Sabar in the United States; d.) the evolution of the Sabar branch in Los Angeles; and e.) how Sabar fits into the larger Israeli immigrant experience in Los Angeles.

These initial interviews were loosely structured to enable the informants to address issues they thought to be significant. Furthermore, specific questions were asked in the areas of history, goals, and logistics of Sabar in order to ascertain information relevant to the researchers.

The second set of interviews consisted of twenty-six individual sessions with children, parents, counselors, and organizers of Sabar. Specifically, interviews were held with two organizers, five parents, three counselors, eight children from the older group (ages 15-19) and eight from the younger group (ages 8-14). The length of the interviews ranged from a half hour to one hour and were tape recorded. Concurrently, the interviewers made note of non-verbal behavior and messages. There were thirty-three main questions (see appendix A) that were slightly modified,

depending on the group and role of the informants, i.e., parents, children, organizers. The interviewers merely maintained the flow of discussion so that the questions followed in a natural manner. This style is consistent with the ethnographic approach and enabled the informants to delve into issues relevant to them. It also left the interviewers free to pursue new relevant questions that gained importance during the interview itself.

The informants were assured that their identities would remain confidential. Only information pertaining to aspects of Sabar and attitudes of the informants toward the United States and Israel were sought by the researchers.

The researchers decided to conduct the interviews in English unless the informant specifically requested Hebrew or could not speak English. In the children's group, all of the informants spoke fluent English and did not request Hebrew. Thus, all children's interviews were in English. However, the two organizers and three of the five parents requested Hebrew. They stated that they were either uncomfortable with English, or better able to convey their ideas in Hebrew.

The responses of the parents who interviewed in Hebrew were carefully compared with the parents who interviewed in English, to see if there was any apparent difference due to the language. No differences were discovered.

Nevertheless, the level of fluency in English differed with the parents, children and organizers. The significance of this factor will be discussed at a later point.

The San Fernando Valley branch of Sabar was chosen because a) it was the only branch of Sabar in Los Angeles that had both a younger and older group, b) it was the oldest branch of Sabar in Los Angeles, and c) it had a comparatively large number of members. Between 70-100 children are presently affiliated with this chapter.

In choosing our informants, a purposive sampling method was used in order to obtain in-depth information from key involved members. The researchers selected informants that met these two conditions:

1. The children must have been involved with Sabar for at least one year.
2. The children must be regular members and come to at least three meetings out of four a month.

Furthermore, informants were chosen from both the younger and older groups. This was done to see if there were any substantial differences between the two groups. The researchers were only interested in the active experienced members who were familiar with Sabar and could provide an in-depth understanding of the organization. From the children meeting these criteria, fifteen were randomly selected by the researchers.

Parents of the children interviewed were asked to be part of the study and of those available and willing to participate, the researchers randomly selected five to be interviewed.

The children's interviews were scheduled before or during Sabar's weekly Sunday meetings. Three of the parents were interviewed in their homes. The other two parents were interviewed over the telephone at their request. The phone interviews limited the observation of non-verbal processes. However, there was no major qualitative differences in the content of the responses between the parents interviewed on the phone, and those interviewed face to face.

Some limitations in this study were:

1. There was no control group with which to compare the findings.
2. Because this was an exploratory ethnographic research design, there was little external generalizability.
3. The interviews reflected the views of active involved members of Sabar only.
4. The selection of the informants was purposive and not random.

Furthermore, one of the researchers is a child of an Israeli. Ten years ago, he was involved in the Israeli youth group which later evolved into Sabar in Los Angeles. To control for the potential bias of this researcher, the

two researchers carefully checked their interpretations with one another to see if they coincided. Where the interpretation and insight did not coincide, they were examined by the researchers and advisors as a potential source of researcher bias.

Participant Observation

"Participant observation makes it possible to check deception against fact, and noting discrepancies, becoming aware of systematic distortions are less likely to be discovered by interview alone." (40)

The authors attended and observed five meetings on different occasions. They also visited the homes of four of the children and parents. Through these experiences, the authors were better able to experience the subjective experience of Sabar and its participants.

For example, the authors sat in on several heated discussions between the children on political issues in Israel. Without being part of this exercise, the researchers would not have felt the emotional intensity of the children. Without actually being in the homes of the parents, the authors may not have felt the emotional closeness within the families. Therefore, observing and participating in the informants' natural environment enabled

the researchers to note the subjective, emotional atmosphere of the group as well.

Data from Relevant Documents and Records

Sabar has no written documents, files, statement of purpose and objectives, or funding proposals. Although the researchers were aware that Sabar was partially funded by the World Zionist Organization and The Jewish Agency, documents reflecting this were unobtainable. Even though the authors are aware that written funding proposals are needed for allocating funds, they were told by representatives in the Sabar organization that no documentation exists on Sabar. Furthermore, Sabar does not have brochures or publicity flyers. The American Zionist Youth Foundation, of which Sabar is a member, had no information available. The Jewish Community Center out of which Sabar functions also had no information available on Sabar. The only source of written information came from a local Hebrew newspaper, Israel Shelanu, and an advertisement which listed the meeting time and place of the organization. Unfortunately, none of it was descriptive. Thus, most of the history, dates, structural knowledge, goals and objectives, and fundraising sources are supplied by interviews and indirect references to Sabar in reports such as the "Commission on Israelis in Los Angeles."

Analysis and Discussion of the Data

The authors looked for themes emerging from the interviews and observations that were related to the questions asked at the onset of the study. The interviews were taped and transcribed. Following the transcription, each researcher, individually, read all of the interviews and noted patterns, similarities, and differences in the content and process of the responses. While scanning for trends, the researchers conducted a frequency count to identify the patterns that were emerging. Subsequently, the researchers consolidated the different patterns into categories and groupings. These categories were then analyzed to interpret their meaning and their connection to the researchers' questions.

Chapter III

History

Tzofim (Israeli Scouts in Hebrew) is a youth movement in Israel which resembles the American Boy and Girl Scout Movement in the United States. This youth movement has existed in Israel for nearly sixty years. Tzofim in Israel is a pioneering movement which encourages its participants, when they are of age, to join Nachal, the branch of the army which is connected to the Kibbutz movement. Tzofim is an apolitical movement whose sister youth movement is Young Judea, a Zionistic youth movement in the United States.

In 1976, the Israeli government began to focus its concerns on bringing back children of Israelis in the United States to Israel. A shaliach was sent in order to establish an Israeli youth movement, in the United States and Canada, which was similar to Tzofim in Israel. In 1979, after several years of experimentation with groups of children of Shalichim, an official Israeli youth group called Sabar was established in the United States and Canada.

As of 1985, Sabar consists of thirteen chapters in the United States and Canada with approximately one thousand active participants nationwide. Some chapters are bigger than others, depending on the amount of Israelis in the area. Many of the thirteen chapters are successful yet

others are on the verge of dying. The success of the chapter usually depends on the ability of the organizers leading it.

A chapter begins with a group of older Israeli youth, ages ranging from fourteen to eighteen, who are trained to be counselors. The real backbone of Sabar is the older group which, after seven months to a year of training, recruits younger children to complete the chapter.

Each chapter has one or two organizers, depending on the size of the group. The organizers are Israelis, usually students, who are sought out by the national coordinator of Sabar. These organizers are individuals who intend to stay in the United States for a limited period of time, usually three years or less. Thus, they have not acculturated to American society, and are looking to be part of something "Israeli" while they are in the United States.

In order to be eligible to be a Sabar organizer, the person must have had past experience working with youth in Israel, although not necessarily with Tzofim. The coordinator looks for organizers who are committed to the notion of encouraging these children to return to Israel. Their task is to train the older group to be counselors of the younger group, and to help plan and organize the programs of Sabar once the chapter is established.

The source of Sabar's budget comes from the Jewish

Agency, through the American Zionist Youth Foundation (A.Z.Y.F.). The Jewish Agency allocates \$20,000 dollars a year nationwide. This relatively small amount of money, however, does not cover all of Sabar's expenses. Thus, annual fees are collected from each participant. The A.Z.Y.F. has no other official responsibility or tie to Sabar and the organizers, in turn, have little, if any, contact with the A.Z.Y.F. Shaliach.

Sabar has no organizational connection with the American Boy and Girl Scout Movement in the United States. As a result, Sabar is not allowed to share the Scouting name or the symbols which identify it, including the national uniform. Because Sabar is independent, they do not have the financial means to obtain their own building. Therefore, Sabar in the San Fernando Valley, for example, holds its meetings in some rented rooms at the local Jewish Community Center.

The Formation of the San Fernando Valley Sabar Chapter

Prior to the establishment of Sabar in the United States, an informal group of Israeli youth had already established a presence in the San Fernando Valley, California, in 1974. This group had found themselves feeling uncomfortable in other youth movements such as HaBonim and HaShomer HaTzair, so they organized their own

social and recreational youth group. Their activities had no particular connection to Israel or Israeli culture, except that they spoke Hebrew at their gatherings. Yet they seemed to feel more comfortable in their own group, knowing they were all children of Israelis. The group appeared to provide a cultural enclave (as described in the literature review) for Israeli youth who had no other outlet to express and share their Israeli identity.

After several years, this informal group became connected with a more organized group of children of Shalichim in Los Angeles. The two groups combined events and eventually evolved into a much larger, more organized group with planning committees and special programs. Subsequently, the coordinator of Sabar in the United States and Canada learned of this informal Israeli youth group and approached them with the idea of becoming part of a national movement. The group agreed and has, since then, expanded into a large and successful chapter of the national Sabar movement.

The actual functions of the San Fernando Valley branch of Sabar will be described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The Functions of Sabar -- The San Fernando Valley Chapter

Sabar is composed of two groups of participants, the older group and the younger group. The total number of participants in both groups is estimated between 80-100 children. Attendance ranges between 25-30 older children and 30-40 younger children each week. The older group consists of participants ages 15-18, and within this group, some of the participants are counselors for the younger group. The younger group consists of participants ages 10-14, and a small number of these participants act as counselors-in-training (CIT's). The two groups meet separately, the younger group from 4 - 6 p.m. and the older group from 6 - 8 p.m. once a week. There exists an important distinction between these groups in that they function differently within the organization. The separation of the two groups allows the organizers to focus their attention and instruction on each group's particular needs.

There is a clear hierarchy within the organization which is accepted by all participants. The hierarchy, from top to bottom, consists of the major coordinator of Sabar, the organizers, the counselors, the older group, the counselors-in-training, and the younger group.

The Younger Group

Special rituals, which parallel those performed in the military in Israel, have been incorporated into the beginning and ending of each weekly Sabar meeting. These rituals include such things as standing at attention and role call, and they embody a pseudo-military atmosphere. This orients them to the army, an important aspect of Israeli culture.

All of the activities of the organization are conducted entirely in Hebrew. The counselors speak only Hebrew to the children. The children, among themselves, are encouraged to speak only Hebrew as well. The maintenance of the Hebrew language is important in that it serves to further educate the children in the language and gives them an opportunity to practice it. This is seen as a means of maintaining a connection to Israel, Israelis, and Israeli culture.

The programming for the younger group revolves around educational, recreational and social events. Much of the programming is recreational involving games, sports, storytelling, etc. Other programs involve education, specifically Jewish education. For example, educational programming around the Jewish holidays or other Jewish events are quite common.

One might suggest that this is no different than a Jewish youth group such as B'nai B'rith Youth or United

Synagogue Youth, for they also strive to educate their participants in Jewish life and employ recreational and social programs to transmit their messages. The major difference between Sabar and other Jewish youth groups appears to be the emphasis placed on Israel and how these Jewish events -- holidays, Maccabee games, and overnights -- relate to life in Israel and to the Israeli, not just the Jew. For example, activities involved in an overnight camp experience for the younger group of Sabar attempt to educate the children about life in the army. The activities parallel what occurs in military training (i.e., getting up very early, hiking, cooking and eating military-style food, and learning about how Israeli soldiers live in boot camp). This experience attempts to alleviate the children's fears and anxieties of the Israeli army and to instill within them a somewhat more positive attitude toward it.

Other activities for the younger group are similar to what goes on in other Jewish youth groups. Recreational and social events give the children a sense of cohesion and closeness which allows room for the creation of friendships and a feeling of common identity. The majority of the programming for the younger group is done by the counselors, with help from the organizers.

The Older Group

The older group, in general, is less structured than the younger group. This group meets together each week in the same room. The counselors meet with the organizers prior to this to discuss specific issues relating to their peers, problems, programming, etc. The counselors then become part of the larger group and participate as any other member might participate.

Hebrew plays an important role in the older group. The organizers conduct the meetings solely in Hebrew and little, if any, encouragement to speak Hebrew appears necessary. The organizers assume every participant speaks and comprehends the language fluently. The constant practice of the language gives group members an opportunity to increase their vocabulary and learn new expressions.

Activities within the older group differ significantly from those activities of the younger group. Meetings usually involve some kind of discussion of a problem or situation relating to Israel and/or Israelis in Israel. The organizers might propose a controversial topic of discussion or tell a story which calls for some interpretation. The ensuing discussion becomes the focus of this group's meetings. The organizers encourage interaction among members of the group as well as open-minded, solid thinking.

Programming in the older group relates much more explicitly and directly to Israeli and army life. Philosophical, political, and ideological discussions occur whether the organizers or the participants have planned an event. These intellectual and educational issues instill within the group an awareness of important concerns which relate to them as Israelis.

Weekly kumsitz (sing-along) sessions take place, in addition to weekly meetings, where old and new Israeli songs are taught and sung. The kumsitz, for the older group, becomes another connection to Israel, Israeli culture, and Israeli life in general.

The use of rituals and symbols extends to the wearing of Sabar sweatshirts. This includes both groups and serves to give the participants a sense of unity as well as a unique identity. Sweatshirts with an original Sabar logo were created several years ago by a participant from the older group. There are different colored sweatshirts for particular groups - - black for organizers, white for counselors, and blue for all other participants. The idea of wearing the sweatshirt to each meeting is extremely important to the organization. The wearing of the sweatshirt by a participant is seen by the organizers as signifying a commitment to the organization. Every counselor, participant, and even organizer is expected to

wear the sweatshirt upon entrance to the meeting. Otherwise that person is disciplined. In addition, when a participant forgets to wear his/her sweatshirt, he/she stands out in the group and is looked upon negatively by fellow members, as well as by counselors and organizers. Specific colored sweatshirts also signify the status of a person within the group. Those wearing the white and black sweatshirts have authority, responsibility, and power within the organization. The color coding of the sweatshirts actually helps to delineate and make clear the hierarchical structure of the organization.

Functions of the Organizers

The organizers function differently in relation to the younger and older group. In the younger group, the organizers serve as advisors, educators, and trainers for the counselors. They will suggest programming ideas and techniques which the counselors then plan and carry out. The organizers are less visible and less accessible to the younger group members. Conversely, in the older group, the organizers function as teachers, discussion leaders, and advocates for the participants. The members of the older group may brainstorm ideas for programming with the organizers, but the organizers do less of the actual implementing of activities. Instead, they give the group

responsibility for planning and organizing. They provide support to the members and establish more of a one-on-one relationship with them. The different functions vis-a-vis the two groups reflect the different goals for each group intended by the organization. This will be further elaborated on in the next chapter.

Observational Findings Relating to the Functions of Sabar

As silent observers, the authors were able to witness several interactions: organizer to counselor, counselor to participant, and participant to participant. These various interactions, combined with other observations of activities and discussions, shed light on the actual functioning of each group.

The Younger Group

Among the younger group, the most predominant interaction is that between the counselors and the children. The counselors portray authority and the children conform to the counselor's discipline. The counselors are respected and idolized by the younger group. One 11 year old explained:

"I want to be a counselor here and when I go to high school, I want to be a leader like our leader."

Another child expressed the importance of an effective

counselor:

"My brother came once, but he didn't have a good counselor, so he dropped out. The counselor has to be good."

Comments such as those quoted above suggest that the counselor serves as a role model for the younger group. The organizers train the counselors to teach the children about Israel, the army, Israeli culture, and Israeli values. Therefore, the counselors become the means by which the organizers can relay their objectives to the children. The actual function of the counselor is to try to influence the children to think positively about being an Israeli and about life in Israel. Some of the counselors who make aliyah are especially admired and respected by the children. The children look up to the counselors and try to emulate them. The counselors, in this way, act as role models for the children.

The Importance of a Peer Group

Within the younger group, there are several smaller groups of approximately 10 children which are divided by age. These smaller groups are called kfutzot. Most of the interactions among the children occur within each kfutzah, (singular). In order to allow for more interaction and socializing, the counselors leave twenty minutes after the

end of each meeting for the children to have free time to see their friends who are in other kfutzot. This informal gathering of all the younger children emphasizes important social and recreational aspects of the organization. The free time creates an opportunity for a peer group to form.

Access to Organizers

The counselors have the most access to the organizers. The counselors look up to the organizers in a way which is similar to how the younger children look up to the counselors. This free access to the organizers gives the counselors a sense of importance. It was observed that the counselors tended to participate most during the older group's meetings. Perhaps, as a result of this interaction with the organizers, the counselors feel more confident and less inhibited to speak up during the meetings. It also, however, may be the result of a self-selection process where those most confident and outspoken tend to go on to become counselors.

The Older Group

The older group, consisting of approximately thirty people, meets weekly. The group is not divided into sub-groups. The organizers tend to spark a discussion and then leave it up to the members to develop the topic or search for answers to controversial issues. The discussion, debate, or story always relates in some way to Israel,

whether it be political, religious, military, or cultural. The organizer acts as the director, the mediator, and sometimes as the person with whom to argue or vent feelings. The function of the organizer is to impart to the group the message that Israel is vital to Israelis and is within the "kid's" reach. The organizer attempts to instill within them a desire to return to Israel, their "homeland."

Hebrew

Hebrew acquisition and use has been observed to be an essential function of the organization. Hebrew is a carrier of Israeli culture, Israeli life, and a connection to Israel, and Israelis. Hebrew is particularly important in that it conveys Israeli values and Israeli ideas which cannot be translated into English. The speaking of Hebrew transmits a common identification with Israeli culture and the Israeli people. Without the use of Hebrew, as well as the emphasis on Israeli-oriented activities, these children might resemble any other Jewish youth organization. In addition, the maintenance of the Hebrew language will undoubtedly make it easier for the participants if and when they go to Israel. Two of the organizers explained:

"Hebrew is one of the most important aspects of our program. It makes it different from the rest and without Hebrew, they (the children) will never make it in Israel."

"Hebrew is our foundation. It's what Israeli culture is built on."

The emphasis placed on Hebrew creates certain boundaries within, and outside of, the organization. Only those who speak and comprehend the language may comfortably join Sabar. This immediately alienates all those who do not know Hebrew. Those within Sabar also feel alienated if their Hebrew is less than fluent. The organizers and counselors not only encourage the speaking of Hebrew, but they discourage and actually reprimand those who speak English at events and meetings. The older group will rarely speak to the organizers or to each other in English, unless they are having difficulty translating an English word into Hebrew. But the younger children find themselves reprimanded more often, as they tend to slip into English among themselves. One 10 year old admitted:

"We speak Hebrew here, but sometimes we slip into English. But the counselors remind us to return to Hebrew. I guess if I had the choice, I would speak English because it is easier for me."

One counselor expressed how important it is to maintain the language and her difficulty accepting the reality of the younger group's resistance:

"Hebrew is very important. It keeps us united. The kids talk between themselves in English. I don't like that and pretend that I don't understand English."

Conformity vs Non-Conformity

The issue of conformity versus non-conformity is an interesting one in relation to the functioning of this organization. Language is certainly one area where the participants opt to conform. Otherwise, they will feel alienated from the group. Being different, in this case, runs the possible risk of being reprimanded by the counselors, and organizers, and, possibly, ostracized by one's peers. Another issue which deals with conformity is the members' similar style of dress. If a member neglects to wear the Sabar sweatshirt, or if he/she comes to a meeting wearing "preppy" or other attire more formal than jeans, peer disapproval would result. Members might tease the non-conforming participant, or laugh at him/her. These observations reflect the distinct characteristics of this group -- the speaking of Hebrew, the informal attire, the wearing of a special shirt. Those who conform to this "fit in" and are accepted by most of the participants. If this bond is broken in some way, the non-conforming member seems to filter out of the organization.

A special case of non-conformity exists in the older group. There are approximately six or seven adolescent Israelis who enjoy being at Sabar functions, yet they are not fully accepted by the organization for a variety of reasons. For example, these Israelis have the style of dress, mannerisms, and mentality which resembles the punk culture. Sabar members look at this as a part of American culture; therefore it goes against the ideals of the organization. These Israelis have made some friends in Sabar and show up outside of the building before meetings to socialize with fellow Israelis. Yet, they are not involved in the organization's activities, outings, or discussions. These Israelis are not willing to conform. Therefore they prevent themselves from getting more deeply involved in Sabar. Hebrew represents one of the commonalities between the two groups. These non-conforming Israelis are attracted to Sabar by the fact that Sabar represents the cultural enclave which these Israelis apparently need and cannot find elsewhere.

The uniqueness of Sabar and the many commonalities among its members seem to strengthen a commitment to being Israeli and to sharing in Israeli culture, values and lifestyle. The organizers choose what they feel to be positive values which they then translate to "Israeli values." The "non-conforming" Israelis mentioned above do

not meet the expectations that the organizers have placed upon the participants of the organization.

The following chapter will focus on more specific aspects of the Sabar organization, particularly the goals and satisfaction of the organizers, the parents and the children.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

Introduction

Articulated, documented goals provide an organization, its members, and the community, a statement of the purpose and functions of that organization. Such a formal document is often useful in clarifying what may or may not be the obvious intentions of an organization. One can make the assumption that most organizations have at least one goal, which is usually, but not necessarily, stated formally.

Sabar has no such formal document defining its goals for the organization. In spite of this, the goals of the organization have been made quite clear to the authors through interviews with the coordinator, organizers, and other staff. In the first section of this chapter, the authors will discuss the goals of Sabar as perceived by the organization, the parents and the children. In Section II, the authors will report the means by which each groups' goals are satisfied. In the third section of this chapter, the authors will discuss the Jewish community and its relationship to Sabar, as well as Sabar's perception of the Jewish community.

Section I

Goals of Organization

The idea of Sabar grew out of the Israeli government's interest in children of Israelis living in the United States and Canada. The goal of establishing this organization was to return these children of Israelis to Israel. Thus, Sabar was created for this purpose, although the goal of returning the children to Israel has never been articulated on paper. Nevertheless, it has been cited as the major goal which the organization strives to achieve. One of the organizers of Sabar sums it up nicely:

" Sabar was established as a group for yordim that was functioning here as a Zionist, ideological movement to try to keep children of yordim in an Israeli environment, in order to convince them to go back to Israel and join the army with their Israeli friends."

The organization does not directly state to the parents that Sabar is trying to return their children to Israel. The organizers concur that a statement of Sabar's goal would threaten many parents and, therefore, the children would not be sent to the group. One organizer explains:

"We train them to love and return to Israel. If this were overt and written out, no parent would send their kid, so we need to be a bit covert in our description of events, and be sensitive to the parents' fears."

Another organizer describes the organization's strategy concerning the best time to start emphasizing this return to Israel:

"When they reach the age of seventeen or eighteen, we start putting more pressure about thinking of the army and aliyah, but not beforehand. The parents would be furious and the children would be confused as to their allegiance and identity."

A distinction was made between the older group and the younger group in terms of the goals. The ultimate goal of returning the kids to Israel is the same for both groups. The organization sees the children of the older group as more ready to receive this idea and, therefore, feels comfortable emphasizing aliyah and the army with them more directly. As for the younger group, the organization sees them as children who are less in touch with Israeli culture and values. Consequently, they need to stress other intermediate goals first, in order to ultimately reach the goal of educating them towards aliyah. One organizer gives an example:

"For younger kids, Sabar is more to strengthen their identity. For the older kids, it's to bring them back to Israel."

A second organizer also describes these differences between the two groups and validates the organization's need

to work with these groups differently:

"There are differences in the older and younger group. In the younger group, we have children who don't know what it is like to be an Israeli. In the older group, the kids come because they are alienated from Americans and want to speak Hebrew. They miss Israel more than the younger group."

The goal of Sabar clearly suggests the intent to return the children to Israel. As previously stated, there exists no formal document and the organization does not openly state this goal to the parents. However, this goal seems to be understood by all parties; the organizers, the parents, and the children. The parents and the children recognize the organization's goal, yet at the same time, have their own goals and reasons for investing themselves in Sabar.

Goals of Parents

Parental involvement in Sabar can be described as minimal. Every parent interviewed expressed a lack of knowledge about what actually happens in Sabar meetings. In spite of this lack of knowledge, all of the parents shared certain expectations in sending their children to Sabar and saw the organization as satisfying these expectations in various ways. The three major goals shared by these parents include:

1. To make the children happy living in the United States;
2. To maintain the children's Hebrew;
3. To provide Israeli culture and Israeli values for "Israeli" children living in the United States.

Knowing that Sabar made their children happy proved to be very important to the parents. Some parents go so far as to say that Sabar saved their children from an extreme unhappiness which often stemmed from a move to the United States. For example, one parent recounts how Sabar made her son happy and more at ease living in America.

"My oldest son hated it (coming to the United States). If it weren't for Sabar, he would be miserable here. It gave him a feeling that there were others with this same acculturation problem."

Another parent describes not only his children's unhappiness, but the guilt he felt for putting his children in that situation:

"Yes, at the time when I needed them (Sabar)most, when my kids were lost and when I felt like I was ruining their lives, Sabar helped me feel better and them to adjust."

Parents also mentioned how much their children loved Sabar and looked forward to meetings all week. They expressed the importance of the children "having a good time" and seeming to be "happier to be with kids like them."

The children's enthusiasm clearly influences the parent's attitude toward Sabar and gives adequate reason to continue sending their children to the organization.

The speaking of Hebrew represents another major goal for the parents. Some parents characterize Sabar as the "only opportunity for some kids to speak Hebrew." Others maintain that the main reason they send their children to Sabar is because of this language factor. One parent comments on the importance of speaking Hebrew not only in Sabar, but in the home as well:

"I like the fact that they speak Hebrew. They need to remember Hebrew. Many families don't speak Hebrew. We only speak Hebrew at home and the kids need that."

The preservation of Israeli culture is another important reason for parents enrolling their children in Sabar. Responses referring to the importance of Israeli culture showed evidence of a "sojourner mentality" in which the parents feel the need to recreate the culture from where they came, and want their children to experience that culture. The parents send their children to Sabar with the assumption that the organization provides this cultural experience. Every parent interviewed mentioned the importance of Sabar providing Israeli cultural experiences for their children.

The term "Israeli culture" means many things to the parents interviewed. The parents elaborate on this term and include several factors which constitute Israeli culture for them. These include: love of Israel, Zionism, Hebrew, Israeli environment, and Israeli values. One parent, who claims to send his children to Sabar in order to instill Zionism in them, gives his interpretation as to the reasons why most parents send their children to Sabar:

"There are many reasons. Most want their kids to be in a support group of Israelis, but not because of Zionism or Israel, but speaking Hebrew and Israeli culture is what's important. For some, it is temporary and it maintains culture through the peer group. It makes the parents' lives easier."

Another parent stressed the importance of Israeli values, and implied that Israeli values were different and perhaps superior to American values:

"I like the concept of Sabar very much. It is to get them (the children) together, and give them value as Israelis and an approach toward the State of Israel. And also as a place to teach them to grow up respectable."

Even though the parents identify the importance of "Israeli values" for their children, they were unable to verbalize the particulars of an "Israeli value." The organizers were better able to articulate what they perceive an "Israeli value" to be. Their explanation seems to fit

the parents' generalized notion of what one is. One of the organizers specifically lists the following as "Israeli values":

1. Caring for friends and for the group;
2. No drugs;
3. Feeling good about being Jewish-Israeli in America or anywhere; and
4. Love for the land of Israel.

To both the parents and the organizers, American values and American culture were the opposite of "Israeli values." Thus, the goal for these parents is to instill within their children Israeli values which will mold them into fine, "respectable" people. Without the influence of Sabar, they fear that their children might find themselves lured toward a "corrupt" American culture. Minority cultures often define themselves as being "superior" to a majority host culture. This provides a rationale, an apologetic, for continued group identity.

Goals of the Children - The Older Group

The goals of the younger group and the older group are very similar, yet they are described by the children in distinct terms. As previously suggested, the older group perceives Sabar's main goal as that of returning the

children to Israel. However, this accurate perception of Sabar's organizational goal does not mean that the children share this goal. One 16 year old comments:

"I think the bottom line is for us to go to Israel, but they don't push it on you. It's their philosophy not to push it, but rather to teach kids to like the land, to learn songs and to be in an Israeli atmosphere."

The older group has three major goals for Sabar. They include:

1. To experience an Israeli culture (i.e., speak Hebrew, discuss issues concerning Israel, etc.);
2. To make Israeli friends;
3. To share a common identity.

Most of the older group integrated these three goals into their responses to questions such as, "What type of kids come to Sabar?" and "What is Sabar all about?" For example, one eighteen year old incorporates all the above reasons for coming to Sabar:

"Kids who miss Israel come here. Sabar creates an Israeli culture, personality, and mentality for Israeli children who don't have Jewish friends."

A seventeen year old responds similarly, although she stresses the importance of maintaining one's Israeli identity:

"People who want to speak Hebrew and make friends come here. Sabar lets you know you are an Israeli. It's a good idea because we were born there (in Israel) and we shouldn't lose who we are just because we live here."

All of the older children share an ambivalence towards returning to Israel and entering the army. These ambivalences are evidence of the sojourner's conflict of not being able to decide whether to return to the homeland or remain in the present culture. Some of these ambivalences present themselves in the following statements. One fourteen year old expresses her feelings about Zionism her uncertainty about her future in the following statement:

"Israel is for me. It is the Jewish State, of course. I think I'm meant to be there. It's hard to explain, it's just something I feel... I think I want to live in Israel, but who knows what will happen in twenty years?"

Another sixteen year old displays her feelings of ambivalence:

"I'm probably going to go (to live in Israel) but I'm not positive. I want to finish school first. . I would like to go to Israel and go here - back and forth."

Goals of the Younger Group

As previously stated, the goals of the younger group are similar to those of the older group. Therefore, Sabar is serving many of the same needs for both groups. The

younger group articulated their needs and desires on a less sophisticated level, but nevertheless, made the point that they felt Sabar was satisfying their wants. The goals of the younger group fall into three major categories:

1. To have fun;
2. To make friends; and
3. To learn about Israel and Israeli culture.

A minority number of younger children came to Sabar with a desire to go to Israel and join the army. Those who do, come from families with a Zionist orientation and with clear plans to return to Israel. One eleven year old firmly stated, "I always wanted to live in Israel and be in the army." Of those few who did come with a Zionist mentality, each one mentioned the fact that "most kids only come to Sabar for friends and they don't care about the army." One boy mentioned that Sabar had no influence on his decision to live in Israel.

The rest of the younger group sees returning to Israel as something intangible, and even frightening. This group acknowledges the organization's main goal, and yet at the same time, comments on how "Sabar doesn't force you to go", and "they won't get mad if you don't go."

Overall, the younger group agrees that learning about Israel, speaking Hebrew, and making Israeli friends are

their primary motives in coming to this organization. One eleven year old describes her happiness with Sabar:

"On Sundays, my mom and I used to clean the house and it was boring. Now I'm like in a club, and it's fun. And we learn things, so I learn, too."

Another child expresses a widely held view of Sabar as "family". This emphasizes the importance of peers and the creation of a close-knit group for the younger children.

"At first I was confused because Sabar was new, but now I feel like it's a family. It's part of me. I look forward to coming now."

In summary, the older and younger groups both come to Sabar for similar reasons, -- learning about Israel and Israeli culture, sharing a common identity, creating a peer group, and speaking Hebrew. The older group maintains that they are different because they see themselves as more "committed" to Israel than the younger group. They view their participation in Sabar as one of free choice, whereas they view the younger group as being influenced or initially forced to come to Sabar by their parents. Nevertheless, Sabar, in one way or another, is satisfying the needs of both the older and younger groups.

The goals as articulated by the three various groups are different. The organization's goal is to foster aliyah for its members, the parents' goal is to maintain for their

children a link to Israel and a tie to their Israeli identity, and the children's goals are to experience Israeli culture and create a peer group. In the following section, the authors will present how each group's goal is being fulfilled by the organization.

Section II

Perceptions of Goal Achievement

As presented in Section I, the goals of the organization, the parents, and the children are clearly very different. However, the means by which each group's goals are achieved appear to be very much the same. The activities within Sabar, are not planned according to each party's separate goals, but rather with the organization's goal in mind. The three groups experience the same activities differently, corresponding to their three distinct goals.

The Organization

A. Activities

Sabar has borrowed the curriculum from the Israeli Scouts organization in Israel and has used it as a basis for their own programming. The organizers do however, subtract from and expand upon this curriculum, as well as create their own original programs for the organization.

Many of the activities of Sabar have been described previously. Maccabee games, overnights, special rituals at the beginning and end of each meeting, Israeli Kumsitz, storytelling, and discussions are some examples of typical Sabar activities. The organizers identify these as the ways

in which the organization tries to achieve its goal. Each of these activities attempts to show the children a particular view of what it is to be Israeli and to orient them to Israeli life. The content of these activities serves to prepare the children for life in Israel. One organizer states what happens in Sabar during the year and the intentions behind these activities as follows:

" . . . trips, education, fun, and activities that give them (the children) Israeli values. Hopefully, it will help these kids and their families to come back to Israel, or it will let them know what an Israeli is all about. It will teach them about their roots."

B. Israeli values

A major way in which Sabar tries to influence the children to return to Israel is by instilling Israeli values within them. The inculcation of Israeli values filters through everything that Sabar does, both implicitly and explicitly. The organizers believe that with the infusion of these values, the children will gain a better understanding of Israelis and life in Israel. One organizer implicitly identifies humanistic ways to treat others as the "Israeli way." In other words, "Israeli values" are positive, humanistic ideals which others (i.e., Americans) may not possess. The organizers believe that if the children possess these values, it may lead the children to

return to Israel.

"I want them to learn how to treat friends and people in an open Israeli way."

The infusion of Israeli values are expressed operationally through activities such as storytelling. For example, in the stories told about Israelis and Israeli heroes, certain positive values are being expressed about these people. These values are translated into "Israeli values." The people in these stories are used as role models for the children in order to instill in them a specific value system.

C. Cultural Enclave

Another means of achieving the organization's ultimate goal is through the creation of a cultural enclave. The cultural enclave (as noted in the literature review) enables the children to slowly adapt to living in the United States, while, at the same time, maintaining their Israeli identity. The organization does not attempt to help the children become absorbed into the United States, but, rather, seeks to create a "little Israel" for them while they are living in America. The organizers never use the actual term "enclave" when describing their group, but they do state that the purpose is to create a "little Israel." The

purpose, as perceived by the organizers, is to give the children a library of associations relating to Israeli culture and to inculcate within them an Israeli mentality.

One of the organizers explains:

" Sabar prepares them for Israeli culture. It gives them a mentality, a repertoire of Israeli associations within an American context. We help them practically with regards to the army. It's almost like an artificial Israel."

The elements which make Sabar a cultural enclave are described by the organizers to be the creation of an Israeli environment, the speaking of Hebrew, the education of Israel and Israeli culture. These elements are prescribed in all of Sabar's activities.

The organization intends to prepare these children to live in Israel and believes that without Sabar, the children will struggle unnecessarily with the hardship of reemigrating:

"Without Sabar they may want to (return to Israel), but their Hebrew and mentality would be too different than Israelis. They would fail at making aliyah. "

D. Awareness of parental ambivalence

The organizers are aware that their goal is not shared by the parents, and in fact, creates ambivalence within the parents. The organizers even suggest that the parents may

resent the organization's efforts to return the children to Israel. Therefore, as part of the effort to achieve their goal, the organizers feel it is important to be sensitive to parental discomfort. One organizer gives an example:

"Some (parents) are afraid of the pressure they may feel when their child starts talking about Israel and living there. The parents are happy with what we do, but some are hesitant in sending their children for this reason. We try to calm the parents."

As a means to counter possible parental resistance, the organizers assume that all parents experience some guilt over leaving Israel. They indicated that working with the parent's guilt is the only means to reaching the parents. However, beyond acknowledging this, they offered no specific method for working with the parents. For example, one organizer stated:

"We need to expand Sabar so the majority of Israelis will use us. Every parent who sends his child here must have guilt feelings about not being in Israel. That's what we work with. We help these parent's conscience."

The organizers assert that they try to approach the problem of parental fears by presenting themselves as "helping Israelis in America". In this way, "all parties are happy," explains an organizer. The organization intentionally downplays the goal of returning the children

to Israel, in order to avoid possible parental resistance. As noted earlier, there is minimal parental involvement in Sabar and the organizers give no evidence of how the organization deals with parental concerns.

E. Peer group

The organization also maintains that the creation of a peer group is crucial to their efforts of returning the children to Israel. The peer group provides one way in which the children can identify with one another, particularly their common Israeli identity. Sabar thus aids in the process of return by establishing through its activities a peer group which is oriented to Israel and Israeli culture.

F. Hebrew

The encouragement and persistent use of Hebrew is another means by which the organization intends to achieve its goal. The organizers view Hebrew as a major force in the success of peer group formation, and see it as a vital tool upon which a successful aliyah is based. While observing the children and their interactions with each other and with counselors, it was evident that the organization is quite effective in maintaining the speaking of Hebrew within Sabar. As noted earlier, the younger children tend to slip into English at times, but catch themselves (or are caught by counselors) and go back to

Hebrew.

The Parents

A. Cultural enclave and Israeli values

The way in which the parents evaluate whether Sabar is satisfying their needss is through their perceptions of the child's experiences, and through their own level of satisfaction. Some parents recognize the organization's creation of a cultural enclave and perceive this aspect to be one of the essential ways in which Sabar is satisfying their goal to provide Israeli culture and instill Israeli values for their children. One parent comments, "It's given us a support group and a context." Not only is Sabar serving her children's needs, but some of her own needs as well -- i.e., alleviating some of her own anxieties about living in the United States. Another parent suggests that she is satisfied with the way Sabar is meeting these particular goals:

" Sabar gives them Israeli culture on a peer group level. They help them love Israel and receive some healthy Zionism. They teach them Jewish things in an organized manner."

B. Peer group

Many parents see a drastic change in their child's behavior and happiness after joining Sabar. This becomes an

important measure of success for the parents. One parent explains the necessity of feeling part of a peer group and identifying with a common culture:

" Sabar showed them (my children) that they aren't freaks and there are other Israelis like them. It gave them friends and showed them that they are not failures socially, that they are part of something."

C. Hebrew

As the command of Hebrew is one of the goals of parents in sending their children to Sabar, the fact that it plays a major role in the organization pleases the parents. The majority of the parents feel very strongly about speaking Hebrew, and only Hebrew, in the home. The following comments exemplify the parents' approval of spoken Hebrew as an important activity in

Sabar:

"It's (Hebrew) very important. I wouldn't be so happy if Sabar was in English."

"Hebrew is the most important thing at the meetings."

Most of the parents appear satisfied that their goals for the organization are being met. This is important to them, for if their children seem to be happy living in the United States, and maintain cultural ties to Israel, the parents feel less guilty and ambivalent about their

immigration. The parent's view Sabar to be a major force in easing the cognitive dissonance that both the parents and children experience after emigrating from Israel.

The Children

The organization satisfies both the older and younger groups' goals in very similar ways. The goals may be slightly different, but the means to achieving those goals can really be placed in the same categories.

A. Activities

The activities serve to keep the children involved in Sabar giving them something concrete to do when they come to meetings. The children experience each activity differently, thereby allowing each activity to meet the needs of the individual. Activities meet goals such as "having fun," and "learning about Israel." They provide recreational and social outlets which the children feel are important.

B. Peer group

Making Israeli friends and sharing a common identity were emphasized by both groups as very important goals for the success of this organization. There are no guarantees that a peer group will be formed in any organization. Yet, the children in Sabar report that their primary friendships are found in the group. The small size of each group

enables the participants to form friendships they might not form in a larger group. The children emphasize in their responses that Sabar is "like a family" to them.

C. Cultural enclave

The existence of the cultural enclave satisfies the children's desires to experience Israeli culture, and to be exposed to Israeli values. The enclave also serves as a place where they can speak a common language, Hebrew. The cultural enclave helps to ease the ambivalence that the children feel about being an Israeli in the United States. Thus, this becomes a means which satisfies many of the goals the children have for this organization.

The next and final section in this chapter will look at Sabar's perceptions of the American Jewish Community and its role in relation to Sabar.

Section III

Sabar and the Jewish Community

The data and observations about Sabar gathered in this study demonstrate a minimal connection between Sabar and the American Jewish community. It is also evident that the connection with the Jewish community is one of necessity and is related to practical matters such as finances, buildings and other resources that are scarce to the organization. Sabar's relationship with the American Jewish Community is otherwise, an ambivalent one.

The organizers give three different reasons for the lack of connection to the American Jewish community. First, the organizers feel stigmatized by and isolated from the American Jewish Community because Sabar is an Israeli organization:

"The Jewish community in the United States doesn't know how to relate to Yordim. They are mad at us (Israelis) and see us as traitors. It's a hypocritical attitude because they feel guilty they are not living in Israel. . . They see us as black sheep or sick people not to get close to. . . In some places, they want to become involved but they are afraid they will help Israelis to stay in the U.S. and that creates a conflict."

Second, because the organizers are recent immigrants themselves, and see themselves as temporary immigrants, they have not become familiar with the Jewish community structure

and are not active in it. The organizers are confused and unclear about the different organizations in the Jewish community and use names of distinct organizations interchangeably. They feel that there is little need to learn about the Jewish community because the Jewish community does not help Israelis. The organizers admit that as new immigrants, language is a barrier which contributes to their unfamiliarity with the American Jewish Community.

The third reason for their weak connection to the Jewish community results from a tendency towards isolationism within Sabar. The organizers give two reasons for this "isolationism":

1. Isolationism is seen by the organizers as a strategy that increases autonomy over programs, goals, and policy. The organizers feel that interaction with other Jewish organizations will force them to change the focus of their organization.

2. Isolationism is viewed as a strategy for developing a strong Israeli identity in the children. One organizer describes the effect of isolationism from the Jewish community on the children:

"It gives the kids a feeling that they are different, special. It strengthens their Israeli identity."

In light of this, it is clear why inter-organizational Jewish programs and activities are avoided by the organizers.

Since Sabar's resources are scarce, the relationship with the Jewish community has been forged out of economic and practical necessity. For example, all of Sabar's meetings take place at a Jewish Community Center (J.C.C.). Although the organizers are grateful that they have a facility for activities, they also feel that the center is not "their own place." One organizer states:

"The Jewish Community Center is doing us a big favor for letting us use this place. . . The saddest part of all is that we can't get our own building. We can't put things on the walls . . . It's not our place. We are just renting a room from them."

However, the organizers also resist any involvement with the Jewish Community Centers because of their fear of the "contamination" that might result from contact with American Jews. Some interesting observations which exemplify this relationship with the Jewish Community Center are as follows:

1. Activities are scheduled when there are no other J.C.C. members in the building.
2. Except for the main lounge and playground, all of the rooms and center facilities are locked and inaccessible during Sabar meetings.
3. There are no identifying symbols of Sabar in the entire center including the absence of calendar activities, flags, flyers, or posters.

The organizers clearly state that they would discontinue their relationship with the J.C.C. if they had

their own building.

A similar relationship built on practical concerns was observed between Sabar and the Jewish Federation and the American Zionist Youth Foundation (A.Z.Y.F.). This relationship exists on account of Sabar's lack of financial resources and the need to accept financial allocations from AZYF. The organizers feel that their organization would better function without this financial dependency on other outside sources.

Just as the members of Sabar are not aware of or familiar with the American Jewish Community's organizations, Sabar is almost invisible in the American Jewish Community. Information on Sabar is not available anywhere in the Jewish Federation or Jewish Community Centers. Only readers of Israeli newspapers such as Israel Shelanu are aware of Sabar's activities, location, and telephone number.

Parents and the Jewish Community

Parents of the children in Sabar have minimal contact with the Jewish community. Most of the parents have isolationist feelings similar to those of the organizers. In response to a question about her involvement and relationship with the Jewish community, one mother states:

"We will never adjust to the Jewish community. Israelis are the only minority group which will never adjust. It's the way we were brought up. We are different than them. We don't need the Jewish community. We are very independent."

Nevertheless, it was revealed in interviews with the parents that over half of the mothers work in Hebrew Schools. However, the mothers consider their work to be just that, a job, as opposed to involvement with the Jewish community. One parent volunteers at Jewish Family Service and is active in other Jewish community activities, but she is the exception to the rule.

One father who is active in Sabar describes his relationship with the Jewish community as it relates to Sabar:

"If it wasn't for us (the parents), the J.C.C. wouldn't let us be there (at the J.C.C.). They are too business-like. I don't like the J.C.C. - all they want is our membership and our money. They don't care about us (Israelis) either here or in synagogues."

Parents also view Sabar's relationship with the organized Jewish community as "financially necessary but undesirable." Most agree with the organizers that Sabar needs a separate building and facility other than the J.C.C.

They do not see the need for activities with other "Jewish children" and emphasize the "uniqueness" of the

Israeli atmosphere Sabar creates. Only one parent said:

" Sabar could be good for Jewish Americans who want to be in an Israeli environment and culture. It will teach them Hebrew and values a lot better than Hebrew schools."

Almost all of the parents found out about Sabar through Israeli newspaper and television. Others discovered it through informal, social networks i.e., friends. Not one parent or child found out about Sabar through the organized Jewish community.

The Children and the Jewish Community

The majority of children in Sabar have no connection to the organized Jewish community. Most of the children possess negative stereotypes about American Jews, stereotypes which reflect their alienation and distance from the American Jewish Community. One seventeen year old girl states:

"I have some American friends who are black and Mexican. I don't get along with the Jewish ones. They are snobs to me."

The children in both the younger and older groups maintain that "American Jews are very different from us." Thus, the Jewish community is practically unrelated to them.

For the few children who have contact with the Jewish community, they describe their experiences in Sabar as more

satisfying. A ten year old comments:

"Here we speak Hebrew and have fun. I like this better than Hebrew school. I only go there (to Hebrew school) to learn to read and write Hebrew."

Another fourteen year old child, who attends a prominent Jewish Day School comments on her experience:

"I don't really like it. It's for upper middle class families. Most kids are "JAPS" and pretty dry. I find I have an Israeli sense of humor. My friends are here in Sabar. "

Although this child is also from an upper middle class family, she views herself as different from her Jewish classmates and identifies more strongly with Israeli children. Her perception of the Jewish community is that it is "bourgeois and elitist."

Only one ten year old child said that she wants to help the Jewish community when she grows up. She does not make a separation between Israelis and Jews as the other children do. Thus, she views Sabar as an extension of the Jewish community and Jewish Day School which she attends. Nevertheless, she was the exception, not the rule. Most children see no connection or need for such a connection between Sabar and the Jewish community.

Chapter VI

Analysis and Conclusions

The main finding of this study is that the parents, organizers, and children have very different goals for Sabar. For the sake of clarity, each group's goals are summarized.

The goal of the organizers is to return children of Israelis involved in Sabar back to Israel. This goal is rooted in Zionist ideology and is part of a greater effort of the Israeli government to bring Israelis living abroad back to Israel.

The parents' goals for Sabar are:

1. To make their children happy in the United States;
2. To protect them from "perils" in American society such as drug culture, crime, and delinquency;
3. To reduce the intergenerational cultural differences within the family; and
4. To reduce their own feelings of guilt and ambivalence related to their immigration to the United States from Israel.

The parents' goals stem from a combination of the sojourner mentality experience and internalized Zionist values. Thus, the parents view Sabar as a way of providing for their children the cultural quality of life that they

had in Israel. At the same time, it reduces guilt and ambivalence for the parents which relates to their emigration.

The childrens' goal for making Israeli friends reflects their need for an immigrant peer group. This peer group normalizes the tension the children feel between their parents' culture and the culture of the dominant society. In some ways, this need for a peer group is normal to all children. However, for these children, the immigrant peer group serves as a support group which helps them cope with their cultural ambivalences.

The parents, children and organizers are each aware of the other group's goal for Sabar, yet all of the groups co-exist in one organization very successfully. Furthermore, each group feels satisfied that their goals are being met. How can three groups with three different goals co-exist in the same organization and feel that their goals are being met?

The researchers found that agreement and satisfaction relating to the actual activities in Sabar are the common denominator for the three groups. Each group feels that the activities in Sabar are desirable and compatible with their own goals. Thus, rituals relating to the army and paramilitary training, discussions on love for the Land (Israel), speaking Hebrew, campfire singing in Hebrew, and

scouting -- all fulfill the perceived needs of each group. This leads to the question, "How can all these activities be seen as desirable, yet fulfill very different goals?" This study found that the three groups place a heavy emphasis on activities that contribute to the creation of a cultural enclave. Open discussion on the meaning of the Israeli cultural enclave is non-existent.

The three groups ascribe different meanings to the cultural enclave. Each group recognizes the other's goals, but relate to the cultural enclave as the means to their own goal satisfaction.

For example, the organizers see the Israeli cultural enclave as the means for preparing the child for an eventual reemigration and successful absorption into Israeli society. Thus, the enclave is the way to fulfill the Zionist goals of the organization.

The Israeli sojourner parent, who feels guilt and ambivalence over his/her "yerida," perceives the cultural enclave as:

1. A way of educating their child with proper values;
2. A way of building their child's character in the midst of a corruptive American youth culture; and
3. A way to relieve guilt and dissonance in the family system.

To some parents, the enclave which Sabar provides is a form of "Hebrew school" and a source of Jewish education for the children.

The children of Israelis see the cultural enclave as an immigrant peer group. The enclave helps them to deal with the tensions experienced while balancing their parents' culture with the new American one. The enclave reduces the children's feelings of peculiarity in American society and provides a normalizing framework that makes their immigrant experience special and unique.

As mentioned earlier, the three groups are aware of each other's different goals for the cultural enclave. How do the groups deal with the knowledge that other groups ascribe different meanings and goals to the cultural enclave?

The researchers found that each group has a rationale around the meaning of a cultural enclave related to their goals, that negates the other groups goals for the enclave.

For example, even though the parents know that Zionism and returning to Israel is stressed by the organizers, they reframe Zionism as a "character building" value of Israeli culture, not an ideology. As a result, they do not believe their children will return to Israel and they feel that such an expectation is an unrealistic notion. The sojourner Israeli parent will maintain that Zionism exists in Sabar as

a cultural value, while simultaneously maintaining that the organizers' hope of returning the children is unrealistic.

Thus, the concept of sojourner is not entirely applicable when discussing the parents' hopes for their children. Although the parents see themselves as sojourners, they do not view their children similarly. This may be another manifestation of the parents' ambivalent feelings relating to their emigration to the United States.

The organizers are aware that the parents are not sending their children to Sabar in order to return them to Israel. They are also aware that many of the children will not return to Israel after their graduation from Sabar at the age of eighteen. Nevertheless, the organizers are confident that the Israeli enclave will eventually enable these children to return. One organizer mentioned the fact that the organization is at least instilling something Israeli within these children and if not now, in the future, they will return to Israel. They see a causal relationship between the enclave and the return to Israel, and thus view the parents' interpretation of the enclave as short sighted and only related to relieving their own guilt for leaving Israel.

The children know that the organizers see the enclave as a way to return them to Israel. However, the children maintain that just being with Israeli friends in an Israeli

environment is most important to them. As one child stated, "No one gets mad at you if you don't want to go; no one can force you to do it." Each group recognizes the different meanings others ascribed to the enclave, yet denies that meaning for themselves.

The organizers' goal of returning the children to Israel is applicable to some children, but not to the large majority. For parents who are on Sabbatical from Israeli academic institutions, Shlichim and others who are here for a limited period of time, Sabar strengthens their children's tie to Israel and helps them return. However, this is a hypothesis that needs to be researched more thoroughly in the future.

What are the implications of this? Sabar was created to return children of Israelis to Israel, but in fact, may help Israeli children in their transition to the United States. It is too early to determine whether Sabar will ultimately be successful in bringing children to Israel. However, the findings of this study suggest that Sabar will not be successful on a large scale. Aside from visiting, the majority of the children did not have plans to move to Israel. Most of them described their future lives in the United States. While, the goals of the organization may not be met, it is suggested that Sabar serves many positive functions for the immigrant parents and their children.

1. Sabar increases the child's self-esteem and social network.
2. Sabar lessens the strife and dissonance within the sojourner family by socializing the child to the parent's culture.
3. Sabar normalizes the tension children of immigrants feel and this decreases their sense of alienation, deviancy, and feelings of peculiarity in American society.
4. Sabar gives the children a framework to deal with American society in a collective sense as Israeli.
5. Sabar reduces the parents' fears of their children assimilating to American society.
6. Sabar enables the parents to educate their children in an "Israeli Jewish" way and avoid the diaspora Judaism.
7. Sabar gives the children a positive Jewish-Israeli identity.
8. Sabar is an Israeli enclave that is structured as a formal organization. Other Israeli enclaves are informal in Los Angeles. Israelis usually create informal networks that comprise their enclaves. Sabar is a formal, structured, weekly creation of an Israeli environment.

Sabar thus satisfies many different goals and serves an important function in the migration and psychological development of the children of Israelis in the United States.

The dynamics between the parents, organizers and children, in relation to their different goals and means to those goals, may offer insights about other organizations

who have groups with different goals. An organization can function successfully and be satisfying to all members without addressing the "purpose" of the organization. This is especially true if different meanings can be ascribed to the activities of the organization. If the members focus on mutually agreeable activities, then the aspect of conflicting goals is avoided because interpersonal collaboration is required only on an operational level. This allows members to differ on their interpretations of these activities. It is suggested that these dynamics may be more common in the organizers than is generally acknowledged.

The Jewish Community and Sabar

While examining the relationship between Sabar and the Jewish community, the researchers found that Sabar is virtually invisible to the organized Jewish community. Although there is an awareness that Sabar exists, there are no printed materials available in English either in the Jewish Federation or the Jewish Community Centers. Since Sabar uses the J.C.C. during hours which are closed to J.C.C. members, there is minimal visual contact as well.

This may stem from the Jewish community's ambivalent relationship with Israelis in the United States. There is

an ambivalence in the Jewish community about aiding Israeli families to stay in America. The Jewish community is interested in "saving the children from assimilation," however, they are reluctant in becoming directly involved because they do not want to encourage "yerida." As a result, Sabar is isolated and invisible to the Jewish community, which perpetuates non-affiliation or uninvolved with the Jewish community for the children and their families.

Similarly, members of Sabar are unaware of the Jewish community. The participants in Sabar are reluctant to form connections with the Jewish community because of their negative stereotypes of diaspora Jews. Moreover, they are not familiar with the organizational structure of the Jewish community and the types of organizations in existence. This isolates the members of Sabar further.

The isolation and invisibility of Sabar is potentially harmful to the children and families, especially if they remain in the United States. The sojourner family with its numerous stresses and familial tensions may be in need of services and acceptance within the Jewish community. At present, Sabar's isolationism perpetuates negative stereotypes of the Jewish community and creates a barrier for their use of services available to them in the Jewish community.

Furthermore, the nature of the relationship between Sabar and the Jewish community should not be limited to the need for "resources" or financial aid. For these Israelis, a "financial relationship" with the Jewish community connotes a business-like relationship. One parent commented, "They (the Jewish community) do not care about what goes on here. All they care about is the money."

The Jewish community can benefit from establishing a stronger contact with Sabar. The families and children in Sabar possess a rich, Jewish, cultural experience that can enhance Jewish organizational life in Los Angeles. This study found a large proportion of the parents teaching in Hebrew schools, yet who are uninvolved in other Jewish organizational life. Sabar could be a recruitment ground for the Jewish community. The parents and children possess a great reservoir of Hebrew, Jewish knowledge, and culture that American Jews do not necessarily possess. The intertwining of these two communities can potentially strengthen Jewish life in Los Angeles. A stronger relationship between the Jewish community and Sabar can be the starting point for such a plan.

Chapter VII

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are provided in the hopes that they will improve the experience for organizers, parents, and children involved in Sabar. The recommendations are also geared to improve the relationship between Sabar and the American Jewish Community.

1. The findings of this study demonstrate that there is minimal, if any, parental involvement in Sabar. Parents are not knowledgeable about the content of Sabar's activities, and have expressed an interest in learning more about the program.

Therefore, the authors recommend that the parents organize themselves quarterly (or 3-4 times a year) to discuss issues concerning the organization, programming ideas, and possibly specific needs of their children. With a parents organization, the parents will feel they have some knowledge about what their children are being exposed to and more control of the content of the programs.

2. The organization has taken a child centered approach and therefore, does not encourage parental involvement in Sabar activities of any kind. The findings show that a

Zionist orientation of the family has a positive impact on the child in reference to returning to Israel. The organization must be aware that support and/or encouragement of the family is important if one is to expect the child to leave his/her family to live in Israel.

Therefore, the authors recommend that Sabar create several family-oriented programs throughout the year in which the parents and children can come together to discuss in a forum the ambivalences and tensions that exist within these families.

3. This study was not quantitative, yet as a result of the findings, it became apparent that there are many more children in Sabar who remain in the United States after graduating from Sabar than those who return to Israel. The children expressed their anxiousness about life in Israel after the army. Sabar does encourage children to attend the Chetz v'keshet program which orients them to the Israeli military. Yet, the children are in need of a broader picture of Israel.

Therefore, the authors recommend that Sabar integrate into its agenda additional programs in Israel unrelated to the army. For example, Israel high school programs, ulpan, kibbutz and moshav summer programs. These programs, which focus on several aspects of Israeli life, will give the

children a broader perspective of Israel, the land, and the people.

4. The organizers assert that if these children do not go back to Israel immediately following graduation from Sabar, they will eventually return in their future lives because of the influences of the organization. In the mean time, however, the children will have lost their peer group.

In light of this, the authors recommend that the organization create an alumni group for those graduates of Sabar who do not move to Israel upon graduation. In this way, the organization has the opportunity to continue to influence and educate this group. Such programs as Sherut L'Am and junior year abroad college programs could be encouraged by the organization. In addition, the creation of an alumni group will benefit the children by giving them a structured environment which can provide the continuation of an important peer group.

5. The children interviewed expressed concern that the level of education in the United States is lower than that in Israel and the fear that they would never be able to catch up. All students in Israel need to pass a matriculation exam at the end of high school in order to be accepted into the university, as well as to be eligible for

most jobs. The authors recommend that the organization help prepare children to return to Israel by providing tutoring resources. Tutoring for improvement in the reading and writing of Hebrew is also needed to prepare for the children's return.

6. The authors saw a lack of visibility of Sabar in the American Jewish Community (A.J.C.) during their research. It is recommended that Sabar recognize its invisibility as undesirable. As a result of this, graduates of Sabar tend to be isolated and alienated from the A.J.C. In order to create an awareness and understanding of Sabar in the A.J.C. and increase communication between the A.J.C. and Sabar, the authors recommend the following:

a. It is recommended that articles relating to Sabar and advertisements of its activities be placed in the Jewish Community Bulletin.

b. It is recommended that Sabar be listed in the Youth Department as an Israeli youth group so that both Israelis and the non-Hebrew speaking population know of Sabar's existence.

c. It is recommended that Sabar be recruited to help in the planning of the Israel Walk Festival as well as be allowed to have their own booth.

7. With the prospect of increased visibility of Sabar in the American Jewish Community, there exists a potential avenue of exchange between the two groups. Although Sabar actively attempts to isolate the children from the A.J.C.,

the authors see benefit to both the organization and the children, in the long run, by creating communication lines between Sabar and the A.J.C. as opposed to isolating oneself from the other.

Therefore, the authors recommend that Sabar plan a joint program with another Jewish organization in the community, possibly a Zionist youth group. This joint program will give the children in Sabar a sense that they are part of the American Jewish Community. It may also potentially break down some of the negative stereotypes that they hold of American Jews. Zionist youth groups such as HaBonim and HaShomer HaTzair will be given the opportunity to meet Israelis who have experienced life in Israel. The joint program will provide a forum for exchange which Sabar lacks at this time.

8. In addition, it is recommended that the organizers and counselors be oriented to different Jewish organizations by planning seminars and/or field trips, which will introduce Sabar to such groups as Jewish Family Service, Jewish Vocational Service, The Youth and Aliyah Departments, The Bureau of Jewish Education, and The American Zionist Youth Foundation. By informing the children about these various organizations, the children will become knowledgeable about the available resources in the Jewish community. This may

later ease their transition upon leaving Sabar.

9. It is recommended that a significant relationship between Sabar and the Jewish Community Centers be fostered. A positive, mutual relationship will benefit both organizations. Thus, the authors recommend the following:

- a. It is recommended that Sabar meetings be held during J.C.C. hours when other activities are in progress. This will expose both J.C.C. members to Sabar, and Sabar to other Jewish activities in the community.
- b. It is recommended that the J.C.C. encourage Sabar and the Israeli population, in general, to participate in J.C.C. programs.
- c. It is recommended that the J.C.C. allow Sabar to decorate some of the walls of the building with their symbols, flags, or posters so that a feeling of belonging and pride is instilled within Sabar participants. In addition, this advertises the fact that Sabar exists and keeps those uninformed aware of their existence. It also adds an "Israeli" dimension into the J.C.C., which would be beneficial to it.
- d. It is recommended that the J.C.C. integrate Sabar into some of its programming, for example, when celebrating Jewish holidays. One possibility is to involve a member of Sabar on the advisory board or on a programming committee. A mutual relationship could provide for an exchange of information and ideas which might benefit both organizations.
- e. It is recommended that the J.C.C. recruit counselors in Sabar for vocational placement, such as leading a youth group, or working in the pre-school. These counselors have experience working with younger children and could be an asset to the J.C.C. In addition, the counselors will have the opportunity to be exposed to other aspects of the Jewish community.

10. It is recommended that quantitative research on children of Israelis and their emotional adjustment to the United States be taken into consideration. A demographic study on the rate of reemigration of Israelis to Israel might be important to Sabar when evaluating their efforts to return children of Israelis to Israel. Finally, a longitudinal study on Sabar to see if the goals of the organization are, in fact, being met, can provide Sabar with findings and recommendations on how to better achieve their goals.

FOOTNOTES

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- 4) Steven M. Cohen, "Sub-Committee on Services to Israelis in New York: Report to the Communal Planning Committee," (Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, March, 1984)
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- 8) Joan Nathan, "So For This Left Israel? New York's New Ethnics," Present Tense, (Spring, 1974)
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- 10) Clifford Gladstein, "Israeli Emmigration: A Study in Fact and Fiction and Consequences," Masters Thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1982.
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- 12) Nili Shalev, "The Effect of Duration of Residence on Mental Health in Israeli Immigrants and American Migrants," Doctoral Dissertation, California Graduate Institute, West Los Angeles, 1983.
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- 24) Drora Kass, "Israel U.S.A., Keeping Posted (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Vol. XXX, No. 3, 1985.)
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- 31) S. N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure, (New York: The Free Press, 1956. p. 174)
- 32) Ibid p. 175.
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- 34) Op. Cit. Levin, p. 22.
- 35) Op. Cit. Nachson, p. 5.
- 36) Op. Cit. Commission on Israelis in L.A., p. 1.
- 37) Op. Cit. Cohen, p. 9.
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APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF HEBREW WORDS

ALIYAH The literal meaning is to go up. When someone goes to live in Israel, they make "aliyah."

CHETZ V'KESHET A program where Americans and Israelis experience military training in Israel.

HABONIM A Zionist youth organization in America which affiliates with a socialist political party in Israel.

HASHOMER HATZAIR An American Zionist youth organization which affiliates with a leftist political party in Israel.

ISRAEL SHELANU Literal translation is "our Israel." The Hebrew newspaper in Los Angeles.

KIBBUTZ A collective settlement in Israel.

MOSHAV A cooperative village in Israel.

NACHAL A branch of the army where soldiers live on Kibbutz and are trained to protect it.

PEULAH The literal translation is an act. In Sabar, the term is translated as a meeting.

SABAR The literal translation is a cactus plant. Translated in Israel as a person born in Israel.

SABRA From the same root as Sabar; a person born in Israel.

SHALIACH An emissary; a person sent from Israel to recruit others to go or live in Israel.

SHERUT L'AM A volunteer program in Israel for non-Israelis who want to work in their professions and learn Hebrew.

TZOFIM Israeli Scouts in Israel.

YERIDAH Literal translation is to go down; used to describe Israelis who have left Israel to live in the diaspora.

YORED An Israeli who has moved from Israel to another country.

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

Name
Age
Date of Interview
Years in Sabar
Group or Title (ie: counselor, older group, organizer, etc.)

A. Sabar

1. How is it that you first came to Sabar?
2. What was it like for you then?
3. Is it any different now?
4. What happens in Sabar during the year?
5. I've observed some of your meetings. Could you tell me about the last meeting?
6. What kind of kids come to Sabar? What are they like?
7. What's Sabar all about?
8. I know that after a certain age you can no longer be in Sabar. What age is this? What happens after that?
9. How do you see yourself since you've first joined Sabar compared to now?
10. If you could make any changes in Sabar, what would they be?
11. What do you like/dislike about Sabar?

B. Family

12. Where were you born?
13. When did you and your family come to the United States?
14. How is it that your family came here?

15. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
16. Is your perception about coming to the U.S. any different than your siblings? If yes, how so?
17. What is your family's status?
18. Do you and your family visit Israel? If so, how often?
19. What does your dad do? Your mom? How was it for them to find employment?
20. What language do you speak at home?
21. Tell me about your family life?

C. Personal

22. What did you do last summer?
23. What are your favorite hobbies, books, music, sports, etc.?
24. I imagine you have a lot of homework. How do you spend your free time?
25. Name several people you feel close to. Tell me about them.
26. What are some of your future plans/goals?
27. Where do you see yourself in 5/10 years?

D. Israel

28. What role does Israel play in your life?
29. Describe to me what you think about Israel.
30. How is Sabar connected to Israel?