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# INTEGRATION PATTERNS OF ROMANIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE ISRAELI SOCIETY: SOCIOPOLITICAL ASPECTS

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## ABSTRACT

*This paper comprises parts of the theoretical and empirical research that I have conducted for my PhD studies. The theoretical structure focuses on the evaluative framework of capabilities, as it has been developed by Martha Nussbaum and the social and political aspects of Thomas Janoski's operationalization of citizenship. The analytical framework that I came up with was further applied on the interviews that I have conducted with Romanian olim in Israel. This allowed me to come up with significant results concerning their integration within the Israeli society. These results cover aspects that belong to areas of one's social, political, cultural life. The empirical research itself was a qualitative one with semi-structured interviews, while the results were further analyzed using the discourse analysis method.*

## KEYWORDS

- Israel
- Romanian olim
- immigration
- integration
- capabilities
- citizenship

## Introduction

My research is about immigration, more exactly the immigration of Romanian Jews to Israel. It is not connected to the process of emigration itself, or to the relationships between Romania and Israel on this matter, along the history. My interest is with immigrants' integration process in the Israeli society.

## Theoretical Framework

*Capabilities Approach: Normative Evaluative Framework.* My interest is that of researching how the integration of Romanian olim happens through exercising social and political rights, as citizens of the country. I was interested in the immigrants' perspective concerning their integration for I wanted to see how someone with little or some language proficiency, with little or some knowledge

of the society, but nevertheless an Israeli citizen, with full rights, became part of the society. Therefore, I placed my research in the capabilities theory perspective, for I wanted to see how the integration of Romanian olim happened taking into consideration their actual beings and doings.

The capabilities approach is a normative framework used for evaluating the social structure, as well as one's welfare. Social structures mean public policies and also proposals for social change.

Therefore, capability is about the capacity of a person to function, taking into consideration not only the environment in which he or she lives, but also his/her capacities – beings and doings - to live.

This is the main general argument that determined me to place my research in this approach for it allowed me to study immigrants' integration considering their actual beings and doings, as well as the environment where they use their capacities they emigrated with and that allowed them to function. In my opinion, this is of particular importance when studying the problem of integration of immigrants in Israel for they had to find creative solutions since the very first day of their arrival. They must face a new country and society changes and challenges without initially going through a process of naturalization, as in the case of other emigration countries. How they faced the new society they immigrated to, how they integrated in it and how they answered to difficulties is what interested me the most in this research.

Amartya Sen was the first to introduce a theory of capabilities, while Martha Nussbaum developed this theory subsequently.

Amartya Sen introduced in the intellectual space the idea that a correct evaluation of people's welfare must be done taking into consideration people's capabilities. Sen developed this approach to evaluate the welfare from the economics perspective. This approach was also the main paradigm for policy evaluation of human development and it was the basis for United Nation's Human Development Index.

The main idea of Amartya Sen's work is that measuring one's welfare is not only about one's liberties and rights, but also one's actual capacities of taking advantage of them. Therefore, welfare is about functioning understood as activities the individual is doing but also the situation in which he finds himself. Functioning varies from basic concepts (e.g. to be healthy) to more complex ones (e.g. to be part of a community).

Martha Nussbaum's contribution relies with developing this idea in the social sciences environment and bringing a more concrete perspective concerning it when it derives from the research. In the 1990s, Martha Nussbaum brought important contribution to Amartya Sen's work. Her approach is more from a social-sciences side, Sen's being from a more economic point of view.

Nussbaum introduced a number of ten capabilities considered fundamental entitlements. These capabilities go beyond the geographic, cultural, religious, and national space, being considered universal. These ten capabilities are the following: life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation, other species, play, and control over one's environment (political and material). In my research, I consider these ten capabilities, yet I also add to the analytical structure that I employ for the research itself and the analysis of the research results, some of the fourteen capabilities that have been proposed by Ingrid Robeyns to investigate the gender inequality in Western societies. Although many of the capabilities that Robeyns proposes can be found among the ten offered by Nussbaum, the ones introduced by Sen nicely complete Nussbaum's list.

Nussbaum also classifies capabilities in three main categories: basic capabilities - connected with physical and mental aspects; internal capabilities – superior to the first ones and regarding the conditions the first may develop and the combined capabilities—referring to the internal and external capabilities and the interdependence between them. In my research, I consider the ten capabilities she mentions.

Martha Nussbaum is also the first to make the connection between the theory of capabilities and citizenship rights. In her article *Capabilities as fundamental entitlement. Sen and social justice*, she discusses this relationship. She believes that rights like political participation, religion observation, freedom of movement etc. exist only when relevant capabilities do exist; in other words to give rights to citizens implies to place them in the situation of exercising their capabilities.

Yet, she talks in her article only about the condition a State should assure that people might actually take full advantage of those rights, and she gives the example of women in India who have the right to vote, yet they cannot leave the house alone. My interest here is related also to internal capabilities, which refer to the actual beings and doings of people.

The novelty of my research is that of using the capability approach for evaluating immigrants' integration in their new country and society, considering immigrants' perspective, by employing Martha Nussbaum's evaluative framework completed with Ingrid Robeyns' work.

*Citizenship: Social and Political Rights.* Citizenship is an old concept in political science, which also faced changes in its interpretation throughout history. Its evolution showed a strong bond with social and political changes from antiquity until present times.

The latest important changes it went through were brought by the challenges the nation-state model underwent, both in perception and practice.

Two of the main aspects that are incorporated in citizenship, both in theory as well as in practice, are rights (and obligations) and identity that are shaped by the

complex and multidimensional character of citizenship that holds cultural, social and political elements. These elements involve rights and obligations that define one's identity in the framework of social integration.

Thomas Janoski brings into discussion four main citizenship rights: legal rights, political rights, social rights and participation rights. In my research, I chose political and social rights for the (preliminary) research showed a better connection between capabilities approach and these sets of rights.

The political rights refer to personal rights, organizational rights, naturalization rights, and oppositional rights. Social rights refer to enabling and preventive rights, opportunity rights, distributive rights, and compensatory rights.

Therefore, the theoretical framework that I have employed in my research is built on the capability approach and social and political rights of the citizenship theory. As previously mentioned, my interest in this research was to find out how someone with certain beings and doings integrated in a new country and society while focusing on his/her social and political rights. This last aspect was specifically allowed by the geographical context into which I place my research, namely Israel.

*Israel – Aliya and Integration.* The literature on emigration is vast, as researches on this subject tried to cover the many aspects emigration may have (financial, economical, political, tragic etc). The literature on aliyah to Israel is also vast, yet the subject is rich and offers the possibility of further research. The literature on aliyah from Romania to Israel was mostly statistical through Carol Bines' works, and socio-political through Radu Ioanid and Liviu Rotman's work. The integration of olim in Israel was the subject matter of significant research with a focus on the Russian immigrants. Still, the integration of Romanian Jews in Israel was less the subject of such important research.

A good and inspirational book on this subject is that of Zvi Gitelman. In his work, *Becoming Israelis: Political and Resocialization of Soviet and American Immigrants*, he discusses about *adult political resocialization*. In this book, he focused his analysis on the American and Soviet immigrants in the early 1990s.

In addition, the literature on the integration of the Russian aliyot (immigration waves) in the Israeli society, based on research that was done mostly in the 1990s, proved to be inspirational as well, especially when it comes to how it was conducted, methodological issues, and research results. I am not going into details concerning the reasons of his research, but only trying to extract the ways used for performing his research, as a starting point for mine.

The analysis of an immigrant resocialization should involve, as Gitelman puts it: the system from where the immigrant comes and his particular place in it, the changes in the immigrant's life as he moves from one society to another, the relevant characteristics of the host society and of the immigrant placed in it, and the mutual

impact of immigrant and the receiving society. When discussing about individual cases he focuses on: who are the immigrants and how they change with the passing of time in the new country, what are the immigrants able to do politically with their political knowledge, skills, resources; do their abilities change in time, what do the immigrants actually do – what is the nature and degree of their political interest, partisanship, affiliation, and participation, how do the immigrants evaluate the political system and their relationship to it, and how do these change over time ?

In my opinion, in his work, Gitleman proposes a framework of analysis of integration of immigrants that can be further shaped and developed with the help of the theoretical framework of analysis that I built for my research. Better said, I reconsidered his concept of ‘immigrants resocialization’ by analyzing how the Romanian immigrants to Israel made use of their knowledge, skills, resources that are included into the capability approach of Martha Nussbaum, to integrate in the Israeli society through the social and political rights as they are proposed by Thomas Janoski. I chose to draft a research on immigrants in Israel for it is a country that offered immediate citizenship of the country to its immigrants of proved Jewish origins with full social, civil, economic, political, etc. rights. Therefore, immigrants’ integration is taking place by already making use of these rights.

### Research Method and Analysis Method

*The Interviews.* My research is a qualitative research that uses interviews as a source of empirical data.

The interviews that I have conducted are ‘semi-structured’, for they allowed me to use the general plan for the topic that I built to discuss. This way, I was allowed to interview a larger spectrum of participants, and evaluate the way they answered, the length of their responses, and the topic they discussed.

I was allowed, as a researcher, to encourage the person to speak in ‘his/her own words’ and to obtain a firsthand story of his/her integration process.<sup>1</sup> During the first three - four talks, the interview was under a process of revision for the first interviewees brought under discussion topics that I have not considered previously when building the interview structure.

When referring to the interviews some important things must be mentioned:

- the interviews were conducted in Romanian language, and they took place mostly in the Winter of 2010 and Spring of 2011;
- I conducted thirty interviews that lasted from one and a half to four hours;

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<sup>1</sup> Martin Packer in his work *The Science of Qualitative Research* (Cambridge University Press, 2011) develops more on the art of using interviews as a qualitative research method, its pros and cons. Although I did read his arguments concerning this, it is not the scope of my thesis to talk and debate over this.

- they covered several life chapters that were the subject of my interview questions and were discussed during the talks I had with the interviewees
- the interview followed a certain structure that I developed after studying the main theoretical literature I considered for my study, and other research studies on the issue of other aliyah, especially the Russian ones, due to the rich research and inquiry material one can find on this topic. Moreover, this structure is also based on my previous researches on this subject, and this helped me build the kind of questions that would maximize the potential of the answers.

The interview structure is made of two parts:

- the first one builds on the social background of the person who made aliyah. The questions focused on certain demographic and socio-professional life aspects to frame a personal history where I would place my further research. The next questions will be built around the process of emigration and the beginnings as an Israeli.
- the second part of the research questionnaire focused on how the new olim understood and integrated in the Israeli society making use of their capabilities to use the rights their new citizenship provided. The focus here stayed on the political rights and the social rights, as they have been brought by Thomas Janoski's work.

The interviews were transcribed in the language they were conducted in and they entered a process of analysis. This process of analysis involved several steps for which I have used Adriana Baban's *Metodologia cercetarii calitative* (Methodology of Qualitative Research) and D. K., Padgett, *Qualitative methods in social work research* as well as the work of other researchers that have been conducted on the topic of immigration and integration of Russian immigrants in Israel and that are presented in the third chapter of this paper.

The first step was separating each interview into several parts, described above, that followed the interview structure. Therefore, I have separated each interview into three parts: the life before immigration, the life immediately after making aliyah and the integration time. Following this step, I built two tables, one was structured considering the ten capabilities proposed by Martha Nussbaum, to which I added the Ingrid Robeyns capabilities that I considered relevant for my research. The second table was structured considering Thomas Janoski's understanding of social and political rights, where I included each interview's sections that were relevant for each of those. For analyzing the content of each interview, I have considered the discourse analysis method. More exactly, I went through each interview and separated into sections that were relevant for the three parts mentioned above as well as for the two tables also mentioned above (Baban, 2002).

The second step involved finding some commonalities and making constant comparison of the answers. This last aspect helped me extract the generalities needed for the next step and the quotes that proved to be of the greatest significance.

The third step involved grouping the results of the previous steps analysis into some main themes and patterns and rewrite all in an objective language.

The fourth step was that of connecting the results of the previous steps of the analysis and linking these results to the theoretical background I have built for my research.

The last step was presenting the results into the form of patterns of integration with the aim of firstly reaching the main conclusions of my research, secondly, of showing their importance for further studies of the immigrants' integration in a society, thirdly, of bringing initiating steps for public policies dedicated to immigrants' integration in a society, including the Romanian one.

*The Interviewees.* The interviewees are Romanian olim who immigrated to Israel in late 1970s and early 1980s. Their age when they emigrated was around 30 years old and this choice was determined by several reasons. All of them came with their family, spouse and children, and in some cases parents and even grandparents. They received their approval for emigration from the Communist Romanian authorities after being rejected many times in a row. All of them experienced difficulties in emigrating from Romania (e.g. selling their house, getting the emigration papers, facing the bureaucracy and the cruelty of the customs authorities, etc). They also faced new changes and challenges as immigrants. All of them have educational backgrounds from Romania, meaning at least an university degree, and all have spent several years, yet not more than five, working in Romania. Their education belongs to the fields of humanities, social sciences and technical domains and most of them continued working in areas that were connected to their education background immediately after graduation, prior to their emigration.

The reasons for choosing interviewees that belong to this overall portrait are:

- Firstly, I was interested in choosing people who graduated in Romania and who also had the chance to work there for a few years. This reason lies on the theoretical background of this paper (that of capabilities and that of citizenship). Better said, I was interested in the capabilities given by their education, work, social, political and cultural life in Romania in the process of integration in the Israeli society, considering their social and political rights as citizens.
- The second reason is a practical one for a researcher; considering that my research was conducted 30 years after their aliyah. Their age is now around 60, so they are capable of having a coherent and structured discourse and are still connected to the social and political life of Israel.

The interviews were conducted with both women and men, yet I did not include in my research an analysis of the gender approach.

My research is a qualitative one due to several reasons that have been extensively detailed above. From all the methods that fall under the qualitative research, I have chosen the semi-structured interview for it allowed me to capture best of immigrants' experience. The interviews were conducted in Romanian and follow a structure made of two parts, whose content considered the theoretical framework I have used for my research. After being transcribed, the interviews went through a process of decomposition and analysis with the purpose included in the last part of the paper, that of reaching the conclusions. For the analysis of the content of interviews, I have used the discourse analysis method. The interviewees have a certain socio-educational background that was considered according to the theoretical framework I have developed for my analysis. The research results of my analysis show the relevant capabilities, from the list that I have employed in my research, the Romanian olim in Israel had to use for the social and political rights of citizenship, in the process of their integration.

## Research Results

As previously mentioned, my research addresses the issue of immigrants' integration, better said the evaluation of their well-being, considering their capability to function by using their social and political rights as citizens of the country.

My interest was that of analyzing the well-being of Romanian immigrants in Israel, considering their capability to function socially in a new environment. I place my research in the capabilities evaluative framework as Martha Nussbaum has developed it, for she created a ten capabilities list and because I was inspired by how her capabilities list was employed in analyzing subjects of different areas from social sciences. Moreover, in my research I also used some of Ingrid Robeyns capabilities list, considering that some of the capabilities she developed following her research on gender issues in the Western world do very well complete Nussbaum's list.

The capabilities list that I have came up with by combining these two lists mentioned above<sup>2</sup>, and that I have used in my research is:

2 Life: being able to live till the end of human life of normal length; bodily health, integrity, safety & mobility: being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction; senses, imagination & thought: being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason – and to do these things in a “truly human” way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training; being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth; being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise; being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid nonbeneficial pain; practical reasons: being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life; emotions: being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger; not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety; affiliation: being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another; having the social bases of self-respect and nonhumiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth



For the political and social rights operationalization, I have considered Thomas Janoski's approach<sup>3</sup>.

The list that I came up with after combining Martha Nussbaum and Ingrid Robeyns' capabilities list was important in my research for it guided me in addressing issues of immigrants' integration in a more practical way. The results of my research show the areas where these capabilities impact in the process of integration. I present the results of this analysis, as well as the outcomes of how their integration happened, taking into consideration the social and political rights as Thomas Janoski understood them. I present the combined results of my research that in connection to which are the relevant capabilities for one's integration considering the use of social and political rights.

My research is a qualitative research that uses the 'semi-structured' interview as a way of investigation. The data that resulted from the interviews I have conducted were analyzed using the discourse analysis method. (Further on, this topic was discussed in the introductory part of this paper).

*Capabilities.* In the next pages, I present to the reader the results of my research and the analysis of the research data considering the use of capabilities in the process of olim of Romanian origins integration in the Israeli society. It is very important to mention that I present only in a general manner the life domains that are relevant for one's integration, considering his/her capabilities. I did not include in my research any measurement of the impact of those capabilities in the areas that I mention; therefore, I will not present it.

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is equal to that of others; this entails provisions of nondiscrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin; other species: being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature; play: being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities; political & political empowerment: being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association; material: being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure; social relations: being able to be part of social networks and to give and receive social support; education & knowledge: being able to be educated and to use and produce knowledge; domestic work and non-market care: being able to raise children and to take care of others; paid work & other projects: being able to work in the labor market or to undertake projects, including artistic ones; shelter and environment: being able to be sheltered and to live in a safe and pleasant environment; leisure activities & time autonomy: being able to engage in leisure activities, being able to exercise autonomy in allocating one's time; respect & religion: being able to be respected and treated with dignity, being able to choose to live or not to live according to a religion.

<sup>3</sup> Political rights are understood as: personal rights: enfranchisement of the poor, gender groups, ethnic/racial groups, age categories and immigrants, rights to run and hold office, rights to form and join a political party; organizational rights: political lobbying, political fund raising, legislative and administrative consultation, political bargain; naturalization rights: rights to naturalize upon residency, right to information on naturalization process, refugee rights; oppositional rights: minority rights to equal and fair treatment, political information and inquiry rights, social movement and protest rights. Social rights are understood as: enabling and preventive rights: health services, family allowances, personal and family counseling and physical rehabilitation; opportunity rights: pre-primary education, primary and secondary education, higher education, vocational education and education assistance for special groups; distributive rights: old age pensions, public assistance, unemployment compensation; compensatory rights: work injury insurance, war injury pension, war equalization, rights infringement compensation;

As shown in the table below, some of the capabilities employed in my research (interviews and analysis) proved to be of great importance while others of low importance. According to their presence in the interviews I have conducted, the most relevant capabilities are practical reasons, such as affiliation, social relations, education & knowledge, paid work & other projects, respect & religion, being found in all the interviews. The next capabilities in relevance are senses, imagination & thought, political & political empowerment that I found in twenty-six of the conducted interviews. Shelter & environment was present in twenty-four interviews, while leisure & time-autonomy in twenty-three. Emotions are significant for twenty-one of the interviewees. Life, other species, play, material, domestic work and non-market care are not significant for any of the interviews.

Table 1. Relevance of capabilities in interviews

Capabilities	Presence in interviews
Life	none interview
Bodily integrity, safety & mobility	1 interview
Senses, imagination, and thought	26 interviews
Practical reason	30 interviews
Emotions	21 interviews
Affiliation	30 interviews
Other species	no interview
Play	no interview
Political & political empowerment	26 interviews
Material	30 interviews
Social relations	30 interviews
Education & knowledge	30 interviews
Domestic work and non-market care	no interview
Paid work & other projects	30 interviews
Shelter & environment	24 interviews
Leisure activities & time-autonomy	23 interviews
Respect & religion	30 interviews

Both Martha Nussbaum and Ingrid Robeyns offered to their capabilities a certain operationalization presented in the beginning of this chapter that I considered when analyzing my research. The analysis of my research also offered important results of the life areas to which each of capabilities is relevant.

Table 2. Capabilities and main areas of relevance

Capabilities	Main areas of discussions
Life	-----
Bodily health integrity, safety & mobility	- anti-Semitic reactions
Senses, imagination, and thought	- reasons for making aliyah - personal understanding of life in Israel - family and children
Practical reason	- planning the emigration process - early life in Israel
Emotions	- anti-Semitism, Holocaust, - relations with Jews and non-Jews, - community life in Israel
Affiliation	- ethno-religious, social, cultural life
Other species	-----
Play	-----
Political & political empowerment	- political reasons of aliyah, - political life in communist Romania, - political life in Israel after emigration
Material	- buying a house and goods - finding a job
Social relations	- relation with relatives & friends in Romania - relation with relatives & friends in Israel, - professional & personal network
Education & knowledge	- university & post-university, - training courses, - Hebrew language courses
Domestic work and non-market care	-----
Paid work & other projects	- professional integration in Israel, - professional (re)qualification, - use of Hebrew language
Shelter & environment	- living conditions in Romania & Israel - interpretation of living in Israel
Leisure activities & time-autonomy	- areas of leisure including Romanian arts & culture
Respect & religion	- religious life in Romania & Israel, religious traditionalism

The next pages are dedicated to a presentation and deeper analysis of the interviews by using the capabilities as they have been suggested in the writings of Martha Nussbaum and Ingrid Robeyns.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Due to space limitation, I decided to present the capabilities & citizenship rights research results in the form of tables.

Still, my focus will be only on those capabilities that proved to have a certain importance concerning immigrants' integration, political and political empowerment, social relations, education and knowledge, paid work and other projects.

### *Political and Political Empowerment*

The discussions concerning the political life evolve around political life in Romania, and the understanding of political life in Israel. The political and political empowerment means being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association.

The people I interviewed told me about their lives in Romania prior to their emigration, the difficulties characterizing it, the restrictions they had to face, with a specific focus on the spiritual and intellectual life. These limitations on people's major aspects of life, together with a very bad political atmosphere were one of the main reasons for leaving the country. Being afraid to speak, sometimes not having the basics in life and facing difficulties in obtaining them were among the most mentioned issues by the Romanian olim. All the interviewees mentioned the hardships they had to endure in the process of leaving the country, about the bureaucracy, about interactions with the state officials at the time, etc.

Israel and the political life in Israel were translated by all of them in the very beginning of their integration process by the feeling of liberty and the possibility to have free interactions with everyone. Not being afraid of what one would talk and with who was the most important mentioned benefit of leaving Romania. Considering this aspect for all of them, the integration in the Israeli society was easier:

One gets used to the new system; more freedom, everything is much more on the open. One reads, hears, speaks to people, and then finds his place in this puzzle. The freedom of speech, a thing for which one must be ready to learn, for there are persons that believe it to be very bizarre to say anything you want. This is a natural thing but one must learn that it is natural. (I. 17)

All the interviewees mentioned the fact that it took them quite some time to understand the political life in Israel, the political parties system and political agenda, the electoral system. This was difficult for also they lacked the theoretical background that could help them understood the practical issues. Another aspect that added to this difficulty was the fact that they did not know too much of the Israeli history and political life in general. The help came from relatives and friends.

The truth is that it took us a while until we understood it, because we lacked information in Romania. We were not informed on anything that was going on here. It took us a while to understand here; first to listen the radio and to watch TV one needs the language. We understood there were the left-wing

parties and Meretz that suited us, or at least, suited me, and the right-wing parties, Likud and others that, until not so long ago, were revisionist and nationalist parties, that didn't suit me. In order for you to understand what was going on here, you had to know a little history, more than we did at that time. There are things one catches on hardly, especially if one's not very interested, especially if one must search for something in Hebrew and that was impossible. In English, there were a few documents. And the life we had left us so very little time for this. So, we spoke to our relatives and managed to get an idea about everything. I have no clever answer to this thing. (I. 12)

The discussion on this capability focused on the politically related reasons for making aliyah, and on politically related reasons for the Romanian Communist State to allow the Romanian Jews to immigrate to Israel. The life in Israel connected with this capability referred to how the political life in Israel was understood and approached, concerning aspects that were not subject of politics in communist Romania, like elections or political parties. The Romanian olim admitted their difficulties in understanding the political life in Israel mostly for lacking the theoretical background in political but also for lacking knowledge on Israeli history and society.

### *Social Relations*

The social relations capability made also the subject of discussions that referred to both their life in Romania, prior the emigration and in Israel, post immigration. The social relations are understood as social relations: being able to be part of social networks and to give and receive social support.

The period prior to their emigration was largely discussed when it came to the help they received from their friends and acquaintances and that was very important in the context of direct and indirect difficulties the Romanian state authorities posed.

The area that related to this capability and that was mostly discussed relates to the importance of being part of a social network once one arrived in a new country. Not being part of the environments where usually one finds friends and makes acquaintances in Israel, like school or army, proved to be one of the main difficulties of the first months/years in Israel. These difficulties related not only to the professional life (finding a job), but to the social and personal ones as well.

In this country, there were many emigrants so, yes, everybody, well, not everybody, but many persons were emigrants. Do you know what being an emigrant is? The beginning period is quite hard. The period when I was emigrant, they were willing to help you, to explain, to help everything connected to inclusion, integration in society. You'd make friends in high school or in college, after that you'd stay friends more or less. Here, everybody has close friends from the army. I didn't got to the army when I was 18 years old,

as everybody did, so I didn't have any friends here, from the college or from the army, so it was difficult to enter the society, to be like that. But you do meet emigrant families coming from other places, not only from Romania, so we met them and, bit by bit, we were integrated. Today, we have friends here that emigrated from Romania, from Argentina, from the US, from Canada and so on. Step by step, you enter [the society] and you get used to this. I've been here for 34 years and I think that for the last 30 I haven't read a book in Romanian. (I. 4)

With the social relations are related also the difficulties in the interaction process by not knowing the social customs or behaviors:

In the morning when I started working, I began saying hello, saying "Good morning" and they looked at me like I was crazy, they thought I was making a mockery out of them. There are different customs and different behaviors and if you work in an environment as this one, the television, it also influences the work. One needs some time to know the reactions, to understand what they do and don't want. This is very interesting that and it helped me the fact that, in the end, I remained there and it helped me know Israel better than any university. (I. 2)

Yet, for some of them the relations with family and relatives were not as they expected them to be, especially related to the integration process. Some other received help from people outside family and relatives.

Those coming from Romania were very selfish, we lost a lot because we didn't know about them, things some knew and didn't want to share, unlike other emigrants from other parts of the world that would help each other. We lost a lot because we didn't know about them. I don't know...all sorts of financial aids Joint and the Jewish agency would give. (I. 19)

The social relations capability is connected to both their previous life in Romania as well as their life in Israel. The emigration process involved, for the people I interviewed, a help from people that used to be part of the social networks they had in Romania. In Israel, the integration process needed also help from friends and acquaintances. This here a problem would arise from the fact that the Romanian olim did not attend places and/or institutions that were designed to bring people together, make them socialize and form a social network, like school or army. The importance of a social network as a way of receiving and offering help and social support was mentioned by all the Romanian olim.

### *Education and Knowledge*

The education and knowledge capability was the topic of all the talks I had with Romanian olim to Israel. This was a quite inescapable topic since all of them faced the challenges of using their academic and professional knowledge acquired

in Romania. This academic background was for most of the interviewees improved, added, and sometimes involved getting a very new academic and professional one. In the capability approach education and knowledge is understood as education & knowledge: being able to be educated and to use and produce knowledge.

The topic of education made sometimes the subject of unexpected answers, as for example, the impossibility of getting the academic education once wanted in Romania pushed the interviewee to make finally the decision of leaving the country:

Due to the lack of everything, because I wasn't accepted in a regular college, all the places would be previously sold to foreign students, the lack of food, of everything, of freedom. (I.18)

One of the most important subjects related to this capability focused on acquiring the Hebrew language, as a first step of integrating in the Israel social and job market. All of the interviewees were fully aware that learning this language is a passport not only towards the professional integration, but also to social and cultural one. They spoke of the difficulties of learning the language that were great even for a graduate person holding a BA in philology.

My husband and I didn't speak a word and we are happy we didn't learn in Romania because those that learned [Hebrew] (in Romania) have a strange accent. So, it was better we started from scratch. It was very difficult to master the language although I spoke several foreign languages. I studied in ulpan 5 months, 5 hours a day, 5 days a week and it wasn't enough; I didn't even finish the basic verb tenses. After that, we took a dive, we did some efforts to swim and we managed. Today, we speak Hebrew, we can speak it fluently and express any idea, but we are experiencing problems with writing because it wasn't our main concern. I taught a foreign language so I didn't have to write in Hebrew, and my husband speaks a lot but writes so little because he's a music professor. (I.6)

Interestingly enough, many of the interviewees told me about the fact that they embarked on a life-long Hebrew learning journey with their children as teachers:

And, in general, the children here became our teachers because they speak better Hebrew than we do. But, they don't know literature. However, I don't have the courage [to learn more], I am at an age when change is difficult. (I.3)

Another area that relates to this capability is the studies in Israel. Almost all my interviewees, with very few exceptions, continued their studies in Israel. Their studies could involve professional training courses, Master classes or even PhD programs. This would involve knowing Hebrew language at a very high level, for all the courses and all the class work would be done in academic Hebrew language.

I attended a PhD course at the Hebrew University. 5 years of hard work, a thesis in Hebrew, at that time, one couldn't write in another language unless one was *ole hadas*. But I had come there 5 years previously when I began the PhD course, so I had lost my rights, the chance, so I had to write in Hebrew. (I.8)

The professional training in Israel is yet another topic that relates to this capability. Some of them did attend courses on the same topic they graduated from, that would allow a certain professional advancement:

No, I only attended continuous education courses. I attended a degree certification course, this meaning that my degree was instantly acknowledged, but for receiving the teaching right, more for proving that I speak Hebrew than for being taught how to teach English. I knew and was able to do that already. The education in Romania is adequate, one cannot say otherwise. (I.6)

Some other retrained for something else because their initial job could not help them facilitate the getting of a job in Israel. It is very interesting that even before arriving to Israel, many of the interviewees were aware of the fact that their professions would not "sell" very easily or even at all in Israel and they would need to attend training courses or even retrain.

Still, almost all of the interviewees that made use of their academic education in their professional life in Israel, discussed about how good was the Romanian educational system, and how appreciated it was in Israel. They found out this when they had to get themselves a job in Israel, when they arrived:

Romanians are very praised in Israel, mainly when they asked us, when we began to work, they asked us at the interviews, what year we had graduated college, and when they'd hear, for example, we graduated in 1975, they would skip the interview and go to the topic. Therefore, the Romanian education system was known and recognized, be one an engineer, or a physician, or a teacher. (I.19)

The educational and knowledge capability referred mostly to aspects concerning university, post-university education and training course, as well as the learning of Hebrew language and its use in professional life. The importance of being educated as the basis for building a professional life was acknowledged by all the immigrants, together with the problems posed by little proficiency of Hebrew language. Almost all of them had to go through a process of either further training to get new abilities connected to their professions or to get new level of education like Master of Arts or PhDs.

#### *Paid Work and Other Projects*

The interviewees discussed about their work and professional activity before coming to Israel and after their arrival. The way they understood their professional



background was very important in how they integrated in the society. Some of them came with very practical professions that could fit very well on the Israeli job market, others came, as one of the interviewee told me, with non-jobs, that would not fit very easy on the job market and that most of the times would require a professional reconversion. The paid work and other project capability is understood as being able to work in the labor market or to undertake projects, including artistic ones.

One of the first issues that I was told related to difficulties of finding a job determined by little knowledge of the language, which posed some of the main difficulties, although not too difficult to overcome. This was specifically difficult than usual for people that had a language related job, people that depended on the language in their every day profession:

My trade is a very practical profession because the graduates in Romania are raised, taught in both directions: they could be professors or they could work in laboratories. I couldn't be a professor in Israel because I didn't master the language. Then, I had students, courses in the faculty, and this was a problem, I didn't master the language and it is rather difficult to guide the students in Israel. (I.28)

Another important issue is connected to adapting to the new working standards, to some specifics of the professional environment culture:

Difficult, the first students group I had, considering that right now all students are presumptuous, but the medicine students were even more so, they were already Doctors. The first group I had, was for the medicine, hematology, and we would run the laboratories. I was extremely lost because I was nervous. I learned, I wrote down, I translated and so on and I was in the classroom with the group, one student had his feet on top of his desk, and when I said my first sentence, I made a huge grammar error, something that doesn't happen to me every day. At that time, this boy said "Hey, teacher, that's not correct". And I was extremely angry and this was my salvation because I got mad and I lost the nervousness. "Who are you, introduce yourself! 1. Take your feet off the desk, this isn't a bar. 2. Did you understand the sentence?" So he said yes, and I told him to listen, that he'll speak better Hebrew his entire life and my entire life and that he was there to study some hematology principles so he should shut up and take notes and then we'd see if he'd passed. And this made things move and if I remember it until now, it means it was a traumatic experience. (I.28)

A third issue relates to the working standards, which was another major challenge to which people had to adapt:

It was very difficult and the work intensity, here when they say 8 hours, one can barely find the time to go to the toilet, to drink a coffee. I imposed such a diet that I don't eat, during the day I don't eat. That was because I had

fieldwork and I didn't have any place where I could go to the toilet and then I wouldn't eat. So, I programmed my organism to eat in the evening and during the day, just a coffee. Now, recently, I began nibbling on biscuits. (I.15)

The fourth issue concerns the interaction with the work place colleagues and how this relation was managed. Besides all, the people I interviewed told me that they were much appreciated and respected for their professional determination, this including also professional advancement and achievements.

The areas of professional activity that became the topic of this capability referred to aspects like the adaptation to the working standards and to the professional environment culture.

The professional integration on the job market considering the qualifications and the level of Hebrew language proficiency was another issue to be addressed. These aspects were brought into all the discussions concerning this topic. Yet, the Romanian olim spoke about their success and even entrepreneurship projects.

#### *Capabilities Research Conclusions*

The interviews I conducted show important results connected to the capabilities evaluative framework that I have employed for my research. Martha Nussbaum's capabilities approach together with Ingrid Robeyns' perspective was used in this sense, together with their understanding of how each capability works in practice.

The results of my research show that immigrants' integration life reflects some specific aspects that are connected to each of the discussed capabilities that are to be found in tables included in Tables 2 and 3.

The already existing, the acquired or the improvement of capabilities has effects on immigrants' integration process.

As my research already showed, some of these capabilities proved to be present in all the interviews I have conducted. These capabilities are practical reasons, affiliation, social relations, education and knowledge, material, paid work and other projects, respect and religion. The relevant areas for immigrants' integration belong to their early times in Israel, ethno-religious, cultural and social life in Israel and their understanding, professional and social relationship as well as networks, university and training courses and Hebrew lessons, buying a house, finding a job with everything this involves, professional life and qualification in Israel, and the use of Hebrew language in professional life, understanding the religious life in Israel and interactions with religious communities. The next relevant capabilities, yet not too far from the previous ones are senses, imagination & thought, political & political empowerment. They were reflected in discussions that covered immigrants' personal understanding of life in Israel and also issues related to children and family,

Table 3. Capabilities, operationalization, presence in interviews and areas of discussion

Capabilities	Operationalization	Presence in interviews	Main areas of discussions
Life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- being able to live until the end of human life of normal length,</li> <li>- being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction</li> </ul>	no interview	-----
Bodily integrity, safety & mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason – and to do these things in a “truly human” way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training; being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one’s own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth; being able to use one’s mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise; being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain</li> </ul>	1 interview	- anti-Semitic reactions
Senses, imagination, and thought	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason – and to do these things in a “truly human” way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training; being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one’s own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth; being able to use one’s mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise; being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain</li> </ul>	26 interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- reasons for making aliyah</li> <li>- <i>personal understanding of life in Israel</i></li> <li>- <i>family &amp; children</i></li> </ul>

Table 3. (continued)

Practical reason	- being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life	30 interviews	- planning the emigration process - <i>early days in Israel (going to work / school, having a house and maintaining it, being involved in children's upbringing and their evolution in life)</i>
Emotions	- being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger; not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety	21 interviews	- anti-Semitism, Holocaust, - <i>relations with Jews and non-Jews,</i> - <i>community life in Israel</i>
Affiliation	- being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another; having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others; this entails provisions of nondiscrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin	30 interviews	- <i>ethno-religious, social, cultural life in Israel (family and relatives related aspects)</i>
Other species	- being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature	no interview	-----

Table 3. (continued)

Play	- being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities	no interview	----- - political reasons for aliyah, - political life in communist Romania, - <i>political life in Israel after immigration (political parties, election system, political freedom etc.)</i>
Political & political empowerment	- being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association	26 interviews	
Material	- being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure.	30 interviews	- <i>buying a house and goods</i> - <i>finding a job (reading the announcements, writing a CV)</i>
Social relations	- being able to be part of social networks and to give and receive social support	30 interviews	- relation with relatives & friends in Romania - <i>professional and personal relationships and networks</i>
Education & knowledge	- being able to be educated and to use and produce knowledge,	30 interviews	- <i>graduate &amp; post-graduate, training courses,</i> - <i>Hebrew language courses</i>
Domestic work and non-market care	- being able to raise children and to take care of others,	no interview	-----

Table 3. (continued)

Paid work & other projects	- being able to work in the labor market or to undertake projects, including artistic ones,	30 interviews	- professional integration in Israel, - professional (re)qualification, - use of Hebrew language
Shelter & environment	- being able to be sheltered and to live in a safe and pleasant environment,	24 interviews	- living conditions in Romania & Israel - interpretation of living in Israel and life environment
Leisure activities & time-autonomy	- being able to engage in leisure activities, being able to exercise autonomy in allocating one's time	23 interviews	- areas of leisure in Israel including arts & culture
Respect & religion	- being able to be respected and treated with dignity, being able to choose to live or not to live according to a religion	30 interviews	- religious life in Romania & Israel, religious traditionalism, community life

as well as the political life in Israel, with all the issues that connects to political life (e.g. political parties, electoral systems, etc). Shelter & environment is the next capability presented and it was found in discussions concerning interpretation of living in Israel and the life environment. Emotions is the last capability that will be mentioned, for the next ones were not reflected by the research I conducted, and it is connected to relations with Jews and non-Jews and with the community in Israel.

### *Social and Political Rights*

The social and political rights as they have operationalized by Thomas Janoski were the subject of the interviews I have conducted with Romanian Jews that have immigrated to Israel.

The reflection of social and political rights in the interviews I have conducted reveal which of them proved to be important and which to have no importance. The most relevant political rights for the interviewees were personal rights and organizational rights. The naturalization rights and oppositional rights prove to have no importance for the Romanian olim.

In the case of social rights, the distributive and compensatory rights have the highest relevance, followed closely by the opportunity rights. The enabling rights proved to be relevant for only twelve interviews.

Table 4. Relevance of social & political rights in interviews

<b>Political and social rights</b>	<b>Relevance of interviews</b>
<i>Political rights</i>	
Personal rights	30 interviews
Organizational rights	30 interviews
Naturalization rights	no interview
Oppositional rights	no interview
<i>Social rights</i>	
Enabling rights	no interview
Opportunity rights	24 interviews
Distributive rights	29 interviews
Compensatory rights	29 interviews

Thomas Janoski offered to its social and political rights a certain operationalization that I considered when doing my research. The analysis of my research also offered important results of the life areas to which each of capabilities was relevant.

Table 5. Social and political rights and their main areas of relevance

Political and social rights	Main areas of discussions
<i>Political rights</i>	
Personal rights	reading political press, listening to political, social news, interest in the Israeli political life (political parties, political institutions), election system & vote
Organizational rights	main reasons for not being involved in organizations, unions, political parties, reasons for being part of certain kind of organizations, unions, etc.
Naturalization rights	no interview
Oppositional rights	no interview
<i>Social rights</i>	
Enabling rights	no interview
Opportunity rights	different types of study, training, courses, etc, reason for attending further education in Israel
Distributive rights	retirement pension, health insurances, importance and reasons for their utility
Compensatory rights	the Holocaust and its sufferings, the compensation money, their destination and their necessity

Some of these political and social rights research results are presented below.

### *Political Rights*

**1. Personal Rights.** The topic regarding the personal rights is understood as enfranchisement of the poor, gender groups, ethnic/racial groups, age categories and immigrants, rights to run and hold office, rights to form and join a political party.

The interest in these rights was reflected in the answers and they covered certain issues. They showed interest in the political life of Israel by reading the Israeli newspapers, with a special emphasis on the political press:

I do read newspapers in weekends and the TV is always on in our home, we have to be informed. The news and the newspapers, it's not the boredom of Romania where we'd not turn on the TV because Ceausescu's or someone else's speech would be the same. Here, you turn on the TV and you don't know what's waiting for you, maybe another bomb attack and other things... (I.12)

All of the interviewees told me that they preferred listening to the news rather than reading them for it was much easier to listen to the news; yet some of them



would need having the news translated. If not, the political press in language like English or French was preferred.

The interest in the Israeli political life proved to be another important issue that relates to personal rights. The language was a barrier as well as the lack of theoretical information about political life and politics in general to understand fully the Israeli political life.

Another subject that fall under the personal rights category is going to vote. Voting was not only a right as all of the interviewees told me it was also a way of satisfying an ideal, to have a certain kind of life. The vote would not be given without any prior information that would be taken from different sources, mainly newspapers, or TV political shows.

Almost always one doesn't know who to vote, one hears, reads, and I usually try to read about each party, what they say, I try to refresh my memory, to focus on what's important for me, one day before the vote or on the elections day. On many occasions, I realized when I hesitate, I voted for something ideal, difficult to achieve (I.10)

Some of interviewees would even be involved in the elections through their jobs or as volunteers, and all of the interviewees see elections as being of great importance.

The personal rights would mostly be about reading and listening to political and social news and being interested in Israeli political life, mainly political parties and institutions, and the electoral system. The vote and going to vote was an important other topic of discussion that relates to this group of rights.

**2. Organizational Rights.** The organizational political rights proved to be of importance for the Romanian olim, yet they would see them more at a general level and less at a particular or community level. Thomas Janoski understands these rights as organizational rights: political lobbying, political fund raising, legislative and administrative consultation, and political bargain.

The understanding of these rights was for all of the olim in the name and to the best interest of Israel and less in the name and to the best interest of a certain community.

Yet, the Romanian olim's involvement wasn't so strong. The main reason for almost all the Romanian olim regarding their non involvement in political lobbying or organizations was an overall appreciation of their social and professional life that would not require any need for one to be a member of such an organization. Another reason is that one needs personal characteristics to make use of the organizational rights, if one sees them as being part of a lobby or pressure groups, or even a political party. A third reason for this was one's personal appreciation of

his Hebrew language proficiency that they considered to be vital in the lobbying or putting certain pressure to obtain something:

A fourth reason for not using the organizational rights refers to the beginnings one has as an immigrant that are connected to other interests and less with political or social organizations:

How could I put it? I never thought about this. As emigrant, one's first concern with survival and, how can I put it, with the personal success, which is a fight, and with the entire integration. Then, purchasing a home is a vital operation and it is difficult. And then, how can I put it?, I wasn't able to enter politics or to submit my candidanship for any position anywhere. For this, one had to belong to a group, to represent a team, someone, somewhere, and I didn't have [anyone] here. (...) The Romanian immigration is not very well organized and politically crystallized; it never was. (I. 29)

Still, the people that were members of some organizations had personal reasons of becoming such members, like for example being connected to children's education:

Yes, of course that we were very curious to learn about the education [system] here, in Israel and I wanted the children to get a very good education. And because in schools there are not only parents meetings, but also the parents have their own committee, so when my first child, the boy, began the 1<sup>st</sup> grade, I went to the parents committee and I became the president of the parents committee; for years in a row I did this. (I.6)

Some were members of the national professional unions yet without being active members.

They would know about their union's main interests and activities and if needed, they would get involved. However, they told me that being such a member brought some advantages in the end. Some of the interviewees would be members and would have even leading position in different professional organizations which play an important role in their professional life.

The discussions regarding the organizational rights evolved around topics like main reasons for not getting involved in organizations, unions or political parties, reasons that would fall under professional or personal areas. Yet, some of the olim would get involved into different kind of organizations that would serve to some very specific personal or professional reasons.

### *Social Rights*

**1. Opportunity Rights.** The topic regarding the opportunity rights would be around the rights to education and/or professional training. Janoski understands

this as pre-primary education, primary and secondary education, higher education, vocational education and education assistance for special groups.

The Romanian olim that immigrated to Israel had the possibility to enhance their professional and educational level through different course:

We went there and we found a list of courses that one could attend for professional reconversion; they were free because the ministry paid for them. And that's how we both began attending the same reconversion course. Something that suited us, what we had learned; one couldn't switch to something that was very inappropriate. (...) after the first year, I had a desire to [attend] a computers course, because I believed that was the future. My brother was working in the computers domain and it tempted me too. He was 9 years older so his example tempted me. But the army cut my wings very fast and then I returned to my trade. (I.13)

Other interviewees would be ok with their educational and professional life and wouldn't need any training or conversion course. Although very few, some of the interviewees have done courses, like master or PhD courses that were very important for one's professional and educational path.

The discussions around the opportunity rights would focus on the different types of study, training, courses the Romanian and the reasons for attending or not attending these educational opportunities.

**2. Distributive Rights.** These rights are understood as old age pensions, public assistance, and unemployment compensation. The discussions about this group of rights were first about retirement pensions and health assistance. Almost all the people I interviewed told me about the importance of being aware of these rights and of knowing them:

We came here when we were quite young, we were 26 years old and it was easier to understand, one tells you what you have to do and you do it, willingly or not so willingly. That is the lifestyle here and you must adapt to it, you must become part of it, you must learn. You will one day reach the pension age and you must know about them [insurances, pensions]. When we came here, the health insurance was different; it changed in time. So, in time, you learn, as everybody else does. (I.2)

Other interviewees told me about their experiences with the companies they used to work, and emphasized the fact that they did not have been fully aware of the retirement pension system and what it involved.

After 6 years, they changed the company. It had a different name before. I signed the salary payment slip for continuing to work. For me, it was a trap. After working 14 years for them, they told me that I had moved from one

company to another and was not allowed to receive any pension. “You did work 14 years, but you worked 6 years in a company and 7 in another” so, for me it was a trick I will never forget. It was a silly thing, a minor thing, but it misled me and I ended up getting social pension and not work-related pension. They gave me compensation in the end but I’m not entitled to pension. (I.22)

Still, most of the interviewees told me about the fact that they accepted to further work after they retired, because they could supplement the money they received. This was also influenced by the fact that many of them did not have the chance to work enough and so their retirement pension program could not offer them a full pension.

Having discussed this with people that are now in their retirement years proved to be important for they could tell of the successes and difficulties they encountered now, after many years concerning insurances and/or pensions.

The importance of the health insurance was the second to be addressed issue and it was understood by the Romanian olim either from direct personal experience or from indirect experience of the others.

The discussions on the distributive rights focused mostly on retirement pension rights and health insurances. The interviewees proved to be well aware of the importance of these rights and they also discussed about the problems they had in connection to them. Lack of knowledge was the main reason mentioned by almost all the interviewees.

### *Citizenship Research Conclusions*

The interviews I conducted show important results connected to the social and political rights that I have employed for my research. I have used Thomas Janoski’s approach for this.

The results of my research show that immigrants’ integration life reflects some specific aspects that are connected to each of the discussed capability. The political rights as Janoski understood them are to be found in all the interviews only in their state as personal rights and organizational rights. The personal rights were reflected in areas of life, like reading political press, listening to political, social news, interest in the Israeli political life (political parties, political institutions), election system & vote), while concerning the organizational rights the discussions were connected with main reasons for not being involved in organizations, unions, political parties, reasons for being part of certain kind of organizations, unions, etc.

The social rights were understood as enabling rights, opportunity rights, distributive rights and compensatory rights. Only the last three were present in interviews although not in all of them. The main areas of discussions in which the opportunity rights are to be found are different types of study, training, courses,

Table 6. Citizenship rights, relevance in interviews, operationalization and main area of discussion

<b>Political and social rights</b>	<b>Relevance in interviews</b>	<b>Political and social rights</b>	<b>Main areas of discussion</b>
<i>Political rights</i>			
Personal rights	30 interviews	Personal rights	reading political press, listening to political and social news, interest in the Israeli political life (political parties, political institutions), election system & vote
Organizational rights	30 interviews	Organizational rights	main reasons for not being involved in organizations, unions, political parties, reasons for being part of certain kind of organizations, unions, etc.
Naturalization rights	no interview	Naturalization rights	no interview
Oppositional rights	no interview	Oppositional rights	no interview
<i>Social rights</i>			
Enabling rights	no interview	Enabling rights	no interview
Opportunity rights	24 interviews	Opportunity rights	different types of study, training, courses, etc., reason for attending further education in Israel
Distributive rights	29 interviews	Distributive rights	retirement pension, health insurances, importance and reasons of their utility
Compensatory rights	29 interviews	Compensatory rights	the Holocaust and its sufferings, the compensation money, their destination and their necessity

etc., reason for attending further education in Israel. The distributive rights are connected to retirement pension, health insurances, importance and reasons of their utility, while the compensatory rights discussions went about the Holocaust and its sufferings, the compensation money, their destination and their necessity.

*Final research conclusions: the relevant capabilities in using the social and political rights*

The interviews I have conducted and the analysis of the research data showed me important and significant results on how the Romanian olim in Israel considered their capabilities for using their social and political rights in their process of integration.

By combining the research results mentioned in the pages above, I came up with the main capabilities that people need for each of the social and political rights that I considered in my research.

The political rights that were relevant in my research are personal rights and organizational rights. Personal rights referred to reading political press, listening to political and social news, interest in the Israeli political life (political parties, political institutions), election system & vote. Yet to do all these, the people I interviewed needed some basic capabilities like, for example, education and knowledge (e.g. Hebrew language courses), political and political empowerment (e.g. understanding the political life in Israel after emigration (political parties, election system, political freedom, etc.)). These capabilities and the form they had in the research I conducted proved to be important in the life of immigrants for using the personal rights, also in the form it resulted from my research.

The organizational rights resulted took the form of main reasons for not being involved in organizations, unions, political parties, reasons for being part of certain kind of organizations, unions, etc. For this, the relevant capabilities proved to be political (with again the practical aspects of political life in Israel), practical reasons (with the accent put on the early days in Israel that were dedicated to issues like buying a house and less to using the organizational rights), social relations (that refer in this case to professional networks), and education and knowledge (connected, as above, to the Hebrew language proficiency, yet also to other training courses).

The social rights that were relevant in my research are opportunity, distributive and compensatory rights.

The opportunity rights were understood as different types of study, training, courses, etc., and reasons for attending further education in Israel. To using these rights, the people I interviewed needed the education and knowledge, as well as paid and other working projects. The use of distributive rights depended of the existence of social relations and education and knowledge capabilities. The last rights relevant to my research, the compensatory rights, related to affiliation in the sense of family and relatives related aspects in Israel.

Table 7. Relevant capabilities in using the social and political rights

Political and social rights	Main areas of discussion (life in Israel)	Relevant capabilities	Operationalization (Nussbaum and Robeyns)	Main areas of discussions (life in Israel)
<i>Political rights</i>				
Personal rights	- reading political press, listening to political and social news, interest in the Israeli political life (political parties, political institutions), election system & vote	- education & knowledge  - political & political empowerment	- being able to be educated and to use and produce knowledge,  - being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association	- Hebrew language courses  - political parties, election system, political freedom etc. in Israel
Organizational rights	- main reasons for not being involved in organizations, unions, political parties, reasons for being part of certain kind of organizations, unions etc.	- political & political empowerment  - practical reasons	- being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association  - being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life  - being able to be part of social networks and to give and receive social support  - being able to be educated and to use and produce knowledge	- political parties, election system, political freedom etc., in Israel  - early days in Israel (going to work/school, having a house and maintaining it, being involved in children's upbringing and their evolution in life)  - professional and personal relationships and networks  Hebrew language courses

Table 7. (continued)

Naturalization rights	no interview	no interview	
Oppositional rights	no interview	no interview	
<i>Social rights</i>			
Enabling rights	no interview	no interview	
Opportunity rights	- different types of study, training, courses etc, reason for attending further education in Israel	- education & knowledge  - paid work & other projects	- graduate & post-graduate, training courses, Hebrew language courses  - professional integration in Israel, - professional (re) qualification, - use of Hebrew language
Distributive rights	- retirement pension, health insurances, importance and reasons of their utility	- social relations  - education & knowledge	- being able to be educated and to use and produce knowledge,  - being able to work in the labor market or to undertake projects, including artistic ones,  - being able to be part of social networks and to give and receive social support  - professional and personal relationships and networks  - graduate & post-graduate, training courses, Hebrew language courses



Table 7. (continued)

Compensatory rights	<p>- the Holocaust and its sufferings, the compensation money, their destination and their necessity</p> <p>- affiliation</p>	<p>- being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another; having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others; this entails provisions of nondiscrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin</p> <p>- ethno-religious, social, cultural life in Israel (family and relatives related aspects)</p>
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