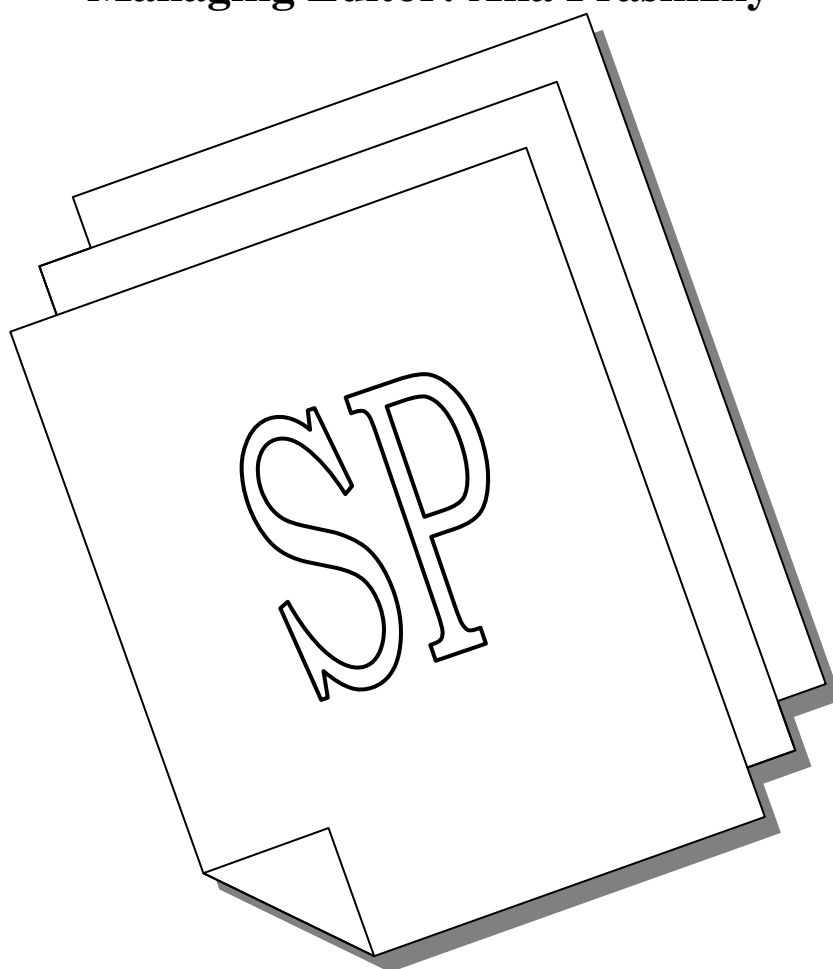*Sociological Papers*

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The Acculturation Process of Bukharian Community Members in Israel

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Abstract

The present study investigated the acculturation process of the Bukharian Jews in Israel with the focus on inter-generational gaps. The research focused on the Bukharians' level of language proficiency in Hebrew, Russian and Bukharian, their identities and acculturation patterns in Israel, and their attitudes towards respective languages and cultures. The research was informed by the multidimensional model of acculturation (Berry, 1980, 1997). The respondents included 128 students (second generation) studying in various academic institutions and 112 of the students' parents (first generation) who immigrated to Israel during the 1970s and the 1990s from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The results suggest that the preferred mode of acculturation among both generations is the integrative one revealing a desire to adapt to the new culture and acquire the new language, while at the same time maintaining their linguistic and cultural heritage. The findings also point to the process of assimilation among the Bukharian community, with the younger generation slowly losing its heritage.

Introduction

The growing global phenomenon of immigration compels immigrant groups to adapt to a new culture and to learn a new second language. This is known as the "acculturation" process, which encompasses numerous aspects including social, cultural, psychological and personal ones.

In the Israeli context, new immigrants experience a similar need and are required to adapt both linguistically and culturally to the host society. Such is the case of the Russian immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, who are one of the many groups that arrived to Israel in the past few decades. Even though much research has been conducted on this wave of immigration, little attention has been given to its sub-groups, especially the non-Ashkenazi ones (Bram, in press).

The aim of this research was, therefore, to investigate the acculturation process of one non-Ashkenazi group originating from the Former Soviet Union - the Bukharian Jews - with a focus on inter-generational differences.

The acculturation process

Adapting to a new culture gained a number of labels such as "an acculturation process", "cultural adjustment" or "cultural change" and was described, in the middle of the 20th century, as "the degree to which the immigrant learns the new functions, norms and behaviors of the new society" (Eisenstadt, 1955) or "a quick adaptation of the immigrant to the majority's attitudes, beliefs and behaviors" (Richardson, 1967). From these definitions it is apparent that the emphasis, during those years, was on the need to give up one's origin culture in favor of the new one. Indeed, traditional perceptions of the phenomenon of acculturation argued that new immigrants need to neglect their original culture and language in order to integrate well in the new society (Schumann, 1978). This conviction is called the "linear approach" or the "subtractive approach" as it relies on the belief that maintaining ones first language and culture inhibits the process of acculturation and linguistic adaptation of the immigrant (Lambert, 1975).

More recent approaches regarding the acculturation process point to the advantages of maintaining the first language and culture and consider it as an asset. Such maintenance was found to be aiding the unity of the immigrant's familial cell (e.g. Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005), helping the immigrant to better adjust in the host society (e.g. Masgoret & Gardner, 1999), leading to better academic skills and contributing to the acquisition of the second language (e.g. Verhoeven, 1994). According to these more recent perceptions, adapting to a new culture and learning the new language does not come at the expense of the home language and culture and is called the "additive approach" (Lambert, 1975). Based on the above approaches, a multidimensional model has been suggested by Berry (1980, 1997) to allow for a number of patterns of acculturation. Table 1 presents the multidimensional model with its four modes.

According to the multidimensional model, there are four modes of acculturation. The first mode is one of "assimilation" which follows the subtractive approach according to which the immigrant gives up his original culture and assimilates entirely in the new one. The second mode is the one of "integration" which follows the additive approach with the immigrant adjusting to the new culture and studying the new language without giving up on his own heritage and language. In the third mode, entitled "segregation" or "separation", the immigrant chooses to maintain the home language and culture, keeping to a minimum the interaction with the host society. In the last mode of 'deculturation' the immigrant rejects both his own culture as well as the new one. This last mode usually leads to re-immigration or to marginal societal behaviors such as alcoholism (Mirsky, et al., 2002).

While the traditional linear approach acknowledged only the assimilatory pattern, also known as the "melting pot", the multidimensional approach supports and encourages the mode of integration, also known as "pluralism" or "multiculturalism". The latter is strongly connected to the "social identity theory" which contends that an individual's identity is a major factor in a person's self-image and adjustment in the new country (Tajfel, 1974). Since in an inter-cultural transition the immigrant is confronted with great difficulties and hardships, multiple identities may ease the acculturation process (Hutnik, 1991; Phinney, 1995). In other words, it is the mode of integration, with its multiple identities, that allows for a better adjustment and contributes to the well being of the immigrant (Masgoret & Gardner, 1999; Bosher, 1997, Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2003). Second language learning was also found to be easier when the

mode of integration was the one chosen by an immigrant (Kelly et al., 1993; Lanca et al., 1994).

Cultural adaptation in Israel

Israel, known as a country which has absorbed thousand of immigrants since its establishment, traditionally followed the mode of assimilation known as the "Israeli melting pot" (e.g. Adler, 1963; Bar-Yosef, 1968; Selzer, 1971; Ben-Rafael, 1994). The social and cultural discourse transmitted to the immigrants by using overt and covert messages was to neglect their heritage language and culture and adopt as quickly as possible the hegemonic language and culture.

Starting from the 70s, and especially during the 90s, with the arrival of a mass migration of immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, important changes took place in the Israeli society, which could have supported other modes of acculturation than the assimilatory one. These changes included the feeling that the revived Hebrew language has now been firmly established in the Israeli society and is not under immediate threat from the Diaspora languages (Ben-Rafael, 1994), with the ensuing official recognition of the importance of the home language by the Ministry of Education (1996); the growing awareness that in today's "global village" languages are valuable "social resources" (Shohamy, 1994); and finally, various social, political and economic changes in the Middle East region leading to a more pluralistic outlook (Spolsky, 1996).

Extensive research has been conducted in the past few years on the Russian immigrant wave of the 1990s, investigating patters of acculturation, cultural adaptation and linguistic preferences of these immigrants (e.g. Abu-Rabia, 1999; Donitsa-Schmidt, 2003; Eisikovits, 1997; Schwarzwald et al., 1996). Findings of these studies revealed that the preferred mode of acculturation among the Russian immigrants is the one of integration. While studying the Hebrew language and adapting to the Israeli society and its labor market, the army and educational institutions, the immigrants try to maintain their home language and culture by various means such as speaking Russian with family and friends and sending their children to Russian-based schools. Significant flaw of this earlier research was that it treated the Russian immigration as a monolithic group without putting much emphasis on its internal diversity. These immigrants come from 15 former Soviet republics and are, in fact, divided into two ethnic categories: the Ashkenazi group, which is the larger one (80%) and the non-Ashkenazi group (20%) which comes mainly from eight republics in the Caucasus and Central Asia: Georgia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan (Bram, in press). Most socio-linguistic studies conducted on the Russian immigrants generalized their findings from the Ashkenazi groups to the rest of the immigrants with relatively little research investigating specially non-Ashkenazi Jewish communities. The aim of the current research was to focus on one such community – the Bukharian Jews.

The Bukharian community in Israel

The Bukharian community in Israel is considered third in size among four non-Ashkenazi Jewish communities from the Former Soviet Union. Most Bukharian Jews were located in the republics of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and arrived to Israel during the 1970s and 1990s. For various reasons there are no exact figures as to how many Bukharians there are nowadays in Israel but their number is estimated around 125,000 (Fuzailov, 1997). The characteristics of this ethnic group are different from other

immigrant groups coming from the Former Soviet Union. In comparison with other groups, the Bukharian Jews usually kept their Jewish identity and faith, avoided mixed marriages with out-group members and kept close familial ties. The desire to immigrate to Israel also contributed greatly to the cohesiveness of the group (Pinkus, 1988). In Israel, many of the Bukharians are observant Jews and follow closely the Jewish traditions (Zand, 1988).

The language spoken by the Bukharians, known as Bukharit, is Jewish-Tajik and has been their language since the 16th century (Fuzailov, 1996). Most of them speak Russian as well. The purpose of this study was to investigate the acculturation process of the Bukharian community in Israel with the special emphasis on intergenerational gaps between parents and children.

Research questions

1. What is the level of language proficiency of the Bukharian Jews in Bukharian, Hebrew and Russian and which language do they use more often in the various domains?
2. What are the acculturation patterns and group identity of the Bukharian Jews?
3. What are the Bukharian Jews' attitudes towards the Bukharian, Russian and Hebrew language and culture?
4. What is the relationship between language proficiency and use, acculturation patterns, group identity, attitudes towards languages and cultures and satisfaction from life in Israel among the Bukharian Jews?

Research methodology

The sample

The sample included **240 Bukharian Jews** – first and second generation – who immigrated to Israel during the 1970s (55%) and the 1990s (45%) from various towns and villages in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Among them **128** were **students** (second generation) studying in various academic institutions in Israel towards an academic degree in different areas. Their ages ranged from 19-32 with a mean of 25; 67% were women and 33% were men; 63% of these student participants were born in FSU and 33% in Israel. Another part of the sample included **112** of the students' **parents** (first generation in Israel, their ages ranging from 40-65 with a mean of 53; 30% fathers and 70% mothers). The participants came from 30 cities and towns across Israel. The sample was not formally representative, but its composition captured the main social characteristics of the Bukharian community. Participants' socio-economic status can be defined as working class or lower middle-class: most parents worked in semi-skilled occupations that do not require higher education or accreditation, such as commerce and trade, carpentry, tailoring and hairdressing. A large proportion of the women in the sample (40%) were homemakers. Most participants described themselves as religiously observant or traditional. Most students (63%) had served in the Israeli army, as opposed to 22% among their parents.

The instruments and data collection

The research instrument was a self-administered questionnaire in the Hebrew language. The questionnaire was constructed specially for the study and included items related to the participants' background, linguistic knowledge and usage,

acculturation patterns, group identity, attitudes towards languages and cultures, and general satisfaction with the life in Israel. The questionnaire was validated using factor analysis with satisfactory reliability measures of 0.80 and above. All questionnaire items were constructed as Likert scales of 1 to 5, with 5 denoting higher degrees of proficiency and usage and more positive perceptions and attitudes.

From a list of names received from the community organization of Bukharian Jews in Israel, questionnaires were sent to 644 families who met the eligibility criteria for this research. Each family was sent two questionnaires (a total of 1288 questionnaires) – one for the student and one for the parent. Response rate was 19%, i.e. low but fairly typical for most Israeli postal surveys.

Findings

The findings are presented in the order of our four research questions.

1. Language proficiency and usage

Table 2 displays information as to the mother tongue(s) and home language(s) of the immigrants. Table 3 displays the means reflecting the level of language proficiency of the immigrants in Bukharian, Russian and Hebrew. Table 4 presents the degree of use of each language. Differences between the two generations (students vs. parents) as well as differences among the three languages (Bukharian, Russian, and Hebrew) were tested by using analysis of variance procedures in the SPSS package.

As presented in Table 2, while the mother tongues of the students are mostly Russian (42%) or Hebrew (37%), the mother tongues of the parents are Bukharian (46%) and Russian (37%). Most of the students (69%) mentioned Bukharian as one of their home languages.

Table 3 demonstrates that the best linguistic knowledge reported by the students is first and foremost Hebrew, then Russian and finally Bukharian. The parents self reported to know well all three languages and yet, Russian was still the highest, then Hebrew and lastly Bukharian.

In table 4 it is apparent that both groups – students and their parents - use mostly Hebrew (4.51 and 3.63 respectively) followed by Russian, with Bukharian being used the least. Nevertheless, significant differences were found between the two generations with parents using more Bukharian and Russian and their children using mostly Hebrew.

2. Modes of acculturation

Findings related to the four modes of acculturation: integration, assimilation, segregation, and deculturation among the two generations are displayed in Table 5. Table 6 presents the findings related to group identity: Bukharian, Russian and Israeli.

As presented in Table 5, the preferred mode of acculturation among both generations is that of the integration (3.76 among the students, 4.37 among their parents). The other three modes of acculturation received a much lower rating by both generations.

According to Table 6, the students identified themselves mainly as Israelis (4.16), then as Bukharians (2.86) and lastly as Russians (2.30). Among the parents it is the Bukharian identity that topped (3.92), followed by the Israeli identity (3.41) with the Russian identity placed last (2.80). The Russian identity, which appears last in both groups, is still more dominant among the parents. To conclude, while the students

identified themselves mostly as Israelis, their parents identified themselves mostly as Bukharians and, yet, all three identities seem to play a significant role in their self identification.

3. Attitudes towards languages and cultures

Students' and parents' attitudes towards the three languages and cultures - Bukharian, Russian and Hebrew - are displayed in Tables 7 and 8, respectively. Table 9 presents the attitudes towards maintenance of the Bukharian language and culture.

As noted in Table 7, positive attitudes were portrayed by both generations towards all three languages and yet, the most positive attitudes were displayed towards the Hebrew language with no significant differences between students and parents (4.36 and 4.43 respectively). No significant differences were found between the attitudes portrayed towards Russian and Bukharian and yet, the attitudes of the parents towards the two languages were more positive (4.13 and 4.02) than that of the younger generation (3.48 and 3.28).

It can be seen in Table 8 that students' attitudes towards the Israeli culture (4.32) are more positive than their attitudes towards the Bukharian culture, while an inverse situation is found among the parents, with the Bukharian culture (4.43) overriding the Israeli one (3.99). In both groups the Russian culture was placed last, but parents' expressed more positive attitudes towards the Russian culture (3.25) than their children (2.77).

Both generations hold very positive attitudes towards the maintenance of the Bukharian language and culture, with a stronger preference voiced by the parents. It is worth noting that the variable "attitudes towards language maintenance" was based on 5 items in the questionnaire (Cronbach's alpha = 0.80): maintenance of language, traditions, behaviors, proverbs, and food. Analysis of each item separately reveals a similar pattern in both generations with the strongest support for the maintenance of food (4.73 and 4.82) and the lowest support for the maintenance of behaviors (2.96 and 3.95). Maintaining the language (4.06 and 4.45), proverbs (3.97 and 4.45) and tradition (3.96 and 4.45) was in the middle.

In addition, participants were required to state, in an open-ended question, their opinions as to how could the Bukharian culture be maintained. 48 students and 14 parents responded to this question and suggested ideas that represent five possible frameworks which could support such maintenance: (1) Individual (for example: by reading books and self-study); (2) The family (for example: transferring knowledge from one generation to the other and using the language in the home domain); (3) The Bukharian community (for example: maintenance of a richer communal life and more communal activities); (4) The educational system (for example: publishing Bukharians textbooks and studying Bukharian as a second language) and (5) The Israeli society (for example: Bukharian broadcasts in the electronic media, exhibitions, conferences, and press).

Analysis of the responses provided by the two generations reveals that while the students expect to receive more help from the community (38%) and the Israeli society (38%) in the maintenance of culture and language, their parents emphasize mostly the community (71%) and do not rely at all on outside agents such as the Israeli society and the educational system.

4. Correlations between modes of acculturation, language proficiency and usage, identity, and life satisfaction

Pearson correlations were computed to examine the relationships between the above-stated aspects of acculturation and life satisfaction. Findings show that immigrants who follow the mode of integration are more proficient in the Bukharian language (r=.37, r=.47), tend to use Bukharian in everyday life (r=.46, r=.34), posses a stronger Bukharian identity (r=.58, r=.67), hold more positive attitudes towards the Bukharian language (r=.48, r=.38) and its culture (r=.66, r=.72), and have a stronger desire to maintain the language (r=.66, r=.64). All these correlations were found to be significant among both generations. In addition, it was detected that the propensity to integration mode (versus other modes of acculturation) was positively correlated with life satisfaction in Israel (r=.25 in both generations).

The inverse pattern of negative correlations was found between the above variables and the mode of assimilation. No significant correlations were found between the modes of acculturation and knowledge and usage of Hebrew, attitudes towards the Hebrew language, and Israeli identity.

Finally, parents who had served in the Israeli army were found to be more proficient in Hebrew and to have a stronger Israeli identity. Students who had served in the military were found to posses lower levels of proficiency in Bukhaian language and a weaker Bukharian identity, with predominantly Israeli language and identity orientations.

Summary and conclusions

The purpose of this research was to investigate the acculturation process of immigrants belonging to the Bukharian community in Israel. The investigation focused on intergenerational gaps between immigrant children and their parents.

The results of the study attest to the fact that the preferred mode of acculturation among both generations is the integrative one in comparison with the three other modes: assimilation, segregation, and de-culturation. This finding reveals a desire of the immigrants to adapt to the new culture and acquire the new second language, while at the same time maintaining their linguistic and cultural heritage. Opting for the integrative mode of acculturation goes hand in hand with the positive attitudes expressed by the immigrants of both generations towards the Hebrew language, and with the desire to maintain the Bukharian language and culture. These findings are in agreement with previous research conducted on the Russian immigrants (e.g. Donitsa-Schmidt, 2003).

Intergenerational gaps, in relation to the issue of cultural maintenance, were found in the perceptions of each generation as to the ways of achieving maintenance. While parents put more emphasis on the family and community as those responsible for such maintenance, their children expect the aid of external sources and mentioned the Israeli society and educational system as potential agents in this respect. This finding is in line with other research that focused and highlighted the importance of wider socialization mechanism and processes in society aiding in ethnic language maintenance (Fishman, 1991).

Findings of the research suggest that the desire to maintain the Bukharian language and culture does not come at the expense of the Hebrew language and culture. The attitudes of both generations towards Hebrew and Israeli culture were very positive.

Moreover, these attitudes were even more positive than the ones displayed towards Bukharian language and traditions. The gap between the strong desire to maintain Bukharian traditions on the one hand, and the less positive attitudes expressed towards it could be explained when examining the different factors which were included in the maintenance variable. According to both generations, the most important cultural aspect that needs to be maintained is the community's traditional food while the behavioral aspect was ranked last. It could, therefore, be seen that the aspect which needs to be maintained is mostly a folkloristic one hinting that the process of acculturation is, in fact, more assimilatory that integrative. This pattern of acculturation is known as "assimilation in disguise" or "temporary pluralism"; a pattern which gives the illusion of being integrative while, de facto, it is more assimilative with maintenance of mainly symbolic and folkloristic aspects of ethnicity (Sever, 2004).

Thus, the findings of this research support Berry's multidimensional model of acculturation (1980, 1997) and strengthen the claim that maintenance of the old culture and language do not come at the expense of the adoption of the new language and culture. Evidence for the possibility for multiple identities to coexist without conflict can also be found in this research where both generations reported on identifying themselves as Israelis as well as Bukharians. And yet, while among the parents, these two identities are fairly close with the Bukharian being slightly stronger than the Israeli one, among the students, the Israeli identity was significantly predominant. These findings also hint at a long-term process of assimilation among the Bukharian community with the younger generation slowly loosing its heritage identity.

An additional finding that supports the importance of the integrative mode is the positive correlation found between this mode and satisfaction with life in Israel. The significant and identical correlation among both generations corroborates previous research that showed that well-being is higher in the mode of integration than in the alternative modes (e.g. Masgoret & Gardner, 1999).

It could be seen, then, that the mode of integration which combines elements from the Bukharian and Israeli cultures does not come at the expense of acquiring the Hebrew language. Findings of this research reveal high levels of proficiency in the Hebrew language among both generations; levels that do not lag behind the knowledge of the Bukharian language and even surpasses it, especially among the students. In addition, the use of the Bukharian language is much more limited in comparison with the Hebrew language, and that is despite the fact that many of the parents report Bukharian to be their first language. It is clear, therefore, that Bukharian remained mainly a home language which is used for everyday minimal conversation skills limited mostly to the home, family and close community. The literacy skills in Bukharian were also found to be very low in comparison with the other languages. And so, in relation to the language proficiency and usage, there is a process that follows the assimilatory pattern in which there is a natural decline in the level of language proficiency and utilization of the language regarding the domains for which the language is used (Fisman, 1991).

Even though there is a clear preference among the Bukharian immigrants towards the integrative mode of acculturation and that their attitudes towards the Bukharian language and it maintenance are very positive, there are significant intergenerational differences which point towards an assimilatory pattern. This pattern is apparent

mainly in the decrease in Bukharian language proficiency and Bukharian identity and an increase of the Israeli identity. Findings showed that the strongest decrease in Bukharian proficiency and level of identification typically occurred among those who served in the army. These findings support previous research which showed that positive attitudes do not necessarily guarantee language maintenance since there are strong societal forces which push towards assimilation such as the educational system, the military service, and the labor market (Carmeli & Faldon, 1998).

One cannot discuss the Bukharian immigrants without mentioning the place of the Russian language and culture since the processes of "Russification" and "Sovietization" in the former republics (Salitan, 1992) made its marks on the immigrants – the first language of many of them is Russian, the level of proficiency in Russian is higher than their level in Bukharian, and they use Russian in their everyday life more than they use Bukhrarian. Furthermore, the attitudes they express towards the Russian language and culture are very positive. These positive attitudes are probably a result of the status that Russian had in the former republics as a language of prestige and as a major factor in social mobility. Nonetheless, much ambivalence can be seen when it comes to the attitudes expressed towards the Russian culture reflecting the desire of the previously dependent republics to separate and distinguish themselves from "Mother" Russia. This ambivalence came into play in the fairly low levels of Russian identity among the immigrants and less positive attitudes towards the Russian culture in comparison with the Bukharian and Israeli ones.

To conclude, the present study exhibits, on the one hand, the advantages of the integrative mode and at the same time shows that societal forces slowly push towards a mode of assimilation, as was also found in previous studies (e.g. Donitsa-Schmidt, 2003). These predominant forces prove that the Israeli society is not ready for true pluralism and that the myth of monolingual unity is still very much a part of the hegemonic discourse closely connected to ideological, political and social issues (Shohamy, 1994).

Table 1: Berry's multidimensional model

Acculturation Mode	Attitudes towards	
	the original culture	the target culture
Assimilation	-	+
Integration	+	+
Segregation/Separation	+	-
De-culturation	-	-

Table 2: Mother tongues and home languages of respondents (in percentage*)

	Students			Parents		
	Hebrew	Russian	Bukharian	Hebrew	Russian	Bukharian
Mother t.	37.6	42.14	16.35	15.89	37.09	45.70
Home lg.	10.11	15.73	68.54	4.44	32.2	40.0

* Percentages could be more than 100% since there could be more than one mother tongue and one home language.

Table 3: Self-reported knowledge of Bukharian, Russian and Hebrew on 5-point scale

Lang. Proficiency	Students		Parents		F(p)
	M	S.D	M	S.D	
Bukharian (B)	1.92	.97	3.42	1.27	150.55**
Russian (R)	2.99	1.77	4.00	1.54	46.10***
Hebrew (H)	4.82	.58	3.70	1.21	104.65***
F(p)	201.51***		4.62*		
Contrasts	H>R>B		R>H>B		

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Table 4: Practical usage of Bukharian, Russian and Hebrew languages

Lang. Use	Students		Parents		F(p)
	M	S.D	M	S.D	
Bukharian (B)	1.65	.68	2.71	1.16	110.04***
Russian (R)	2.49	1.43	3.21	1.39	37.21***

	Students		Parents		F(p)
Hebrew (H)	4.51	.68	3.63	1.01	79.03***
F(p)	252.51***		13.43***		
Contrasts	H>R>B		R>H>B		

* p<.05, *** p<.001

Table 5: Modes of acculturation and group identity

Mode of Acculturation	Students		Parents		F(p)
	M	S.D	M	S.D	
Integration (1)	3.76	.94	4.37	.65	60.37***
Assimilation (2)	1.97	.83	1.83	.81	3.92*
Segregation (3)	1.88	.73	2.20	.86	23.61***
Separation (4)	1.66	.79	1.52	.69	2.56
F(p)	166.72***		293.97***		
Contrasts	1<2,3<4		1<3<2<4		

* p<.05, *** p<.001

Table 6: Group identity

Group Identity	Students		Parents		F(p)
	M	S.D	M	S.D	
Bukharian (B)	2.86	1.10	3.92	1.04	102.21***
Russian (R)	2.30	1.44	2.80	1.35	20.07***
Israeli (I)	4.16	.91	3.41	1.08	54.46***
F(p)	71.23***		21.09***		
Contrasts	I>B>R		B>I>R		

*** p<.001

Table 7: Attitudes towards languages (5 for the most positive)

Language	Students		Parents		F(p)
	M	S.D	M	S.D	
Bukharian (B)	3.28	.99	4.02	1.05	39.94***
Russian (R)	3.48	1.27	4.13	1.17	29.16***

Hebrew (H)	4.36	.69	4.43	.65	.00
F(p)	44.52***		4.96**		
Contrasts	H>R,B		H>(R)>B		

*** p<.001, ** p<.01

Table 8: Attitudes towards cultures (5 for the most positive)

Culture	Students		Parents		F(p)
	M	S.D	M	S.D	
Bukharian (B)	3.91	1.05	4.43	.88	24.70***
Russian (R)	2.77	1.28	3.25	1.36	20.61***
Israeli (I)	4.32	.86	3.99	1.05	9.61**
F(p)	68.67***		28.51***		
Contrasts	I>B>R		B>I>R		

*** p<.001, ** p<.01

Table 9: Attitudes towards maintaining the Bukharian language and culture

	Students		Parents		F(p)
	M	S.D	M	S.D	
Desire to maintain	3.94	.79	4.42	.71	36.60***

*** p<.001

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