"ולרב תרבותיות, כמה את נותנת?" לביקורת מושג הרב תרבויות בישראל

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This paper considers citizenship in a culturally diverse society, as experienced by the second generation of Jewish immigrants from North Africa to Israel. The Israeli Andelusian orchestra was established in 1994 in the immigrant city of Ashdod by the second generation of North African Jews. The establishment of the Andalusian Orchestra looks, at first sight, like one more case of ethnic revival that one should explore as multicultural citizenship, but my field diaries of research on the orchestra would have to be forced to fit into the multicultural mold, a move I was reluctant to make. Following the second generation of Moroccan Jews in and between the Israeli societies provided a rare opportunity to document and analyze the social construction of ethnic culture as high-culture. In an analysis of the policy of funding the arts in Israel, it is argued that, by its public statements, the state presents enlightened nationalism, yet at the same time practicing a bureaucracy of exclusion by adopting 'objective criteria' for funding. Thus, a research that began as an exploration of multicultural citizenship turned into ethnography of the politics of classification in Israel. Members of the orchestra refuse to employ ethnic categories in defining themselves, saying "If Beethoven was ethnic, then I'm ethnic". This paper offers an alternative way of thinking, analyzing citizenship in a polycultural society and focusing especially on the dialog between the state and different ethnic groups in a wide context. This approach involves investigation not only into the second generation of immigrants in a modern national city, but also into the concept of multiculturalism.