Original Paper

Hidden Dropout, Actual Dropout, and Preserving Tradition and Language among Israeli Youth of Ethiopian Origin

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Abstract

Dropping out from school is a serious problem affecting education systems. This study aims to examine the importance of preserving Ethiopian culture among Israeli high school students of Ethiopian origin and the relationship between preserving this culture and perseverance in formal schooling. Keeping ethnic tradition was examined using two indices: keeping the language and preserving tradition.

Although hidden dropout is very common, the related literature is insufficient. Moreover, there are hardly any studies examining dropout among immigrant students in general, and among Israeli immigrants of Ethiopian origin in particular. This study is a pioneering investigation, in both the phenomenon being studied and the target population—the relationship between preserving culture of origin and hidden dropout and actual dropout among adolescent immigrants and children of immigrants of Ethiopian origin in Israel. The current study follows qualitative interviews with members of three research groups: learners, hidden dropouts, and disengaged.

The analysis revealed a relationship between the importance assigned to preserving tradition and hidden dropout. In the measures of assigned importance to preserving tradition and language of origin, both hidden dropouts and learners assigned high importance to these variables, as opposed to the disengaged group that assigned less importance to preserving ethnic tradition.

Keywords

Hidden dropout, actual dropout, adolescent immigrants of Ethiopian origin, importance of preserving tradition, keeping language

The purpose of this study is to examine the importance of preserving Ethiopian ethnic tradition and language among students of Ethiopian origin and the relationship between preserving tradition and engagement in formal schooling. The focus of the study was on Israeli immigrant youth and children of immigrants of Ethiopian origin. Although youth of Ethiopian origin comprise only 1.5% of the Israeli

population (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, 2017), they are visible due to their unique characteristics, primarily their external appearance (skin color).

1. Hidden and Actual Dropout from School

Dropping out from school is one of the serious problems that education systems cope with, as the numerous studies performed worldwide testify (e.g. Lamb, Markussen, Teese, Sandberg, & Polesel, 2011). Dropout and disengagement of adolescents from the formal education system are a known phenomenon in Israel as well as globally. The term 'actual dropout' refers to the physical disengagement of the teenager from the education system intended for his or her cohort (Dupper, 1993; Franklin, McNeil, & Wright, 1991). Many countries regard the issue of school dropouts with great severity, since it has been found that adolescents that drop out of the formal education system are at a high risk of being involved in illegal activities and delinquent behaviors (Beauvais, Chavez, Oetting, Deffenbacher, & Cornell, 1996). These youths have a high likelihood to show social and occupational adaptation difficulties, and therefore a higher chance of being dependent on welfare services, and of having physical and emotional health issues (Rumberger, 2004).

Unlike actual dropout, hidden dropout from the education system has hardly been studied in depth. Thousands of teenagers in education systems, sometimes even to the end of 12th grade, do not take an active part in the learning process. They are called hidden dropouts. They can be categorized as students that are in class just for the roll call, but they do not take an actual part in the learning processes taking place in class (Sultana, 2006).

Dropping out is usually a dynamic and developing process. It can begin with minor adverse behaviors that increase until hidden dropout might become actual dropout. The term *hidden dropout* is a vaguer term than *actual dropout*. Hidden dropout includes various phenomena that may occur separately or simultaneously, for instance, frequent lateness or truancy from classes or entire school days, which result in difficulty in academic functioning, alienation towards school and abnormal behaviors (Israel Education Task Force, 2005; Sever, 2002). Worku-Mengisto and Horenczyk (2019) entitled the hidden dropouts "present-absentees", since truancy is the most prominent sign of hidden dropout. The signs of hidden dropout are not straightforward, and their appearance is not always evidence for its presence. However, Sever (2002) claims that two phenomena may act as a red light for hidden dropout: irregular school attendance, whether successive or random, and school mobility. Some researchers suggest that severe social difficulties and participating in violent incidents may also be signs of hidden dropout (Worku-Mengisto & Horenczyk, 2018; Sever, 2002).

The absence of an accurate conceptualization for hidden dropout, generates a gap between the official dropout rates, which refer only to the actual dropout, and the rates of dropout in reality, which include the hidden dropout rates. According to Sam and Virta (2003), the school dropout rates may be three times higher than the official estimates.

Rosenblum, Goldblatt, and Moin (2008) argue that hidden dropout might be the first stage of dropout. Therefore, the emphasis should be shifted from the last stage of dropping out to its precursory indicators, i.e. to identify the quiet students that are still within the education system, but do not function as expected (Audas & Wilms, 2001; Lamb, & Markussen, 2011). Regarding the dropout process from this perspective may be key to better understanding actual dropout. In other words, understanding the process and implication of hidden disengagement from school is the first step in supporting students who are at risk of dropping out (Tam, Zhou, & Harel-Fisch, 2012).

In some ways, the term *hidden dropout* can be contrasted with the term *school engagement*. Fredricks, Blumenfeld, and Paris (2004) indicate three aspects of this engagement: behavioral engagement, that relates to activity, and includes participation in academic activities and extracurricular activities; emotional engagement, that relates to emotional reactions, negative and positive, of the student towards teachers, peers and school in general; and cognitive engagement, that relates to the student's investment and the willingness to invest the necessary effort to understand complex ideas and to acquire knowledge and skills. It should be noted that the field of school engagement was developed and researched mainly in the context of students that are present in schools and take part to some extent in scholastic activities on different levels. This term was barely examined in relation to students that are formally in the system, but are seldom involved in school activities, in other words, hidden dropouts. This study is aimed at partially filling that gap. Based on the relationship between social ties and dropout found in research (Khaled-Hajazi, Nasir-Shlufa, & Harel-Fish, 2007), the current study examines the relationship between the importance assigned to preserving tradition and language among Israeli students of Ethiopian origin and dropout from the school system.

1.1 Adolescents of Ethiopian Origin

One of the consequences of the Jewish immigration from Ethiopia was the impairment to the ability of the elders and parents to oversee the young members of the community. Most of the teenagers were sent to boarding schools and what followed were two negative phenomena: detachment from parental supervision and interaction with problematic Israeli youths that were placed in boarding schools due to learning problems, domestic issues, or financial hardships. The cultural transition caused by immigration together with the accompanying hardships brought about the affiliation of many teens of the Ethiopian community with marginal youth, thus contributing to dropout from the school system and adopting non-normative and sometimes delinquent behavioral patterns (Edelstein, 2000).

Vilchek-Aviad (2009) examined the relationships between psycho-social variables and normative educational integration among Israeli immigrants from Ethiopia and from the Former Soviet Union. She concluded that the higher the overall commitment of youth to the normative society, the higher their personal identity formation level, resulting in higher chances of engagement in school. However, Vilchek-Aviad (2009) reports that adolescents of Ethiopian origin express disappointment at the level of both emotional and academic support that they received from school staff. This feeling could affect dropout.

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Several studies found that teachers in the Israeli education system lack sufficient knowledge and understanding of Ethiopian Jewry culture. Moreover, some of them expressed reluctance to absorbing Ethiopian immigrants into their classes and required that they be separated from the Israeli students, due to the difficulties posed by immigrant youth. In their study, Lev-Ari and Leron (2012) relate to a State Comptroller's report that noted that the Ministry of Education specifically instructed to prevent clustering of children of Ethiopian origin so that their rate will not exceed 25% of the student school total. Furthermore, based on data from the Knesset (Parliament) Research and Information Center, Lev Ari and Leron (2012) found tracking of Ethiopian students in 103 schools and kindergartens throughout Israel, where more than half the students were of Ethiopian origin. The harsh labeling of immigrants of Ethiopian origin and the social and financial hardships that characterize most of them, drive many of these youth out of the academic contexts, and out into the street and its lurking perils. This behavior mainly reflects the plight of the youth compared to their fellow immigrants from the Soviet Union and the non-immigrant Israelis.

According to a report by the Israeli Ministry of Education, as the academic years advance, the gap deepens between the achievements of students of Ethiopian origin and the other students. While this gap is equal to one academic year in the 5th grade, it increases to two academic years in the 8th grade. These gaps persist with the eligibility for a matriculation certificate (Kashti, 2020).

1.2 The Importance of Preserving Language and Tradition

Language acquisition is influenced by various cultural attitudes and expectations and is therefore affected by parental involvement. A study of children in Africa (Harkness et al., 2012) found a major difference in parental conduct with preschool children in Africa in comparison to Western countries. Cultural concepts and objectives are the foundation of this difference. While it is customary in the West that parents play an active role in teaching their children to speak through games and reading stories, African parents tend to address their children with orders, expecting them to follow instructions, rather than returning a verbal answer. At the bottom of social hierarchy, the young child is expected to work his way up with the help of his or her slightly older siblings and cousins, whom s/he must also listen to and obey. The parental conduct of Israeli immigrants from Ethiopia adhered to this pattern, namely, their conduct was not a result of their immigration. In Israel, the children of Ethiopian origin attend the Israeli school system from a young age. They know more Hebrew than Amharic and mostly speak Hebrew to other children in the family. In other words, those born in Israel and living in families with several siblings, learn the language primarily through their siblings (Shmuel, 2017).

Research has proven that high literacy of the native language is related to success of new language acquisition. Today, it is more strongly believed that the native language must be used in new language acquisition instead of pushing it aside, therefore proficiency and preservation of the native language are important (Levin, Shohamy, & Spolsky, 2003). Only a fifth of the teenagers of Ethiopian origin were found to consider their proficiency of the native language as good. Shmuel (2017) concludes that one of the causes of their lack of proficiency in Amharic is the inability of the parents to encourage the use of

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their ethnic language. Shani (2006) examined the academic condition of students of Ethiopian origin and revealed significant deficiencies in environmental literacy throughout the age groups that were studied (preschool—6th grade). She claims that one of the reasons for failing to impart the Hebrew language to Ethiopian immigrants is their lack of control of their native language.

In a research conducted in Israel (Mirsky & Prawer, 1992), the researchers emphasized the importance of preserving culture, as well as language and history, as a legitimate and necessary transition stage in the integration process of immigrants to Israel. A comparative study of adolescent immigrants from Turkey living in the Netherlands and Sweden conducted by Vedder and Virta (2005), examined the relationship between preserving the language (ethnic language proficiency) and ethnic identity and sociocultural adaptation to the host culture. Findings support the notion that among adolescent immigrants in Sweden, language sustenance and perception of ethnic identity contributed to immigrants' adaptation. In a research conducted in Israel, Shabtai and Yavelberg (2011) found that youth of Ethiopian origin largely refrain from speaking Amharic. The explanation offered by the researchers to this finding is that youth feel that using Amharic might label them as foreigners and non-Israeli. They argue that this may also be the reason why youth of Ethiopian origin do not use their native language in family circles either. Those who reported that they do speak Amharic in the family, mostly do not read and write in Amharic. Language is the most distinct characteristic of identity and belonging, and that may be the reason that youth feel that preserving Amharic and using it might label them as "new", "non-Israeli", "foreigners", etc. Thus, our study revealed that the youth from the three research groups that were studied, do not assign serious significance to preserving the Amharic language.

Shmuel (2017) studied tradition keeping and maintaining Amharic language in three generations. A language common to both parents and children is an obvious foundation for family communication in any culture. What happens in many families of Ethiopian origin in Israel is unusual and needs to be addressed and explained. In most immigrant communities, including new immigrants to Israel, the children born in the new country understand the parents' language, even if they only respond to them in the language of the receiving country. In many families of Ethiopian origin, the children have limited knowledge of the parents' language, and when the parents do not master Hebrew, this results in substantial restriction of verbal communication between children and parents. This has many implications on their relationship and family conduct, but also affects the regular development of language in children. Shani (2006) also found that "most of the children of the community do not speak Amharic and understand it only at a very basic level. Therefore, they are not truly bilingual". Thus, if the parents do not speak Hebrew, then they do not use it with their children.

Amit (2012) found that immigrants from Ethiopia assigned more importance to keeping the ethnic tradition than descendants of immigrants from the West and the former Soviet Union. Shani (2006) also found that immigrants from Ethiopia with academic degrees assign more importance to keeping the original cultural tradition than immigrants from Ethiopia with no academic degrees.

Traditions are based on language of origin and assist in language preservation and knowledge (Vedder & Virta, 2005). One of the most central traditions of Ethiopian Jewry is the Sigd ceremony which the Beta Israel community of Ethiopian Jews kept in Ethiopia and continue to maintain in Israel. The holiday is celebrated on the 29th of the Hebrew month of Heshvan—50 days after Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement). Sigd is a holiday of fasting, purification and renewal, with the ceremonial renewal of the covenant between God and the people at its center, reading verses from the book called Orit (The Bible in Gez language), and prayers for redemption. The ceremony is held atop a high mountain, as a tribute to the giving of the Commandments on Mount Sinai, and is run by the community's priests. The holiday and ceremony are inspired by a similar historic gathering that took place in Jerusalem in the days of the return to Jerusalem as depicted in chapters 8-10 in the book of Nehemiah. In Israel, the ceremony is customarily held at a promenade in Jerusalem overlooking the Temple Mount, in the presence of the community and public leaders. In 2008, the Israeli Parliament legislated the Law of Sigd, declaring the 29th of Heshvan as a national holiday.

Sharaby (2020) found that a growing number of youth of Ethiopian origin participate in the Sigd celebrations. They do not fast like the adults, and they regard the holiday as a social event rather than a religious practice. Teenagers have attested that their partaking in events like this strengthens their confidence and pride in their ethnic identity and their connection to the community. In these events, where they "host" Israeli youth, they feel confident enough to selectively return to the roots of their tradition. In a culture that encourages pluralism, it is easier for the descendants of immigrants from Ethiopia to conduct themselves in both cultures. Despite collective and individual negative experiences based on rejection due to skin color and doubting their Jewishness, Ethiopian youth proudly exhibit their ethnic insignia in public, thus showing that they carry a social message relevant to the entire public. The formal national recognition of Sigd in 2008 strengthened the youth's expectations for the integration of the Ethiopian culture in Israeli society. Social-political activists who headed the organizations of immigrants from Ethiopia played a central role in socialization and in the process of unification of identities. These leaders of the transition generation, that were familiar with both cultures, are the ones who denoted new and relevant meaning to which the youth could relate to. These activists regarded the Sigd holiday as a bridge between generations, receiving and received, past and present, traditional and contemporary, as well as between nationalism and ethnic particularity. Our research examined the connection between the preservation of Ethiopian culture and language among Israeli high school students of Ethiopian origin and hidden dropout and actual dropout in members of three research groups: learners, hidden dropouts, and disengaged youth.

2. Method

This study was conducted using a qualitative approach based on semi-structured, in-depth interviews with members of three research groups: learners, hidden dropouts, and disengaged. This section will present the findings relating to the relationship between social ties and dropout as they emerged from the interviews while examining the patterns that characterize each of the three research groups.

2.1 Participants

We conducted interviews with 30 youths aged 16-14 years, 9 of them characterized as learners (5 girls, 4 boys), 14 as hidden dropouts (8 girls, 6 boys), and 7 disengaged (all boys). As this research focuses primarily on hidden dropout and its related causes, hidden dropouts were more extensively represented in the sample.

2.2 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews included: the relationship between the youth and the education system in general and to teachers in particular (trying to identify and understand the mechanisms of hidden or actual dropout), the feelings and experiences of youth pertaining discrimination due to them belonging to a minority group, social ties, educational integration (or its lack thereof). The main interview questions were designed following the principles of qualitative research according to which the interviewer stays focused on several issues that are relevant to the research, whereas the interviewees have the opportunity to tell their story without constricting the interview to the discussed (Shkedi, 2003; Zabar-Ben Yehoshua, 1990).

The interviews were conducted by a researcher who is a speaker of both Hebrew and Amharic. The interviews were conducted in Hebrew, but there was a possibility to use Amharic if desired. Only a small number of youth agreed to record the interview, and the interviews were transcribed after their recording. The remaining interviews were written down during the interview and completed later from memory and notes taken by the researcher during the interview.

The interviews were analyzed using thematic analysis. Primary categories were identified as themes, subjects, and headers that repeat themselves and can be named or characterized, and overall messages stemming from the teens' words while including the perspectives and voices of the interviewees (Shkedi, 2003; Zabar-Ben Yehoshua, 1990). Quotations from the interviews were brought in the description of the findings to demonstrate the rationale of content analysis. The findings that were identified as a result of the interview analysis deepened the insights in the researched issues and in the issues brought up by the interviewees: characteristics of hidden dropout and the importance assigned to preserving language and ethnic tradition.

3. Results

In this section, we will summarize the answers of the three research groups—learners, hidden dropouts and disengaged—to the questions they were asked in the interviews. All names were changed to maintain anonymity. Results were reported in gender language, according to the gender of the interviewees.

Respondents were asked questions regarding the importance they assign to preserving Ethiopian tradition and knowing the Amharic language.

3.1 The Learners

One of the questions the students were asked was: "Is it important to you to preserve your parents' tradition and know the Amharic language?" Below are some of the answers given by **the learners**.

Gidon noted that he likes all traditions: "in fact, there is no tradition that I don't like. I like the Sigd, Amharic music… I also like the atmosphere at home when we have Bunna (Note), there is a moment of peace and calmness at home when we have Bunna."

One of the basics of Amharic tradition is respecting the elders. Hence, some of the learners who were interviewed noted this point. Avtamo said: "at home, we keep the tradition of respect for elders the way it was kept in Ethiopia towards Grandmother and Grandfather. Before and after meals, water for washing is brought for them to the table. These are nice traditions, I like that."

As mentioned, the interviewees were also asked if they understand and speak Amharic and if this important to them. Megos said that although he finds it important to preserve the Amharic language, he does not speak it, but he understands it, and this is because, at home, they mostly speak Hebrew: "it is very difficult for me to answer in Amharic." Degu also noted that he has friends who speak Amharic very well, but they were born in Ethiopia, and they have a good basis in the two languages.

Gedamu also reported that it is important to him to preserve his parents' culture and traditions: "it is important to me to keep the traditions, like the Sigd, Memorial Day for Ethiopian Jews who perished on the way to the land of Israel, the music, the food, and the ceremony of Bunna which we usually do when we have guests. It is part of proper hosting." As to the Amharic language, he noted that it is important to him to preserve the language but is not familiar with it.

Hadar, too, noted the importance of preserving the tradition of the parents. Among others, she mentioned the ceremony of Bunna, the holiday of Sigd, and Memorial Day: "I think I will keep it and pass it on to my children. During the past year, I have had the chance to make Bunna a lot, and I also feel that my connection with my mother is better because of Bunna quality time."

From the learners it is apparent that preserving Ethiopian culture and tradition is important to them, mainly through the holidays like Sigd and Memorial Day. Most of them assign importance to knowing Amharic even though most of them do not speak it. Moreover, the interviewees noted that they eat the traditional Ethiopian food.

3.2 Hidden Dropouts

The **hidden dropouts** were also asked if it is important to them to preserve the tradition and Amharic language. Below are findings from their interviews.

Fanta: "I like my parents' traditions and the culture: hospitality, respect for the elders, Sigd, Memorial Day. Even though I've never been to the Sigd in Jerusalem, we celebrate it at home. Mother makes Dabo (festive bread usually made for holidays, W.M.) and bless the wine and speak about the holiday. I hope to be at the celebrations in Jerusalem next year. I have heard from my friends that it is very interesting

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and entertaining and that you meet lots of friends. The truth is that I haven't had the chance to be in Jerusalem at the ceremony at Mt. Herzl for Memorial Day either. It is interesting and I think it is very important to be there. My mother does go to Memorial Day. My mother's sister died in Sudan (on the long journey to Israel). A very sad day. I see my mother; how difficult it is for her."

Tesfa reports that it is important to him to keep tradition, like the Bunna: "when guests arrive we greet them with Bunna, which is, in fact, a reception ceremony. It is a very important ceremony that has a good atmosphere in the house. It is important to keep the traditions, the holidays, Sigd and Memorial Day. Especially I like the respect for elders and hospitality."

Tamar adds: "although I would really like to speak Amharic, I don't know it. At home, we speak only Hebrew. We speak Amharic especially for grandmother and grandfather. We give them all the respect. We don't eat before they begin eating. We make sure to bring them water to where they are sitting. It is part of our culture. Bunna, Sigd, they connect the whole family. Everybody comes to get a blessing from grandfather and grandmother. These are nice traditions, I like it."

Among hidden dropout teens, we found a pattern that indicates assigning importance to traditions and holidays that are related to the Jews of Ethiopia and respect for the elders. These teens paid less attention to knowing the Amharic language.

3.3 The Disengaged

The disengaged group also assigned great importance to tradition. It is interesting to note that they assigned great importance to preserving the language too, although not everybody speaks it. They were proud to note that they listen to music in Amharic and viewed this as a connection to their parents' culture.

Habtamo stressed that he is very attached to Ethiopian culture: "I don't even understand, and it makes me angry when I meet friends of mine who don't respect Ethiopian culture. It even annoys me that I don't know Amharic because we don't speak it at home. I love the kinship in our community on happy days or sad days. Everybody comes to help. It doesn't matter if they are close or know each other. Everybody comes to help."

Adesso noted that he is connected only to Ethiopian culture, and he doesn't feel connected to Israeli culture at all: "I listen to music usually in Amharic. It is very important to me to keep my culture. It is the only way we can survive in this country, thanks to our culture."

Roy: "I speak good Amharic, listen to Amharic music, I feel Ethiopian. The kids who were born in Israel don't speak and don't understand Amharic, they pretend not to be Ethiopian. To the Ethiopian culture, I belong all the time, at home, at family gatherings, with Ethiopian friends. To the Israeli culture—it was on Memorial Day for the murder of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin."

Rachel: "the traditions that I would like to keep, the language, I'm also improving my language—learning, the respect that we have for the elderly and parents. Amharic music, I love listening to, come to think of it I listen to music only in Amharic or English. When I hear music in Amharic, I remember Ethiopia and that's enjoyable. I like listening to Amharic music, English. I work three times a week after school. On the days when I'm at home, I like to sit with my mother, drink bunna (Ethiopian coffee)."

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There is an apparent pattern that emerges from the interviews with the disengaged teens; most of them listen to Amharic music and it is important to them to refine their knowledge of the Amharic language. This pattern is different from the one found in the other two groups. The reason that these teens assign great importance to the Amharic language may be that because they are not in a school environment they hold on to the language that is part of their original culture.

4. Discussion

As mentioned earlier, this study found that assigning importance to preserving tradition was higher among the hidden dropouts and learners as opposed to the disengaged teens. This points to a possible connection between assigning importance to preserving tradition and dropout. As mentioned, family encouragement (i.e., a good connection with the family) contributes to preventing dropout. It is reasonable to assume that teenagers with good family ties identify more with its cultural tradition, hence the connection between assigning importance to the culture of origin and dropout reduction. The contribution of this research is to emphasize the importance of strengthening identification with ethnic culture among children of immigrants. Strengthening the roots can contribute to pride in the group of origin, and as a result to higher self-esteem, improved family ties, leading to a dropout rates reduction.

5. Theoretical and Applied Contributions

This study suggests a negative connection between the importance assigned to preserving tradition and hidden dropout. In the measure of assigned importance to preserving the tradition and the language of origin, a resemblance was found between the hidden dropouts and the learners who assigned high importance to this variable, as opposed to the disengaged group that assigned less importance to preserving tradition.

Although we found commonalities between the three research groups, we identified important differences among the three groups. We found that the participants of all three groups assigned importance to preserving tradition such as the holiday of Sigd, and Memorial Day. In light of this finding, it is recommended to develop programs that strengthen the ethnic identity of its participants and their connection to tradition. One such example is the program *A Journey to Identity* (a roots journey) of the Israeli Ministry of Education, which is designed to strengthen the identity of teenagers by connecting them to their traditional roots on the one hand and to Zionism and the State of Israel on the other. The participating youth learn about the heritage of Ethiopian Jewry throughout the year, concluding it with an 8-day trip to Ethiopia. Until COVID-19, 12 groups embarked on this trip, each with 20 participants. This program influenced its participants in contributing to their identity, their feelings of belonging to society, and encouraged them to aspire to study and make a significant contribution to society.

Additionally, it is important that programs integrate texts that deal with Ethiopian Jewry heritage. An example of this is the book *Almaz Walks on the Paths of her Childhood* telling the story of Almaz, a little girl that recalls experiences of her life in Ethiopia before the family sets out on the long journey to Israel.

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The book allows an emotional glimpse into the life and culture of Israelis of Ethiopian origin. The stories manage to take the reader into Almaz's world, an Israeli child in every aspect, echoing her bicultural identity, with fascinating memories of her early youth, and insists on bringing them to life even after she has been living in Israel for several years. Each chapter in the book focuses on a different everyday experience in an Ethiopian village. The stories deliver the beauty of a different culture and life in a different country while offering the reader moral values that merge with the values we aspire for each child to know and experience in his lifetime: family, friendship, courage, optimism, and more. The book, published in 2016, has become a central book in education and in enriching the cultural knowledge about Ethiopian Jewry.

6. Limitations of Research and Recommendations for Future Research

The current research sample consisted of 30 Ethiopian immigrants. As the data shows, the number of disengaged was relatively smaller than the other two groups, and many of them had difficulties or were not interested in collaborating with the study. To strengthen the findings of this research, a sample with a larger representation of disengaged youth is required.

This research investigated only Israeli youth of Ethiopian origin. Therefore, it is advisable to perform continuation research that will examine other populations too, such as immigrants from the former Soviet Union, and also compare between youth of Ethiopian origin born in Ethiopia and those born in Israel. It is interesting to see if differences or similarities will be found in patterns that characterize the different populations in the various measures that were included in this research.

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Note

Bunna—Ethiopian coffee and the name given to the traditional ritual of hospitality where the host roasts fresh coffee beans on a skillet and then grinds and brews the coffee. The coffee is then poured and drunk ceremoniously.