Mitbach Megasher

Israel's Immigration, Gastronomy, and Design

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

ABSTRACT

Israel, being the Jewish emigration nation, welcomed over 3.7 million people in the last century. The vast intake of new immigrants from various ethnicities and cultures created ample strains on the Israeli government. These reflect the poor absorption and integration processes, which led to conditions of segregation and tension amongst the diverse population. Consequently, despite the country's ideology to foster a unified Jewish identity, reoccurring moments of prejudice and discrimination deepened the socioeconomic cleavage within the Israeli society.

In the past few decades, the Israeli government instigated various strategies to reduce this socioeconomic gap. These include, increased opportunities in low socioeconomic centers along with improved education, social services, and enhanced public transportation.

Bigotry often results from ignorance and the inability to accept differences. It is dependent on shared values, experiences, interests, and beliefs. Thus, to achieve effective reconciliation, a common interest is essential. In addition, collaboration towards a shared and pleasing goal has the potential to alter cognitive preconceptions, reduce bias, and increase constructive communications. Following this, food, being a fundamental commonality and an essential component amongst every culture, offers opportunities for social change. Through a series of studies, architecture and gastronomy are investigated for their potential to decrease bias and motivate interpersonal connections among people of diverse backgrounds.

This thesis does not attempt to solve the complex socioeconomic conditions in the country, but rather to alleviate interpersonal conflicts between the divided communities and advocate for social change. Architecture is explored for its capacity to bridge social gaps by creating shared gastronomic experiences through the implementation of mobile cooking and dining stations within the urban fabric of Tel Aviv. The proposed design operates as a network of modular units, easily assembled and transferred via bicycle, morphing any public space into an agent of social activism.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

The question of ethnicity reflects one of the fundamental interests amongst the Israeli people. Even though it does not play a central role in the social hierarchy today, it was the foundation for the discriminative behaviors and prejudice towards new immigrants, which eventually led to the deep socioeconomic gap in Israel.

This thesis is an attempt at analyzing and alleviating the social gap in Israel through small-scale design interventions. The proposed design does not intend to solve a national conflict, but rather to promote positive interpersonal connections amongst people of different backgrounds. It is divided into three parts, Israel's immigration, Mediation and gastronomy, and design synthesis.

The first part, Israel's immigration, investigates how the Jewish emigration waves caused and affected the socioeconomic cleavage in the country. Israel, as a buffeting nation of immigration, comprises of a verity of cultures from many different ethnicities. The immigration of vast Jewish communities form four main groups including, Jewish Ashkenaz, Mizrachi/Sephardi, Russians, and Ethiopians,* corresponds to a main immigration period, which shifted the social demographic characteristics of the country.

During the first immigration period (1880-1948), the prevailing community in the Jewish settlements was of Ashkenaz background, mostly from Eastern Europe. Homogeneous societies developed in

* These four major immigration groups are under focus since they significantly influenced the social order in Israel. Other smaller communities as Italians and Romaniote Jews from Greece and immigrants from other backgrounds who do not associate with either group were not explored since and their absorption and integration processes were minimal compared to these communities.
The division between Ashkenaz and Sephardic is rooted in the different cultural contexts in which the Ashkenaz and Sephardic evolve: Ashkenaz in Eastern Europe, and the Sephardic in the Mediterranean. It resulted in cultural and religious differences. The term 'Mizrachi' Jews was a term created by the Ashkenaz culture to describe Jewish immigrants from Middle East and North African countries, primarily from Islamic regions.
Despite the differences between Jewish Mizrachi and Sephardic, the statistics of both groups are linked throughout the thesis since they were seen as a single entity in the eyes of the Israeli population in the 1950s.

the land of Israel, where every ethnicity settled in isolation. The severity of tensions between the various Jewish communities was based on similarities and differences of ideological, political, ethnical, social, and economic backgrounds. Stereotypes shortly became part of the interaction between the many ethnicities. However, despite its sarcastic and provocative nature, it did not direct the social hierarchy. Only during the second immigration period (1948-1960), did stereotypes begin to develop into prejudice and discrimination. Furthering segregation, led to the development of conflicts between Jewish Ashkenaz and Mizrachi. The Ashkenaz dominance shifted following the second immigration period, with the arrival of new immigrants from Islamic countries, mainly from the Middle East and North Africa. Even though the ratio of Ashkenaz and Mizrachi population stabilized, the Ashkenaz communities continued to utilize their political, social, and economic dominance, which further deepened the gap.[1]

The third immigration period (1970s) consisted of smaller amount of people mainly from western communities in Europe, North America, and the former Soviet Union regions. The majority of the new immigrants quickly integrated due to their high educational and professional background. The fourth immigration wave (1990s) included two population groups, Soviet Union immigrants, and smaller population of Jewish Ethiopians.

The beginning of the fourth period corresponds with the arrival of over a million immigrants from the Soviet Union. The majority of the new immigrants were highly educated with strong professional backgrounds. This led them to greatly influence the development of the country in every possible aspect including, culture, art, science, economic, politics, sports, and educations. Their absorption journey included many struggles, which deferred their integration. As many Soviet Union immigrants still struggle today to escape low socioeconomic status, those who hold the qualifications and overcame various barriers, successfully integrated into the Israeli economy. Their success pushed many of the struggling Israelis further down the socioeconomic ladder, causing, a new channel of conflicts between the new 'Russian' immigrants and Israelis. Furthermore, their strong connection to the Russian culture, led to

the creation of a segregated Russian community, resulting in ample division between them and the rest of the Israeli population.

The absorption and integration procedures for immigrants in Israel are rooted in the behaviors of the governing authorities. Their political and strategic agenda shaped the many cleavages within Israeli society, and most recently affected the integration of the Ethiopian Immigrants. The rough conditions for Jewish minorities in Ethiopia caused the relocation of its entire Jewish community to Israel. Their emigration caused great distress among certain communities due to major cultural differences. Moments of discrimination and at times racism developed and placed the new immigrants in unfortunate scenarios. Lack of opportunities both in the professional and educational realm pushed the majority of the Ethiopian immigrants to the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. As time passes, and new generations are born into a modern Israeli culture, the social gap has seemed to diminish, especially in heterogeneous areas. However, the situation in the periphery remains unchanged where many Israelis still struggle to escape their unfortunate situation.

The second part of the thesis explores the nature of prejudice and means of mediation. Social conflicts are grounded in inabilities to look beyond the self and connect, understand, and accept something or someone different. Furthermore, lack of knowledge towards certain communities and increased stereotypes further deepen the division between opposing groups. Modern research suggests there are some strategies to overcome discrimination and reduce prejudice. Studies have shown collaboration towards a mutual goal, which is pleasurable and of interest to both parties, can result in reduced bias, increased positive attitudes, and acceptance.[2] Following, gastronomy, being a universal interest and of great importance to every culture, is investigated for its aptitude to construct positive relationships. The concept of culinary and commensality as a mediation aspect is rooted deep into human history. However, only in recent years have nations begun to utilize the power of food to improve diplomatic popularity and mediate between conflicted communities. Consequently, the concepts ‘culinary diplomacy’ and ‘gastro-diplomacy’ along with several

precedents are examined for their potential to increase acceptance, and essentially, mediate between conflicted communities within Israel's population.

The third part, dives into the design and follows the development of an appropriate architectural synthesis. Examination of the following parameters extracted from the studied precedents took place to guide the design. These include importance of gastronomic activities and interactions to break through stigmas and increase positive communication, mobility to reach diverse communities, and other parameters such as, modularity, compatibility and ease of assembly. The proposal attempts to bridge social gaps by providing opportunities to share culinary experiences through the implementation of mobile cooking and dining systems within the urban fabric of Tel Aviv. The system creates a culinary network within the city and is examined through various scales, from street side interventions to grand events where hundreds of people can collaborate, learn, cook, and commensal. The research results in the design of a mobile gastronomic system, acting as an agent of social activism.

FIGURE 1
Young women socialize with an elderly man

PART 1

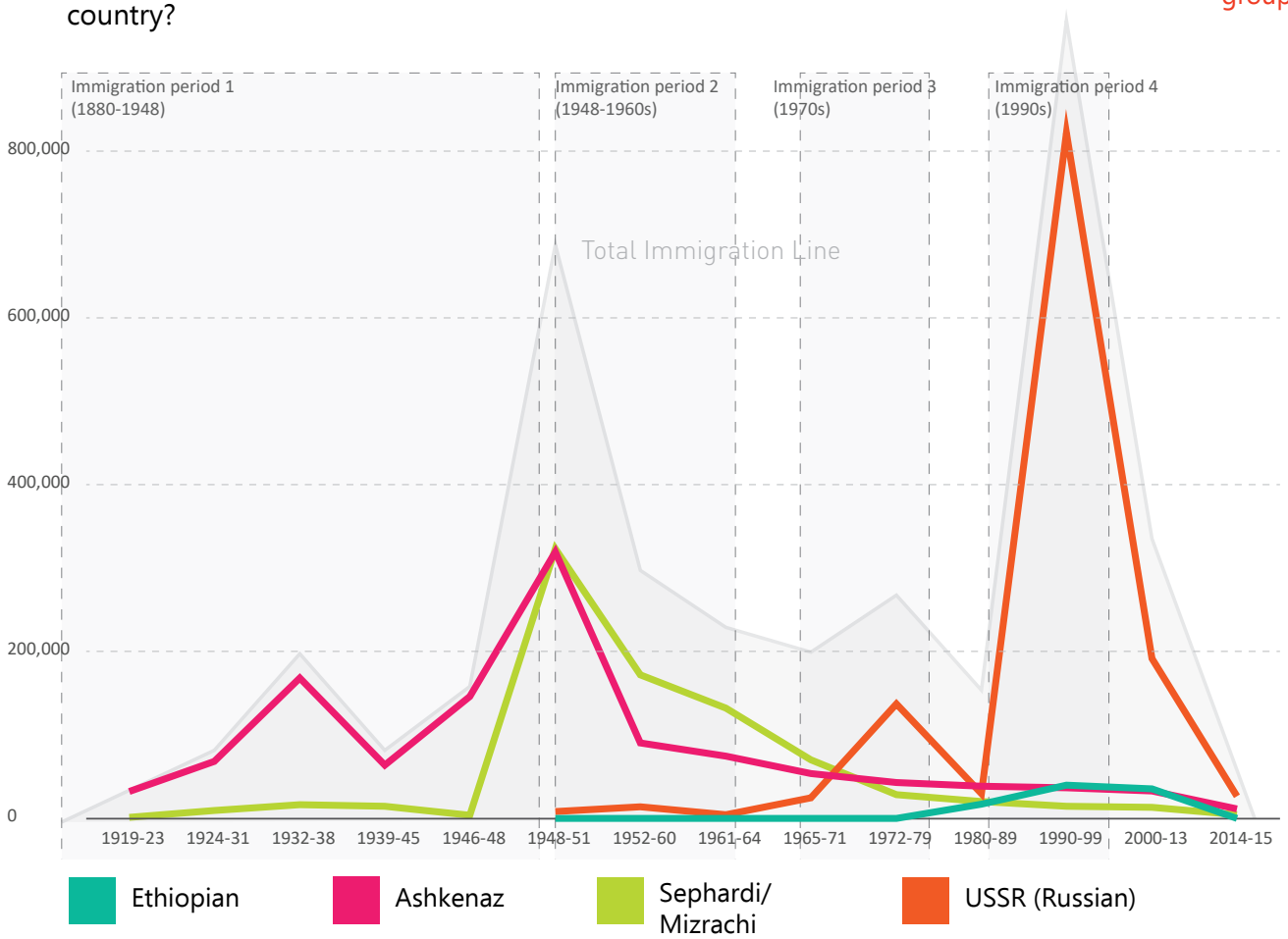
ISRAEL'S IMMIGRATION

MOMENTS OF DIVIDE AND TENSION

Jewish migration to the land of Israel altered the course of the region and has shaped the modern country that exists today. Since 1880, over 3.7 million people have relocated to the region in different waves. Each of these immigration waves have corresponded with major demographic shifts. The first two immigration periods (1880-1947 and 1948-1960s) cultivated the social friction between Jewish Ashkenaz, Sephardic and Mizrachi populations. While the last two migration periods (1960s-1970s and 1990s) further rattled Israeli society with the introduction of two new cultures, the Russians and the Ethiopians.

The following chapter investigates each immigration group and its effects on the Israeli population, more specifically how it developed and shaped the gap between the different Jewish ethnicities. Furthermore, it will investigate each immigration group through three core questions. Who were the immigrants? How were they absorbed and integrated into the existing Israeli culture? And why did their presence further deepened the socioeconomic gap in the country?

FIGURE 2
Immigration timeline according to immigrating group



THE JEWISH YISHUV

Immigration in 1880 - 1948

The first major period of migration to present-day Israel took place between 1880 and 1948. It is known to have occurred in five different waves. At the time, the majority of the population was local Arabs with small pockets of Jewish minorities. The main settlements were concentrated in central cities such as Jaffa, Haifa, Jerusalem, Safed and Tiberius, where both communities lived together. Another settlement type was the Jewish Yishuv; small Jewish settlements developed by Young Ashkenaz Zionists and meant to establish the foundation for a Jewish nation.

The demographic policies of the Yishuv were highly exclusive and even though the Jewish community was very small, it was highly homogenized. The majority of the Jewish population were people of Ashkenaz background with minority groups of Sephardic background and, to a lesser extent, from the Mizrachi community. The population settled in areas based on their socioeconomic statuses, political views, culture, ethnicity, origin country, age, and family statuses. The Ashkenaz population tended to dominate the Yishuv, while Sephardic and Mizrachi communities usually settled in larger cities. Each community had different social and political organizations within its region. These social and geographical divisions were not necessarily negative in nature and did not influence the social hierarchy of the population[1]. The social order however, shifted following the Jewish immigration waves commencing in 1880.

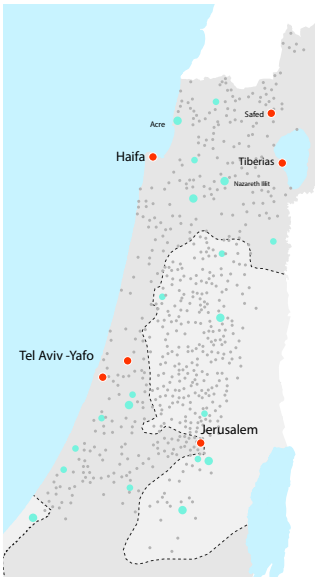


FIGURE 3
Type of Jewish settlement 1880

<5,000 people
<2,000 people
>2,000 people

In order to understand the social gap that developed in the country in the first and second immigration periods (1880-1960s), it is essential to first comprehend the distinctions between the Ashkenaz, Sephardic, and Mizrachi Jewish communities. The division between Ashkenaz and Sephardic is rooted in the different cultural contexts in which the Ashkenaz and Sephardic evolve: Ashkenaz in Eastern Europe, and the Sephardic in the Mediterranean. It resulted in cultural and religious differences. The term 'Mizrachi' is relatively new and is often associated with Sephardi Jews by Israelis despite the fact that they are two distinct communities.

Sephardi Jews refers to individuals that follow Sephardic customs and religious traditions that originated in ladino countries. The term 'Mizrachi' Jews was a term created by the Ashkenaz culture to describe Jewish immigrants from Middle East and North African countries, primarily from Islamic regions. Unlike Jewish Ashkenaz, who share the same language (Yiddish) and similar cultural habits, many of the cultures within the 'Mizrachim' group have nothing in common[2]. Furthermore, by fostering negative associations (by saying, "we are not Mizrachim") Jewish Ashkenaz created unfavorable stereotypes that are linked to Mizrachim, many of which exist to this day[3]. Individuals referred to as 'Mizrachim' tend to disassociate themselves from the term, and are more likely to identify themselves with their immediate culture, such as Moroccan, Iraqi, Yemenite, and so on.

While numerous religious and geographic factors contributed to the division of Israel's Jewish communities, other major opposing characteristics further widened the gap. Immigrants from Ashkenaz background usually came from Western oriented cultures as Europe or North America. These individuals were often labeled as coming from small families with western values, high education, a kin for success and professional growth, and secular culture. Their immigration motives revolved primarily around Zionist ideologies. On the other hands, immigrants from Mizrachi backgrounds came from undeveloped countries, thus they were labeled as large traditional families with strong Jewish affiliation, little to no education, and primitive values. Their immigration motives typically had to do with sustaining their Jewish identity

and culture. It is important to note that the traditional Mizrachi stereotypes were more appropriate to those who emigrated from rural and remote areas compared to young, educated immigrants from cities such as Baghdad, Cairo, or Casablanca[4]. These social and cultural differences developed into stigmas that later amplified the socioeconomic cleavage within the populations of Israel.

The Jewish Ashkenaz community dominated the emigration population during the first period and can be divided into two groups. The first was during the three initial emigration waves (1880-1924), which brought upon a dominance of young Zionists who developed new Jewish settlements. The second took place from 1924 to 1948 during the fourth and fifth emigration waves, which brought a large amount of wealthy families who financially supported the development of the Jewish Yishuv.

In the beginning of the 20th century, the Jewish communities fleeing their origin nations had several opportunities. These opportunities resided in central Europe, America, and South Africa, which all provided better personal success and attracted most migrating Jewish communities. Israel, being an underdeveloped land, provided little to no personal security. Hence, the majority of immigrants who chose to settle in Israel did so out of a collective belief that the Jewish community deserves and should have a future in their ancestral homeland. These ideologies evolved into the core motives for the Zionist groups that began to develop in Europe during the 19th century. Their ideological priorities supported the creation of an autonomic national Jewish center through, immigration, physical labor, settlements in the land of Israel, and formation of a unique Jewish culture that shares common social and political values[5].

The first (1882 -1903) and second (1904 -1914) waves of immigration brought a group of 70,000 Jewish immigrants, mostly Zionist Ashkenaz, from East Europe, Romania and Russia. In addition, small groups of Jewish inhabitants of Yemen and other Islamic countries immigrated due to strong religious identities. The Yishuv rejected this minority and they resorted to settle in cities[6]. By 1912-1913, the Jewish community was well established with 90,000 people. Despite the constant growth, the start of World War I triggered

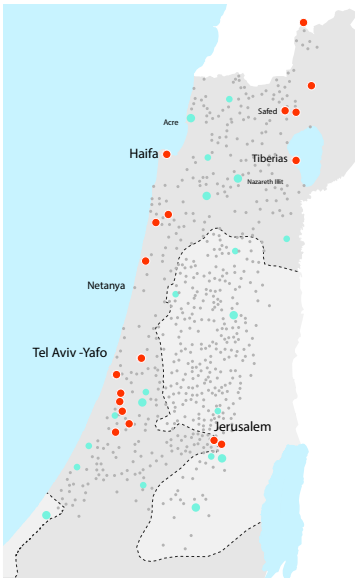


FIGURE 4
Type of Jewish settlement
1900

<5,000 people
<2,000 people
>2,000 people

a harsh period and damaged most of the economic infrastructure sending many new immigrates abroad. By 1916, the population decreased to 44,000 people, where 70% were Ashkenaz and 30% Sephardi or Mizrachi[7]. Other unfortunate events including the exile by the Ottoman Empire along with starvation due to the war, further pushed the depletion of the Jewish population and by 1918, it decreased to 30,000 people[8].

In spite of the economic instability and overall low morale amongst Zionist groups, Jewish immigration picked up following WWI. Due to the numerous revolutions and global rise of antisemitism, the third immigration wave brought an additional 35,000 immigrants between 1919 and 1923. In the beginning of the 1920s, the limited receptive capacity in the Jewish economy along with unspoken political pressure from the Palestinian authorities and other Islamic countries led the British Mandate to harshen immigration policies[9]. In addition, the dominance of the Zionist Ashkenaz culture resulted in wealthy and educated immigrants of similar backgrounds being given priority over dependent individuals and families from Mizrachi backgrounds[10].

By the end of the third wave, the nation's infrastructure could no longer sustain the rapid industrial growth and employment dropped. The Zionist organization subsequently failed to provide sufficient funds due to the limited wealth of Jewish communities abroad. The lack of financial support led the organizations to neglect the social integration system that used to ease the social and educational burden on new immigrants[11]. This worsened the integration process especially, among minorities. As a result, recession developed, calling for large immigration of young Zionists who devoted their lives with no expectation for financial return. Consequently, the number of Jewish settlements increased from 10 to 59 in 8 years[12]. This further strengthened Ashkenaz dominance and created a shift in the political power of the Yishuv. For the first time, they had authority over political, social, and emigration policies, which altered the demographic make-up of the next emigration waves.

In order to better economic conditions, the Yishuv's authorities prioritized the immigration of young Zionists and wealthy Jewish families over dependent immigrants of Mizrachi background.

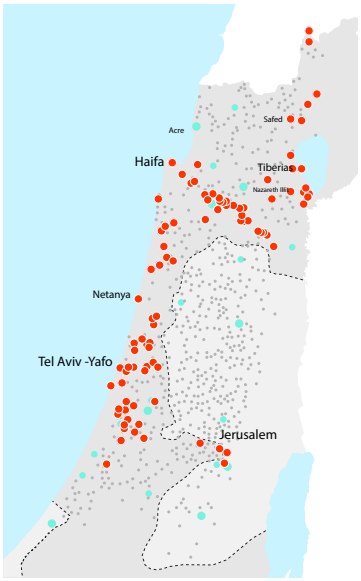


FIGURE 5
Type of Jewish settlement 1930

- <5,000 people
- <2,000 people
- >2,000 people

Therefore, the fourth immigration wave began (1924 to 1928) with the arrival of 80,000 new immigrants (27% of the immigrants were wealthy families who sponsored the development of the Yishuv and major Jewish cities such as Tel Aviv. 51% were young Zionist who contributed to working the land in various jobs, and the rest were children and dependent family members)[13].

FIGURE 6
New European Immigrants passing the passport control in Tel Aviv port, 1938

The last wave of immigration brought over 250,000 people between the years of 1929 and 1939. During the first few years, small number of young Zionist immigrated. However, with Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933, the demographic shifted bringing 160,000 immigrants, mostly from educated and wealthy families. The majority of immigrants were Ashkenaz from Eastern Europe, and smaller communities from Central and Western Europe. Other minorities arrived from Yemen, Greece, and other Islamic countries. From 1932 to 1938, the largest number of immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa (18,000) arrived. However, due to even larger immigration of Ashkenaz Jews, their influence on the Israeli culture was negligible[14]. The majority of new immigrants settled in cities, especially in Tel Aviv and greatly affected its cultural, social, political, and economical advancement[15].

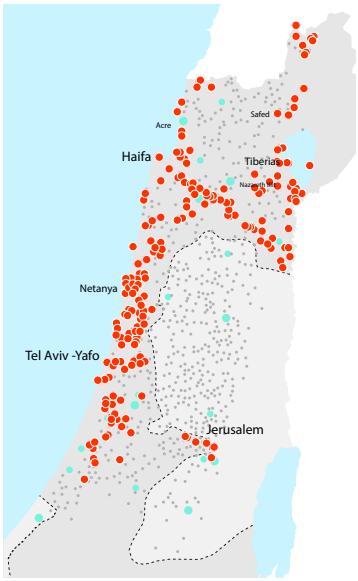


FIGURE 7
Type of Jewish settlement 1940

<5,000 people
<2,000 people
>2,000 people

It is essential to note that the attitude of Israelis towards new immigrants was always welcoming on paper but less accepting during recession periods. Even with the arrival of many educated Ashkenaz immigrants in the fourth wave, many of them resorted to minimum paying jobs due to vast immigration and limited receptive capacity. Some worked for living as street sweepers, while they hold doctoral and law degrees in their pockets.[16] While integration was tough among all immigrants, Ashkenaz Jews usually

integrated faster compared to the Mizrachi immigrants. Due to their education, ambitious approach, and small families, Ashkenaz could escape the low socioeconomic statues shortly after arrival. On the other side, due to many children and low educational levels, many of the Mizrachi immigrants struggled to sustain a healthy socioeconomic statue.

Since the Jewish Yishuv was highly divided according to various statuses and ethnicities, each community developed its own political and social circles. Each group was then responsible for the emigration processes of individuals from their own ethnic background. What followed was a complete failure towards a heterogeneous society as immigrants settled in neighborhoods according to ethnic background. Consequently, the lack of diversity in the labor force and in the Jewish settlements, fostered greater division.

FIGURE 8
Wooden huts of new immigrants in Nordia quarter in Tel Aviv, 1930

Due to the status of the Ashkenaz population, their socio-political groups were very dominant. With their new authority over immigration visas, they began 'recruiting' immigrants from their origin countries to strengthen their political power[17]. Furthermore, to maintain their strong socio-political and economic statuses, they created selective processes for management positions that favored Ashkenaz candidates. [18]

The Ashkenaz organizations financially supported the development of smaller ethnic groups as the Sephardi and Yemenite organizations to eliminate their (Ashkenaz) responsibilities over minority groups.[19] The Sephardic and Yemenite groups prioritized their communities thus, failed to sustain proper immigration and integration of Mizrachi immigrants. The absence of a national immigration authority and

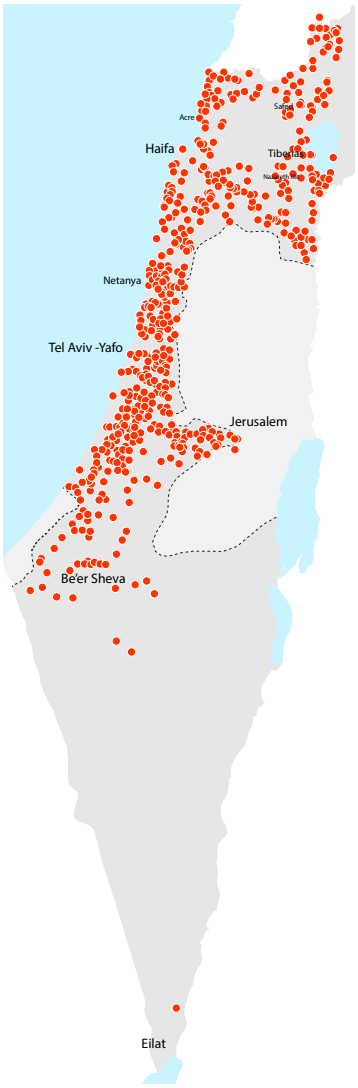
the removal of responsibilities among the local community groups situated the Mizrachi immigrants in an unfortunate situation.[20] Essentially the Israeli Ashkenaz communities continued to elevate their social power through the suppression of minority groups.

Within each ethnic community resided deeper cultural divisions. In the Ashkenaz community, there were clear separations between, Polish, German, and Romanian Jews. Each sub-community was highly homogenized where in old Jerusalem there were segregated neighborhoods of a single culture. In contrast, heterogeneity was significantly higher among Sephardic and Mizrachi neighborhoods where several cultures and ethnicities resided together. Even after decades of immigration, there was little to no change in the demographics of the Jewish Yishuv.[21] The beginning of the socioeconomic cleavage was a result of this ethnic segregation. Furthermore, the Israeli Ashkenaz dominance significantly contributed to the gap between the communities in the years to follow.

ASHKENAZIM AND MIZRACHIM

Immigration in 1948 - 1960s

FIGURE 9
Jewish settlements in 1950



Jewish city over 5,000 people

A significant portion of the immigrants in the 1950s could not avoid the prejudice that existed, especially the Mizrachi population. Despite the genuine excitement of mass immigration, increased social and cultural difference deepened the division and tension between the different Jewish communities. The innocent stereotype from the old Yishuv developed into a harmful socioeconomic gap. Consequently, the popular phrase 'the Ethnic Demon' developed. This term implied the major social, political, economic, and professional cleavage between Jewish immigrants from Ashkenaz, Sephardic, and Mizrachi background.

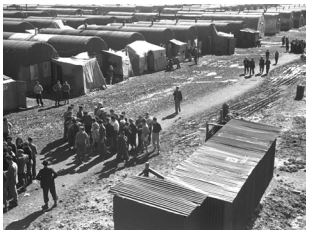
The second immigration period commenced in 1948 with the declaration of independence and gave Israel's leadership control over the immigration policies. Responsibilities transferred from the many local political parties to a single national entity. Due to ideological motives and the urgent need for man-power to meet military and economic demands, the government opened its doors. Up until the government formed the Aliyah policies in 1952, it operated under the declaration of independence, which supported nonselective immigration of all Jewish communities in need.[1]

In May 1948, two Jewish populations were under significant social and political distress. First were the Ashkenaz Jewish communities from European countries who survived the Holocaust. The second were the Mizrachi Jewish population from Islamic countries whose worsening social situations resulted in growing fear for their safety and thus required immediate rescue plans.[2] Immigration of other concentrations of Jewish communities from North Africa and Eastern Europe took place later (late 1950 to 1960) as the political climates in their countries did not require immediate evacuation.[3]

Between July of 1948 and 1951, over 350,000 Jewish Ashkenaz were rescued from internment camps in Cyprus and Displaced Persons camps in Europe. In addition, 331,000 Jewish Mizrachim

were rescued from violent regimes in Islamic countries, more specifically Yemen, Iraq, and North African countries.[4] Other Jewish communities subsequently immigrated to Israel out of personal and ideological motives.[5] By 1954, 740,000 Jewish immigrants arrived to Israel.[6]

FIGURE 10
Preparing for departure from Jewish refugees camp, Cyprus 1949



Up until 1951, Jewish Ashkenaz were the majority of the population, for the first time however, in 1951, Jewish communities from Asia dominated the land, and by 1952, Jewish immigrants from North Africa were the majority of the population.[7] Regardless of the numerical balance between Ashkenaz and Sephardi/Mizrachi population, the Ashkenaz community continued to dominate the social, political, and economic sectors.

Despite the excitement of new immigrations, entire communities voiced their discriminative opinions about the quality of certain immigration groups. Prejudice developed both in interpersonal encounters and in public expressions. This caused great alarm among those responsible for the immigration process, as they grew concerned for the personal and collective morale of new immigrants.[8]

> "How can one build a future for a community on such degraded population?" He continued to add " if we place them in the houses we build, the land we hold, it will be a community who does not work, one big welfare population.[9]"

Senior Ashkenaz doctors of the immigration agency on the new Mizrachi immigrants

The shift in origin countries lead to a drastic change in the demographic make-up. The large immigration wave from Islamic countries consisted predominantly of families.[10] Due to their strong religious identity, the average number of individuals per family rose significantly, adding more children to the Israeli population. Among Ashkenaz families, only 1.3% had six family members or more with an average family size of 2.9, compared to 21.7% of families with six members or more among Mizrachi population and an average family size of four members.[11] On top of this, the high percentage of unemployed women from Mizrachi background, along with the large amount of elderly

Ashkenaz who survived the war, directly affected the country's labor force and educational levels. The percentage of immigrants in the workforce declined dramatically, so much so that in 1954 only 35% of the total population were employed.[12] The new immigrants not only altered the amount of qualified laborers, but also the quality. The percentage of skilled and technical professionals was as little as 4.5% - 6% of immigrants.[13] Additionally, education levels amongst new immigrants declined with the arrival of individuals from Islamic countries, where 72% did not complete elementary school or never attended it, compared to 33.1% among Ashkenazm.[14]

The integration and absorption methods used in the 1950s coincided with 'the Melting Pot' philosophy, separation from all the unique ethnic traditions and the creation of a new cultural system. The dominance of Ashkenaz population however, meant this culture was created largely based on traditions from Western Europe.[15] The Ashkenaz population expected the new Mizrachi immigrants to leave their traditions behind and follow their practices. The gap between their expectations and reality caused conflict and the methods taken to deal with this had far-reaching effects on the country's social, cultural, and political structure decades later.[16]

Upon the arrival of immigrants to Israel, the main responsibilities of the Ministry of Aliyah and Integration included, initial screening of immigrants, issuance of documents, medical examinations, organization of transportation, and finally transportation of their goods. To regulate this process effectively, the ministry used two types of temporary camps (mostly located in Europe and few in North Africa). The first was a short-term camp, usually of few days or weeks, used for initial screenings, specifically for medical examinations and awaiting transportation. The second type of camps (Majority in Marseille, France) involved longer durations, sometimes up to a year, due to prolonged medical rehabilitation. The long delays required the ministry to provide education and social programs for children along with programming to help adults integrate into the new culture.[17] A large amount of chronic illnesses, as well the sheer number of elderly and handicapped individuals nearly collapsed these agencies. This, along with the realized difficulties of absorbing so many new immigrants with low

qualifications, shaped the quality of the process.

Following 1950, Israel started a more selective immigration process. The new policies ruled new immigrants must be strong, capable individuals under the age of 35 who are willing to work in agricultural land for a minimum of two years. In addition, only 20% were allowed to sponsor their families due to the financial and social burden on the government. Communities who were affected by the new policies were mainly from North Africa, especially Morocco and Iran.[18] Only in 1952, did the government ease the requirements and allowed larger intake of Mizrachi immigrants.[19]

FIGURE 11
New immigrants cleaning up the rubble in the abandoned Arab village akir 1949

Aside from the initial immigration processes, the ministry had another crucial concern, the absorption of immigrants. Their core responsibilities included sufficient supply of housing, employment, education, medical and welfare assistance, and social integration. Fulfilling these needs put the ministry under severe financial constraint. Furthermore, due to the vast immigration along with the absence of a formal plan, a crisis developed, leading to improvise solutions.[20]

FIGURE 12
Children and their teacher dancing outside their school in an abandoned Arab village

The first struggle was the housing crisis, which developed in the 1930s and began to deeply worsen during the 1950s. In 1930, the housing density in the Jewish Yishuv was eight times higher than main settlements in Sweden, Poland, and Austria. To solve the issue of housing shortage, Israel provided several solutions. Exploitation of deserted houses in abandoned Arab neighborhoods, construction of temporary housing (tents and tin shacks) in impermanent settlements, and finally, construction of low cost housing in close proximity to impermanent settlements.[21]

The placement of new immigrants in settlements correlated available resources at the time. Thus, the first immigrants to arrive received the best available options. The first immigration wave was made up primarily of Ashkenaz Jews who settled in abandoned Arab neighborhoods within main cities. By the end of 1949, these neighborhoods were at capacity and the ministry had to resort to the next housing solution. The next immigration wave included communities from Yemen and North Africa who settled in neighborhoods with lower living conditions. This few months' difference between the immigration waves, is one of the major factors for the significant concentration of communities with the same ethnic, social, and economic background.[22] The ethnic division rapidly created new poverty centers with poor social and medical services.[23]

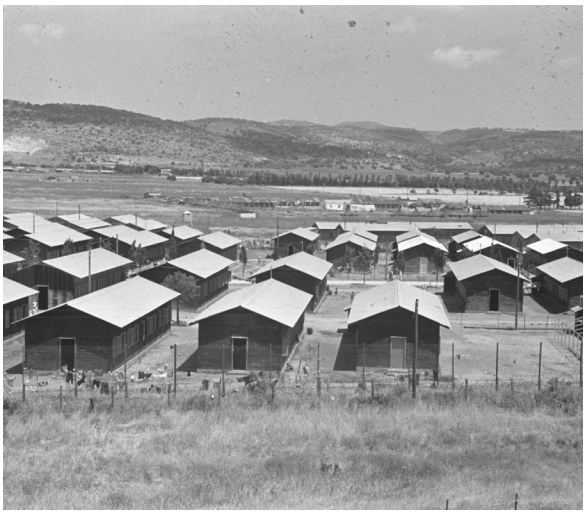


FIGURE 13
General view of Athlit immigrants reception camp near Haifa 1949

Once the capacity of abandoned Arab housing was full, new immigrants were sent to temporary immigration camps. Some were located near main cities while others were more isolated. The immigrants who settled in the former British military camps, especially near Jewish centers, were more fortunate due to improved infrastructure and social services. Inversely, settlements that were more distant, suffered from lower services due to poor improvised solutions.[24] Due to minimal opportunities in these camps, the ministry provided full subsidies, which later created a trend of employment avoidance among new immigrants, especially among those of Mizrachi background.[25]

The transit camps were the next solution. They were created as a gradual attempt to diminish the reliance of new settlers on the government by halting free services and integrating 100,000 people into the labor force.[26] Some transit camps were established near old urban

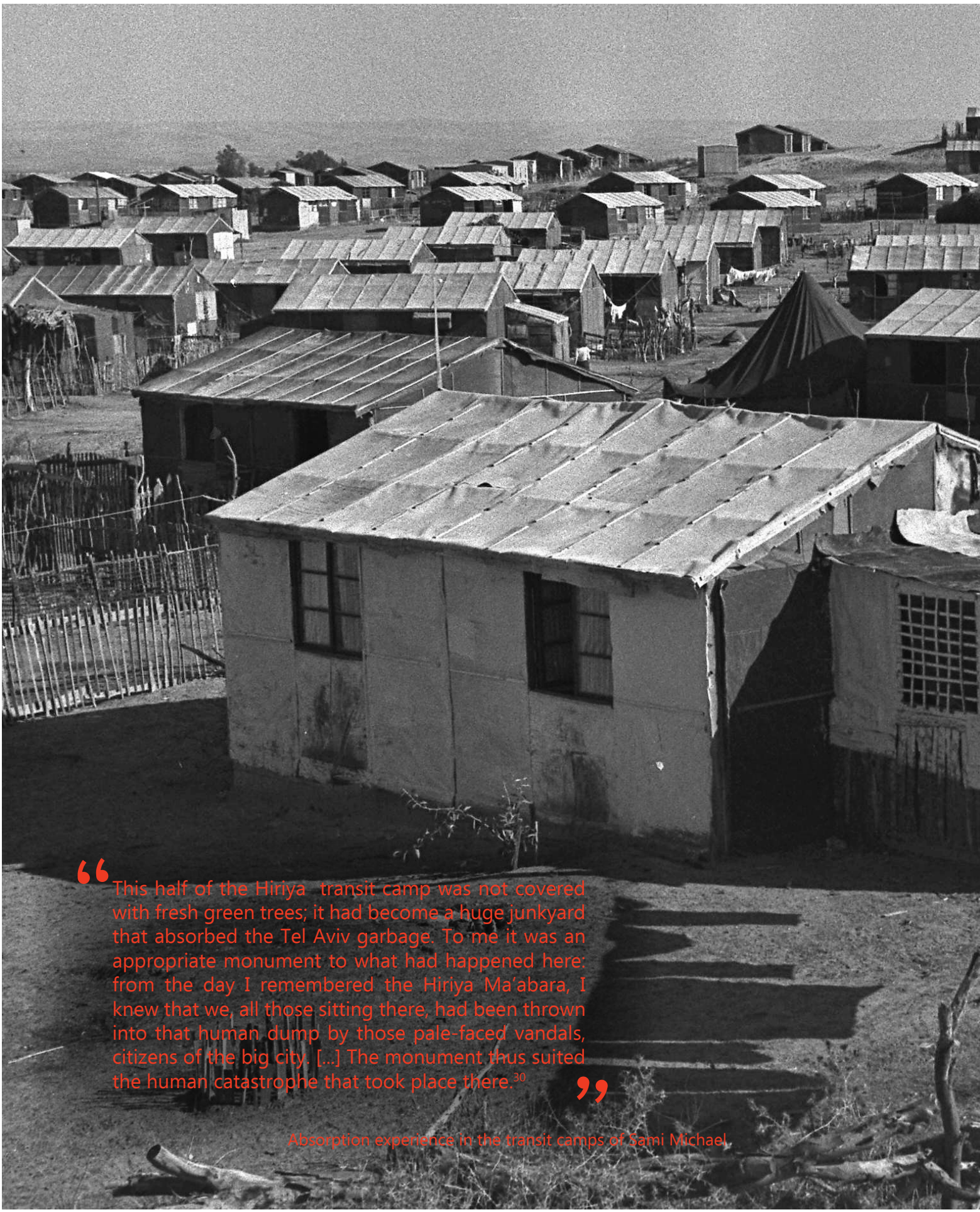
or rural settlements while others were established in remote areas. These intended to provide the infrastructures foundation for new Jewish settlements (which later transformed into development towns).

The intention of the transit camps was to provide a temporary living space for a short period while immigrants awaited the completion of their permanent housing. This resulted in lower living conditions. Immigrants lived in Sukkahs, small dorms, and shacks. Lack of resources and the resumption of immigration in the late 1950s disrupted the plan. Furthermore, the government prioritized the construction of permanent housing in the older cities and neglected the construction of infrastructure in isolated settlements. Once again, the government pushed aside the needs of minorities. Transience transformed to permanence where entire immigration generations lived in transit camps for many years.[27] Between 1950 and 1952, only 158,000 out of 416,000 new immigrants settled in permanent housing.[28]

FIGURE 14
Immigrants from Yemen building a Sukkah in their immigration camp 1950

The demographic make-up in the temporary camps shifted quickly as many of the Ashkenaz immigrants successfully integrated and moved to cities, while many of the Mizrachi immigrants could not escape the poverty cycle. Those who remained in the transit camps were considered by the Israeli society to be of low functioning and negative social characteristics. This along with the conditions in the camps quickly developed into a social anomia among the struggling immigrants.[29]

Another type of settlements involved the development of new agricultural lands known as the Kibbutz. The Kibbutz developed as a strategic plan to scatter Jewish settlements throughout the entire



“This half of the Hiriya transit camp was not covered with fresh green trees; it had become a huge junkyard that absorbed the Tel Aviv garbage. To me it was an appropriate monument to what had happened here: from the day I remembered the Hiriya Ma'abara, I knew that we, all those sitting there, had been thrown into that human dump by those pale-faced vandals, citizens of the big city. [...] The monument thus suited the human catastrophe that took place there.[30]”

Absorption experience in the transit camps of Sami Michael

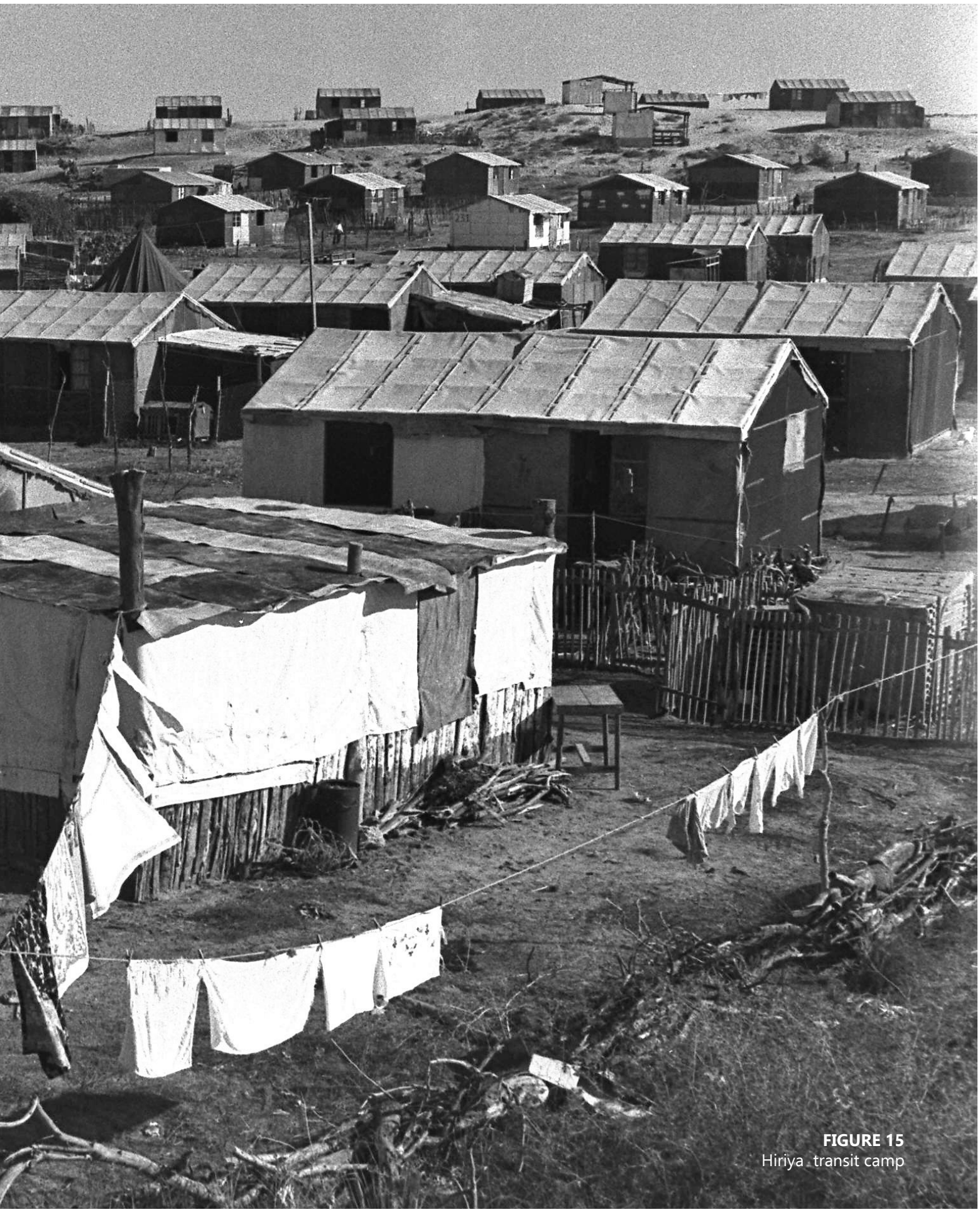


FIGURE 15
Hiriya transit camp

country and to protect Israel's borders. Due the political, social, and ideological importance, the government applied very selective immigration processes for these communities. Thus, the bulk of their migrants were young Zionist of Ashkenaz background. These processes formed a social stratum of elitist character, both in the eyes of the general population and the settlers themselves. Discrimination followed, as the kibbutzim considered Mizrachi and Sephardic immigrants unsuitable candidates for the kibbutz membership.[31]

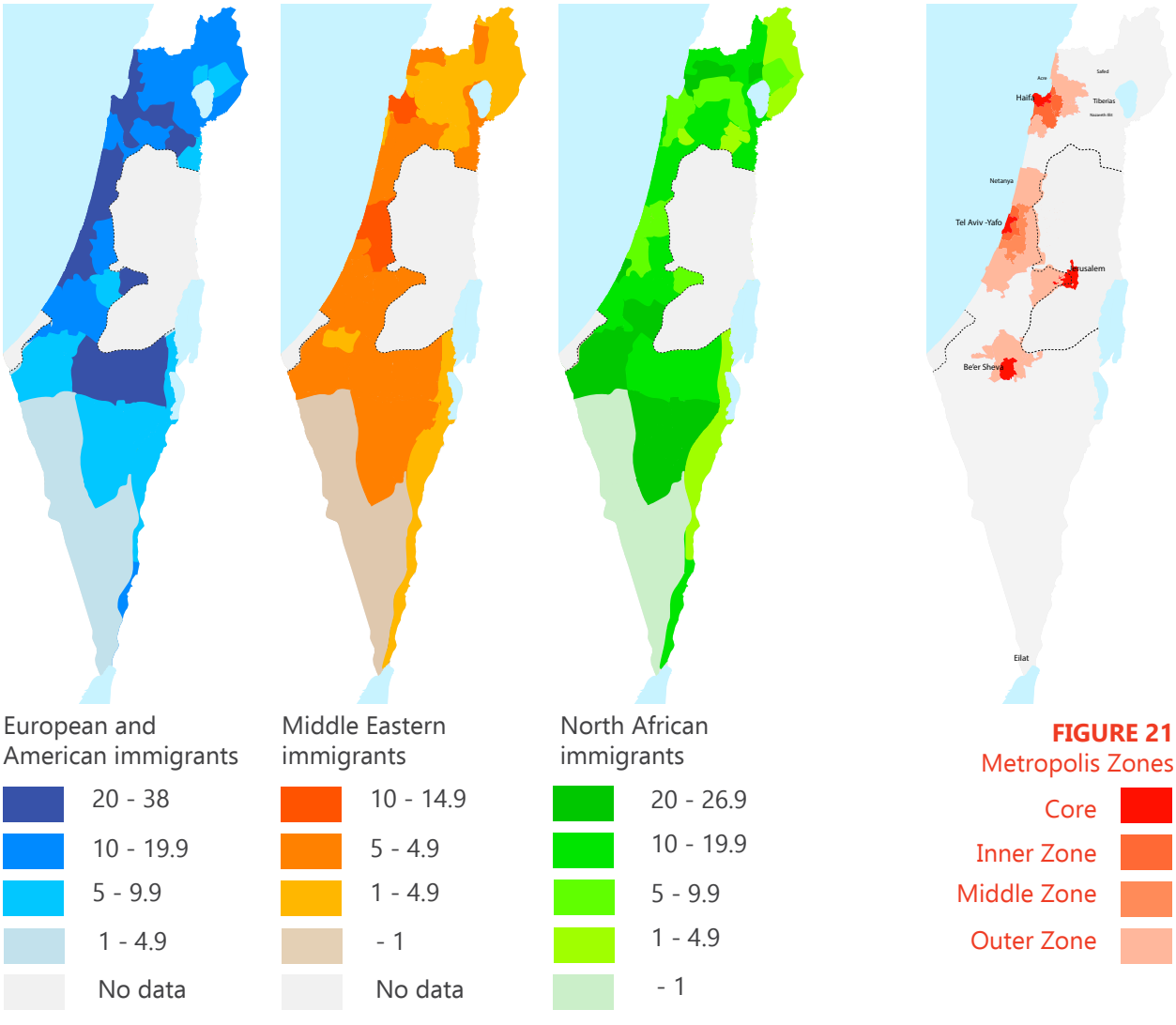
FIGURE 16
German youth dances outside their Kibbutz
1936

The constant tension between the need for immediate solution and the desire to follow defined priorities and an appropriate plan reflected the quality of the absorption and integration processes. Between 1952 and 1954, immigration slowed down, giving agencies some time to improve the infrastructure of new settlements and prepare for future absorption. In the later waves of immigration, integration was smoother when new immigrants settled in permeant housing upon arrival.[32]

FIGURE 17
Aerial view of new housing project behind ma'abara tents for new immigrants at bat yam
1949

The government invested large funds to build new settlements in strategic areas to create connections between main metropolises across the country. In 1951, the government established few developmental towns in close proximity to main centers, which provided fruitful opportunities. However, after 1955 the majority of these centers were located in deserted and undeveloped areas with little to no economic or physical infrastructure.[33] The employment opportunities in developmental towns consisted of mainly unskilled manual and general labor with very few opportunities for professional white-collar jobs. In contrast, large cities offered more opportunities for proficient careers.[34]

The quality of employees and job opportunities in each area affected the shifting demographics. In the 1960s, developmental towns became more homogeneous as many Ashkenaz families left to cities. Further, their departure affected the socioeconomic status of the towns, as they were the key players within the social and politic leadership. Their direct and indirect impact on the lives of the residence were crucial, especially their instrumental capacities to improve employment and social services.[35] This again created a major demographic issue where pockets of poverty continued to develop in the peripheral towns.



FIGURES 18,19,20
Settlement location of immigrants according to origin countries (%)

FIGURE 21
Metropolis Zones

Aside for the housing crisis, the economy also struggled to absorb this significant immigration wave. As a result, the government developed two types of jobs. The first was 'workfare', which had no economic benefit, with the exception of a minimum wage. Individuals who worked in these jobs usually lived in temporary settlements. Even after many of them settled into permanent neighborhoods, they continued to work in workfare until they could successfully integrate into their new locations.[36] The second type of job developed gradually to provide stable employment for new immigrants. These included the establishment of infrastructure for productions frameworks such as, transportation networks, electricity, water plants, land preparation for agricultural development, and industrial and residential infrastructure.[37]

The low education and professional skills among immigrants from Islamic countries forced them to turn to inferior occupations and lower incomes.[38] In many cases, they were unemployed for prolonged periods, which forced women and children to work. The crisis was so damaging that 50% of the population was forced to register for social services and were in need of financial support. This led to a higher dropout rate among children, which further worsened the social statuses of these immigrants. Thus, delinquency percentage rose significantly.[39] Violence and crime percentage was highest amongst groups who struggled to integrate, where In 1960, 30% of North African immigrants were associated with criminal behaviors.[40]

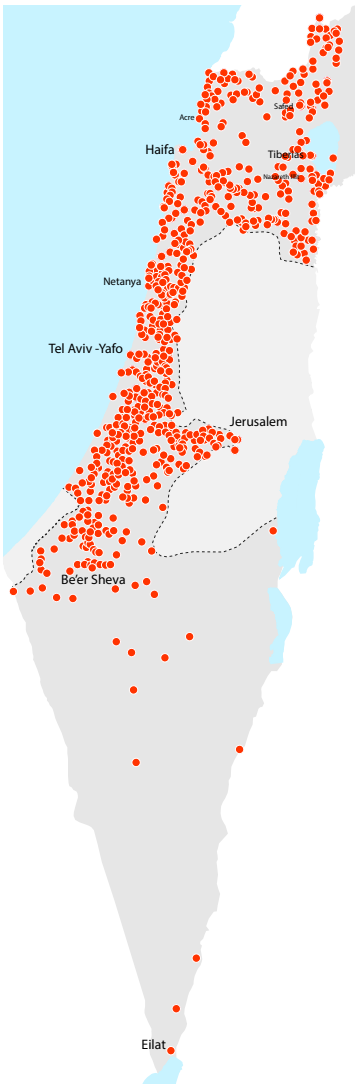
The next struggle was the rapid development of appropriate education infrastructure and programs. Training of teaching staff and developing successful education programs for the special needs of immigrants was timely. This inevitably involved lower qualification processes that drastically reduced the education level in the country.[41] In 1952, 70 % of the youth (ages 14-18) did not attend any educational programs.[42]

Another issue was the decision to divide the education programs according to ethnicities. Instead of creating new effective educational programs that will assist new immigrants to integrate into the Israeli culture, they created programs according to ethnic qualifications. In September of 1962, the government established

two educational options: an academic option where student acquire full secondary education and a professional option where student can achieve a partial academic knowledge and major in a hands-on profession. Since the education system was divided according to ethnicities, all the Ashkenaz schools were academic, while the Mizrachi/Sephardic schools were based on professional options (as agriculture, mechanic, and etcetera).[43] In Addition, since the majority of immigrants from Mizrachi and Sephardic communities came from traditional backgrounds, the government decided to place their children in religious schools. The education programs of the religious schools shifted the focus from essential subjects such as math, physics, language, etcetera, to Jewish studies. In contrast, the majority of the Ashkenaz population studied in secular schools that provided them with the appropriate skills to integrate successfully. These decisions reflected the prejudice that pushed the Mizrachi and Sephardic communities further down the socioeconomic ladder.[44] Consequently, social differences and education levels created a significant difference in income between Ashkenaz and Sephardic/Mizrachi population. In the 1960s-1970s, an average Mizrachi family earned about 30 percent less than an average Ashkenaz family. Furthermore, over 60 percent of the lowest socioeconomic population were of Mizrachi Background.[45] These statistics gradually narrowed, however a recent study by the University of Tel Aviv found that even today average wage of Ashkenaz individuals is higher by 26 percent than the average wage of people from Mizrachi background.[46] This reflects the full process of resocialization, which can take a full decade. The difference in income does not represent direct discrimination rather; it represents the distribution of positions among the population since the 1950s. Where people of Ashkenaz background usually have higher paying jobs compared to their Mizrachi neighbors. As the second generation of immigrants enter into the Israeli labor force, this number should equalize in the near future.

Not until the end of the 1960s, did Mizrachi communities begin to oppose the de-socialization and resocialization processes that were imposed on them.[47] Following the war in 1967, a group of young adults, sons of North African immigrants from Musrara, a low socioeconomic neighborhood in East Jerusalem, began a social

FIGURE 22
Jewish settlements in 1960



“There is no basis for the assumption that the Jews of North Africa, Turkey, Egypt, Persia, or Eden are essentially different from the Jews of Lithuania, Galicia and America. They also contain rich pioneering ability, abilities of heroism and creativity. If we invest some of the efforts we invested in the Jewish youth in Europe, we will receive the anticipated results.[48]”

More optimistic opinion regarding the potential of the new ethnic communities from David Ben Gurion

FIGURE 23
Three Mizrachi men seating on a bench in Tel Aviv

Mizrachi revolution, which changed the social order in the country. The group identified themselves as the "Black Panthers" and during the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, gathered entire Mizrachi and Sephardic communities to oppose the Ashkenaz cultural, political, and economic influences. The Israeli reality then can be divided into two eras, before and after the Black Panthers.[49]

The main causes of this social revolution lies in the prejudicial behaviors of the governing authorities towards Mizrachi population. No official plan was in hand to aid the integration and absorption process of Mizrachi immigrants in low socioeconomic neighborhoods. In Musrara, a third of the Mizrachi men were unemployed, 75 percent of the North African employees worked in minimum paying jobs, the average salary of a North African family was half of the average salary in the country, and only 56 percent of the youth attended an educational program. In Addition, following the war, the government invested great funds towards rehabilitation of Jerusalem neighborhoods except for Musrara, where the majority of the inhabitants were Arabs and North African immigrants. The last cause of the revolution was the successful absorption of new immigrants from the Soviet Union in the early 1970s.[50]

The youth in Musrara watched the enthusiastic reception of the Israeli population and official governmental offices towards the new Ashkenaz immigrants. As part of a new immigration law, the government granted the new comers endless benefits to ease their absorption and integration process, something that was lacking during the reception of Mizrachi immigrants in previous waves. The new benefits included large and inexpensive mortgages loans, customs exemptions for purchasing electrical appliances and cars, and many other benefits that quickly directed their successful integration into the high social classes of the Israeli society. Consequently, the Mizrachi revolution demanded that the terms of their absorption be retroactively compared to those of the 1970's immigrants, unfortunately, it was never realized.[51] The inevitable comparison between the absorption of 1970's immigrants and Mizrachi immigrants was what broke their morale and led to the development of another social gap which will be discussed in the following section.

Following the revolution, the Mizrachi population established a significant social change and they slowly began integrating into the social, economic, and political sectors while placing their mark on the Israeli culture. Today, after sixty years of integration and coinciding with their echo generations, 'the ethnic demon' seems to have been eliminated. Nevertheless, later immigrations in the 1970s and 1990s created a new cleavage between Israelis and the newly immigrated communities.

ONE MILLION 'RUSSIANS'

Immigration in 1970 & 1990

Immigration following the large wave in the 1950s continued in smaller quantities until the next big immigration periods in 1970s and 1990s when close to a million Soviet Union Immigrants arrived to Israel. Between 1960 and 1990, an average of 23,000 people per year arrived, adding over 850,000 immigrants to the Israeli population. The first immigration wave of this era (1960 - 1970) had similar demographic characteristics as in the 1950s with large Jewish communities coming from Turkey, Iran, Algeria, Morocco and Romania. However, the next immigration wave in the 1970s, introduced new groups of immigrants. These included western countries such as Canada, Argentina, United States, France, United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union, which dominated the emigration.[1]

During the 1980s, immigration from the Soviet Union decreased significantly (30,000 people compared to 160,000 in 1970s) and reignited again in 1989. By the end of the 1990s, over a million people immigrated to Israel, 800,000 of which were from the former Soviet Union.[2] Their emigration affected many aspects of the Israeli identity. Including the economic, political, athletic, scientific, educational, artistic, and social sectors. Their culture completely shifted the social order in the country and created a new, more dynamic and pluralistic reality.[3]

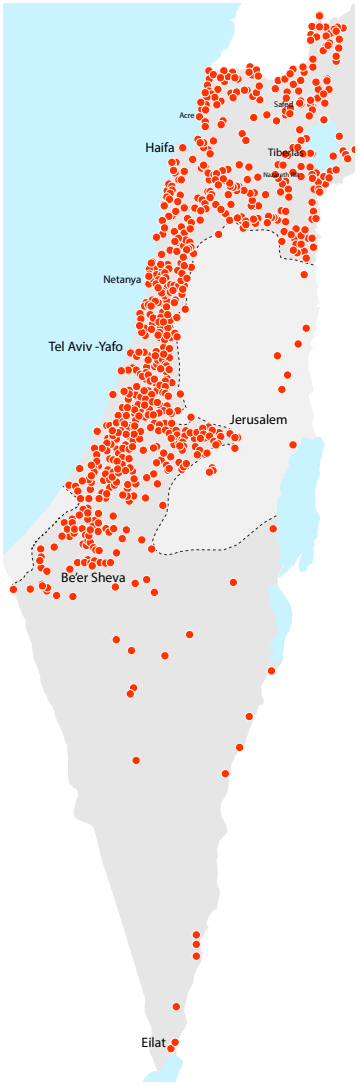
Third Immigration period. Immigration in 1970s.

One of the main reasons for the demographic shift was due to the positive consequences that followed the Six-Day War. The achievements of the war and the overall positive morale among Jews in the diaspora strengthened their Jewish identity and contributed to their emigration motives to Israel. Afterward, the majority of the new comers were considered 'Clim' (from the word 'Aliyah'), and immigrated out of choice rather than need and unlike refugees had no need for significant social, economic or financial assistance. As a result, Israel revised its absorption and integration policies. The improved economic situation along with the relatively small amount of immigrants, allowed the government to provide appropriate absorption assistance.[4]

As the new immigrants were equipped with suitable skills, initial wealth, and high education levels, their integration process was relatively seamless. Upon arrival, they settled into immigration centers to learn the language, and shortly after, they left to their desired location of settlement.[5] Immigrants from western countries experienced an easier emigration process compared to immigrants from the Soviet Union who were under stricter circumstances.

Their emigration journey began when the soviet authorities detached any diplomatic relationships with Israel due to the Six-Day War, resulting in discrimination towards Jewish communities. Even though the Soviet authorities tried to prevent the departure of Jews, they preferred to approve their emigration rather than working towards preserving the Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. Thus, in the 1970s, 250,000 Jewish people emigrated, 160,000 of which arrived in Israel while the rest left to western countries. The new immigrants arrived from various Soviet Union regions, all with different cultural backgrounds. Some from the European republics (Ashkenaz Jews), others from central Asian republic countries and the Caucasus region, some were secular while others maintained a strong connection to the Jewish religion. All of these factors affected their absorption process.[6]

FIGURE 24
Jewish settlements in 1970



● Jewish city over 5,000 people

Despite the relatively positive absorption experience, the Soviet Union immigrants had few integration difficulties. The transition from a communist regime, whose attitude towards citizens was apprehensive and at times violent, to a western regime with a liberal economy, was challenging. They had to cope not only with a new culture, but also to an independent economy. Yet, the majority of immigrants managed to find jobs that suited their education, and many others underwent career retraining and integrated into professions in demand.[7] Similar to previous immigrations, those who came from urban regions and were educated found it easier to integrate compared to those who arrived from small villages with little to no education.

The Ashkenaz elite and middle class waited impatiently for the arrival of social reinforcement of educated, white immigrants who would 'save' the country from what they thought was a process of levantization.* On the other hand, the Mizrachi population were anxious to lose their demographic and political power they had acquired during the social revolution in the 1970s.[8] In addition, the failing absorption and integration processes of the Mizrachi immigrants in the 1950s gave rise to many lessons and changes within the immigration policies. As a result, the improved attention towards the new immigrants pushed the struggling Mizrachi population to develop great antagonism towards them. Furthermore, as many individuals within the Israeli government voiced their opinions in the media, it directly created deeper detachments between the Mizrachi communities and the new immigrants.[9] These further increased the socioeconomic gap between the Ashkenaz and Mizrachi communities.[10] It also created a new channel of tension between Israelis and 'Russians'** which amplified even more with the vast immigration wave in 1990s.

* From the word 'Levant', an historical term referring to the geographical area of Eastern Mediterranean. Thus, in this specific case, levantization means the transforming of the Israeli population into a primitive culture, as immigrants from the Levant regions (Mizrachi Immigrants) were stereotyped.

** The Israeli population refers to all former Soviet Union immigrants as 'Russians' immigrants even though they came from different regions and backgrounds. For easy read, the term 'Russians' will be used throughout the thesis to represent all immigrants from former Soviet Union countries.

Fourth Immigration period. Immigration in 1990s.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 brought to the cancellation of the departure ceasing policies and many Jewish communities exploited the opportunity and left the region. In addition, intensified antisemitism and economic instability further increased emigration motives. Israel who had intentions to absorb the new Jewish immigrants, asked the United States to close its doors to Jewish citizens. The United States acceded Israel's request and refrained from defining former Soviet Jewish citizens as refugees or as having the right to asylum. As a result, despite the immigrants' preference to migrate to the United States, they settled in Israel.[11]

The causes for emigration among former Soviet settlers of the early 1990s compared to the late 1990s were very different. The first waves (1989-1993) included many immigrants who had strong Jewish identity and immigrated due to similar desires as the immigrants of the 1970s. On the contrary, many of the immigrants who left in the late1990s suffered from severe economic distress and chose to emigrate merely for financial reasons rather than for their Jewish identity. The lack of connection to the Jewish religion among some of the immigrants, led many of them to leave Israel to the United States few years after their arrival. [12]

The new immigrants were mostly Jewish Ashkenaz who reside in many regions within the former Soviet Union. As of 1995, 79% of the 'Russians' immigrants arrived from the Europeans republics and 21% from Asian regions. Of all the immigrants 31% were from Russia, 30% from Ukraine, 9% from Belarus, 11% from Uzbekistan, 7% from Moldova, and 12% from other regions.[13] Those who emigrated from metropolitan cities were mostly from small families, with one or two children, highly educated, secular, and had a strong keen for financial and professional success.

In addition, Israel's 'law of return' attracted many non-Jewish individuals who exploited the opportunity to reunite with their families and escape the unstable economy in the former Soviet Union.[14] According to Judaism, only a child of a Jewish mother is identified as being Jewish. However, in the Russian culture,

FIGURE 25
Jewish settlement in 1990

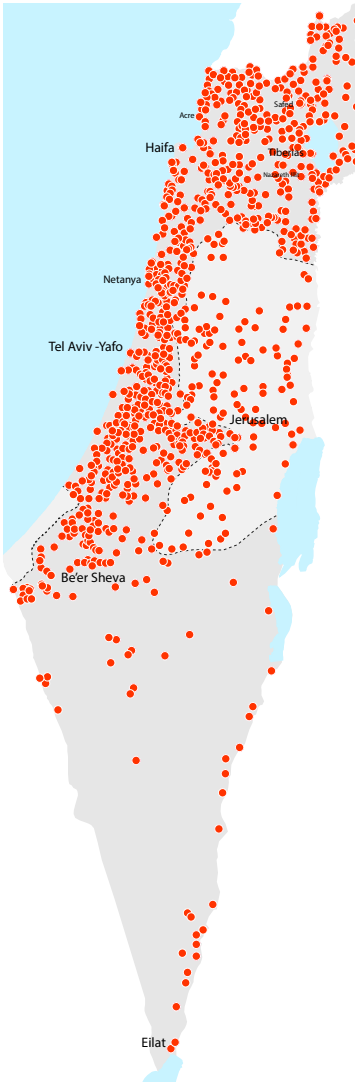
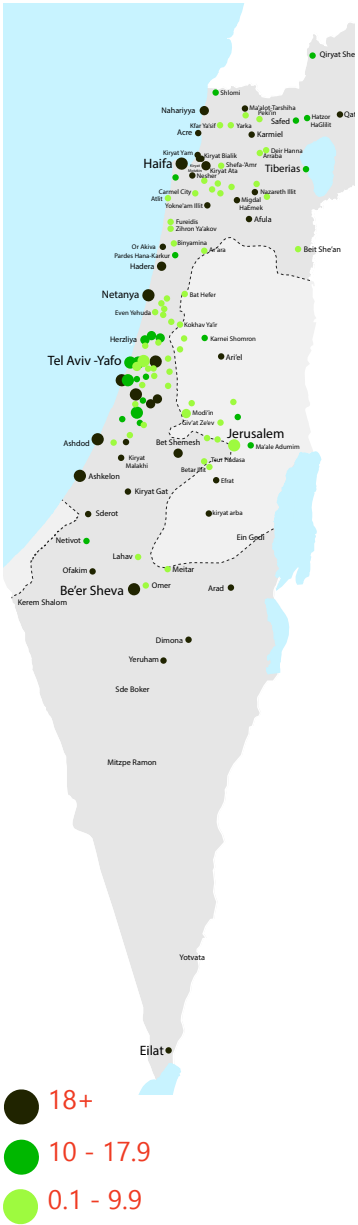


FIGURE 26
Location of settlement of 1990 Immigrants (%)



the religion of children goes according to the father. As a result, many non-Jewish families arrived to Israel and the Chief Rabbinate of Israel questioned their Jewish identity. Thus, many 'Russian' children were sent to religious educational systems to prove their Jewish identity. This decision pushed many families down the socioeconomic ladder.

The emigration wave in the beginning of the 1990s was of great importance to Israel, as it devoted great funds towards the absorption and integration processes of new immigrants. However, due to the beginning of the Gulf War along with the arrival of the entire Jewish Ethiopian community, Israel suffered from economic strain that led to a decline in absorption assistance in later waves.[15]

Similar to previous immigration periods, the new immigrants struggled to integrate in several aspects. The first and most prominent issue was the housing crisis that developed. The large immigration caused the real estate market to surge, and the Israeli government was not prepared for the absorption of so many people. The rise in prices pushed many low socioeconomic families from previous emigrations out of their homes into temporary housing solutions in peripheral areas. To ease the absorption, Israel subsidized rental prices for new immigrants and constructed temporary caravan areas in peripheral neighborhoods.[16] The housing crisis never improved as even today after almost three decades many families still live in temporary housing and continue to engage in a futile battle against the government.[17]

The concentration of 'Russian' immigrants in separate neighborhoods was very common among this immigration wave, where forty percent settled in fourteen cities in which they made more than 20% of the population. In some cities, their population climbed to a fourth (Haifa) and even a third (Ashdod, Lod, Kiryat Gat, Ariel, Maalot) of the total local population.[18] Those who had the appropriate skills eventually studied the language and left the periphery to look for better opportunities in central cities. A cycle once again began, where people with little education could not escape lower socioeconomic conditions, while those who have the means, leave them behind. Many of the Mizrachi immigrants develop deeper hatred towards the new 'Russian' immigrants,

which only added to the social cleavage.

The 'Russian' immigrants contribution to the labor force was very high, as 96% of immigrants between the ages of 25-34 were employed compared to 72% of the total Israeli population. Similar ratio among the older population existed (ages 35-55), where 97% of immigrants were employed compared to 77% of the total Israeli population.[19] These statistics reflect the hard working mentality of the former Soviet Union immigrants who resorted to any minimum paying jobs while holding over qualifying degrees. The majority of the Jewish population from the former Soviet Union were highly educated from the middle or high class. Consequently, their education levels exceeded by far the average education among other immigrants and Israelis.[20]

Israel admired the high qualifications of the immigrants. However, once Israel could no longer sustain their absorption, their over qualifications only worsened their integration struggles. The educated immigrants, who came with specialized skills, could not apply their knowledge in the emerging Israeli market. Their false hopes and dreams quickly shattered against the harsh Israeli reality. The overall feeling among the 'Russian' immigrants was a sense of waste, and a complete failure of the Israeli government to exploit the new knowledge and skills successfully.[21] From being the new country's asset, they quickly became a burden.

Despite the rich knowledge and experience of many of the immigrants, they could not practice their career in Israel due to licensing differences between Israel and former Soviet Union countries. Hence, many doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers and other highly skilled individuals resorted to minimum paying jobs such as street sweepers, cleaners, and security guards. Only in later years, did the government develop fast track programs, which permitted immigrants to achieve licensing in Israel. The success and integration of many of the immigrants was highly dependent on the education and economic opportunities that were available to them. While many new comers overcame barriers and improved their socioeconomic statuses, others broke under pressure and even today still struggle to escape their low socioeconomic conditions.

FIGURE 27
Inner immigration in 1998

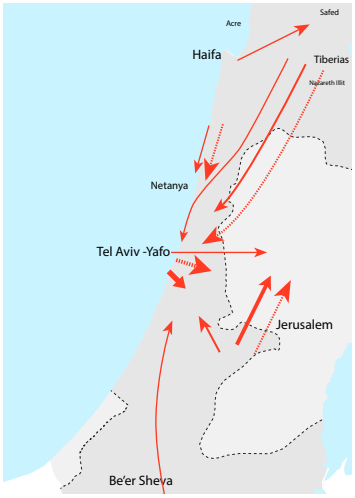
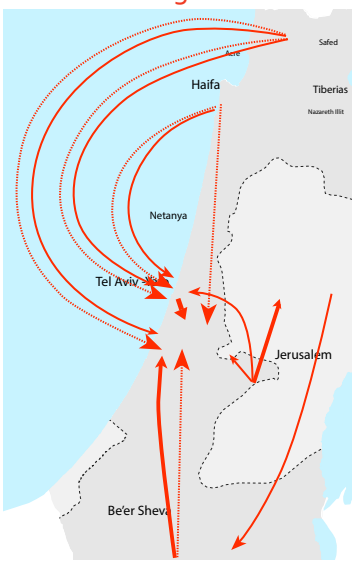


FIGURE 28
Inner immigration in 2005



General population
1990+ Immigrants


43 הכרמל
רח' הכרמל

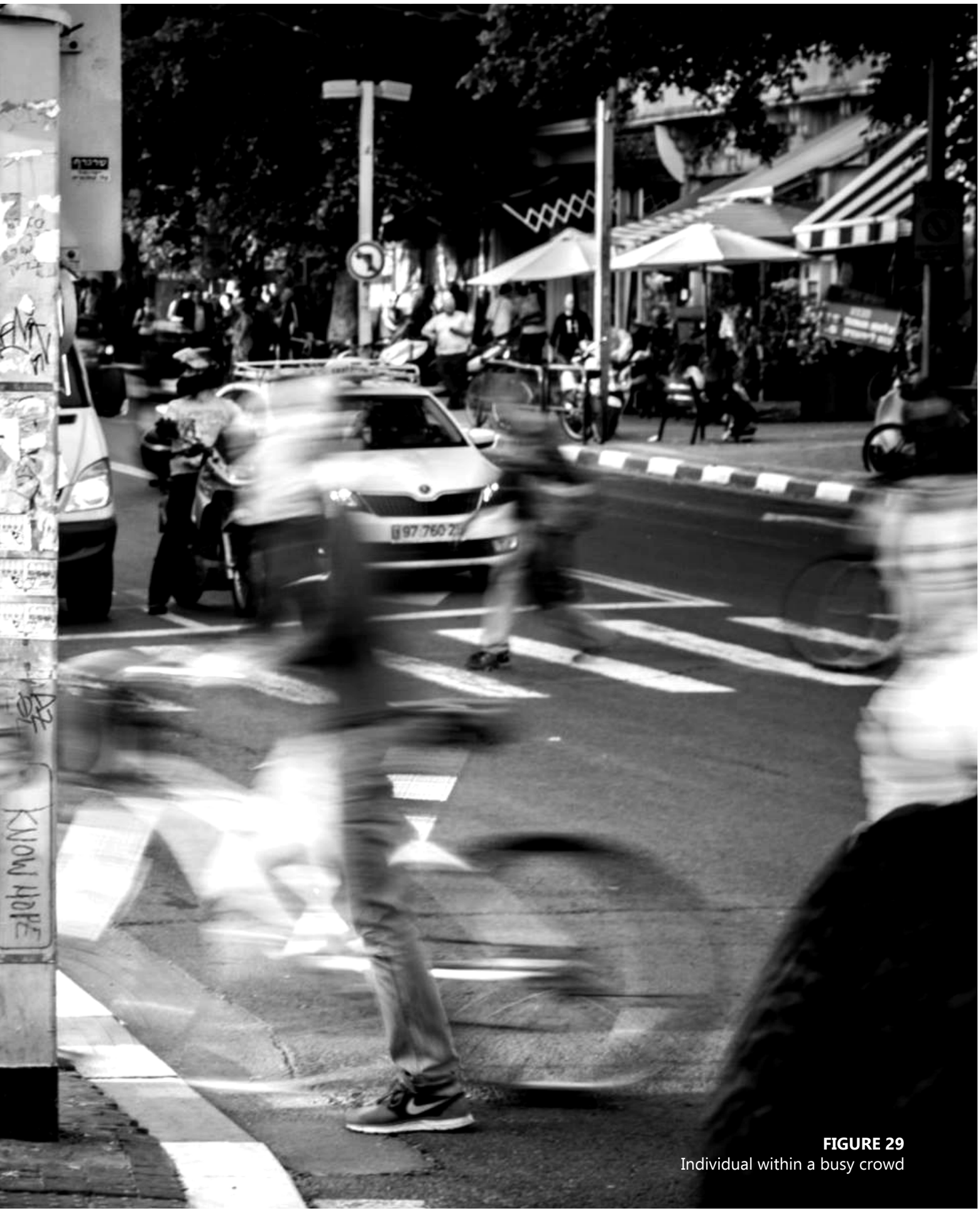


FIGURE 29
Individual within a busy crowd

In many cases the struggles of the parents, working two jobs trying to sustain a life in Israel, reflected directly on their children. Many of the immigrating children could not find support in their immediate environment. In school, their peers reject them for being 'Russians', and at home their parents are absent, working. As a result, they escape their reality through alcohol and delinquent behavior and find their safe place in street gangs with other youth in the same unfortunate situation.[22]

The strong social value among former Soviet Union immigrants included a connection to the Russian culture, which did not cease to exist upon their immigration to Israel. Many of the new immigrants chose to segregate themselves from the rest of the population, and built personal connections solely with their immediate culture. This led to the development of a strong 'Russian' culture in Israel. They created businesses to cater their exclusive needs including, newspapers and magazines, Television and radio channels, restaurants and markets and so on. Due to the vast amount of 'Russian' immigrants, many of them never attempted to integrate fully into the Israeli culture and some never learnt the language, especially the elderly population.

Israelis viewed the unwillingness of 'Russian' immigrants to adapt to the Israeli culture offensively. Due to the division and separation, the social gap increased between the two communities. Stereotypes developed based on the 'Russian' culture and the Israelis, being a very sarcastic culture, used the stereotypes against the 'Russians' both on the personal discourse and in the media. The negative attitude from both communities further added to the separation and division within the population.

Almost thirty years after their immigration, their absorption story can be summed up as a success story, especially when compared to previous immigrations. Surely, it was a journey full of struggles yet, the majority of the immigrants integrated successfully into the Israeli economy, whether in their profession and accustomed status or not. Unlike their success story, the Ethiopian immigrants who immigrated between the late 1980s and 1990s, experienced harsher integration. Despite their unique culture, which added a completely new nuance to the Israeli society, the Ethiopians were pushed down to the lowest socioeconomic status in the country.

FIGURE 30
People of Tel Aviv

FIGURE 31
The closeness of the socioeconomic gap in Tel Aviv

BEGINNING OF AN ISRAELI RACISM?

Ethiopian immigration in 1990

The final immigration wave consisted of minority Jewish groups from Ethiopia. This forced Israelis to cope with new challenges. Aside from unexperienced cultural differences, appearance differences would create future racial tensions.

Upon arrival, the Ethiopian immigrants were not equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to adapt to the new culture. As a result, their community struggled to integrate, leading to increased dependency on the Israeli government, which further deepened the gap between the Ethiopian community and the rest of the Israeli population.

The Jewish community in Ethiopia, also referred as Beta Israel, resided in small villages located on top of hills or mountains nearby water sources. Their villages included some structures to provide them with basic needs such as, dwelling, synagogue, huts for women's rituals, and storage sheds for livestock. Individuals who resided near cities had improved modern living conditions, such as mud huts.[1]

Their economic output was dominated by agriculture and other manual labor in months following harvest periods. All the family members had an integral part in maintaining their lifestyle, where children learnt their parent trades, and women were responsible for the wellbeing of the household.[2]

Education among the Beta Israel communities consisted of informal teachings from older members of their immediate community. Boys were taught by their fathers to work in agriculture or other tasks, while mothers taught girls household responsibilities. Children who had deeper aptitude for education learnt reading and writing. Those with higher affinity for learning, who also had financial means, were sent to formal schools. In 1980, only a small minority of youth attended formal education where out of 500 Jewish villages, children from only 22 attended school. The Jewish communities

were a minority in Ethiopia, and as such they could not sustain a successful Jewish education. Formal Ethiopian education did not support Jewish traditions and beliefs thus, parents avoided formal education systems out of fear of losing their religious traditions.[3]

The Jewish communities in Ethiopia had a strong affiliation to the Jewish religion, and the majority of the immigrated families followed a traditional Jewish lifestyle. The complete segregation between the main Jewish communities around the world and the Ethiopian Jews led to many different customs. As a result, upon arrival to Israel the Chief Rabbinate of Israel struggled to accept their Jewish identity, which made their integration process more difficult.

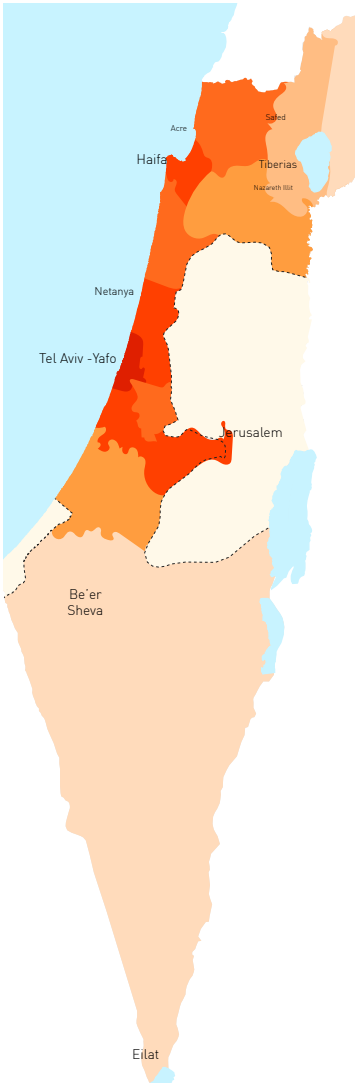


FIGURE 32
general population concentration according to regions

The Ethiopian culture is rich in indigenous elements compared to the modern culture of Israel. Thus, they struggled to fit into new modern norms. Consequently, similarly to what happened with the Mizrachi population in the 1950s, the Ethiopian immigrants were falsely associated for an apparent primitive nature, their color, and their culture.

The political relationship between Israel and Ethiopia was dormant up until the first immigration rescue plan in 1980s. The position of the Ethiopian government towards the emigration of the Jewish communities were of ambivalent nature due to conflicting stressors from Islamic and western countries. Thus, the rescue plans had to be planned strategically to guarantee the safety of the immigrants.[4]

Minor steps were taken between 1981 and 1984 a period in which 5,000 immigrants were brought in undercover missions. By the end of 1984, a major immigration of Jewish communities from small villages in Ethiopia began with the assistance of Jewish agencies and the Israeli government. Unlike other emigrations, these communities began their journey to Jerusalem on foot. Due to political circumstances and risks, they had to leave their homes in haste. The first communities to leave consisted of 10,000 people. Their road involved many challenges, and lead to over 3,000 deaths. The expedition started with walking from their villages in Ethiopia towards temporary refugee camps in Sudan, which was followed by long waiting periods, sometimes up to two years, until

they were rescued by undercover Israeli agencies. These journeys played a large role in their identity development as it further strengthened their connection to Israel and Judaism.[5] Once the Israeli government were more aware of the risks this community was under, they increased resources in order to relocate the entire Jewish community from Ethiopia to Israel. In November 1984, operation 'Moshe' commenced where 8,000 immigrants were transferred to Israel. During 1984 to 1991, many of the new Ethiopian immigrants placed tremendous pressures on the Israeli agencies to reunite them with their families. In 1991, Israel paid 40 million dollars in ransom to the Ethiopian government and the second and biggest operation began (operation 'Shlomo') with the arrival of over 14,000 Jewish Ethiopians in less than 36 hours. By 2014, 92,000 Jewish Ethiopians immigrated to Israel.[6]

The Ministry of Aliyah and Integration was responsible for assisting immigrants by supporting them with language education, initial employment, and the purchase of adequate housing. Practical complications within the ministry led to extended dependency of immigrants on the government. Despite the attempts to avoid segregations and scatter new immigrants throughout the country, pockets of Ethiopian communities developed in low socioeconomic neighborhoods. The settlement of new immigrants in specific areas triggered a departure of many Israelis thus lowering the value of certain neighborhoods. In addition, the lack of connection to the new Israeli culture led many Ethiopian immigrants to isolate themselves within their own community. Another housing tactic was to settle new immigrants in neighborhoods with Arab dominance in order to shift the demographics and create stronger Jewish presence.[7] Once again, the Israeli government neglects the needs of immigrants in turn for political and social power.

The majority of immigrants settled in developmental towns outside of Israel's center, which limited their opportunities to integrate successfully. These difficulties along with their minimal skills, led to high unemployment rates within their community. As of 2002, 47% of Ethiopians were unemployed compared to 20% of the general population. In addition, due to their culture, only 38% of Ethiopian women participated in the labor force compared to 68% of Israeli women.[8]

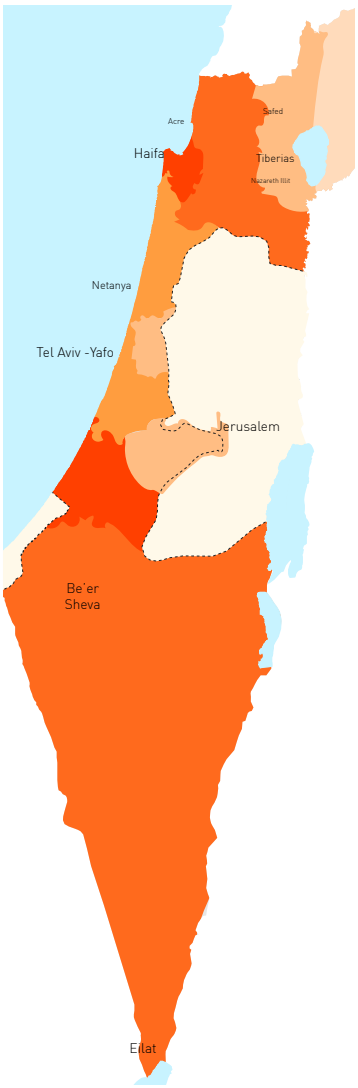


FIGURE 33
1990s immigrants' concentration according to regions

Another struggle these new immigrants faced was the objection of their Jewish identity by the Chief Rabbinate of Israel. Consequently, the solution was to create a conversion process involving a reduced circumcision procedure. The Chief Rabbinate of Israel described this ceremony as a return to Judaism, while it was actually meant to be a conversion ritual. This caused great humiliation and disappointment among the Ethiopian community, which led to the cancellation of the process shortly after.[9] Even though their Jewish Identity is now acceptable by the official religious agencies, some religious communities in Israel continue to reject their connection to Judaism.

The next struggle involved the integration into the educational framework in Israel. Since the majority of the Ethiopians follow traditional Jewish customs, and the religious agencies questioned their Jewish identity, they were sent to religious school without having the freedom to choose or refute where they were sent. The authorities argued that the adjustment from traditional Ethiopian culture into an orthodox system would be easier than the transition into secular education systems. In 1995 however, the policies changed and parents had the freedom to choose the correct education streams for their children. The impact of the initial decision however, are quite apparent today, as the majority of Ethiopian youth are more likely to study in religious institutions. Another practice of biased educational policies is the frequent referral of Ethiopian youths to boarding schools.[10] The displacement of children from their families created great despair among the community. The absorption and integration procedures taken by the government negatively affected the Ethiopian youth. Today, they dominate the bottom of the education spectrum.

FIGURE 34
Aerial view of the new caravan neighborhood for the 1990s immigrants in Netivot

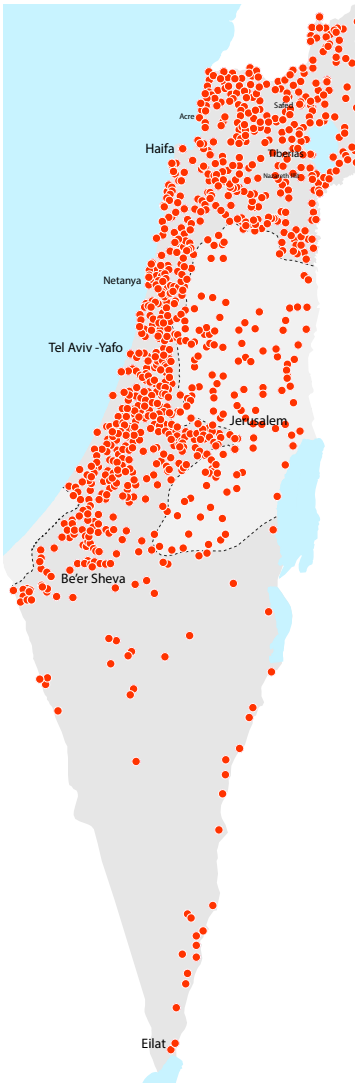
The struggles of the Ethiopian community in the social, educational, and economic systems are a part of a period that exhibited lengthy transition pains, during which they encountered many moments of discrimination and racism. These struggles further deprived them from opportunities to escape their unfortunate situation and deepened the socioeconomic gaps between them and the rest of the Israeli population.

One of the most scandalous incidences of racism took place in 1996, when hospitals secretly refused to use blood donations from Ethiopian people. Donation were accepted from Ethiopians for years but the hospitals secretly disposed them due to fear of aids and other diseases. This received significant media coverage, and resulted in large protests throughout the country. A pattern began to develop where the general population and public offices fostered negative actions towards the Ethiopian community, which in turn caused even bigger negative reaction that further damaged their image.

FIGURE 35
Ethiopian immigrants demonstrating outside the knesset against patronizing official attitudes to their absorption by the chief rabbinate, the Jewish agency, 1985

FIGURE 36
A conversation with Avi, an Ethiopian immigrant, From Humans of Tel Aviv Facebook page.

FIGURE 37
Jewish settlement in 2000



The disconnection exhibited between the many immigrant communities in Israel developed due to high social and political frictions. The absorption and integration processes of immigrants throughout Israel's history seems to mimic a vicious cycle where integration is nearly impossible due to wide-ranging acts of prejudice, causing worsening socioeconomic gaps and further prejudice. Nevertheless, the hopes for an accepting and integrated society are slowly becoming a reality, as new generations of immigrants are born into an Israeli unified culture. The changes to Israel's social order has been reflected by the rise of interracial marriages. As of today, these unions have surpassed 50% of the population compared to 30% in 1983 and only 9% in the 1950s.[12] On one side, this resocialization is unfortunate as generations of tradition are erased in less than a century. However, it seems that only through the resocialization of a heterogeneous society in Israel, can the country as a whole flourish.

The major social and economic cleavage between the many communities in the country developed mainly due to difference in four characteristics; cultural, employment, education, and location of settlement. The social hierarchy of the Jewish Yishuv never directed the socioeconomic situation in the country until the immigration wave in the 1950s. As the population tripled itself, an immediate need for infrastructure and housing developed, forcing the government to establish a plan and develop four main metropolises to connect the main centers of the country. New settlements were established near Tel Aviv, Haifa, Be'er Sheva and Jerusalem. Tel Aviv, being the main absorption center for new secular Ashkenaz immigrants, slowly developed as the main technological hub of the country, providing improved infrastructure and better educational and professional opportunities. Haifa continued to flourish as the main port of the country and sustained opportunities for a strong labor force. Be'er Sheva was comparably an undeveloped area in the Negev providing little opportunities. Lastly, Jerusalem attracted many religious families, which limited its technological and professional advancement.

Consequently, the majority of the professional work force flourished in larger cities and those with the tools to succeed

slowly relocated there. The result was further advancement, thus leaving the peripheral areas with little to no opportunities. Pockets of poverty developed outside of main centers, which worsened the image of immigrants and certain ethnicities who could not escape the low socioeconomic status in these areas. The disconnection between certain communities in every possible aspect gave rise to stereotypes, stigmas, and continually developed into prejudice and discrimination, which only worsened the socioeconomic cleavage.

After decades of integration, as new immigrants relocate in main cities, different cultures intertwined, commencing a small social change. It seems that Israel is now heading in the right direction where there is a higher tolerance towards the other both on the personal discourse and among public authorities. Today, heterogeneity flourishes within main centers in Israel. However, in some peripheral areas, homogeneity is still prominent and many communities still struggle with prejudice. The following maps represent the correlation between Immigrant's location of settlement and low socioeconomic status (figures 38-42).

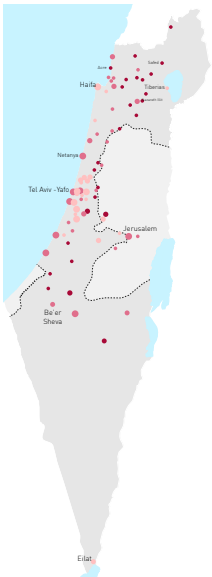


FIGURE 38
Need for Social Service

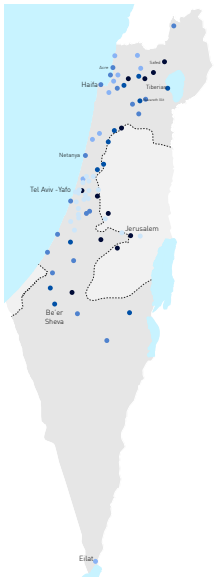


FIGURE 39
Poverty Levels

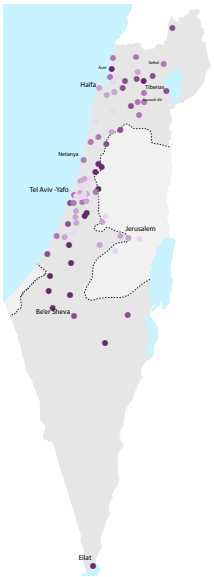


FIGURE 40
Crime Levels

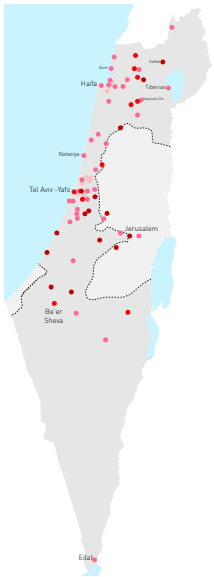
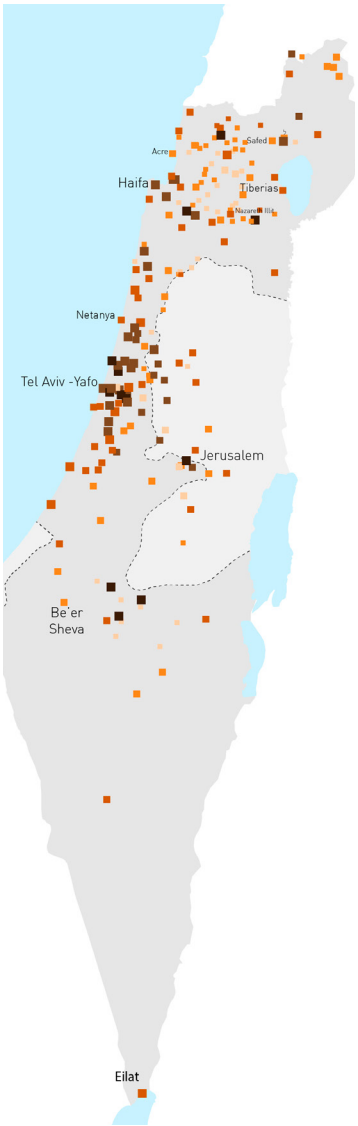


FIGURE 41
High School Dropouts

FIGURES 38,39,40,41
Situation according to region, darker color represents higher levels of: social service need, poverty, crime, and high school dropouts.

FIGURE 42
Socioeconomic Status, darker color represents higher socioeconomic levels



In the last few decades, Israel has invested great funds to redevelop the periphery in attempts to balance the socioeconomic status between the centers and the distant cities. The new projects involve the Israeli government along with municipal and local offices; together they plan and fund the revitalization of city centers in the periphery. These plans involve development of improved infrastructure, better educational facilities and programs, improved social services, enhanced integration and absorption policies, development of strong employment centers in peripheral centers, and improved transportation between the greater Tel Aviv area and the rest of Israel. Despite Israel's attempt to decrease the socioeconomic gap, these projects require vast resources and take long periods before they can establish a true change. In addition, the strategies taken lack opportunities for social change in the interpersonal level. Thus, to reduce social conflicts and prejudice effectively, there is an immediate need to establish a quick and effective solution. The following thesis does not intend to solve the socioeconomic gap, but rather to alleviate the discriminative social nature that has developed between the many communities as a result of this gap.

What if architecture could create the feelings of belonging and acceptance that are often forgotten? Certain spaces and activities have the opportunity to influence people in certain ways, what if architecture can be used as a tool to brings people together and induce positive communications and interactions? The next part will investigate the nature of prejudice and effective methods that can be taken or have been taken to reduce discriminative behaviors and increase social acceptance among conflicted groups in Israel. Furthermore, how can public architecture become an agent of social activism through the exploitation of a universal interest, gastronomy?

FIGURE 43
Personal interactions are essential to overcome social conflicts

First Immigration Period
(1880 - April 1948)

1919 - May, 1948
81% of the total Jewish immigration (385,000 people) were of Ashkenaz background. Compared to only 8.7% (40,776 people) of immigrants from Asia and 0.9% (4,033 people) of Immigrants from Africa.

First Immigration wave
(1882 - 1903)

1882 - 1903
40,000 Jewish immigrants mostly from Ashkenaz background arrived. They were associated with the Jewish Zionist organization 'Hovevei Zion' (it was founded as a result of antisemitism and suppression towards the Jewish population in Romania and Russia in the late 19th century.) Other immigrants were individuals from Europe, mostly Zionists men who came to work the land and built new Jewish settlements.

By the end of the first immigration wave, 10,000 people joined the old Jewish Yishuv, another 10,000 people established new Jewish Yishuvs outside of main metropolises and the rest settled in cities.

1882 - 1903
In addition to the majority of Ashkenaz settlers, a group of 2,500 people from Yemen immigrated due to strong religious identity. The old and the new Yishuv rejected them and they resorted to settle in cities

Second Immigration wave
(1904 - 1914)

1904 - 1914
30,000 people arrived mostly from East Europe, majority were traditional Ashkenaz families who came to look for security and establish a new Jewish culture after antisemitism events in their origin countries

1904 - 1914
Minorities from Yemen and other Islamic countries also arrived during the same era

1912 - 1913
The Jewish community was well established with 90,000 people in several cities, settlements, and agriculture lands.

1916 - 1918
Due to WWI, Jewish population decreased to 44,000 people, 70% Ashkenaz and 30% Sephardi/Mizrachi. By 1918, Jewish population was 30,000.

Third Immigration wave
(1919-1923)

1919 - 1923
The British Mandate harshened immigration processes, priority given to Ashkenaz. 35,000 Jewish immigrants arrived.

Fourth Immigration wave
(1924-1928)

1924 - 1928
Over 80,000 new immigrants. 51% young Ashkenaz Zionist, 27% wealthy families that sponsored the Yishuv, the rest were children and dependent family members.

Fifth Immigration wave
(1929 - 1939)

1929 - 1939
Largest immigration thus far with 250,000 new immigrants. Minority of young Zionist. With Hitler's rise to power in 1933, the immigration intensified with over 160,000 legal immigrants. The majority were Ashkenaz from East Europe, and smaller communities from Central, and Western Europe (50% from Poland, 5.5% from Romania, 20% from Austria Czechoslovakia, and Germany)

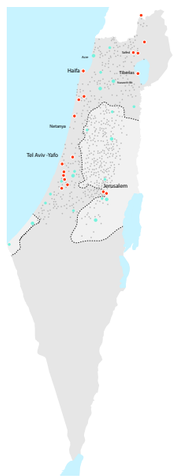
1929 - 1939
Other minorities arrived from Yemen (3.7%), Greece (2.9%) and other Arab countries (7%). Total of 18,000 Mizrachi Jews arrived from the Middle East and North Africa.

1930
Beginning of the housing crisis in Israel

1880
Jewish Population
~24,000

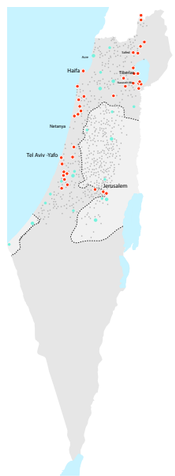
1890
Jewish Population
~47,000

1900
Jewish Population
~48,500



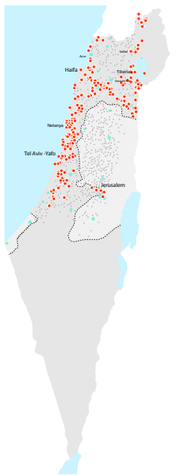
1910
Jewish Population
~50,000

1920
Jewish Population
~80,000



1930
Jewish Population
174,600

1940
Jewish Population
445,500



Ethiopian
Ashkenaz
Sephardi/Mizrachi
USSR (Russian)

Second Immigration Period
(May 1948 -1960s)

Third Immigration Period
(1970s)

Fourth Immigration Period
(1990s)

FIGURE 44
Immigration timeline from 1880 to today

Israel Independence, May 14, 1948
Following WWII, Jewish communities from Europe and Islamic countries were under social and political distress and required immediate rescue plans.

July 1948 - 1951
24,000 Jewish Ashkenaz were rescued from Cyprus internment camps.
330,000 Jewish Ashkenaz were rescued from DP (displaced persons) camps in Europe.
238,000 Jewish Mizrachim were rescued from violent regimes in Islamic countries, especially in Yemen and Iraq. Along with an additional of 93,000 Jewish Mizrachim who were rescued from North African countries.

1951
Population dominance shifted from Ashkenazim to Mizrachim

1950 - 1952
158,000 out of 416,000 immigrants settled in permanent housing.

1954
740,000 Jewish immigrants arrived to Israel since independence

1954 -1955
35,000 Jewish Moroccan immigrants

1956 - 1961
30,000 Jewish Moroccan immigrants

1961 - 1964
80,000 Jewish Moroccan immigrants
Overall since 1948, 250,000 Moroccan Immigrants arrived to Israel

1960 - 1990
An average of 23,000 people per year arrived, adding over 850,000 immigrants to the Israeli population

1969 - 1973
Following the six-day War, the extensive pressures of Jewish Agencies in Israel and Abroad successfully brought to the immigration of 160,000 Jewish people from the Soviet Union to Israel.

Other small groups of immigrants from South and North America, South Africa, Europe, Asia, and other countries continually immigrated and were considered 'Olim', rather than refugees. Their absorption and integration process was quick and they successfully integrated into the Israeli society.

1980s
Immigration from the Soviet Union decreased significantly (30,000 people compared to 160,000 in 1970s) and in 1989 reawakened again.

1981 - 1984
5,000 Ethiopian immigrants were brought to Israel in undercover missions

1984
Operation Moshe, rescuing 8,000 Ethiopian immigrants

1989
Beginning of the vast immigration following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Almost 1 million Soviet Union immigrants arrived to Israel in less than ten years

1991
The collapse of the Soviet Union

1991
Operation Shlomo, rescuing 14,000 people from the Jewish community in Ethiopia

2000s
Smaller immigration continues up to today, the majority of immigrants are well-established individuals and families. Mostly from France (escape antisemitism), North America (Individuals with strong affiliation to Zionism and Jewish traditions), and smaller numbers from Argentina (escape the poor situation in their countries).

2014
92,000 Jewish Ethiopians immigrated to Israel

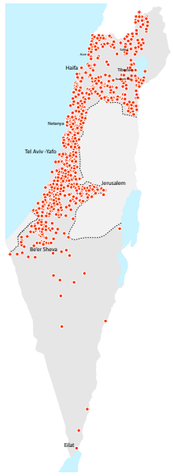
Jewish Population 6,484,000

2017

Jewish Population
1,203,000

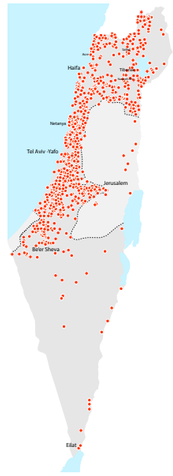
1950

Jewish Population
1,911,300



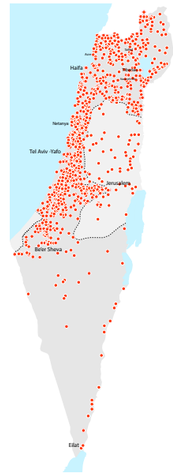
1960

Jewish Population
2,585,000



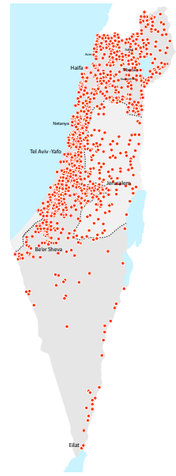
1970

Jewish Population
3,282,700



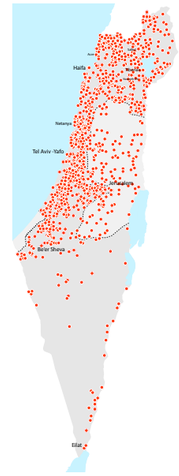
1980

Jewish Population
3,946,700



1990

Jewish Population
4,955,400



2000

Jewish Population
5,802,400

2010

Less than 2,000 Jewish people
2,000 - 5,000 Jewish people
Jewish city over 5,000 people


“No one is born hating another person because of the color of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite.[13]”
Nelson Mandela, Long Walk to Freedom

FIGURE 45
Three kids playing together

PART 2

PREJUDICE AND RESOLUTION

GASTRONOMIC MEDIATION OPPORTUNITIES

Israel's social division has been primarily attributed to the many differing ethnicities and cultures of the country's prominent immigration waves. These, slowly developed into stereotypes, stigmas, and eventually to forms prejudice and discrimination. Despite the country's attempts to alleviate the socioeconomic gap, they neglected the interpersonal realm. Personal interactions have the ability to break through rooted sets of beliefs, alter preconceptions, and drive social change. Thus, to lead a true change within the divided population of Israel, there is an immediate need to create social interventions. This thesis examines the existing social issues along with methods of mediation, while proposing a design that acts as an agent of social activism.

Part Two investigates the concept of prejudice and possible opportunities to overcome it. Mediation and reduced biased between conflicted groups can be achieved through learning and collaboration that involve shared interests and goals. Food has an essential role within any culture and ethnicity and it provides opportunities for cultural exchange and acceptance. Thus, shared gastronomic experiences along with architectural precedents are explored for their potential to build personal connections and fight discrimination. Through testing several types of culinary interactions both within Israel and abroad, a better and more effective technique can be established to enhance connectivity.

Prejudice stems from the inability to overcome differences of any kind between people of diverse backgrounds. It is often fostered by social interactions among peers and is based on negative beliefs, attitudes, and values[1]. Stereotypes are consequences of prejudicial behaviors, and overgeneralize characteristics of negative nature. Prejudice tends to lead to harmful behaviors, whether consciously or not, which in turn impacts the circumstances of minorities.[2] As discussed in part one, prejudice towards immigrants led to social inequalities that shaped the socioeconomic tear between the many ethnic groups in Israel.

The Israeli government implemented various strategies in the past decade to reduce the socioeconomic gap. Improved education and social services, increased opportunities in the periphery, improved public transportation between periphery and center, and cross cultural education programs between immigrants and Israelis, were a major part of these strategies and will need to continue playing a major role. The need to bridge the social gaps between the many divided ethnicities and cultures however, was neglect. In addition, as the Israeli population generally lacks certain empathetic understanding and acceptance towards minorities, the social situation further worsened. Since social anomia has developed in the past century among people of low socioeconomic status, it significantly influenced their abilities to escape their poor conditions.

Only through recognition and acceptance of the other, can true social change occur. Once positive interpersonal connections will be achieved between these individuals and the mainstream Israeli society, stereotypes and barriers will be broken down and lead to a more egalitarian environment. Thus, smaller scale mediations in public spaces are necessary to improve the interpersonal connection between the many divided communities in the country.

There are effective approaches to reduce prejudice and improve intercultural interactions. Some of these include educational strategies that focus on learning and appreciating differences along with programs that emphasize counter stereotypes to reduce preconceptions. Other strategies involve intergroup contact, where the most significant transformation is achieved when strangers

collaborate towards a common goal.[3] Successful problem solving and completing a shared task can lead to enhanced appreciation, reduced bias, and improved interaction among people of diverse backgrounds. Furthermore, it develops friendly, personal, and supportive communications.[4] Collaboration with a positive outcome can transform a person's attitude from competition to cooperation, which can significantly alter attitudes towards others.[5] Additionally, it has the potential to alter cognitive representation of other group members, resulting in decreased bias.[6] Decategorization is another effective strategy, where intimate interactions reveal people as separate and unique individuals rather than groups characterized by certain traits. One approach of this strategy involves exposing similarities when a different dimension defines the conflicted groups. Additional approach is to alter the concept of groups in the minds of the divided individuals and create a superordinate identity.[7] Creating a shared experience that involves all of the above can lead to a sense of belonging and direct a positive social change among conflicted individuals. Hence, personal connections and interactions, especially towards a mutual goal, can alter prejudgments and lead to a more accepted society.

Intergroup relations evolve constantly and tend to be reflective of the interactions between the parties. In oblivious situations among unfamiliar groups, moments of tension and competition can develop, and lead to the formation of prejudice.[8] According to psychologist Gordon Allport, there are ways to improve intergroup contact and develop moments of acceptance and positive interaction between individuals of different backgrounds. His concept, *contact hypothesis* developed in the 1950s and asserts that positive connection between conflicted parties can be achieved through direct contact that involves discussion, learning, and teaching.[9] Additional studies have strengthened this theory and argue that interactions that encompass equivalent statuses along with genuine connections, can result in reduced stereotypes.[10] Furthermore, when the connections are pleasurable to all parties involved, it increases sympathy and appreciation.[11]

Thus, a shared interest is the foundation of a good and constructive interaction. To achieve positive connections and change, it is

essential to base the initial contact on a common interest. Food is a universal commodity and is an expression of the history, traditions, and culture of almost every ethnicity. It is the foundation of human life and is a tool of communication and comfort.[12] Social eating for celebration or reconciliation whether for interpersonal conflicts or politics is rooted in human history and is represented in the biblical phrase 'breaking bread'. (Meaning to divide a loaf of bread thus, to share a meal). Similarly, the term 'companion' comes from Latin, where 'com' means 'together' and 'panis' means 'bread'.[13] The practice of sharing a meal dates as far back as Neanderthals where hunters sat down together to eat their prey.[14] It continues through the first feasts in Gobekli Tepe and later develops to the modern practice of commensality.

> **"The natural effect of good eating and drinking is the inauguration of friendships and the creation of familiarity."[15]**
>
> French diplomat François de Callières from his book *On the Manner of Negotiating with Princes*

In ancient Greece, the public maintained a sense of community through commensality. Dignitaries from conflicting cities dined together to discuss political matters. Essentially, sharing food encourages warring groups to set aside rivalry and cooperate for coexistence through a common interest.[16] Virtually all prominent cultures highlight the importance of sharing a meal, as it often considered the cornerstone of every social event, holidays, and even diplomatic relationships. The use of food to envoy national cuisine and entertain diplomats is well established in history. Yet, only in recent years, many countries began to utilize food as an institutionalized method to conduct diplomatic ties.[17] Some terms have been created to represent the role of gastronomy within the international realm.

Culinary diplomacy is a term by Sam Chapple-Sokol, which stands for "*the use of food and cuisine as an instrument to create cross-cultural understanding in the hope of improving interactions and cooperation*".[18] Paul S. Rockower perceives culinary diplomacy as a tool to improve political ties, specifically between diplomats, which caters to a prestigious society. He suggests a new term *gastro-diplomacy,* which stands for the same definition but caters a broader public audience. The difference between the

terms according to Rockower lies in the setting of the situation, where culinary diplomacy is generally in closed doors between diplomats, and gastro-diplomacy involves the public sector.[19] Despite the legal definition of the word diplomacy, which refers to interactions between national states, modern trends have adjusted the accepted meaning amongst scholars. According to the United States Institute of Peace, Track 3 diplomacy is defined as "*People-to-people diplomacy undertaken by individuals and private groups to encourage interaction and understanding between hostile communities and involving awareness raising and empowerment within these communities*".[20] The aim of Track 3 diplomacy is not to resolve a diplomatic problem, but to focus on personal relationships and comprehension as a way for reconciliation.[21] Since the thesis involved ethnic rather than diplomatic relations, the terms culinary diplomacy or gastro-diplomacy are used for their rudimentary definition, which corresponds to the meaning of Track 3 diplomacy.

Gastro-diplomacy or culinary diplomacy gained great attention in recent years as few countries established international programs to raise awareness for their cultures abroad through food. The biggest market for gastro-diplomacy is in Asia, where countries such as Thailand, Taiwan, China, South Korea and Malaysia, invested great funds in different gastro-diplomacy projects. Thailand was the first country to utilize its authentic food as means for cultural diplomacy. The 'global Thai Program' along with the 'Thailand: kitchen of the World' campaigns were established by the Thai government and sought to increase the number of Thai restaurants abroad. Between 2002 and 2009, the number of Thai restaurants increased from 5,500 to over 13,000, which greatly improved the popularity of the country among other nationalities.[22]

> **"When we try a new dish that comes from another land, we have a visceral experience of foreignness brought into our bodies, which begins the process of familiarization which can lead to great understanding of our shared tastes and values."[23]**
>
> Chef Mark Tafoya

Despite the advancements in gastro-diplomacy during recent years, some of these projects have come off as superficial. Increasing popularity and awareness of certain cultures through gastronomy is one thing. However, resolving social, cultural, and

ethnic conflicts through food is another. The case of Israel with its unique culinary culture is the perfect example of the limitations of gastro-diplomacy. In the past few decades, despite the ethnic and national dominance of Israelis versus Palestinians and Ashkenaz versus Mizrachi, the cuisine of minorities won the battle over the country's taste buds.

Although the Ashkenaz culture dominated Israel in many sectors, it failed to root its cuisine in the modern Israeli culture. During the first immigration period, with arrival of Ashkenaz population to the Jewish Yishuv in 1880s, the lack of local ingredients forced them to adjust their cuisine. Their demographic dominance along with their control over public life, politics, economics, and culture, shaped the local commercial cuisine. They opened restaurants and cafes that suited their lifestyles, while there were almost no Sephardic restaurants except for a few low cost diners. Sephardic food remained within the boundaries of the home as their communities were mostly from low socioeconomic status with little to no means and could not enjoy a wasteful lifestyle. Furthermore, they believed their cuisine was not sufficient to be served in restaurants.[24]

The arrival of large amounts of Mizrachi and Sephardic immigrants following independence, created a significant shift within the Israeli culinary culture. Despite their struggles in the 1950s and 1960s, their influences among the political, social, and cultural sectors slowly strengthened, increasing their socioeconomic statues and incomes. Once these communities achieved financial stability, they began to develop businesses to cater to their entertainment needs, specifically ethnic restaurants. The Israeli culture slowly adapted to the Sephardic and Mizrachi kitchen. The availability of fresh ingredients along with the rich flavors, aromas, and colors from the Sephardic/Mizrachi cuisine lead to their success and popularity. This however, still did not significantly affect attitudes towards minorities. While many Israelis appreciate the rich Mizrachi cuisine, in many cases they also reject the cultures it comes from. Essentially, while the culinary experience of other ethnicities widens the knowledge of other cultures, it does not necessarily build constructive interactions that lead to social change.

Another example of the limitation of gastro-diplomacy is the

FIGURE 46
People outside Conflict Kitchen in Pittsburgh

conflict between Palestinians and Israelis. Similar to the culinary situation between the different Jewish ethnicities in Israel, the same issue exists between Israelis and Palestinians. Many Israelis adopted the characteristics of local Arab kitchens. Cities like Jaffa, Jerusalem, Tiberius, and Safed have several Arab restaurants that welcome Jewish Israelis on a daily basis. However, despite the coexistence interactions these venues can foster, the reality of the conflict does not change. Simply adapting or enjoying other cultures' cuisine, will not achieve sufficient social change thus, there is an immediate need for gastronomic interventions that are more prominent.

FIGURE 47
Conflict Kitchen, Taste Testing with Local Palestinian Community

Some projects in the United States advanced the idea of gastro-diplomacy and developed programs that bridge gaps between conflicted communities. The first project is called 'Conflict Kitchen' and is located in Pittsburgh, PA. It is a private business, which attempts to join conflicting nationalities through authentic food. The conflict Kitchen is a takeout restaurant that changes its menu every six months and serves cuisine only from countries that are in adversarial relationship with the US. The small restaurant provides opportunities to learn and share knowledge about other ethnicities and raise awareness of the social and political situations in those countries.[25] As part of their activist agenda, they hold dinners with locals from overseas through skype. Other events they hosted focused on discussions about various cultural and political issues of that particular country.[26] These types of activities that stretch beyond the act of eating further construct positive interactions and increase the potential for significant social change.

FIGURE 48
Conflict Kitchen, Live Skype meal between Pittsburgh and Tehran

FIGURE 49
Enemy Kitchen staff

Another similar project is Enemy Kitchen food truck where local Iraqi cooks and Iraq war veterans collaborate to make a meal.[27] Through culinary experience of cooking and eating, people of different backgrounds who might have never interact, and hold negative preconceptions about each other, build positive relationships. Both of these projects highlight the importance of direct interaction between people of other cultures not only though food, but through discussion, collaboration, and learning. As discussed above, the most effective way to fight prejudicial behaviors between conflicted groups is through positive collaboration towards a common goal. These two projects demonstrate there are opportunities within the realm of design and gastronomy, to advocate as agents of social activism.

Other projects such as the White limousine Yatai, Mobile Hospitality, and Kitchain, provide opportunities for strangers from different backgrounds to interact. These projects mainly focus their efforts towards familiar audience rather than conflicted communities. Even though all of these projects advocate for positive interaction between strangers in public spaces, their activities are limited. White limousine Yatai and Mobile Hospitality provide a mobile common space for people to learn about specific cuisines through the act of commensality with other visitors. The limitation of these activities confines the depth of the connection between the users. On the other hand, Kitchain provides a more substantial interaction as it encourages its users to collaborate and cook together with other guests.

FIGURE 50 Right
People push the White Limousine Yatai

FIGURE 51 Down
People dining inside the White Limousine Yatai

FIGURE 52,53,54
Mobile Hospitality

FIGURE 55,56,57
Kitchain

The situation in Israel is more complex as the interactions between strangers alone will not lead to an alteration of ethnic and cultural preconceptions, simple interaction is not sufficient. In order to achieve a true change, one needs to create cooperation that is to envision and work towards a common goal.[28] The concept of sharing an experience together, one with a successful outcome, can nourish a stronger interracial relationship. Consequently, to maximize opportunities for social change within the Israeli population, the proposed design incorporates opportunities for collaboration.

These interactions cannot be achieved in a void, thus public space has a very important role in the design as well. Urban fabric, especially in the public realm, provides a space where everyone is welcomed and inspired to be themselves, a safe space of communication and interaction, a place where people can witness and explore the good in each other. More often than not, these places are forgotten and instead of providing a safe haven for diversity, they are left unoccupied and at times vacant. The proposed design aims to bring these forgotten spaces back to life by utilizing their social purpose. The next part introduces the design synthesis, which brings a new gastronomic experience to the streets of Tel Aviv. Through shared experiences of learning, interacting, cooking, and dining on a single table, positive relationships can be built, and shatter stigmas and prejudice among people of diverse backgrounds. The proposal aims to advocate for acceptance within a diverse and conflicted society and act as an agent for social change.

How can public architecture become an agent of social activism through the exploitation of a universal interest, **gastronomy**?

FIGURE 58
Personal interactions along with shared interests are essential to overcome social conflicts

PART 3

DESIGN SYNTHESIS

'MITBACH MEGASHER'

FIGURE 59
Assembling Mitbach Megasher on site,
Bograshov beach in Tel Aviv

The following design synthesis is meant to provide the population of Israel with viable tools to celebrate collaboration and diversity while mitigating prejudicial views. As discussed in Part Two, working towards a common and pleasurable goal can highly increase the potential for positive connection, cognitive alteration of preconception, and acceptance.

Despite the many conflicts within Israel, food is the most common interest amongst the various ethnicities. The food culture in Israel is one of the richest in the world thanks to the fusion of countless culinary traditions. Notwithstanding the disconnection between certain communities, food provides an opportunity to learn about other cultures and ethnicities. Furthermore, through the process of learning and cooking together people can become more open and accepting of one another. This thesis does not attempt to solve the complex socioeconomic gap within Israel, but rather, to improve interpersonal connections between people of different backgrounds. It aims to break through stigmas and preconceptions and show acceptance is possible through personal connections. It essentially advocates for social change through gastronomy. Thus, to increase opportunities for positive connections and reduce discrimination, the proposed design will revolve around building a shared culinary experience. Where passersby have opportunities to collaborate and work towards a common goal of learning, cooking, and dining together.

The warmth of Israel's food culture with its focus on earthy ingredients and spices was the inspiration behind '*Mitbach Megasher*' (Hebrew **מטבח מגשר** translates to mediating kitchen). Based on the research from Part Two, few parameters were identified to ensure the efficiency of the design. Among the most important aspects is the act of collaborating towards a shared outcome of cooking and eating a dish of a different ethnicity. Upon every assembly, a different cuisine will be in focus and will provides the user with appropriate tools to learn, teach, interact, cook, and dine. In essence, there is no need to prepare ahead and any bystander can join the rich ethnic experience. This provides an opportunity for everyone to participate equally, regardless of status, age, or background, potentially leading to true diversity and acceptance.

FIGURE 60
The different uses and interactions of Mitbach Megasher

'Grab, interact, and go', quick Interactions, people enjoy fresh ethnic dishes from local cooks

'Dine, interact, and go', Quick Interactions, all the units, the food is prepared by the operators/cooks, while users dine together.

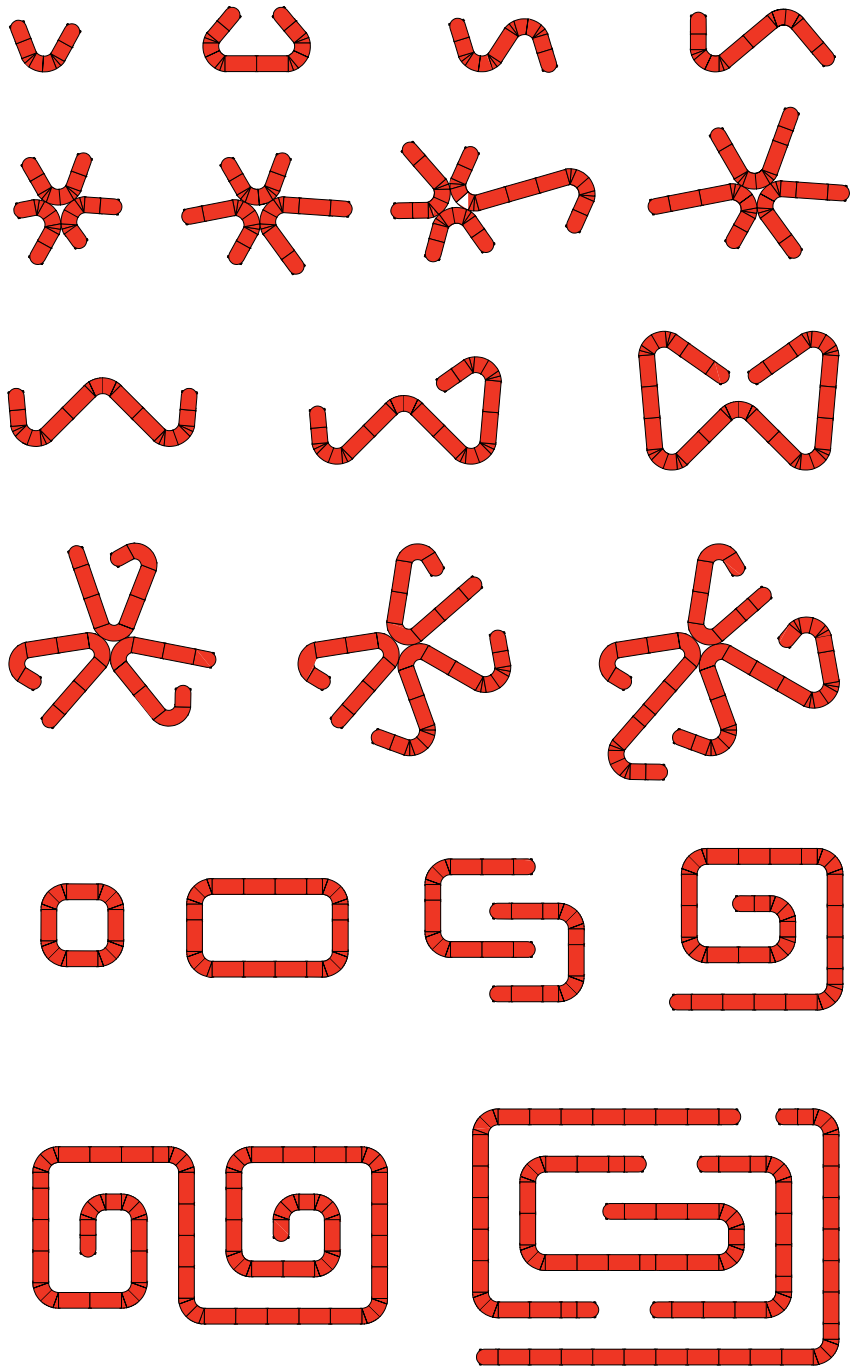
'Interact, learn, prepare, and dine', more significant interactions, the operators teach the users to prepare dishes from their own cuisine, then they all dine together.

'Interact, learn, teach, prepare, and dine', more significant interactions, the operators overlook the gathering while users can teach others about their cuisine, then they all dine together.

The next design parameter is the ability of the system to travel easily. Mobility allows the system to flourish and provides opportunities for social change. As many communities do not have the means to drive or use public transportation on a daily basis, it is vital to provide them with equal opportunities to use the system. Furthermore, it is crucial to shed light of their struggles amongst the rest of the population. Thus, the design is completely mobile, and can be easily transferred and assembled in any public space. Mitbach Megasher is aiming to reach every possible audience through the maximization of locations across the country.

Providing the entire population of Israel with the opportunities to take part in this culinary experience, can significantly affect the way Israelis perceive each other. The system encourages traveling to places one might never visit, and interacting with people one might never encounter. The endless variations of the system, both within its interactions, seating arrangements, and its endless cuisine possibilities, leads to its ever-growing effects. Activities, such as eating in ethnic restaurants, or taking part in projects like conflict kitchen or the enemy kitchen, limit the event to a single experience. However, Mitbach Megasher constantly evolves and participation will always nourish new interactions, learnings, and experiences.

The proposed design is a system of modular units, easily assembled and transported from one location to the next via bicycle. The system comprises of three main units including a cooking cart, modular dining set, and storage unit. Depending on the setting of the site, the units can be used together or in isolation. The cooking cart transforms any street side into an open cooking class where onlookers can learn and try authentic delicacies from guest cooks. The dining sets provide opportunities for an interactive culinary experience, where guests can collaborate, cook, and dine their own delicacies. In addition, guest cooks can utilize the space to educate users about their culture and food through active cooking classes. The modular tables include few units to allow for greater layout flexibility, and are easily movable via the storage units that can also transform into tables. Furthermore, to maximize interactions, several seating options were investigated as seen in figure 61.



Through an investigation of various seating layouts, five table units were designed to create a verity of seating options. These represent only some of options. The dynamic arrangements of each type maximizes opportunities for interaction between the various users. The round geometries further encourage social exchange.

FIGURE 61
Verity of seating options

The aim of Mitbach Megasher is to encourage interaction between people of different backgrounds by attracting a diverse audience regardless of socioeconomic status, age, and ethnicity. Thus, it is essential to provide equal participation opportunities and make Mitbach Megasher free of charge. Furthermore, to create effective gatherings and maximize cultural exchange, the system must be operated by a well-structured nonprofit organization.

The responsibilities of the organization is divided into 4 departments, off-site, on-site, financing, and marketing; the different departments will constantly cooperate to provide a seamless experience to both the operators and the participants. The off-site department include all the responsibilities that take place before and after each assembly. That contains, selection of cooks from various ethnicities, booking of sites with city authorities, recruitment of appropriate stuff and volunteers, scheduling and route planning, maintenance, storage, and finally purchasing of ingredients and equipment. The on-site department is responsible for everything that takes place during each assembly. That involves transportation of the system and the appropriate equipment and ingredients to the site. Assembly of the units and organizing the site, guiding and operating the project during each event, personal involvement with guest cooks and the participants, and finally, cleaning, disassembling, and transferring the units to an appropriate storage location. The last two departments involves financing, which focuses on funding and the financial operation, marketing and social media to encourage and attract users from all around the country.

The Operation of Mitbach Megasher by a private organization can significantly limit the success of the project due to several aspects. First, high operation costs of such events, especially if there is a desire to create several events per week. Second, commercializing the project and compromising its authentic touch by collaborating with large companies due to financial issues. Third, difficulties reaching a large and diverse audience throughout the entire country. Finally, there is always a risk the initial scope of the project will shift towards personal profit once the organization becomes bigger. Thus, there is a need to create a hybrid between a private nonprofit organization and a governmental authority, which can overlook the operation and assist when needed.

Due to the nature of the project and its positive objectives, Israel's government along with municipal offices should take interest and assist in the funding and operation of Mitbach Megasher. Furthermore, since the government was the main actor in the great socioeconomic tear, their involvement is essential. With the support of such projects, and by collaborating with the community towards a positive social change, the Israeli government expresses their desire to give back to the public.

The partnership between the two actors will minimize bureaucracy and maximize efficiency as it is managed primarily by a nonprofit organization. Yet, it allows the government to overlook the operation and make sure the focus always stays on the betterment of the community rather than personal reward. In addition, by utilizing municipal and governmental resources, Mitbach Megasher can attain necessary funds, and increase its popularity among a more diverse audience throughout the country.

The type of cuisine will only be reveled upon arrival to the site to prevent participation of similar ethnicities and increase opportunities for diversity. At each assembly, the project will focus on a different food from a culture that was/is ostracized from the Israeli population. The time limitation will direct the nature of the dish prepared and served. Sites such as, train station or street side will serve quick food, while larger gatherings that can stretch for few hours will provide the visitors with the option to be an active part of the gastronomic experience.

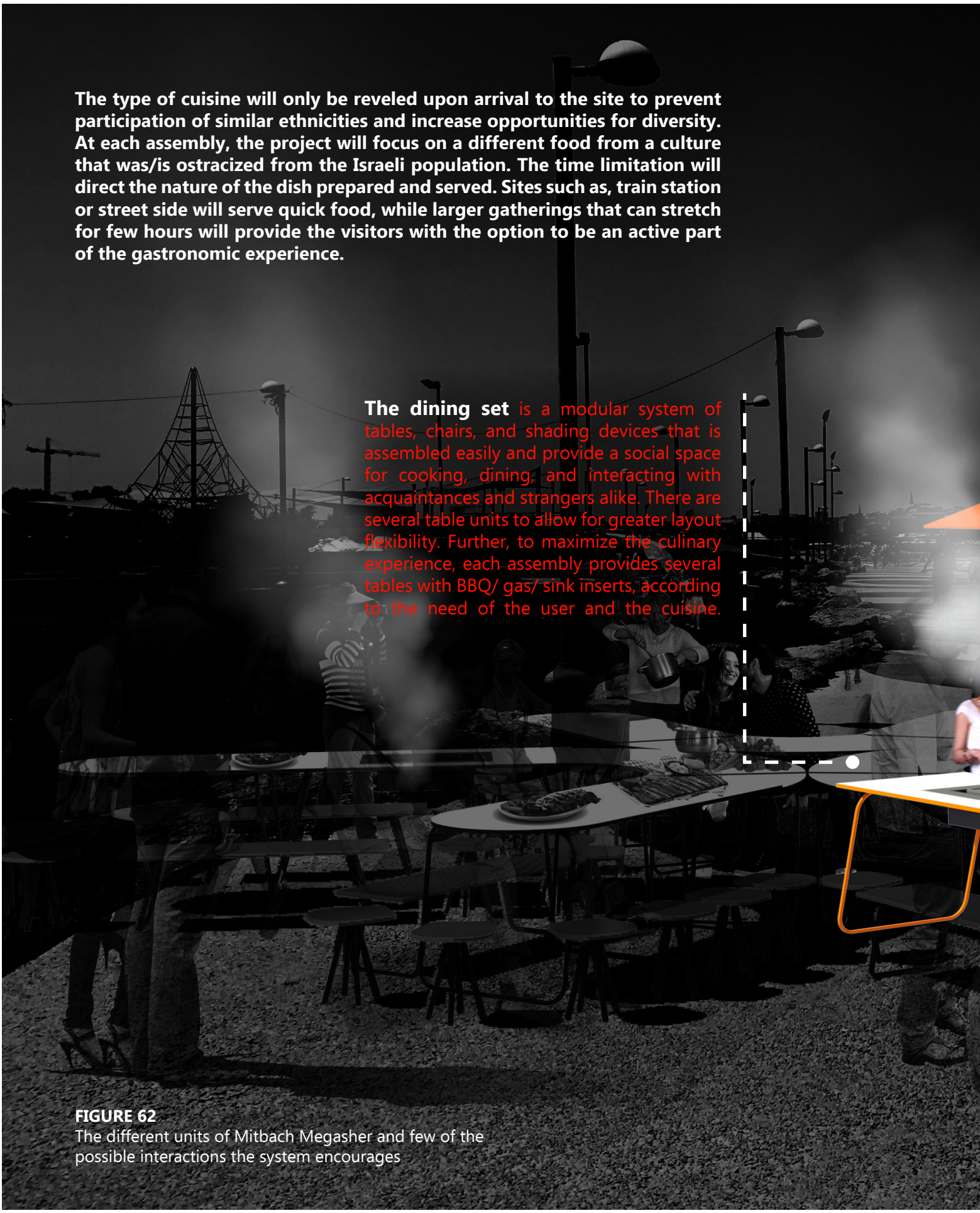


FIGURE 62
The different units of Mitbach Megasher and few of the possible interactions the system encourages

The cooking cart is a compact and mobile kitchen unit that can be placed anywhere and provide opportunities for bystanders to participate and enjoy delicacies from guest cooks. In Addition, when used with the dining set, it acts as a support kitchen unit for larger gatherings. In Isolation, the cooking cart encourages quick interactions between the diverse users to themselves and to guest cooks.

The storage unit is small mobile unit that carries the dining set. It expands easily to fit as many tables, chairs, and shading devices as possible, which are then transported and assembled on the desired site. Upon arrival to the site, the storage unit transforms into a table and connects to the dining set to provide additional space.

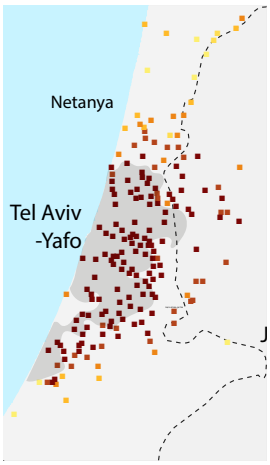


FIGURE 63
Percentage of commuters into cities in the greater Tel Aviv area (Darkest shade represents 50% or more)

FIGURE 64
Public train route across the country

To allow for effective design analysis, this thesis focuses on a single city, rather than the entire country. The city of Tel Aviv was established over a century ago as a suburb for Jaffa. The low living conditions in Jaffa drove many Jewish settler into Tel Aviv. At that time, Tel Aviv was completely undeveloped forcing the new settlers to lay out the first pieces of infrastructure for the city. During the 1930s and 1940s, Ashkenaz immigrants settled in central and north Tel Aviv. The new educational and professional skills led to the advancement of the city in every possible aspect. Sephardic settlers, who resided in the city prior to independence, and new Mizrachi immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s, usually reside in the central and south areas of Tel Aviv. The segregation of these communities led to the development of low and med/high class neighborhoods in divided areas. After a century of integration, the situation seems unchanged as areas in south of Tel Aviv are still known for their low socioeconomic status, compared to the central and north areas, which are characterized as high socioeconomic status.

In the past few decades, as the country developed, Tel Aviv advanced tremendously, especially within the economic and technological realm. Today, the greater area of Tel Aviv consists of the majority of Israel's population and like any major city it provides the most opportunities for education and career advancement. It became the 'Silicon Valley' of the Middle East, attracting over 50% of the country's commuters on a daily basis (Figure 63). Whether for business or pleasure, Tel Aviv developed to be the central node of Israel. The majority of the nightlife businesses are located in Tel Aviv, along with the most desirable venues, restaurants, beaches, and other leisure activities. Due to its popularity, an extensive public transportation system developed to bring individuals from around the country into Tel Aviv (figure 64).

Since the city of Tel Aviv has a very accessible public transportation system, it attracts the highest level of diversity of individuals daily, regardless of age, ethnicity, status, or background. Thus, to highlight the diverse potential of the designed system, several sites around Tel Aviv, both in low and med/high socioeconomic neighborhoods were selected. The design tests are showcased as 'a week in the life of Mitbach Megasher'. Each day, a different design option is assembled within a different site, and together they are evaluated for their potential for social change.

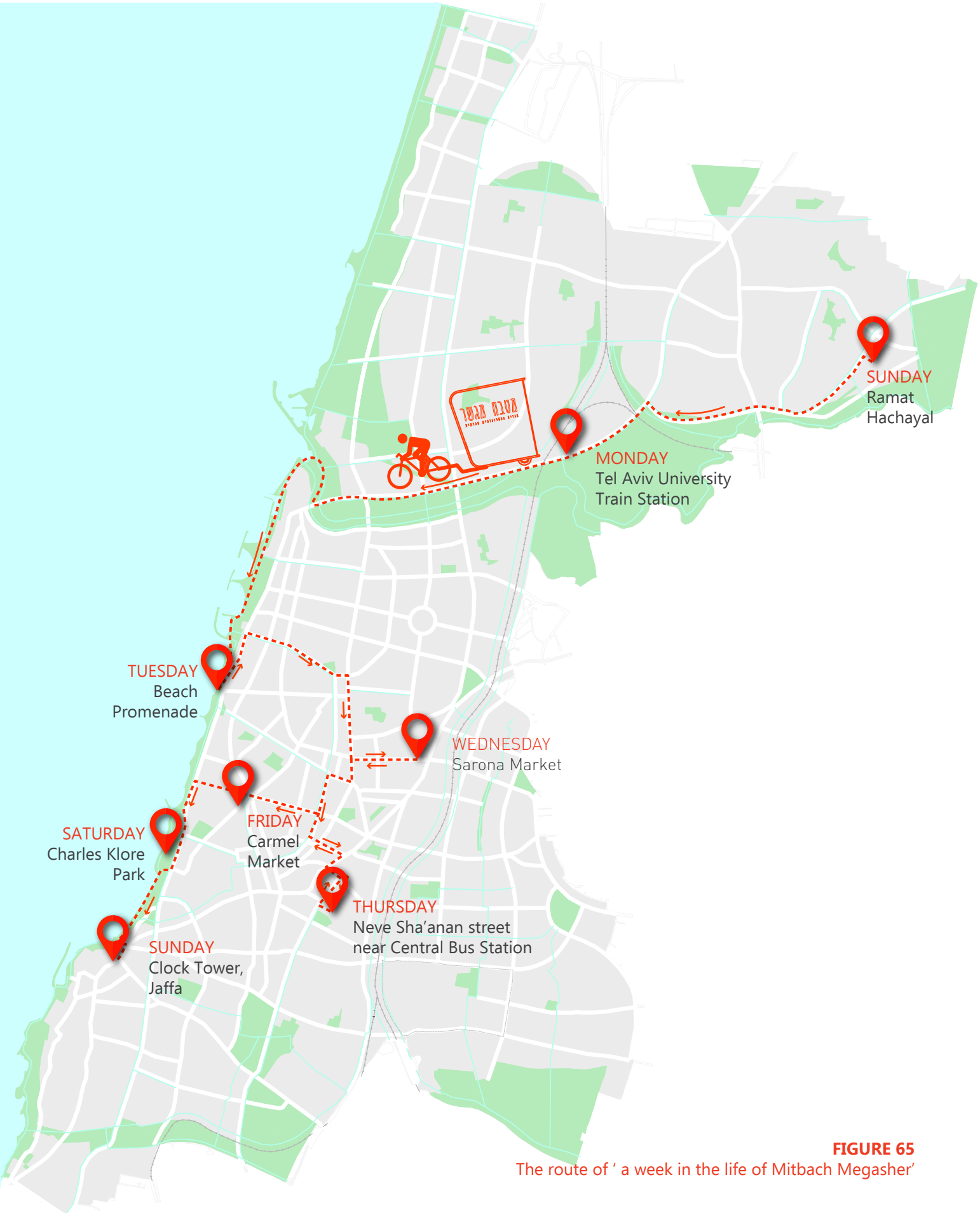


FIGURE 65
The route of ' a week in the life of Mitbach Megasher'


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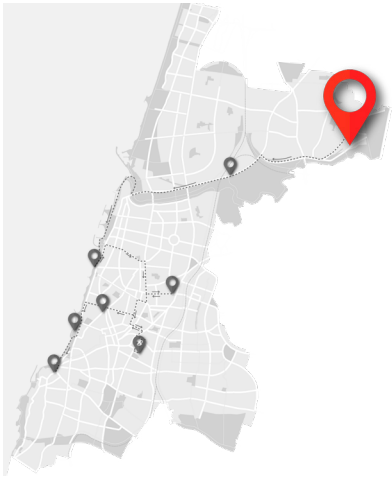
FIGURE 66
the cooking cart on the road in Alenby, Tel Aviv

SUNDAY

Ramat Hachayal



Mitbach Megasher begins on Sunday, with the first working day of the week in Israel. The first assembly takes place in Ramat Hachayal, a popular commercial and Business Park in Northern Tel Aviv. Since some of the best restaurants in Tel Aviv are located here, the area attracts diverse groups of people, both employees and visitors of various ages and ethnicities. Due to the commercial and industrial characteristics of the site, the design will be assembled during the morning hours and be prepared for everyone to use by lunchtime. The assembly includes the cooking cart along with a seating arrangement for 70-75 people. Since the users are mostly professional from offices nearby, their time is limited. Thus, the operators of the cooking cart will prepare the food, while the visitors can enjoy their delicacies and interact with each other. The system will be assembled within a public square, nearby the main road to maximize exposure and invite passerby to join the cooks and learn about their cuisine.

FIGURE 67
Image of the Site

FIGURE 68
Satellite views of the site

FIGURE 69
Site plan of the assembly in Ramat Hachayal

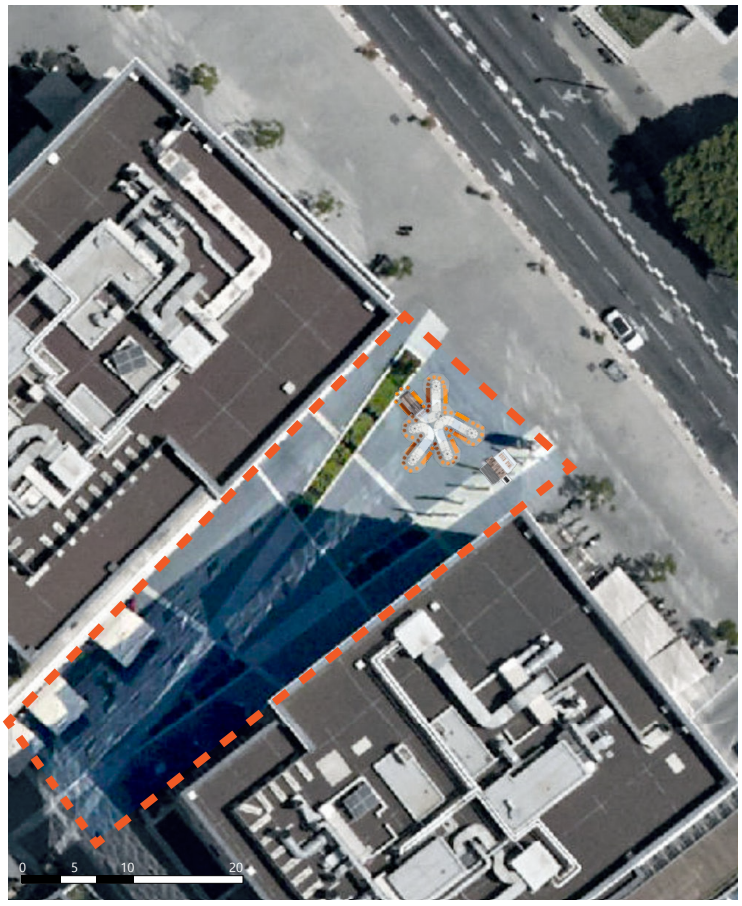
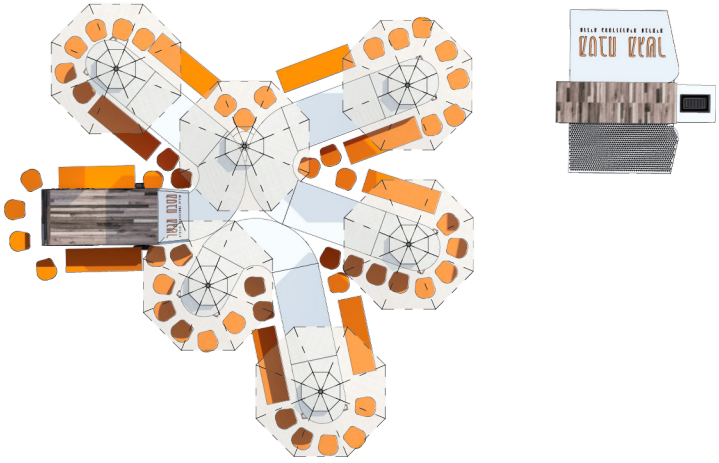
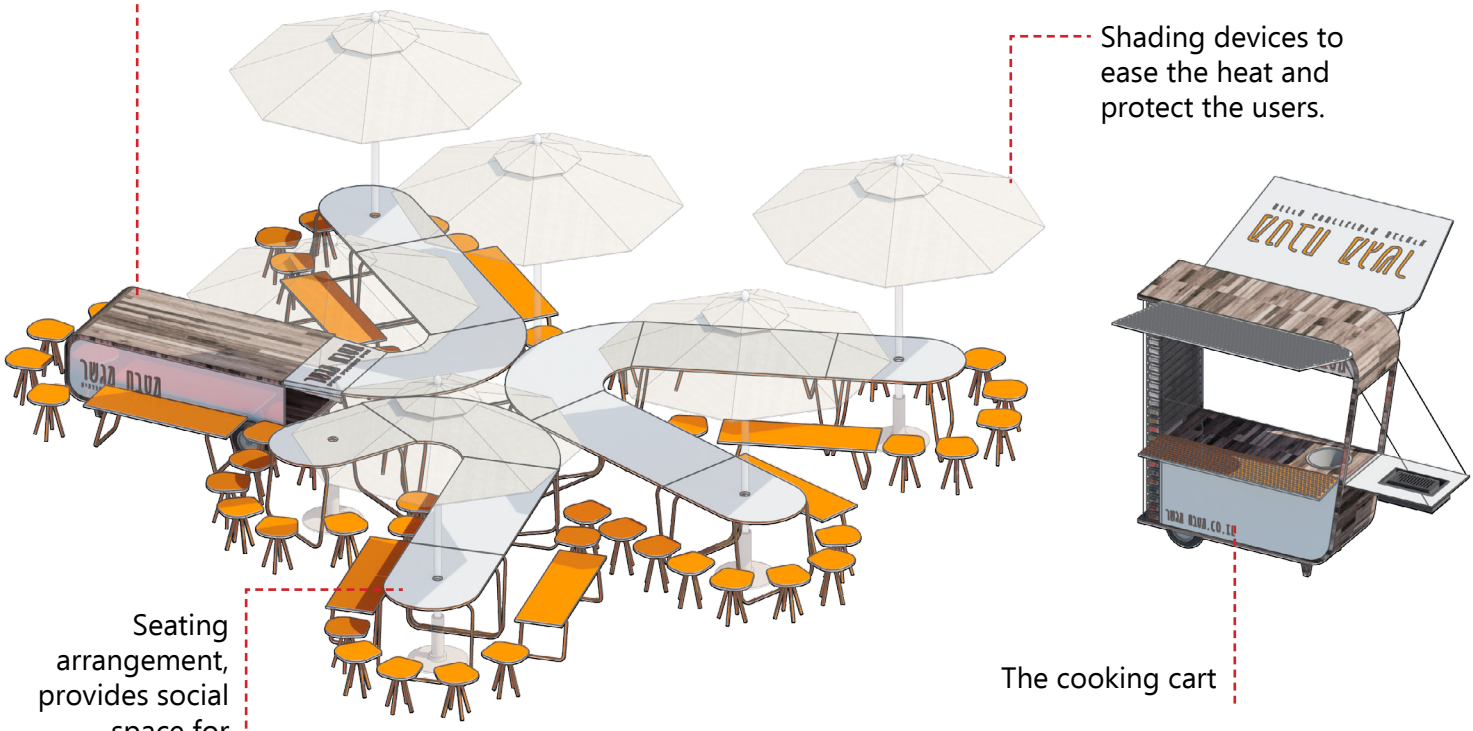


FIGURE 70 (right)
Plan view



Storage Cart,
Transforms to a table

Shading devices to ease the heat and protect the users.



Seating arrangement, provides social space for passerby to dine and interact

The cooking cart

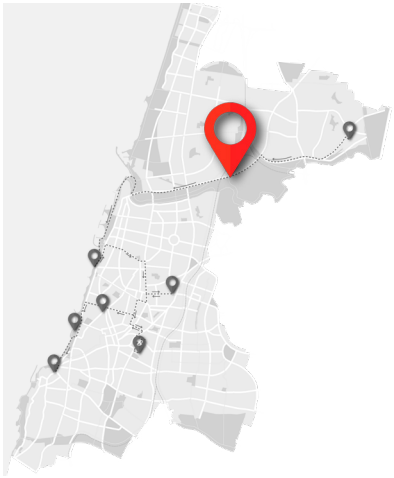
Medium gathering for 70-75 people

FIGURE 71 (up)
Perspective view

FIGURE 72
Rendering of the assembly in Ramat Hachayal

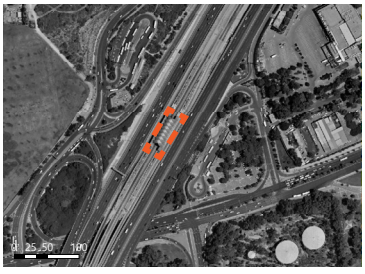
MONDAY

Tel Aviv University Train Station



The next site is the Tel Aviv University Train Station, one of the most popular stops within the city of Tel Aviv. The train station provides an essential opportunity to reach a diverse audience, where people from all over the country, of various ages, backgrounds, and statuses arrive on an hourly basis. As the circulation is high and quick, there is a need to provide a rapid interaction. Thus, the cooking cart will be used in isolation to provide fast yet significant cultural exchanges. Upon every assembly, a different cook from a different culture operates the system throughout the day and offers bystanders a quick look into an ethnic cuisine. Passerby can enjoy the fresh delicacies and learn about different cultures while waiting for the next train. Despite the Interactions are quiet minimal due to the time restrictions, they provide a glimpse into other traditions and raise the awareness of diversity. Further, these quick interactions can be used as a marketing strategy to attract more diverse audience to bigger gatherings of the project.

FIGURE 73
Image of the Site



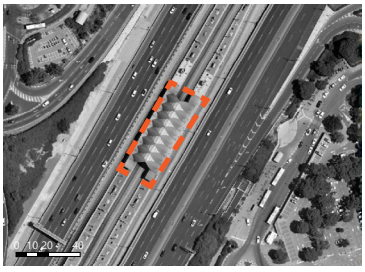


FIGURE 74
Satellite views of the site

FIGURE 75
Site plan of the train station

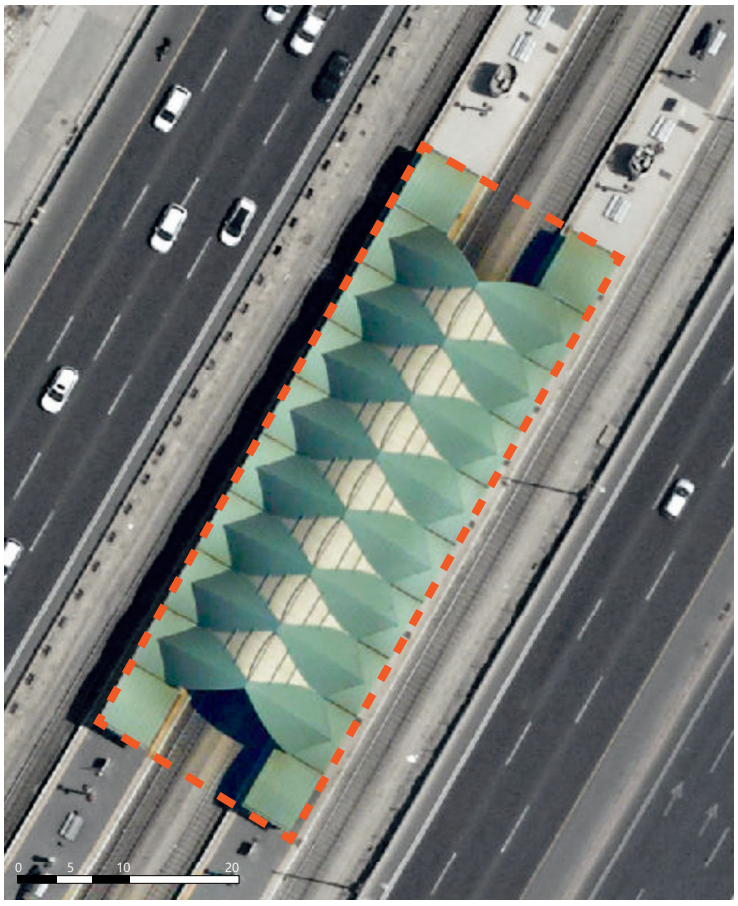


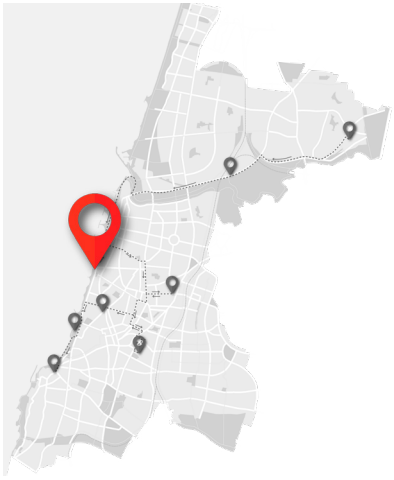
FIGURE 76
Perspective view of the assembly

FIGURE 77
Plan view

FIGURE 78
Rendering of the assembly in the train station

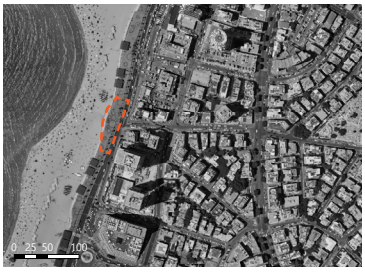
TUESDAY

Beach Promenade at Bograshov Beach



On Tuesday, Mitbach Megasher continues west to the popular beach promenade near Bograshov Street. The beach is one of the most special sites as it has the potential to reveal that everyone are alike. It is a place where people, regardless of gender, culture or religion, remove their appearance's layers and unite for a common activity. It is a place of tranquility and joy as it provides equal opportunities for everyone. Hence, it is the perfect place to build positive interactions between people of different backgrounds. Since circulation around that area is quiet busy, there is an opportunity to reach a very diverse audience. Thus, the project will be available from the morning to late evening. Few guest cooks will guide the project throughout the day, where they teach about their culture and provide interactive cooking classes to visitors. The assembly includes a large seating area of up to 110 people where everyone can participate, cook, dine and enjoy various dishes.

FIGURE 79
Image of the Site



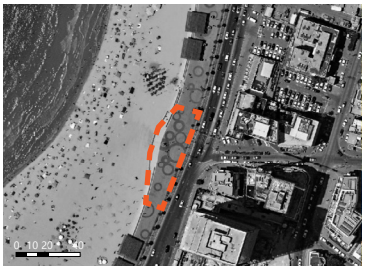
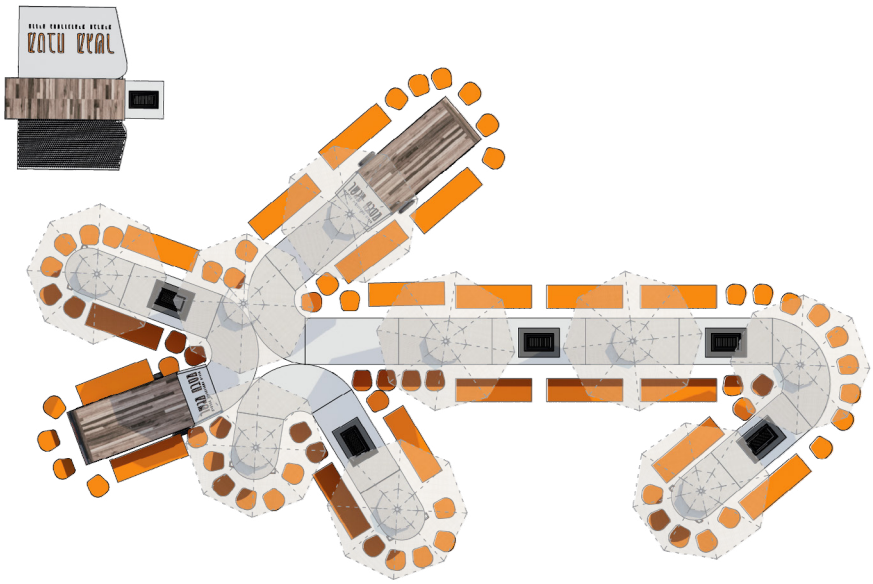


FIGURE 80
Satellite views of the site

FIGURE 81
Site plan of the assembly in the beach promenade

FIGURE 82 (right)
Plan view

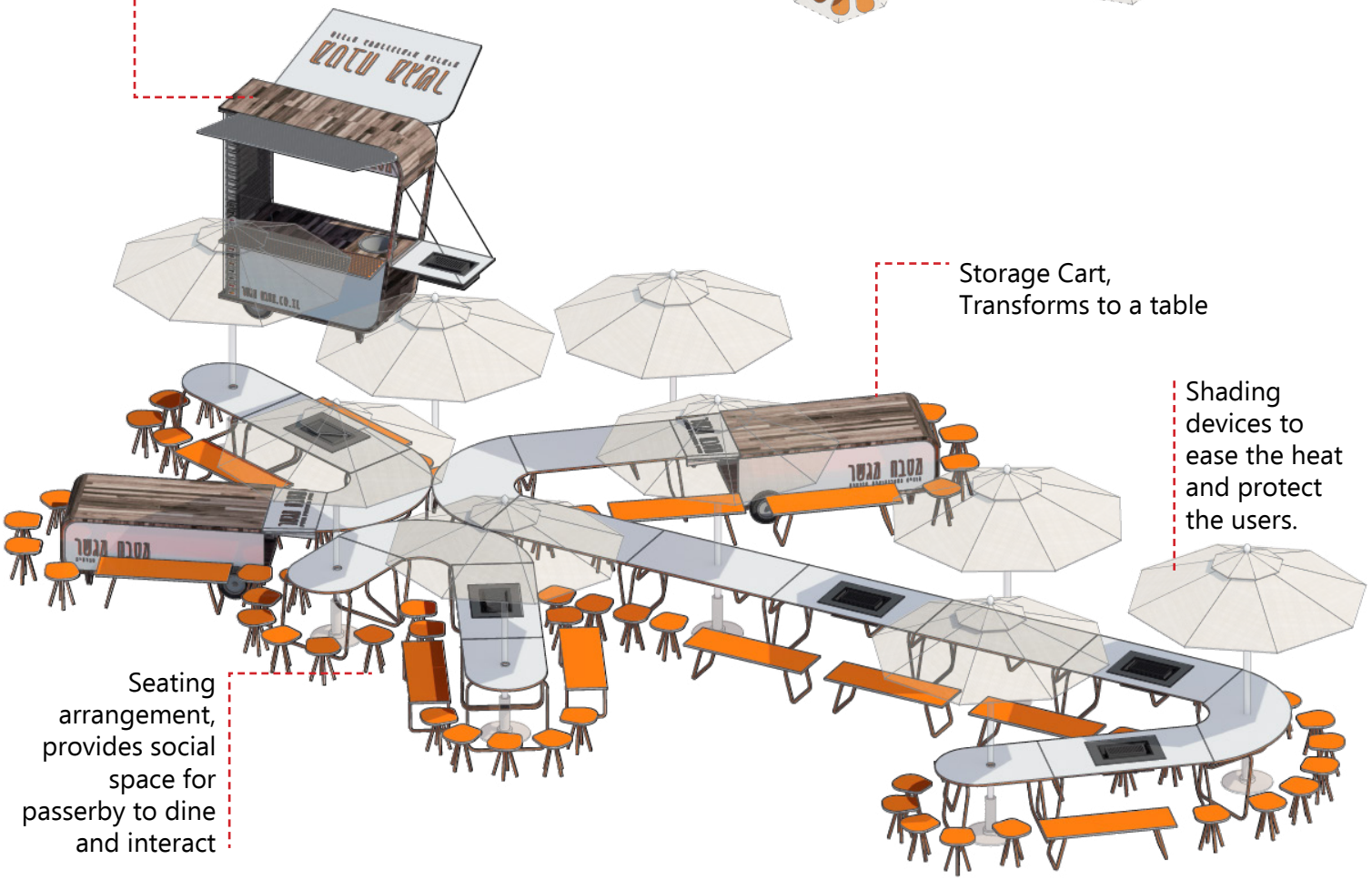


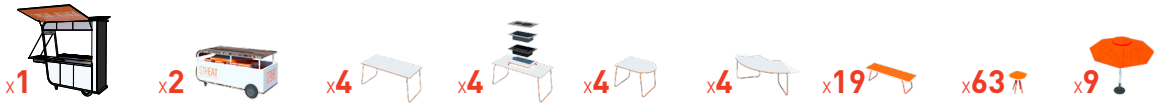
The cooking cart

Storage Cart,
Transforms to a table

Shading devices to ease the heat and protect the users.

Seating arrangement, provides social space for passerby to dine and interact





Large gathering for 100-110 people

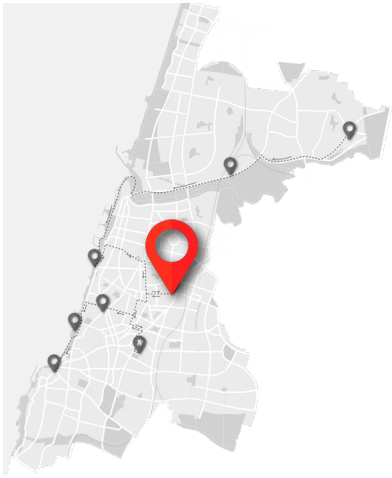
FIGURE 83 (up)
Perspective view


ohh! So that's how you make borscht! Can't wait to start!

FIGURE 84
Rendering of the assembly in the beach promenade

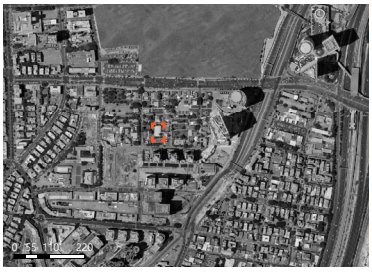
WEDNESDAY

Sarona, Tel Aviv



Sarona was a German templer colony founded in 1871. After Israel's independence, Sarona neighborhood was reprogrammed to host military and government offices. In 2005 the military closed its offices, and the whole area was redeveloped. The old templer houses were restored along with new construction of mixed-use buildings, public parks, and retail promenade. Sarona Market opened in 2014, and since then it became one of the most popular destinations in Tel Aviv. Its public parks provide many opportunities for social interactions, which is neglected at times. Thus, Mitbach Megasher has the potential to become the activity that brings the visitors into close interactions with each other. As Sarona market is mostly busy during the evening, the project will be assembled afternoon through the night. The modular seating arrangements can accommodate a large gathering of up to 110 people, where everyone can participate in an active cooking and dining experience. The assembly provides limited tables with barbecue and gas inserts to maximize the interactions between the users. In addition, to avoid shortage due to the large seating capacity, the cooking cart provides additional culinary capacity to be used by the operators of the project.

FIGURE 85
Image of the Site



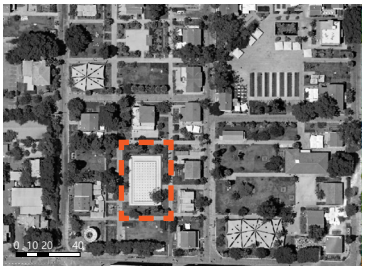


FIGURE 86
Satellite views of the site

FIGURE 87
Site plan of the assembly in Sarona

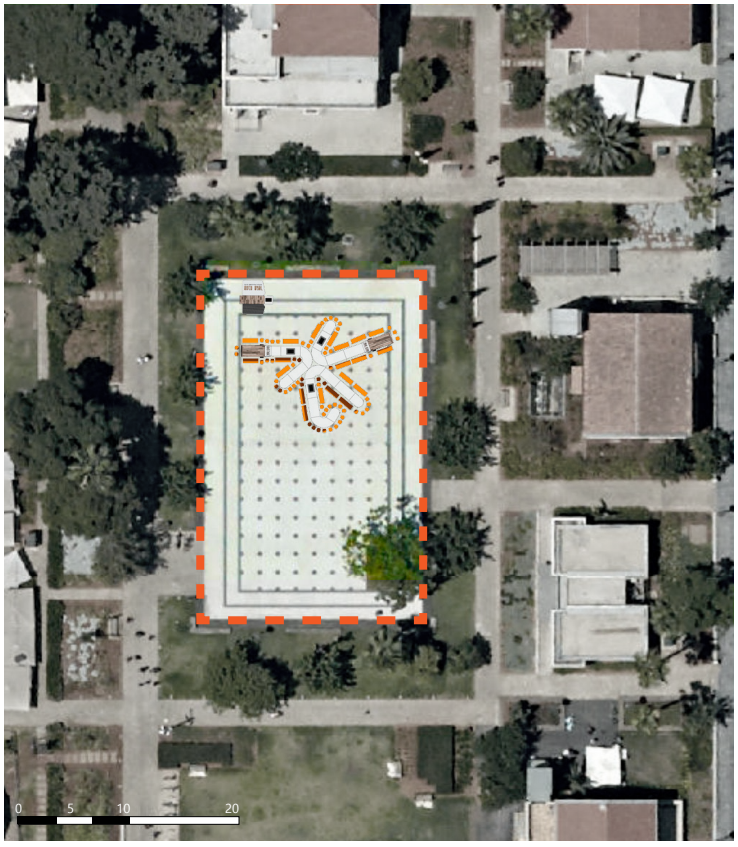
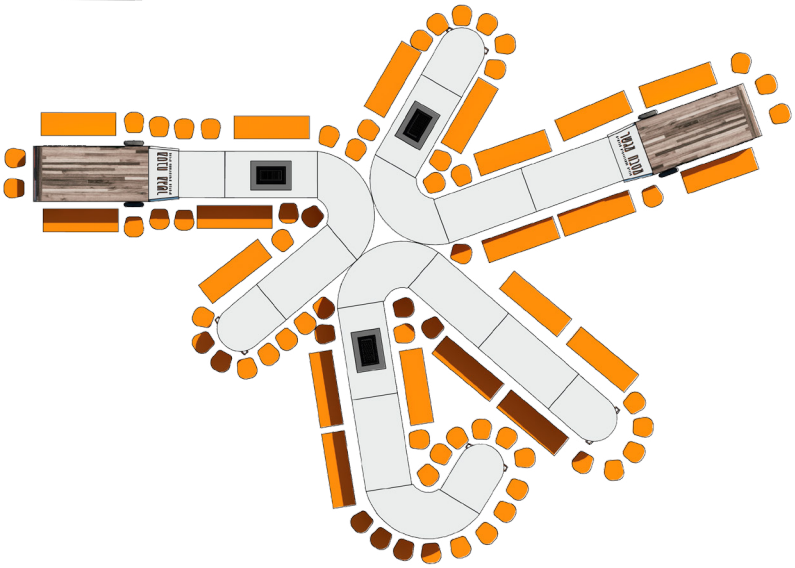


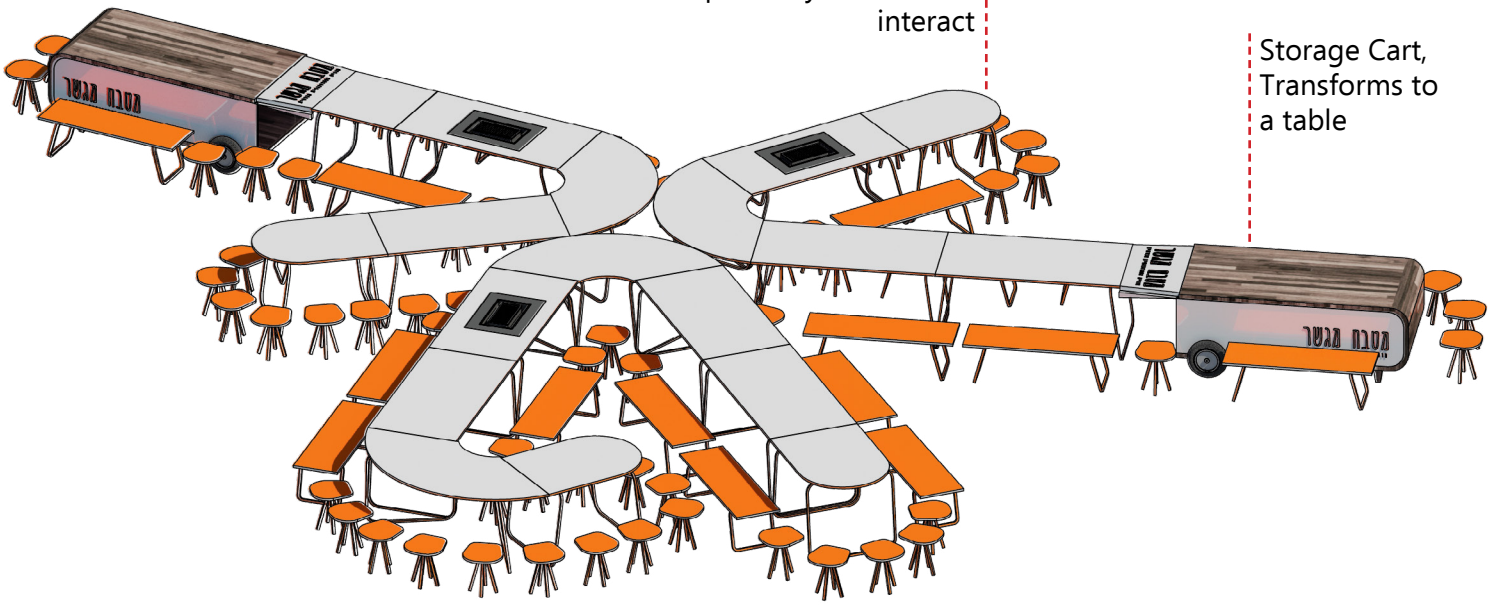
FIGURE 88 (right)
Plan view

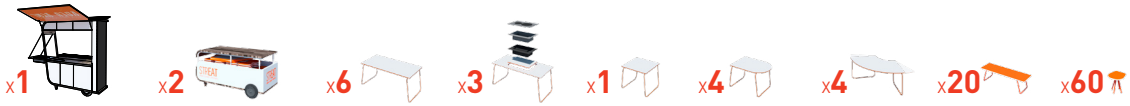


The cooking cart

Seating arrangement, provides social space for passerby to dine and interact

Storage Cart, Transforms to a table





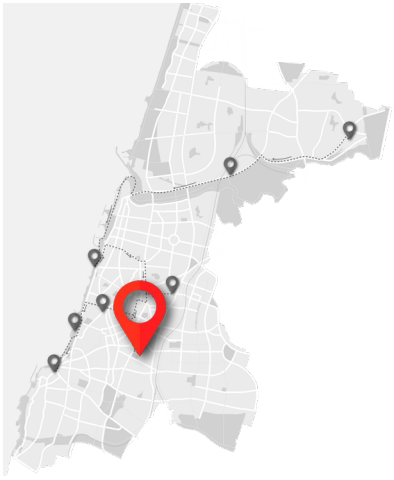
Large gathering for 100-110 people

FIGURE 89 (up)
Perspective view

FIGURE 90
Rendering of the assembly in Sarona

THURSDAY

Neve Sha'anan street near Central Bus Station



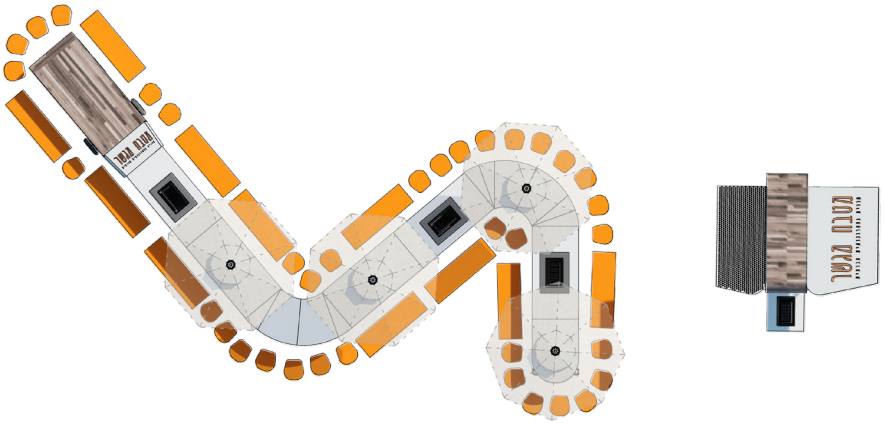
Neve Shanan Street is located in South of Tel Aviv nearby the central bus Station. The area is known for its low socioeconomic status. In 2009 the city of Tel Aviv began a campaign to diversify the residents and improve the socioeconomic situation of the area. They granted many scholarship to student who moved to the neighborhood. Further, the city developed programs for social and economic aid, along with improved infrastructures. As these changes take time to permeate and influence a social order, Mitbach Megasher has the opportunity to influence individuals on the interpersonal level. Thus, the project takes place within one of the most popular streets in the neighborhood. The site is located between many stores and acts as a local market to the residents. The design will be placed within a stretch of a pedestrian street with no vehicular access. Due to limitation in size, the capacity of the assembly is 60 -65 people however, it will be available through the day to allow for maximum participation. The popularity of the project in previous days will attract a more diverse audience to the site and will increase potential interactions.

FIGURE 91
Image of the Site

FIGURE 92
Satellite views of the site

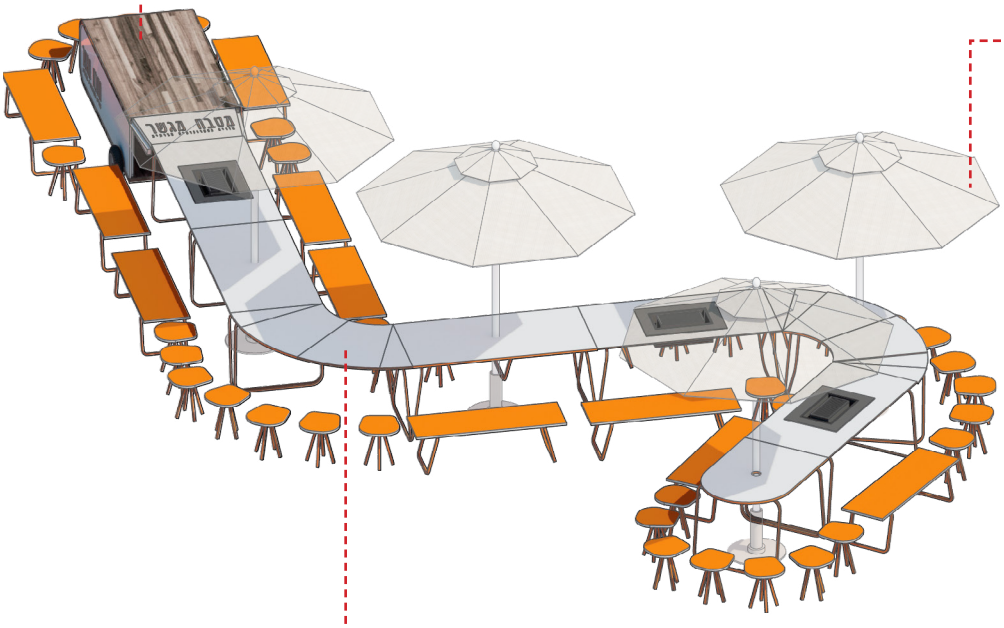
FIGURE 93
Site plan of the assembly in Neve Sha'anan

FIGURE 94 (right)
Plan view



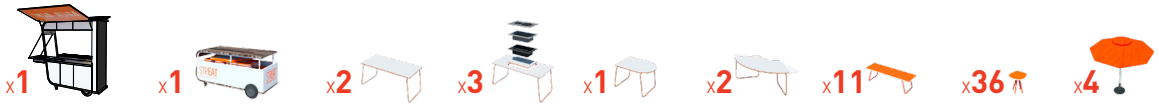
Storage Cart,
Transforms to a table

Shading devices to ease the heat and protect the users.



Seating arrangement, provides social space for passerby to dine and interact

The cooking cart



Medium gathering for 60-65 people

FIGURE 95 (up)
Perspective view

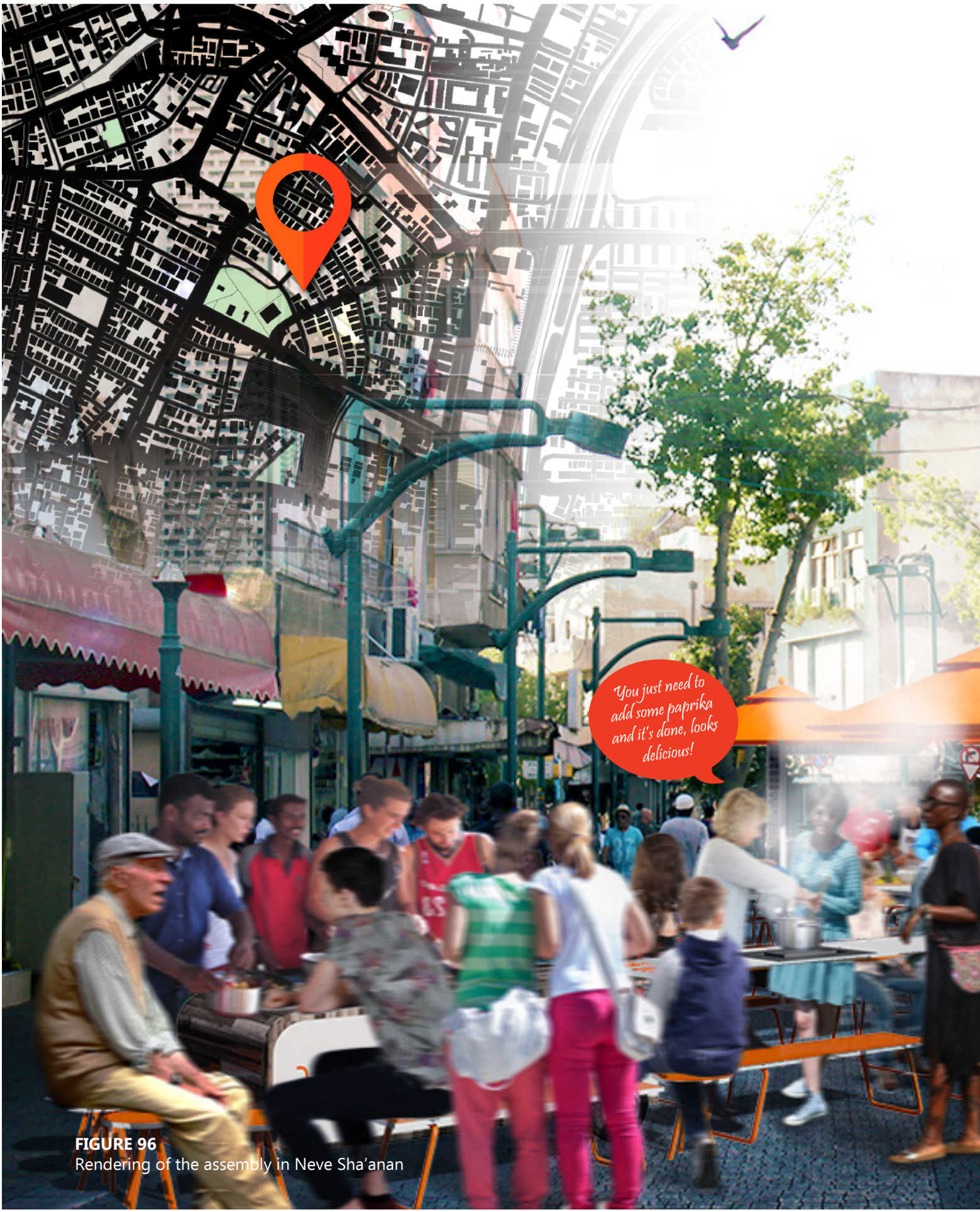
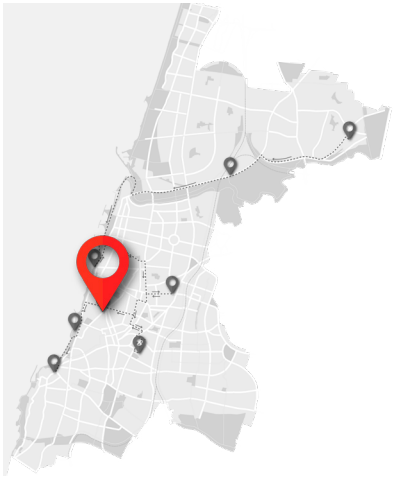


FIGURE 96
Rendering of the assembly in Neve Sha'anan

FRIDAY

Beginning of the Carmel Market



Friday marks the beginning of Sabbath in Israel where many individuals have the day off and families dedicate their evening to dinners. Thus, the project must operate in small scale during the early hours of the day. One of the most popular sites during Friday mornings is the Carmel Market, due to its fresh ingredients and delicacies. Further, the market is located within the downtown area of Tel Aviv not too far from Shenkin Street, and Nahalat Benyamin Street, two very popular shopping stretches in the city. Thus, that intersection has a great potential for interactions between people of diverse backgrounds. The rapid circulation shapes the nature of the design in the site. The cooking cart provide quick grab for those who cannot spare much time, while a small gathering of up to 30 people is assembled to allow for more significant interactions, where people can commensal together.

FIGURE 97
Image of the Site

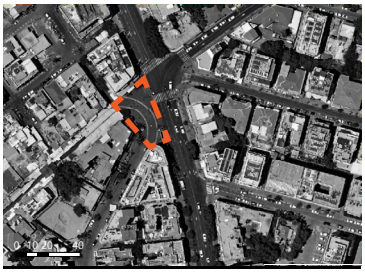
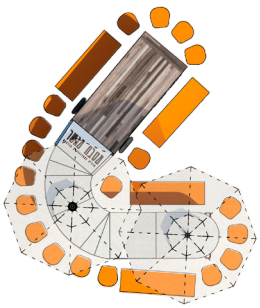


FIGURE 98
Satellite views of the site

FIGURE 99
Site plan of the assembly in the beginning of the Carmel Market

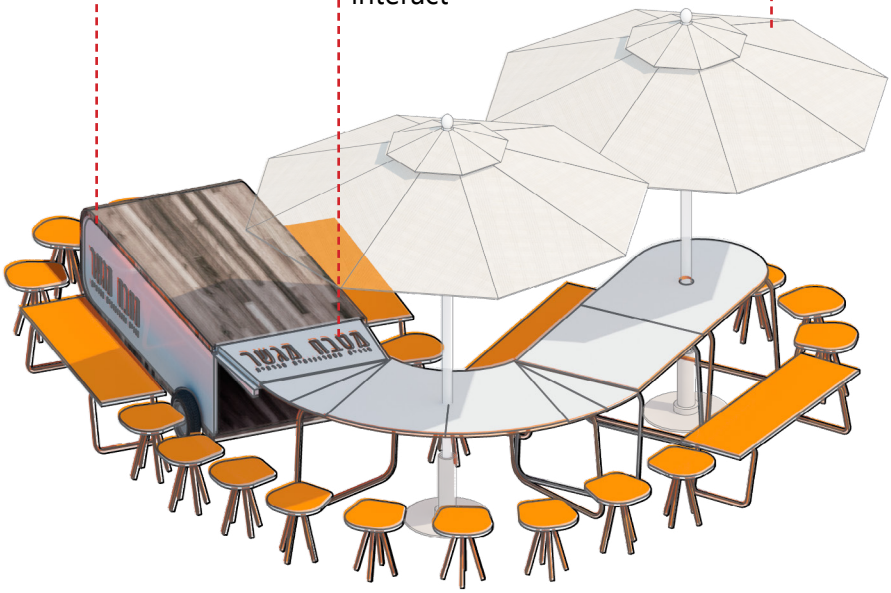
FIGURE 100 (right)
Plan view



Storage Cart,
Transforms to a table

Seating arrangement,
provides social space
for passerby to dine and
interact

Shading devices to
ease the heat and
protect the users.



The cooking cart

Small gathering for 25-30 people

FIGURE 101 (up)
Perspective view

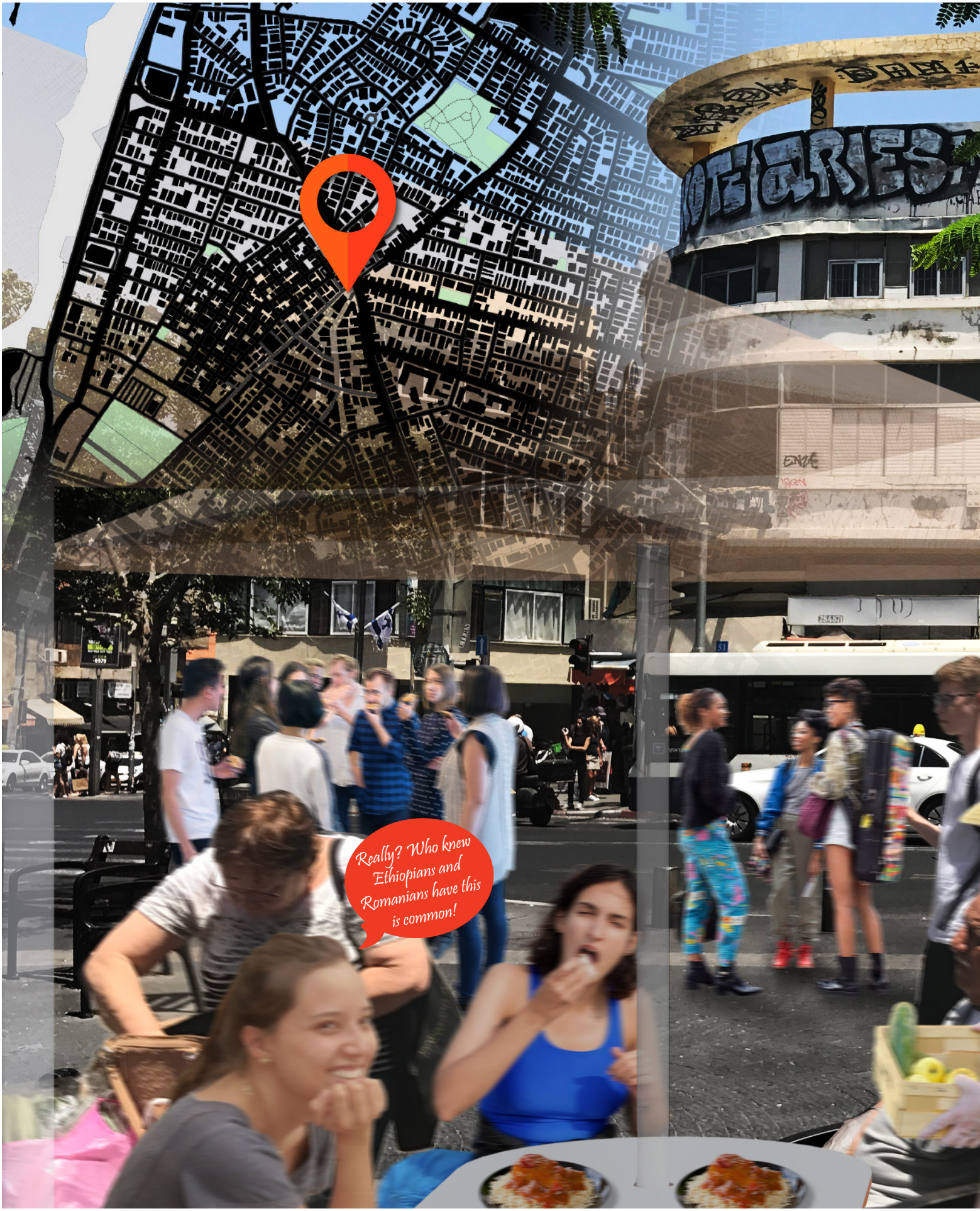
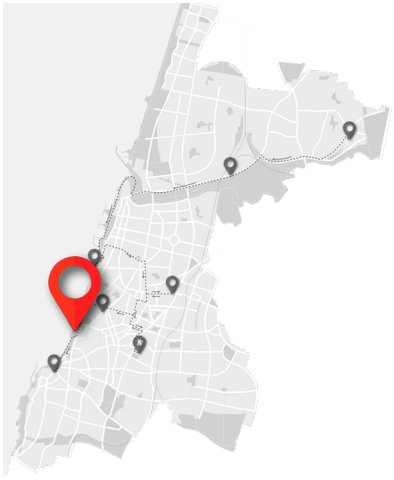

Really? Who knew Ethiopians and Romanians have this is common!

FIGURE 102
Rendering of the assembly in The beginning of the Carmel Market

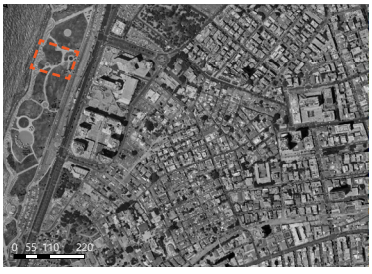
SATURDAY

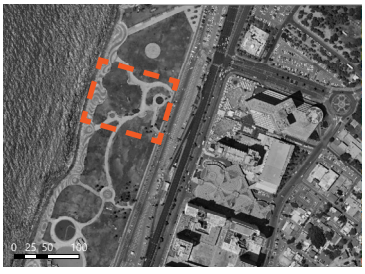
Charles Klore Park



The next site is Charles Klore Park, which sprawls to 30 acre and connects between Tel Aviv's to Jaffa's through the beach promenade. It attracts a variety of people and many large events take place there throughout the year. The park is few minute walk from downtown Tel Aviv and has various bus routes passing through it every few minutes. Its location along the coast and the availability of public transportation, shaped its popularity. To maximize participation, the system will be available during the whole day and into the evening hours. The assembly accommodates up to 300 people. The dynamic seating layout provides the option to add units and create bigger gatherings if needed. Due to the large amount of participants, there will be several cooks and operator to direct the event.

FIGURE 103
Image of the Site





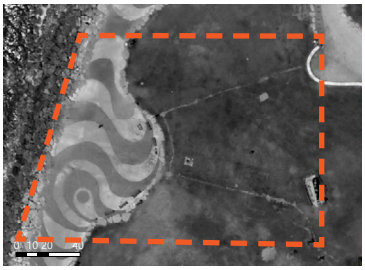
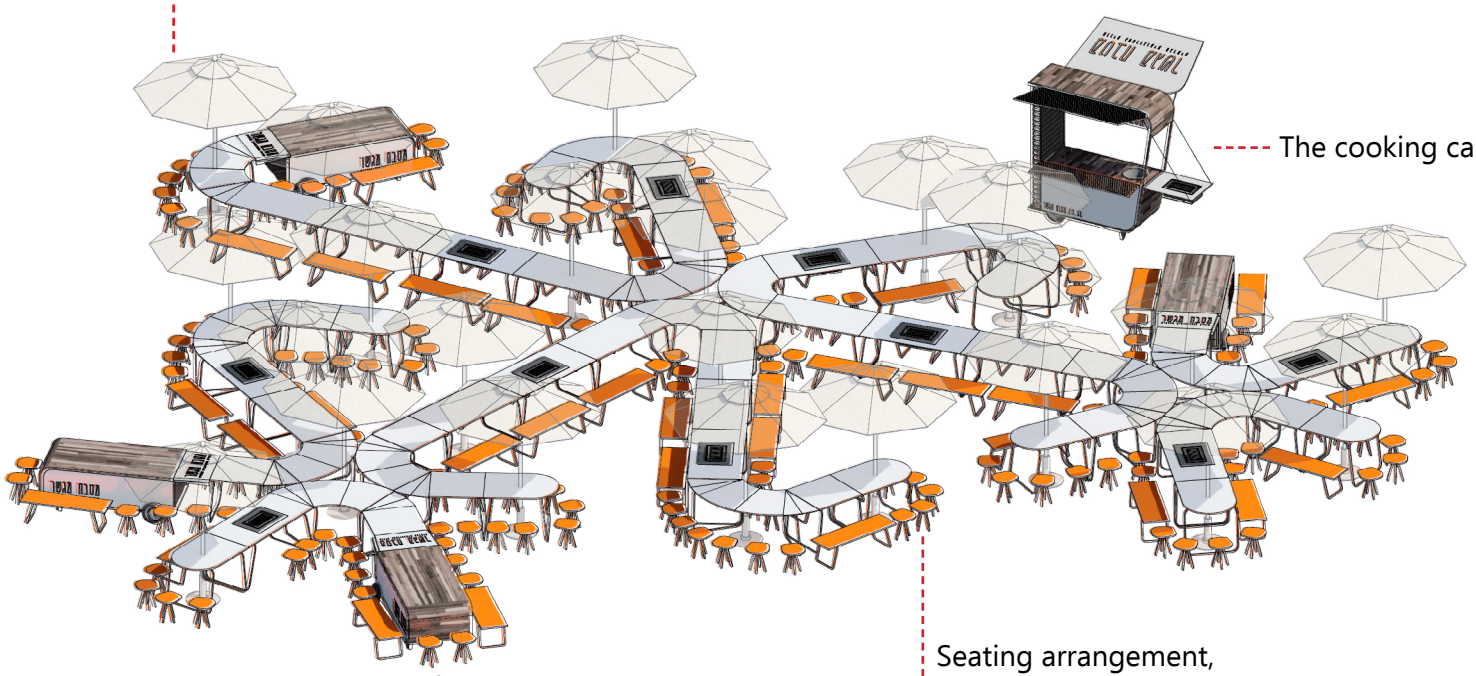


FIGURE 104
Satellite views of the site

FIGURE 105
Site plan of the assembly in Charles Klore Park

FIGURE 106 (right)
Plan view

Shading devices to ease the heat and protect the users.



The cooking cart

Seating arrangement, provides social space for passerby to dine and interact

Storage Cart, Transforms to a table

Extra Large gathering for 300 people

FIGURE 107 (up)
Perspective view


Do you need help with that? btw I'm Ido, nice to meet you!

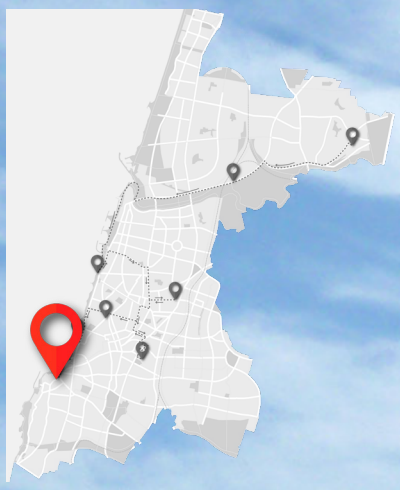
FIGURE 108
Rendering of the assembly in Charles Klore Park

FIGURE 109
Rendering of the cooking cart and the storage unit in transit


מטבח מגשר

SUNDAY

Jaffa Clock Tower



The eighth day of the week symbolizes a new beginning, and represents purification and regeneration. Following, what if on the eighth day of Mitbach Megasher the focus of the project will shift to a new and more complex conflict? Moving south of Charles Klore Park into the central node of Jaffa, would open a new discussion. As the project was never intended to focus on political or national issues, it aims to resolve personal preconceptions , there is an opportunity to move beyond ethnical conflict and open the door to new interactions, between Israelis and Arabs in the country.

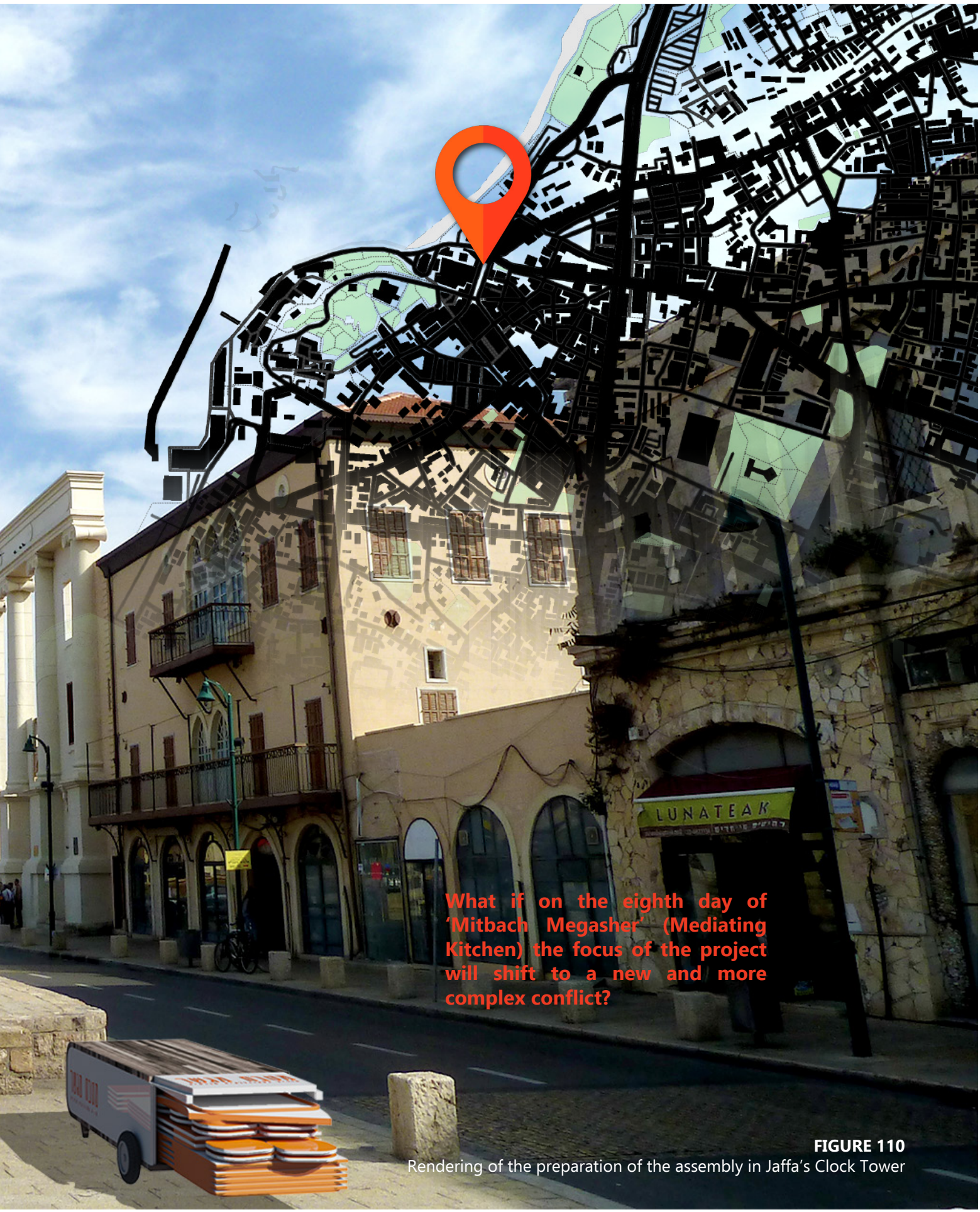


FIGURE 110
Rendering of the preparation of the assembly in Jaffa's Clock Tower

REFLECTIONS

The throngs of Jewish immigrants to Israel in the past century shaped the diverse population of the country. Even though Israel aspired to form a cohesive Jewish culture, moments of divide and tension developed between individuals from different ethnicities. With every major immigration period, the demographic characteristics shifted, creating new channels of conflict between new immigrants and the rest of the Jewish population in Israel. Reoccurring behaviors of prejudice and discrimination from the general population and the governing bodies towards new comers pushed many immigrants down the socioeconomic ladder. As a result, the most pressing social problem developed in the country. In the past few decades, Israel invested ample resources to balance the socioeconomic gap and improve the situation of unfortunate communities. These will only result in long-term change. However, the social cleavage between the divided communities has been neglected and more immediate interventions are required to reduce prejudice and improve acceptance among the Israeli population.

Prejudice is a product of ignorance and is often a result of inability to sympathize, understand, and accept people who are different from oneself. To alleviate the deep social conflicts between the many divided communities in Israel, certain strategies were investigated for their potential to reduce bias, alter cognitive preconceptions, and improve intercultural relations. Through the creation of shared interests and the process of learning and collaborating towards a shared outcome, opportunities for social change increase. As such, due to the importance of food in most cultures and for its capabilities to encourage social exchange, gastronomy was chosen as the core concept. Through various precedents in Israel and abroad, design and food were examined for their potential to reduce the social gap. The investigation of the problem along with possible mediation opportunities through gastronomy, result in a design synthesis of a modular system comprised of three main units. Together they create a unique gastronomic experience, transforming any public space into an agent of social activism.

Despite the attempts of the government and local municipalities to alleviate the social gaps by creating public happenings, the nature of these events limit potential for interactions. Events like the

annual Food Truck Festival in Charles Klore Park bare similarities to this proposal, yet the outcome is quite different. Majority of the users are groups of friends, couples, and acquaintances who belong to similar socioeconomic spheres and groups. However, Mitbach Megasher provides an opportunity that has yet to be seen in Israel.

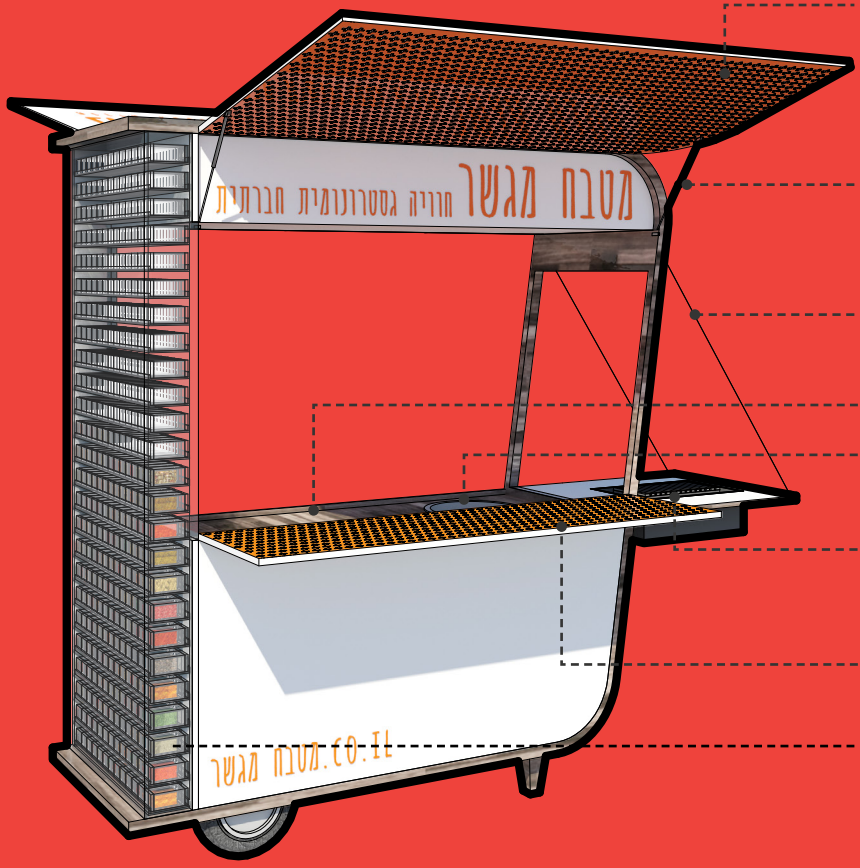
The thesis does not seek to solve the socioeconomic issue in the country but to relieve social tensions between the divided communities. Social transformation can be achieved by placing mobile cooking and dining station across public spaces in Tel Aviv along with other Israeli cities. The design aims to create an accepting space where everyone can cook, dine, learn, teach, and interact with one another. Essentially, the proposal focuses on effective social interactions and enhancement of intercultural communications.

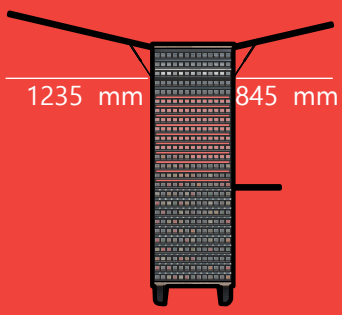
The success of the proposed design is dependent on the openness of Israelis to change. Intercultural relations cannot be imposed on people who are unwilling to change and accept others. Thus, the launch of the project takes place in Tel Aviv, the center of Israel where diversity and acceptance are celebrated among the majority of the population. Furthermore, the city's extensive public transportation provides equal opportunities for everyone to attend and take part in this social gastronomic experience. The location of the design is not limited to a single city. Mitbach Megasher should travel across the country to increase awareness and provide opportunities for social change anywhere in Israel. Furthermore, to reach as many people as possible, all the information about the activities of the project would be available online and through a smartphone application.

As the design synthesis seeks to enhance positive communications through collaboration and shared interests, it does not focus on explicit conflicts. Thus, it has the potential to connect communities that are in **any** adversarial relationship. Whether for Jews, Christians, Muslims, Israelis, or Palestinians, the design can act as a mitigating tool between the many cleavages in the country, ethnic, national, political and religious. The proposed system opens the conversation about the unyielding need for an immediate social change, whether for ethnical or other tensions.

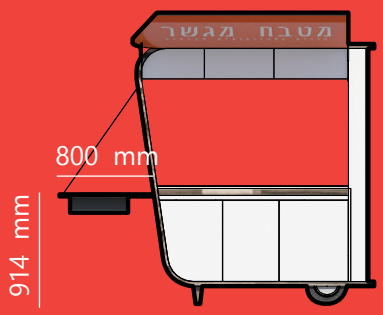
FIGURE 111
Depiction of Mitbach Megasher smartphone application on a background of the event.

DESIGN DETAIL

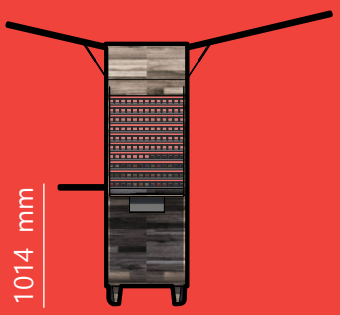




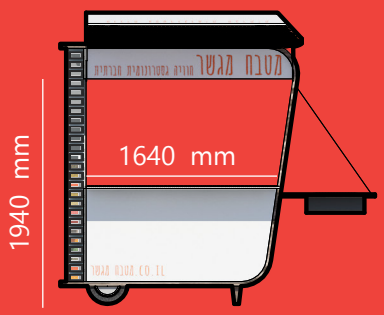
Left elevation



Front elevation



Right elevation



Back elevation

FIGURE 113
Details of the cooking cart open

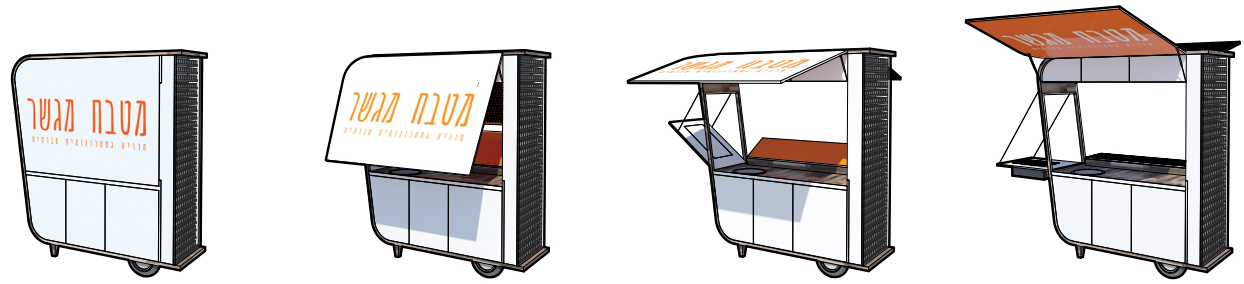


FIGURE 114
Stages of opening the cart, from closed to open

FIGURE 115
Interior features of the cooking cart

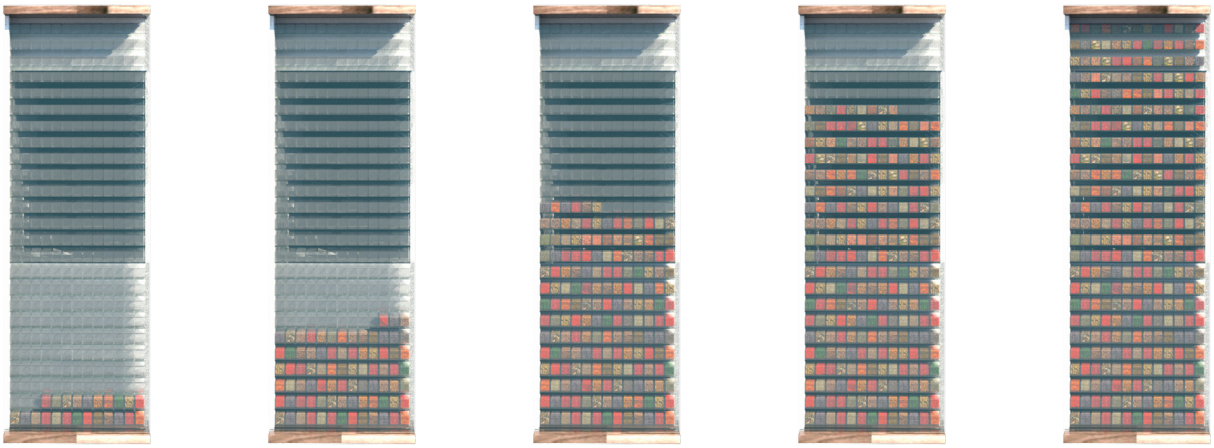


FIGURE 116
The development of the spice rack along time

THE SPICE RACK

The spice rack plays as a central role in the design of the cooking cart. The showcase provide both a functional and an aesthetic solution to the design. The clear containers sit on a sliding platform that can be accessed easily from the operator's side. As different cuisines are in focus, the used spices and herbs are placed in the Spice Rack to display the various cuisines of 'Mitbach Megasher'. These can be used later in other gatherings. Further, upon each assembly each spice and herb slowly layer the showcase to represent the rich food culture of Israel.

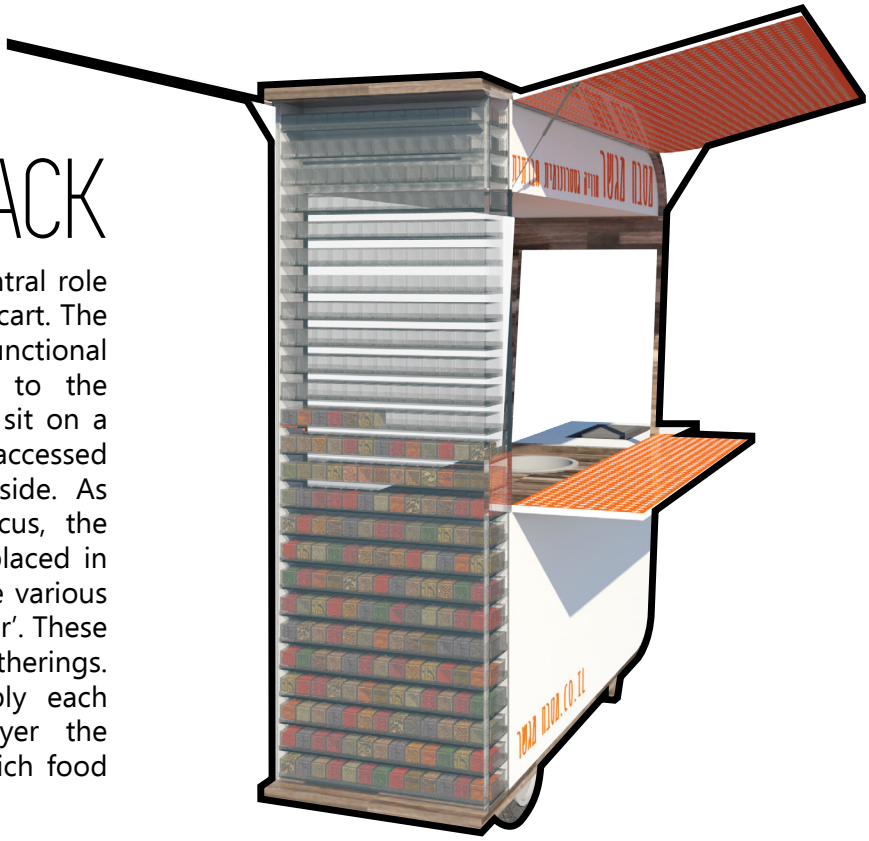
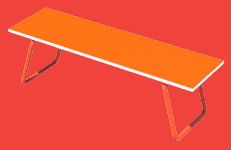
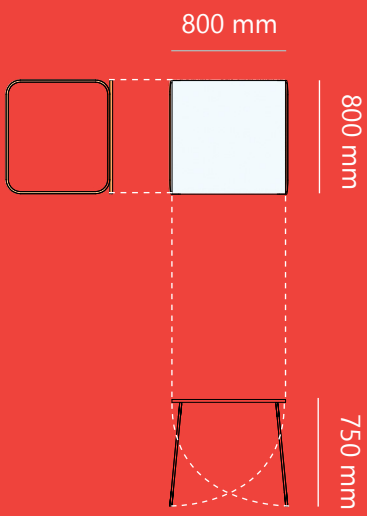
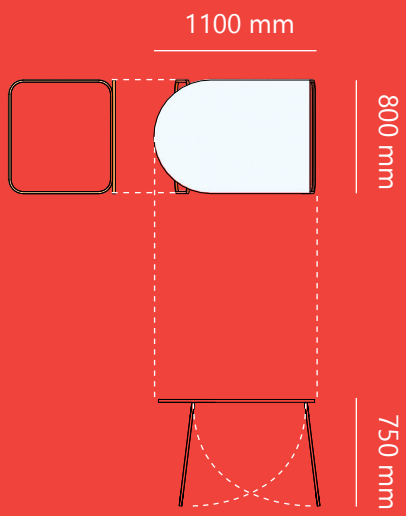


FIGURE 117
Rendering of the spice rack

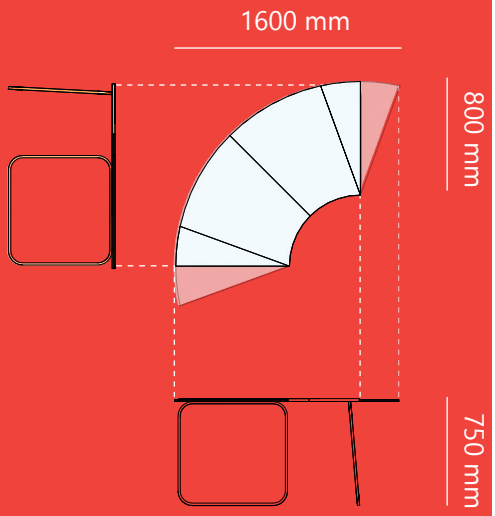




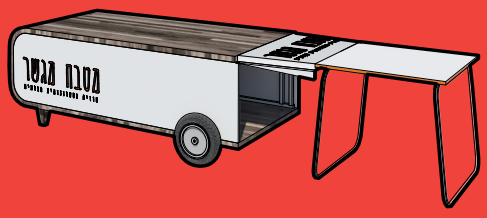
SINGLE TABLE UNIT

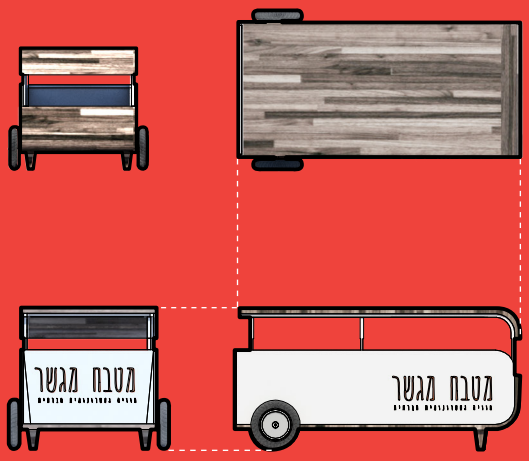


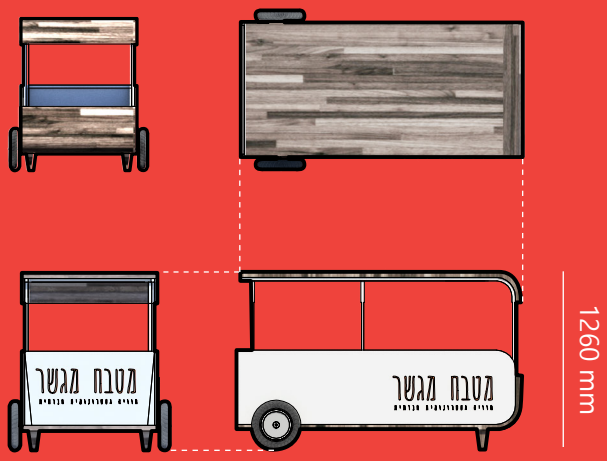
EDGE TABLE UNIT



CORNER TABLE UNIT




1000 mm


1260 mm

BACK MATTERS

ENDNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 Yochanan Peres and Eliezer Ben-Refael, *Cleavages in Israeli Society* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved Publishers Ltd., 2006), 160

2 Sam Chapple-Sokol, "Culinary diplomacy: breaking bread to win hearts and minds, "*Hague Journal of diplomacy* 8, no. 2 (2013): 171-172, http://culinarydiplomacy.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/breaking-bread-to-win-hearts-and-minds.pdf.

PART 01 ISRAEL'S IMMIGRATION, MOMENTS OF DIVIDE AND TENSION

THE JEWISH YISHUV

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2 Yochanan Peres and Eliezer Ben-Refael, *Cleavages in Israeli Society* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved Publishers Ltd., 2006), 138.

3 Sami Michael, *Unbounded Ideas Ravik Rosenthal Talks with Sami Michael* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad Publishing House Ltd., 2000), 20-21.

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17 Lily Galili and Roman Bronfman, *The million that changed the middle east* (Tel Aviv: Matar Publishing House Ltd., 2013), 8.

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19 Ibid.,127.

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ASHKENAZIM AND MIZRACHIM

1 Moshe Lissak, *The Mass Immigration in the fifties: The Failure of the Melting Pot Policy* (Jerusalem, Bialik Institute, 1999), 3.

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5 Ibid., 7.

6 Ibid., 3.

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8 Ibid., 59.

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11 Ibid., 11

12 Ibid., 12.

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18 Ibid., 18.

19 Ibid., 20.

20 Ibid., 21.

21 Ibid., 22.

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23 Ibid., 25.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., 31.

26 Ibid., 26.

27 Ibid., 27.

28 Ibid.,28.

29 Ibid., 33.

30 Ibid., 74-75.

31 Ibid., 34.

32 Ibid., 35.

33 Ibid., 38.

34 Ibid., 101.

35 Ibid., 93.

36 Ibid., 23.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., 101.

39 Ibid., 91.

40 Ibid., 118.

41 Ibid., 23.

42 Ibid., 83.

43 Sami Shalom Chetrit, *The Mizrahi Struggle in Israel Between Oppression and Liberation, Identification and Alternatives 1948-2008* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2004), 121.

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46 Jean Ben Zaken, "Wage gaps in Israel 2016: who makes more – Ashkenazim or Mizrachim?," Maariv Online, accessed September 20, 2017, http://www.maariv.co.il/business/economic/israel/Article-529227.

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