6-1-2016

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The American University in Cairo

School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

**ISRAELI CHARACTER DEPICTIONS
IN HOLLYWOOD FILMS (1948 - 2008)**

A Thesis Submitted to

Department of Journalism and Mass Communications

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

by Hanan H Omary

(Under the supervision of Dr Ronnie Close)
April 2016

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

The American University in Cairo

Thesis, Master of Arts, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication

Title: Israeli Character Depictions in Hollywood Films (1948 – 2008)

Author: Hanan Omary

Research Adviser: Professor Ronnie Close

Month/Year: May 2016

This research examines depictions of Israeli characters in Hollywood films over a span of 60 years starting with Israel's early years of statehood until present day. The films selected for this research are *Exodus* (1960) for early statehood and *Munich* (2005) and *You Don't Mess with the Zohan* (2008) for present day depictions. People have always been fascinated by Hollywood films since the inception of filmmaking. Movie-going audiences have flocked to movie theaters to watch the latest productions and see their stars in action. Therefore, it is important to understand what these characters represent and the messages they communicate to the audience. This research applies discourse analysis as its methodology, and framing and film theory as its theoretical framework. The research shows that the three main Israeli characters in these three Hollywood films are depicted as being consistent with American society values and ideologies.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Since the inception of filmmaking — starting from the Lumiere Brothers' *Workers Leaving the Lumiere Factory* (1895) and Thomas Edison's *Carmencita* (1894) — people have been fascinated by film, cinema and its magical effect of transcending reality and engaging its audience. California's sunny skies, variety of filming locations and safe distance from Edison's Trust monopoly lured filmmakers to west coast Hollywood, where present day landmark studio systems began (Dixon, et. al, 2012). Starting out with a handful of studios, Hollywood producers and decision makers created the dream machine it is today. When Jews immigrated to the United States, they needed "economic opportunities requiring a minimum initial investment, operating on a cash basis, and not containing a management structure of potentially hostile Gentiles" (Friedman, 1982, p. 7). At the time, there were no restrictions or barriers on Jews to work in the film industry and with the low cost of rent many ambitious Jewish newcomers began their entrepreneurial businesses by charging movie admissions in their neighborhoods. Part of their initial success in the film industry was attributed to them being immigrants themselves. They shared the same sensitivity of hopes and aspirations as the movie-going audience and neighbors (Gabler, 1989). By the early 1920s, as their small businesses turned profitable, they dreamt bigger and headed toward California (Friedman, 1982). With the expansion of the studio productions, they became more successful and were able to attract more talent to come to Hollywood. As they controlled more in the film industry, these Eastern European immigrant Jews had "the power to decide how the entire group would be presented to society as a whole" (Friedman, 1982, p. 3).

"Ultimately, by creating their idealized America on the screen, the Jews invented the country in the image of their fiction'…To this extent, The American Dream – is a Jewish invention" (Richardson, 2014, p. 4).

Hollywood has been reflecting, revealing and redefining Jews to its captive audience (Friedman, 1984). Its power, as a leader in the film industry in America and its global reach, lays with a group of Jewish European males who produce the types of films they want to see, or are being pressured to produce by their Jewish community (Cones, 2012). Therefore, it is very important to consider and examine the Jewish/Israeli representation in Hollywood films. The global power of Hollywood and its mesmerizing influence on the American audience and eventually the world is critical essentially because it can and has been shaping images and redefine groups, races and genders (Easthope, 1993). It is important to understand how Hollywood moguls depict Jews and Israelis within their American communities as outsiders or negatively within a society they want to belong to, especially interesting since these Hollywood moguls are immigrants, which essentially is a reflection of themselves and not so much about the actual Jews or Israelis in American societies (Richardson, 2014).

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will examine how Jews/Israelis have been depicted in Hollywood films. Jewish character depictions have transformed from negative, exaggerated and superficial characters into positive and impressive secret service agents and postmodern super-human heroes. With the political and global consequences of WWII, as well as the War on Terrorism, Hollywood's representation of Israelis has dramatically shifted from being 'outsiders' (Abrams, 2012) to the American community to becoming assimilated 'insiders' (Mart, 1996).

2.1 Primary Negative Stereotypes of Jewish Immigrates to America

In 1881, several Russian anti-Jewish decrees and pogroms pushed many Eastern European Jews to seek refuge and immigrate to the United States. Within 40 years, around four million Jews relocated and found new homes in America. As a result of this influx of immigrants, the Unites States enforced a restrictive immigration law, which constrained and limited the number of Jew immigrants. These Eastern European Jewish immigrants were mostly from villages, unlike their predecessors who came from a cosmopolitan background, and from isolated towns with minimal interaction with neighboring Christians. Despite their backgrounds, these Jews were able to adapt, learn and better themselves in an impressive time. Because they are always considered a minority group wherever they lived or traveled, Jews came to America dreaming of a chance for better lives and assimilation. They not only wanted to success and prosper financially, but because they have wanted to live and stay in the United States. They were unlike other immigrants, they had no

other place to go nor return to. That is why it was important for them to stay and feel safe, and have a sense of belonging when they immigrated to the United States (Friedman, 1982).

They took advantage of the free educational system and their adept skills in trade. Ironically, these "educational opportunities created a generation openly critical of traditional Judaism" (Friedman, 1982, p. 6). As they learned the ways of surviving and growing in America, they also learned that if they wanted to fit in and assimilate, they needed to leave their Jewish habits and religious behaviors behind. As minorities with no home of their own, they have always had the keen sense of not belonging, as 'outsiders' (Erens, 1984).

One of the first appearances of Jews in film in the United States and Europe, was in *Cohen's Advertising Scheme* (1904) and *Jewish Luck* (1925), early silent shorts in the 20th century. In this new film medium they were negatively depicted as "a subhuman, avaricious, unrefined, venal, grasping, greedy, shifty and menacing cheat and/or dangerous subversive" (Abrams, 2012, p. 2). Viewed as outsiders, feared by others and untrustworthy, the Jew was represented negatively as greedy, violent, money-focused merchants, and physically exaggerated with hunched backs, big noses, and darkened complexion (Abrams, 2012). "In the brief period between 1921 and 1929, approximately 319 features with recognizable Jewish characters appeared. There were, of course, those films presenting the era's stereotypes, like the clever Jew" (Bernardi, et al., 2013, p. 21). One of the most prominent films of the time was *The Yiddisher Cowboy* (1911), which depicts a Jewish cowboy humiliated by other cowboys. He cleverly starts up a pawnshop in anticipation that as the cowboys return

from their time at the brothel, they will need to sell their guns. Here, the Jew is classically depicted as physically weak as he was unable to fend from himself, a victim, but he prevailed as a witty merchant (Erens, 1984).

Two other films based on popular literary adaptations are Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* and Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist*, which further emphasized the stereotypes of Jews at that time. In all the remakes of these films, neither Shylock nor Fagin are depicted positively.

> "Conniving, scheming, dirty Jew who trains boys to steal and then keeps the proceeds for himself.... or as very old shriveled Jew, who villainous-looking and repulsive face was obscured by a quantity of matted red hair... and distorted every feature with a hideous grin" (Erens, 1984, p. 68).

2.2 Jewish Moguls Take Over Hollywood

When Jewish film moguls took over Hollywood in the mid-1910s, there was a shift from negative depictions toward sympathetic and 'insider' images. Some of these moguls included Paramount's Jesse Lasky, Adolf Zukor, and B.P. Schulberg; MGM's Marcus Loew, Samuel Goldwyn, Joseph Schenck and Louis B. Mayer; Columbia's Harry and Jack Cohn; Jack and Harry Warner; Universal Studios' Irving Thalberg and Carl Laemmle; and William Fox (Abrams, 2012). They were able to adjust the negative stereotype previously depicted of Jews. A new set of images portrayed the Jewish family with its traditional, old-style father; a rebellious son; a distressed Jewish mother; and a Jewish American princess. The genre of films depicting these character types included *Old Isaacs, the Pawnbroker* (1908), *Little Jewess* (1914), *Threads of Destiny* (1915), *His People* (1925) and *The Jazz Singer* (1927) (Abrams, 2012).

Two key films stand out as clear depictions of Jews: *His People* and *The Jazz*

Singer. In *His People* (1925), Morris and Sammy, the sons of a poor Jewish Russian handcart peddler, break from Jewish traditions and religious celebrations and succeed in their careers in America. Morris, the elder son, becomes a successful lawyer and climbs his way into the American social ladder. Sammy, the rebellious son, becomes a winning boxing champion despite his father's disapproval. After shamefully denying any relation to his father in front of his girlfriends' family, Morris returns home to ask for his father's forgiveness for his disgraceful actions. Morris hopes his father will forgive him and accept his new Americanized way of living. Sammy, on the other hand, wants to show his father that in America success is possible in many ways, not just through schooling. Director Edward Solman tries to emphasize the difference in their character depictions by making each of them wear different hats, "Papa's traditional yarmulke, Morris's stylish straw skimmer, and Sammy's jaunty cap" (Bernardi, 2012, p. 28). In the end, the father accepts both of his sons' new American ways of living and success.

The *Jazz Singer* is the first talking film of its time and was also nominated for the Best Writing Adaptation, in addition to winning the Honorary Award in the 1929 Academy Awards for revolutionizing the industry. The film ushered in a whole new film era as it challenged the traditional Jewish family representations. Rabinowitz is a traditional religious father "who stubbornly held to the ancient traditions of his race" (Erens, 1984, p. 102). He is a cantor, "dressed in a dark suit, wire glasses, a square black hat, and long beard, he is in all respects the Stern Patriarch" (Erens, 1984, p. 102). Jakie is the rebellious son who does not want to follow in the footsteps of his father and forefathers. His calling is to become a jazz singer.

In the film, Jakie represents the generational break with tradition and symbolizes the start of new lives in America. Even though Jakie leaves the house and

changes his name to Jack Robin, and succeeds in his career, he stays in touch with his mother Sara, the long-suffering Jewish mother. Loving and affectionate, she is saddened by the departure of her son. After many years, Jakie returns home and confronts his father saying, "You are the old world! If you were born here, you'd feel the same as I do…. Tradition is all right but this is another day. I'll live my life as I see fit" (Erens, 1984, p. 103). This statement says it all: How the traditional Jewish ways is no longer possible in the melting pot of the United States. In that sense, it is better to refer to this film as the end of the silent era rather than the start of the new sound era (Erens, 1984).

Just like other silent films of its time, *The Jazz Singer* highlights assimilating common American values such as financial success, intermarriage and freedom from traditions (Friedman, 1982). It addresses the conflicting old and new ideologies: "Judaism identified with the desiccation and doom of the past; show business identified with the energy and excitement of the future" (Gabler, 1989, p. 144). The film is also the summation of previous attempts of assimilation of the silent film era and narratives of future films until the early 1960s (Friedman, 1982). It highlights that it is the time of assimilation and becoming harmonious in their new homes, embracing the new modern world and leaving behind the old traditional thoughts. This generational conflict of tradition versus assimilation is resolved: the new generation wins.

2.3 Non-Jewish Hollywood Jews

Following this period was "the great retreat," which lasted from the 1930s until the mid 1950s, where Jews are hidden or faded from visibility on screen. "The typical trend was the absence of recognizable Jews in films that require their presence" (Abrams, 2012, p. 135). This was due to several factors, one of which was that the Jews wanting to assimilate with the American society and not to stand out as Jews, a desire to 'pass' as an 'insider' (Schrank, 2007). Some actors even underwent rhinoplasty (nose reconstruction surgery) to remove their prominent Jewish facial feature, including the famous comedian Fanny Brice (Schrank, 2007). Secondly, in the 1950s, the House Un-American Activities Committee was at its height of Communist investigations, and many Jewish actors and filmmakers were on their list of suspects (Goodman, 2014).

"The House Committee on Un-American Activities investigation into Communist infiltration of Hollywood deterred the Jewish owners of major studios from producing films that dwelled on Jewish suffering. Such special pleading might draw attention to their immigrant origins and alleged unpatriotic priorities" (Baron, 2010, p. 91).

Thirdly, and more importantly, was the Hays Code (also know as the Motion Picture Production Code, 1930 - 68), "which exercised tight control over the portrayal of religion and ethnicity, promoted a strategy of assimilatory Americanisation" (Abrams, 2012, p. 4). These three factors "de-Semitised" Hollywood until the 1960s. Starting from "the 1960s and 1970s, Jewish-American filmmakers began making

movies that explored Jewish self-definition after years of ignoring such issues"

(Abrams, 2012, p. 136). During that time, with the rise of Civil Rights protests among

blacks, whites, students and other minority groups, Jews were able to capitalize on

this phase and re-enter the Hollywood spotlight. It was at this time that Hollywood

started to address more openly the Holocaust and Jewish suffering. At the same time,

the perception of Israel changed after the 1967 Six Day War victory to be a military

powerhouse (Schrank, 2007).

> "The six days in June, the argument runs, made American Jews proud of
> being Jewish for the first time, willing to go public with their ethnic
> identity. Now Jewishness could be associated with something positive,
> strong, and triumphant, rather than with weakness and passivity. In
> essence, then, the military might of Israel made it acceptable for American
> Jews to look back to that ghastly era in which their people had "been led
> like sheep to the slaughter." After all, after 1967, no one could doubt that
> Jews could fight" (Diner, 2009, p. 371).

2.4 Weak, Victim, and Holocaust Jews

During "the great retreat" and despite Hollywood moguls' efforts to improve

the earlier Jewish stereotype, there were still negative portrayals and anti-Semitism

during the mid-1940s and right after World War II. Americans still viewed Jewish

people as outsiders and others, and stereotyped them negatively in Hollywood films.

Their depiction as outsiders entailed that they were not considered homogeneous

within the American society. Jews were depicted as physically unfit, weak and

awkward, unmasculine — even described as "men who menstruate" (Abrams, 2012,

p. 20), not able to and unwilling to fight, as well as "lacking standard white American

male sexual appeal" (Mart, 1996, p. 361).

The first film to address this anti-Semitism on screen was in Edward

Dmytyrk's 1947 film *Crossfire* (Erens, 1984). The storyline is of a murder

investigation of a Jewish victim, Samuel. The investigator discovers the hate crime was not of a personal matter, but of racism. From the start of the film, examples of anti-Semitism are easily recognized, for example, when Montgomery, a war veteran and suspect, expresses how Samuel's name seems "funny". Also when Montgomery later states that he called Samuel's friend, Kelly, a "Jew-boy," in a condescending tone (Erens, 1984). It was a common expression intended as an insult during that time period. It is also an example of the Jews' stereotype as being physically weak, being a boy, not a man. The murder or death of Samuel in itself is an example of weakness and passivity (Mart, 1996). This highlights Friedman's description of the 'old Jew' that Hollywood portrayed as "weak, ineffectual, and passive" (Friedman, 1982, p. 191). *Crossfire* is based on a Richard Brooks novel, but instead of making the film about homosexuality, it was altered to an anti-Semitic narrative (Erens, 1984). Despite the film being about anti-Semitism, Samuel, the Jewish victim and focal point, appeared briefly on screen and played a minimal role during the film. This invisibility of Jewish characters was common and consistent during that time period. (Abrams, 2012).

Shortly after *Crossfire*, the Academy Award-winning *Gentleman's Agreement*

was released in 1947, also addressing anti-Semitism (Friedman, 2009). *Gentleman's Agreement* is about a journalist, Philip Green, played by Gregory Peck, who wanted to write about anti-Semitism. He poses himself as an American Jew, changes his last name from Green to Greenberg, and experiences first-hand the community's racist treatment of Jews in their daily lives (Friedman, 1982).

Having assimilation as the main goal of this genre of film, casting Gregory Peck, a Roman Catholic, for this Jewish role was a case in point. As Abrams (2012) states, Hollywood filmmakers were keen on making Jews seem just like everyone else so they basically removed them all together from films and had Gentiles play Jewish characters/roles instead. Essentially, the Jews were neutralized and weren't even cast for Jewish roles.

With the end of WWII, the Allies' victory, and the production of several anti-Semitism films, many efforts were put into place to break this stereotype and improve the image of Jews from an 'outsider' perspective. As stated above, previously Jews were portrayed as outsiders, not homogeneously integrated within their societies. The portrayal of their 'Otherness', or as outsiders, is more the reflection of American society, than it is about the Jews. It is not a self-perception of the Jews (Richardson, 2014).

> "It is never easy to give recognition to the Other. Traditionally the response of society in general has been to expel anything that does not belong, precisely what is considered 'Other' (as dangerous), to the community. This may also lead to Otherness being rejected or suppressed within oneself since the urge to belong – to be part of a group which excludes those who are perceived to be different – is exceedingly strong within human beings" (Richardson, 2014, p. 12).

As a result of World War II's massive destruction and vivid imagery, the Jewish Holocaust survivors came to embody both the image of tragic victims, as well as heroic survivors (Mart, 1996). In his article, *Tough Guys and American Cold War Policy*, Michel Mart explains that with Israel's newfound statehood at the hands of America and with its physical weakness, the State of Israel was perceived as a 'newborn' country in need of protection and nurturing (Mart, 1996). With this metaphor, the United States became responsible for Israel and, therefore, the Jews

were portrayed as 'insiders' to the Americans; Western, not Middle Eastern; like the

Americans who will take care of them, and Jews were no longer considered as

'outsiders'. This is similar to the American Dream; the chance for everyone to

succeed in their life and prosper. No longer should the Jews be viewed as victims, but

triumphant and in control of their future (Mart, 1996).

Two of the most prominent films of these genres are *The Diary of Anne Frank*

(1959) and *The Pawnbroker (1964)*. Before *The Diary of Anne Frank*, no Hollywood

film depicted the Holocaust as anti-Semitism.

> "If, historically, the paradigmatic representation of Jews is as weak and
> passive, in film this was most evident in the Holocaust genre, in which
> Jews were nearly always portrayed as underserving victims" (Abrams,
> 2008, p. 92).

In *The Diary of Anne Frank,* by George Stevens, the story depicts an American

way of life, with "Anne's adolescence: her rebelliousness, her courtship with Petr, and

her gradual conformity to the ideals of womanhood" (Carr, 2001, p. 283). The film

depicts sorrowfulness by exemplifying more of an American experience and less of a

Jew in hiding (Carr, 2001).

> "Hollywood movies 'Americanized' the Holocaust by plucking positive
> stories out of a morass of suffering to communicate edifying messages
> that would be personally touching and politically relevant to their
> audiences" (Baron, 2010, p. 94).

According to Baron, the Production Code Administration censored Hollywood

productions of any Jewish Holocaust suffering or from explicit graphic images of

violence of the Third Reich (Baron, 2010). Only after "the widespread dissemination

of footage and photographs of the liberation of concentration camps and death camps

in newspapers, newsreels, and magazines in 1944 and 1945 exposed the American

public to far more gruesome images" (Baron, 2010, p. 93) was Hollywood gradually

able to produce films of this genre and to address the anti-Semitism war like Orson Welles's *The Stranger* (1946).

The Pawnbroker is Hollywood's "most successful attempt to confront the pain and trauma of concentration camp survivors" (Friedman, 1982, p. 184). Sol Nazerman is unable to escape his terrible past. Flashes of memory haunt him even though he tries to forget about his past life. As a pawnshop owner, he realizes he has the power to affect desperate people's lives in return for funds, just as the German guards had power over the lives of the Jews in concentration camps. When Ortiz, his Puerto Rican assistant, is killed, he is reminded of his dead son. When the prostitute approaches him, Sol remembers and is tormented by the vivid images of his wife's sexual assault by Nazis soldiers. He was incapable of freeing his friend who got caught in the wires while attempted to escape the campgrounds (Friedman, 1982). He continues to live his daily life as a 'walking dead', burdened with the guilt of survival, while his family was killed in the concentration camps. His survival is the state of victimhood, as he is unable to change or move on from his past. "Sol emerges as the archetypal victim — the Jew as Sufferer" (Erens, 1984, p. 281). In 1966, actor Rob Steiger received two nominations for the Academy Awards (www.oscars.org) and the Golden Globes for best acting in leading role, and actually won the BAFTA for best foreign actor for his role as Sol Nazerman. The film received several awards including the Berlin International Film Festival, Bodil Awards, Directors Guild of America, Writers Guild Award of America, New York Film Critics Circle Award, Laurel Award and National Film Preservation Award (www.imdb.com).

In alignment with the Israeli propagandist image, Hollywood films produced post-World War II (between 1945 and 1959) focused on postwar consequences and the status of the European Jewry, instead of focusing on their losses and the trauma they endured during the war (Baron, 2010). Film topics of this postwar period focused on five themes: 1- the refugee survivors in displaced persons camps or immigrants to Israel and the United States (seven films produced addressing this); 2- hunting and putting on trial Nazi war criminals (seven films produced addressing this); 3- thwarting neo-Nazi conspiracies (six films produced addressing this); 4- Jews escaping or hiding from the Nazis (four films produced addressing this); 5 - Allied Liberation of concentration camps (two films produced addressing this) (Baron, 2010). Hollywood treated the Holocaust tragedy through abstraction, exclusion, and metaphorically. Instead of focusing on Nazi discrimination, they would glorify American democracy and equality, as well as, nationalism. In Fred Zinneman's *The Search* (1948), the film's proposed solution was to immigrate to the Jewish Holocaust victims and displaced persons to Israel as a new home, or be adopted and move to America. Both nations gave promises of a new life and bright futures.

2.5 Warrior, New Jew, Hero and Mossad Jews

With the declaration of the State of Israel in May 1948, the Jewish/Israeli character was born in a new Zionist State. With a population comprised of Jewish immigrants, a diaspora from Europe, Russia and the Middle East, the newly founded Israeli government needed a unified victorious, strong identity. So it commissioned the production of national propaganda films to formulate the image of the "New Jew" and create a collective national identity post-war. (Loshitzky, 2001).

"Zionism programmatically mobilized anti-Semitic stereotypes to contrast the new Jew with the old European Jew. The latter was seen as weak, feminine, cooperative, 'marching like sheep to the slaughter,' while the new Jew was forceful, active, virile, and independent, fighting against all odds for his or her survival" (Brand, 2008, p. 169).
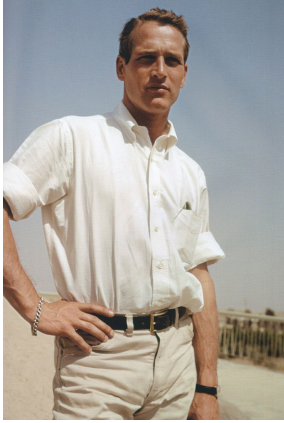
As the new global superpower after WWII, and with the onset of the Cold War, the United States became the protector and supporter of Israel. This new American political dominance could only be sustained by means of cultural and economic factors. "No institution has been more successful at binding together economic and cultural dominance on a world stage than Hollywood" (Richardson, 2014, p.1). Therefore, it is common sense to portray the Israeli character as "American"-esque in order to appeal to the American audience. Michelle Mart explains that in the film *Exodus*, Ari Ben Canaan (Paul Newman), with his American features and masculine build, has redefined the Israeli "new Jew" hero. Previously, Jews were considered Middle Eastern, not European nor American looking. This image needed to change so that the American people can identify with Israelis and support their new cause (Mart, 1996). Lester Friedman (1982) also describes Ari as a combined myth "of both the *Sabra* soldier and the American fighter" and with "filmic transformation of the passive Diaspora victim into the heroic Jew" (Friedman, 1982, p. 6).

The term "new Jew" is used by Zionists to describe the rebirth of Jews after the Holocaust and their survival of this tragedy. Its vision encompasses a Jew who moves to Israel with the belief that it is his rightful land, changing the stereotype previously portrayed in Hollywood films. *Sabra*, which means cactus or prickly pear in Hebrew, is also used to describe a Jew born in Israel, as well as meaning the new Jew (Abrams, 2012), tough with thorns on the outside, soft and tender on the inside.

This term has many interpretations, which can include Jewish, Palestinian, Holocaust Israelis or second-generations Israelis (Mart, 1996).

In Ilan Avisar's *The National and Popular in Israeli Cinema* account of Israeli cinema, he writes how *Exodus* as a "historical epic is the genre that gives meaning to historical time, displaying great events and heroic historical figures in a course of events whose final goal is the achievement of national victory" (Avisar, 2005, p. 131). He glorifies *Exodus* as "a war movie, a local Western, and a historical epic in one major film" (Avisar, 2005, p. 131). Not only did it have tremendous impact by instilling the new image of Jews and the Jewish State whose depiction lasted for more than two decades, but it depicted the early kibbutz society and praised the courageous warriors in their fight for independence. The film was able to justify the Israeli national struggle as a result of the tragic Holocaust, in addition to giving birth to a triumphant superman who was embodied by Paul Newman character (Avisar, 2005).

Consistent with Mart's reasoning on the early Americanization of "new Jew" depictions, Yosef Loshitzky states that *Exodus* is "perhaps the ultimate cinematic representation of the birth of the modern Israeli nation *a la* America Hollywood" (Loshitzky, 2002, p. 119). Despite being an Israeli-commissioned film (Goodman, 2014), Friedman (1982) explains that Ari's character also servers as identification for the American Jew, while Kitty serves to represent the American non-Jew. Ari, played by American Paul Newman, is a handsome, classic Greek statue, with his masculine-toned body. He is a faithful believer to the Zionist cause, while enjoying admiration of women toward him. In contrast, Kitty, played by Eva Marie Saint, is described at the beginning of the film as a "waspish, soft, anti-Semitism" (Friedman, 1982, p. 7). Before her transformation, Kitty's emotional distress over the war does not allow her to understand Ari's inner drive and poses the question: "Is there anything worth dying

for?" (Friedman, 2001, p. 191). This exemplifies the extent to which she does not believe yet in the nation's right of existence. She further expresses her discomfort about being around Jews. But as her love grows for Ari, as she learns about Zionism, and upon Karen's death, Kitty transforms into a fighter for the Zionist cause, dressed in army uniform and with a gun at hand (Loshitzky, 2002). The use of Kitty as a woman, non-Israeli character, and her transformation from a passive non-believer to an ardent army fighter, not only prompts more sympathy by the audience, but it also allowed room for a romantic love affair and added melodrama to the wartime theme (Yosef and Hagin, 2013).

In *Exodus*, Loshitzky (2002) highlights three Zionist-type characters within the film: the American *Sabra*, Zionised Palestinian, and the Zionist martyr. Ari, Kitty, and Karen represent the American Jew and non-Jew. Paul Newman was cast for the role in order to play on the resemblances and differences to the American audience. He is the total contrast to the old Jew transformed into the ideal American. This visual play exentuates the ethnic difference, but banks on ego identification, where the audience "identifies more easily with the production of ego ideals as expressed in particular in the star, …where the glamorous impersonates the ordinary" (Loshitzky, 2002, p. 122). He, as a character, is able to lend himself to Jews and non-Jew Americans, a cowboy and hero, "virility of both the *Sabra* soldier and the American fighter" (Loshitzky, 2002, p. 123). As for Kitty, she exemplifies the American non-Jew in that she helps liaise between them and the Zionist project. She is a typical American blond lady from the Midwest. Her metaphor is the grand recruitment of the United States to support Israel and its right of existence. Being a nurse, she is nurturing by nature, which further enhances the image of the United States helping the infant, helpless nation of Israel. Like a love affair, Kitty falls in love with Ari, a

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parable to the United States and Israel. Taha represents the Zionised Palestinian and depicts a utopian, peaceful scenario of the co-existence of Israelis and Palestinians (Loshitzky, 2001). He becomes a "brother" of Ari in a blood-mixing ritual. He is the son of the *Mukhtar*, who gives the village land as a place where both Jewish youth and the Palestinians can study. Upon his murder, he is tattooed with the Star of David, representing his transformation and believing in the Israeli state. Along with his martyrdom, Karen is also symbolized as the Holocaust victim, unable to survive the new times and change. Although she may appear to be Kitty's double, she is unable to transform and overcome her father's illness, who represents the traumatized Holocaust victim "contaminated by diasporic weakness" (Loshitzky, 2001, p. 125). The burial of Taha and Karen in the same grave shows significant meaning to what the State of Israel should be: a place for both Israelis and Palestinians where they can live and die together. Karen's father is forced to live in the asylum for the rest of his life. His silence symbolizes the self-suppression needed for Israel's survival at this time. His existence in the shadows of the birth of the nation is a representation of the threat to Israeli vulnerability to the trauma of the Holocaust (Loshitzky, 2001). *Exodus* was successful in creating not only the new Jew needed for assimilation with the American audience, but was able to fulfill many needed tactics including:

> "the constructive nature of Zionist colonization and its welcoming by friendly Arabs; the flow of Holocaust survivors towards solace and an ancient national home in Palestine; the general moderation of the Jewish leadership despite the regrettable and condemned turning of an understandably militant minority to violence; the heroic overcoming of British and Arab opposition to national independence; and yet still the Israeli offering of a progressive hand for peace" (Goodman, 2014, p. 223).

While *Exodus* is considered the hallmark and epic depiction of the newfound Israel and Jew, there have been previous portrayals of tough Jews prior to the production of *Exodus*. In a way, these earlier productions may be considered as pioneers in their

attempts and created a pathway for the success of *Exodus*. Both *The Sword in the Desert* and *The Juggler* (1953) depicted their heroic characters as conquerors and representatives of masculinity (Mart, 1996).

The Sword in the Desert, produced in 1949 and filmed entirely in Hollywood studios, was the first film to address the issue of Israeli statehood and the British mandate conflict. The film was intended to overcome any evasion of the Jewish subject out of fear of being uninteresting to the general public and the possibility of offending the British and its market (Goodman, 2014). It is described as a basic wartime Hollywood film, "but this time, the Jews are the good guys and the British the enemy" (Friedman, 1982, p. 103). As a result, the United Kingdom banned its screening from the British market. The film intended to instill the Jewish need for their own homeland (Friedman, 1982). The main character, Mike Dillon (Dana Andrews), is depicted as a money-focused sea captain willing to smuggle anything for the sake of profit, but ends by fighting with the Israelis in the plight for national freedom from the British mandate. Consistent with the old Jewish stereotype of money-greedy merchants, Dillon is forced to transform into a "new Jew" (Goodman, 2014). This will be a consistent theme from here on, as shown with Kitty in *Exodus* and Hans in *The Juggler*.

In 1953, *The Juggler* was the first American film to be entirely filmed in Israel. In it, Hans Muller, played by Kirk Douglas, is depicted as a devastated soul, a Holocaust survivor, seeking refuge in his new homeland, Israel, where he was able to find himself. Although this film was the first to present Israel as a homeland instead of a battlefield, Muller was not able to break from the Holocaust victim stereotype (Friedman, 1982). The film was not successful in the U.S. box-office. (Goodman, 2014). Patricia Erens describes Hans when he first arrives as an 'outsider' to this new

world. In his journey within Israel, he tries to rediscover himself, but only when he meets Yael is he transformed and finds 'home.' Erens goes on to describe how Yael, the blond *sabra* heroine wearing her army outfit, khaki shorts, and gun mark, breaks the black-haired, suffering Jewish mother stereotype. (Erens, 1984)

Much of the literature written about *Exodus* focuses on the same elements in the film and imparts points of discussions. Firstly, it was a hallmark film that shifted the image of the "old Jew" to the "new Jew" (Loshitzky, Mart, Avisar). Secondly, it allowed the American viewers to identify with Jews and consider them as 'insiders' within American society (Loshitzky, Mart,). *Exodus* resembles a Western genre film (Friedman, 1982). While considering the perspective of 'insiders,' 'outsiders,' and 'otherness,' Patricia Erens is the first to point out that *Exodus* was the first film from an 'insider' Jew/Israeli point of view, from their own land, where they are free. This is in contrast to previous narratives, where Jews were outsiders to the US society. In *Exodus*, it is the American, Kitty, who is considered and feels like the 'outsider' briefly at the beginning of the film. This is clearly stated when she confesses her discomfort around Jews (Erens, 1984). She quickly recognizes their similarities and becomes very much part of Ari and Karen's lives. Whereas, in *The Juggler*, Hans's initial own self-reflection causes him to feel like an 'outsider,' he is later able to fall in love and have a sense of belonging.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, a new role model was introduced — the 'tough Jew.' Paul Breines coined this term and intended to build on American culture and popular fiction. This character was further exemplified after Israeli's victory of the 1967 war. He is an 'insider' tough American who is "masterful, dynamic, can take it, a stand-up guy, a realist" (Mart, 1996, p. 364-5). As pointed out earlier, Hollywood's moguls controlled the Israeli/Jewish image. They kept it aligned with

the Israeli's propaganda *Exodus* image, which enforces the 'insider' perspective and is homogeneousness with American society.

> "With the founding of the Jewish state, the sympathies of many Americans in the Arab-Israeli dispute lay with the Israelis, whose leaders were considered fellow Westerns. …These images of Jewish masculinity – depiction of Jews as fighters, as masculine sex symbols, as underdogs who triumph over their enemies, and as protective father figures – were applied to the State of Israel as a whole and contrasted sharply with images of Israel's enemies" (Mart, 1996, p. 361).

2.6 Tolerant, Western, Modern Israeli Superheroes

With the start of the 21st century, films depicting Israeli characters appeared more frequently than before. Among these films is the widely criticized and discussed Steven Spielberg's 2005 *Munich*. Spielberg defended the film and declared it a "prayer for peace" (Loshitzky 2011, p. 77). Inspired by real events, this film poses the moral question and consequences of the "War on Terrorism" post 9/11, which questions the morality and utility of fighting violence with violence, and responding to terrorism with targeted killing. While it was criticized for probing the Palestinian question, it also challenges the Zionist violent method of targeted killing. Avner, played by Eric Bana, the lead character of the recruited Mossad secret service agents, is morally conflicted with the assigned secret mission of assassinating the Palestinians who were the masterminds behind the Munich Olympics tragedy. Avner is depicted as tough and handsome, full of virility, and believes in his homeland. Besides being a Mossad secret service agent, Avner's mother is portrayed as a "Holocaust survivor, thus transforming the victimized into the victimizer" (Abrams, 2012, p. 110). He is burdened with the duty

of avenging for his parent's tragedy. After being assigned the task to assassinate the Palestinians who killed the Israeli athletes, Avner is tormented by the concept of giving into violence (Abrams, 2012). In his analysis, Abrams does not address Avner's internal moral conflict as being a victim of circumstance, but rather depicts him as being faithful to his duties. He is presented as being burdened with his "butchers hands," where part of him wants to live as a regular cook, however, his hands are big enough to be butcher's murderous hands (Abrams, 2012).

Contrary to Abrams' analysis, Roy Brand depicts Avner and his group as victims despite their assassination assignment. "They too become murderers masked by the righteousness of acting on behalf of the victims" (Brand, 2008, p. 170). They embody the consequences of counter-terrorism and what it does to them personally and politically (Dobbs, 2008). Brand approaches this film in terms of how victims and perpetrators are a cyclical model unless otherwise consciously broken. Brand coins the term "identification with victimhood" (Brand, 2008, p. 174) as opposed to the well-known "identification with the aggressor" psychological theory. He explains that the audience is led to identify with Avner's victimhood due to his own psychological conclusion that he is not in control and that his victimhood is the result of the political situation (Brand, 2008). Avner represents the American Jews, like Spielberg, who are horrified of the Israeli violence and how it can affect them.

Loshitzky (2011) addresses the film's moral question on the spiral effect of the War on Terrorism, while reassuring Israel's unquestionable moral superiority. Golda Meir once said, "We can forgive you for killing our sons. But we will never forgive you for making us kill yours" (Loshitzky, 2011, p. 80). This infamous quote is the core of the film. Avner's depiction as "the Israeli soldier, who shoots and cries," (Loshitzky, 2011, p. 80) is a clear indication of Israel's superior humanitarian side,

despite the imposed evils of terrorism it must face. Contrary to Abrams' portrayal of Avner, Loshitzky presents him as both the iconic *Exodus* Ari, and a new representation of the post-Holocaust Jew in a global war against terrorism. Avner hybridizes the Holocaust victim and the Ari fighter, "whose muscular body is a container for the anguished Jewish soul" (Loshitzky 2011, p. 81-2). Avner is contrasted to Ari's moral conviction of the Israeli state with his traumatizing flashbacks of the killing of the eleven Israeli athletes. Even though he was not present at the time and should have no memory nor visual images of the incident, Avner's flashbacks are a metaphor for how the state and Israeli individuals are one in the same, how the burden of retaliation and the need to respond to these terrorist acts are not only nationalistic concepts, but an individual and very personal responsibility (Loshitzky, 2011). Avner represents Spielberg's response of creating a new image of the 'new Jew' where he symbolizes Western cultural appetite for power, but also embodies "the weakness and vulnerability associated with the Jew as victim of the Holocaust" (Loshitzky, 2011, p. 81). Avner is the postmodern Ari, whose inner anguish and questioning gave him the moral authority of his actions and on the war on terrorism.

James Schamus describes Avner as a different Jew with a different definition of 'home.' Despite being the grandson of a Holocaust survivor, son of Israeli Mossad hero, and being brought up in the kibbutz, he questions Israel as a 'home'. While he still believes in his mission and cause, Schamus highlights that 'home' was depicted differently throughout the film. Avner's 'home' was a closet, where he used to sleep while away on the mission; 'home' was his wife, when he was convincing her to leave Israel so that he can visit them more; and 'home' was Brooklyn when, at the end, he decided to reverse his diaspora, *aliyah*, and moved to New York (Schamus,

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2007). Abrams also depicts that Avner becomes obsessively paranoid at the end and believes it is safer for him to live in Brooklyn and establish it as his new home (Abrams, 2012).

Similarly to Loshitzky's analysis, Michael Richardson analyses Avner and his team as "humans" with human anguish. Spielberg's commentary about the film was that "there is something about killing people at close range that is excruciating…. It's bound to try a man's soul, so it was important to me to show Avner struggling to keep his soul intact" (Richardson, 2010, p. 190). In that regard, Richardson speculates that it is more of Spielberg's feelings of what a person in that situation would feel, rather than it being true. Richardson criticized Avner's internal anguish and proclaimed that as a professional agent, Avner and the team would have been trained to dismiss any doubt they might begin to feel (Richardson, 2010). This specific observation would simultaneously discredit Spielberg's depiction of Avner's character, but would also endorse a new depiction of a "new Jew," where he would embody the mighty warrior as well as the Diasporic soul, which Loshitzky had suggested.

Jeffrey T. Richelson discusses the depiction of Israeli characters in film as members of the Mossad. In general, he claims that the Mossad characters are never depicted as 'large' heroes in comparison to the typical American or British intelligence agents. In contrast to the big blockbuster films, such as the James Bond franchise who battles international criminals and creative fantasies of saving the world, the Mossad agent is narrowly casted for a limited array of missions that include: "hunting Nazi war criminals (*The Odessa File*); the recovery of Jewish property, including works of art and money, looted during the Holocaust (*Funeral in Berlin*); acquiring for Israeli, or preventing Arab states from acquiring weapons of mass destruction capabilities (*The Odessa File, Funeral in Berlin,*); and hunting

terrorists (*Black Sunday*, *The Little Drummer Girl, Munich*)" (Richelson, 2007, p. 145). Richelson (2007) also mentions that Mossad film topics are based on real-life cases and not a fantasy, mega-masterminded, end-of-the-world scenario. Stories of the capturing of Adolf Eichmann from Argentina, the fear of the 1960's German rocket scientist living in Egypt attack, and the Palestinians of Munich in 1972 were some of the examples of real-life cases. (Richelson, 2007).

Common to all three, Hoberman, Friedman and Brand, all discuss the concept of 'Others' within *Munich* and how that reflects back on Avner's character. In Hoberman's analysis of *Munich,* he discusses how the film attempts to represent the Palestinians differently and introduces a new dialectic. Contrary to other critics, Hoberman speculates that Spielberg tries to humanize the Palestinians, the 'Others', to provide both the Israelis and Palestinians with common sense of victimhood and moral equivalency. This was reflected in Avner's conversation at the Athens safe house with the Palestinian as he openly expresses their anguish. The Palestinian passionately states, "You don't know what it is not to have a home" (Hoberman, 2007, p. 133). Hoberman expresses how the film's powerful closing scene leaves the audience in torment with a frame of the Manhattan skyline with the iconic Twin Towers as a painful memory, but still suggests it is "an unhappy justification for the war against terrorism" (Hoberman, 2007, p. 134).

Just like other scholars, Matthew Alford addresses the same questions of futility of the war on terrorism. Alford (2010) highlights the same safe house scene and delves into the Palestinian question. He portrays that Palestinian violence is due to Israel's existence for 24 years. Alford, on the other hand, points out the brief two-minute conversation, which includes historically inaccurate information, which Avner has with the Palestinian, but still with no real explanation of their motifs. In his

conclusion, Alford reiterates the legitimacy of their actions while sarcastically implying that foreigners (others and outsiders) do not matter. The United States actions are fair and of greater good (Alford, 2010).

2.7 Jewish Comedies and Postmodern Heroes

Although comedy has been a film genre used by Hollywood film, it was uncommon and considered offensive or distasteful to mix comedy with the Jewish suffering during WWII. Only a few films attempted to use comedy to portray their anguish: *Once Upon a Honeymoon* (1942), *To Be or Not To Be* (1942), and *The Great Dictator* (1940), which was directed and acted by Charlie Chaplin (Friedman, 1982). Although it was never confirmed, Charlie Chaplin was presumed to be of Jewish origin. *The Great Dictator* was Chaplin's first talking film, as well as his first call for tolerance and co-existence. His casual resemblance to Hitler, lends itself to make a film about mixed identities: a parody of Hitler, Hynkel, and the Jewish barber, which assisted in much comic and metaphoric relief (Friedman, 1982). According to Robert Cole, this sharp contrast displayed just as much good and it depicted evil. Throughout the film, Hynkel and the storm troopers were depicted as violent, greedy and tyrannical, especially when they terrorized the ghettos. The Jewish barber — who is nameless in the whole film — because of his two-year amnesia is unaware of the political changes occurring, attempts to take back his shop and fight back the storm troopers (Cole, 2001). In contrast, the Ghetto Jews who suffer from persecution do not fight back or resist the troops, "who projected the imagery of pacifism: a gentle, tolerant, respectful, honest

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and pacific people who wished only to be treated decently" (Cole, 2001, p. 147). They were forced to flee their homes and move to Osterlich, another fictional country. Only the barber and his friend, Hannah, spoke out for their need to fight back, "We can't lick 'em alone, but we can lick 'em together" (Cole, 2001, p. 146). The film depicted two opposing Jewish characters; the first is the barber and second is Hannah, both resist tyranny and aggression, and are willing to fight for their home and basic rights. The other is portrayed through the mass ghetto of Jews, who live as victims to their circumstances and oppression, which is the more classic stereotype.

In a more recent comedy, *You Don't Mess with the Zohan* (2008) casts Jewish actor Adam Sandler as Zohan, an Israeli Mossad secret super-agent. Zohan is depicted as combining the attributes of both Ari in *Exodus* and Avner in *Munich*. He is portrayed as being a manly, muscular, handsome, virile Israeli agent of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) counter-terrorist, with a suppressed personal desire to resign as a government agent and become a hair stylist. Torn between his own personal calling and his successful professional skills, Zohan Dvir chooses to live a normal everyday life and turn his back on his successful career on IDF counter-terrorist agent life. Abrams describes Zohan with similar physical traits as Avner: handsome, muscled, virile, and loyal to his country. While Zohan was able to fake his own death and move to New York to fulfill his dream of being a professional hair stylist, he eventually sheds his agent lifestyle to become a regular, tolerant, co-existing, peace-loving man (Abrams, 2012). He is depicted as the "new super Jew." Vincent Brook describes "new super Jews" as being "more confident about being Jewish, but less sure about what being Jewish means, is the

qualitatively new dilemma facing the assimilated multicultural Jew" (Bernardi et al., 2012, p. 174).

Like Avner, Zohan moves to the United States to fulfill his dream and accept the 'Otherness' of his identity. He welcomes the co-existence of Israelis and Palestinians, befriends his arch enemy, and marries a Palestinian. By fighting anti-terrorism, he plays the 'insider/outsider' identity of the American and Israeli Jews. Zohan appears Middle Eastern looking with his dark brown hair, tanned skin and dark brown eye color. This new multicultural Jew represents the new super Jew. Zohan's political depiction is aligned with that of *Exodus*, where in the end, Karen and Taha, the Zionist Palestinian are buried side by side in the same land. The difference is that *Exodus* shares the same land, where as Zohan exemplifies the need to co-exist everywhere and tolerate everyone (Bernardi et al., 2012).

Both Bernard and Alford discuss Zohan with new narrative critical of Zionist ideology and practice. Alford's depiction of Zohan is that of equal footage and righteousness as the Palestinians. In an ironically comic statement by Screenwriter Robert Smigel, "we tried to be equally offensive to all sides" (Alford, 2010, p. 74), just comes to show the lack of Israeli superiority in Zohan. Contrary to Avner, Zohan is not just concerned about the futility of war, whether justified or not, Zohan is concerned with the endless war that reaps no reward to either side. Zohan's question, "what is it all for?" (Alford, 2010, p. 75), poses the ultimate question of 'how should this end'? In the end, Zohan is depicted as being Westernized and fitting well into the American society, either by engaging his neighborhood with community nightwatch, and by bringing the two communities together, and resisting to fight each other. Like in Munich, Avner chooses America as his home, Zohan chooses the American way of life and community bond instead of the Zionist methods back in Israel (Alford, 2010).

Bernard points out that once Zohan is placed outside the Zionist attire and in different surroundings, not only are the Israelis and Palestinians similar to each other, but both communities can live together in harmony as well (Bernard, 2012). She highlights that during the film, the conflict and 'craziness' are equal on both sides, no one side is to take the full blame. When Zohan is asked by a *kafiyya*-wearing Palestinian, "So we are the bad ones?", Zohan responds with "It's not so cut and dried!' indicating that 'the hate' is on both sides (Bernard, 2012, p. 204). Bernard describes Zohan's character as one who encourages get-along, and promotes dialogue instead of war to solve the Israeli issue. Zohan "promotes a filiative and culturalist understanding of the conflict" (Bernard, 2012, p. 204), and a two-way dialogue: between him and Dalia; him and Phantom; and him and the community in general. The dialogue portrayed is "symmetric, normal, even amiable relations" (Bernard, 2012, p. 205) which further emphasizes the notion that both sides are equal.

2.8 Summary

In summary, prior to the State of Israel, and from the very beginning of the film industry, Jews were negatively depicted as 'outsiders' who display negative characteristics: greedy, vicious, ugly, weak, money-seeking merchants (Abrams, 2012). When the Jews migrated to the United States in the early 20th century, and with their trade skills, they were able to start small neighborhood cinemas and succeed in the film industry. In a short time, they eventually moved to California, bought complex production houses and took over Hollywood (Gabler, 1989). With this new take over, the negative depiction transforms to more normal characteristics like being a rebellious son, conservative father figure, an attractive Jewish American princess

and even a grieving, suffering mother (Abrams, 2012). After WWII and the Israeli victory in the 1967 War, Jews and Israeli characters remerged on the silver screen not as Holocaust victims, but as victorious survivors (Schrank, 2007). In a single film, *Exodus* was able to transform the old victim Holocaust Jew to a new Americanized Israeli hero admired by all (Loshitzky, 2002). With similar traits but contrary confrontations, Spielberg was able to recreate another Ari, a humanitarian Avner. While still victim of circumstances and forced to fight the enemy, Avner symbolizes a new hero more adapt to the 21st century issues of identity (Brand, 2008). Contrary to his comical profile, Zohan depicts the solution to both Ari and Avner's problems. He represents a more progressive and worldly Israeli willing to shed away his past and reconcile with his long-lasting enemy to live in a peaceful, co-existing and tolerant world (Bernard, 2012). After reviewing the scholarly literature on Jewish/Israeli character depictions in Hollywood film, this research will utilize two key theoretical frameworks, Marxist film theory, specifically Althusser's ideology theory, and framing theory, in preparation for the content and discourse analysis research.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Since the beginning of mass communication, researchers have been concerned with media influence and impact. In recent years, the focus has turned to social constructivism, whereby the media is seen to have a strong effect on shaping society's construct of reality, as well as having a limited influence on individuals (Scheufele, 1999). In social constructivism, the media is limited by the interaction of the individual recipient and the mass media. While mass media constructs and crystallizes social realities, the recipient and public opinion reprocess the mass media messages and their effects (Scheufele, 1999).

Framing and film theory are two appropriate theories to research character depictions, film ideologies and character representation in film. Framing theory focus on the salience of issue/object traits, characteristics and images of an issue (Kiousis et al., 1999). Film theory, specifically ideology, is based on Louis Althusser key concepts of interpellating of subjects, Ideological System Apparatus, and being a form of language offered to its subjects.

3.1 Althusser's Theory of Ideology

Ideology is an integral theory of film and was founded by Louis Althusser in the early 1970s (Rushton and Bettinson, 2010). In the early 20th century, classic film theory was divided into two trends, one casting film as a reflection of reality, and the other as creating an image of reality, or its representation (Easthope, 1993). In the 1970s, contemporary film theory marked a break from the classic film theory with Saussure's theory of language. As a linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure consolidated semiotics during his research on distinguishing between *parole*, which is "historical

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facts of the actual speech" (Ferrette, 2006. p 30), and *langue*, which is the "structure at a historical moment" (Ferrette, 2006. p 31). He conceived that the unit of language is signs, which is divided between the signifier and the signified, where the uttered or written words would say something but meant something less. Saussure's concept states that there are "systems of units each of whose significance derives only from their relationship to the other units in the system" (Ferrette, 2006, p 31). This definition of semiotics helped develop Althusser's theory of ideology, where concepts or signs are built in relation to others and how they are expected to react to each other.

In his theory, Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser, influenced by structuralism methods (Rushton and Bettinson, 2010), firmly positioned film study as "a form of language, an ideological operation, a position offered to the subject" (Easthope, 1993, p. 9). For Althusser, "ideology described the process by which social institutions cultivated individuals compliant to the social system by appealing to their need to be recognized, or acquire a social identity" (Allen and Smith, 1997, p. 241). According to this theory, maturing individuals are misled to believing that their self-identity, or position, is a free-choice of their own making, where as it is actually predetermined by social systems, such as Hollywood. Allen and Smith (1997) also state that the role of the institutions, which is to subliminally formulate social roles, is also paralleled to cinematic representation analysis. In cinema, although spectators are aware that what they are viewing is "an illusion of reality" (Allen and Smith, 1997, p. 241), they are also mistakenly led to believe it, therefore playing a dual role of spectators and subjects. "The theory of 'subject positioning' implies that human choice has no place in film viewing, and that the passive viewing subject is wholly determined — subjected and positioned — by textual operations" (Allen and Smith, 1997, p. 382). Hence, the cinema is "both a model and vehicle for … subject

construction", which results in having the spectator's self-identity being built upon an illusion (Allen and Smith, 1997, p. 15).

In his writings on ideology, Althusser makes four important points that influenced film theory in the 1970s. First, 'ideological state apparatuses' (ISAs) which are institutions that do not function directly under law enforcement and order, but are re-enforcers of the functioning of government laws and order, such as schools and cinemas. Schools, for example, are places of learning and exploring ideas, but are also the place where students learn of society's accepted behaviors and moral codes. These ISAs cultivate individual subjects into conforming to the ideologies of the state, very much as Hollywood cinema portrays accepted behaviors and social norms. "Ideas are not the property of individual subjects, but the result of the situation of those subjects, in class society, within a set of ISAs" (Ferrette, 2006, p. 87). Since the ideas precede an individual member, then the ISAs themselves are the ones who govern what the individual will be subjected to. When applying this to Hollywood cinema, as an idea-creator and influencer, one must recognize the ideologies infused onto its spectators and the influence it has on them.

In Althusser's second important point, he states, "ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence" (Rushton and Bettinson, 2010, p. 35). This means that individuals see their realities through a filtered lens of ideologies that they have already been cultivated into. This is based on French psychoanalyst and psychiatrist Jacques Lacan's Mirror Stage, where a baby develops its sense of 'I' from its image reflected off of others, which in most cases is their mother, and is greeted with jubilation (Easthope, 1993). During this age, the child still has no full-body control and only recognizes parts of their own body, feeling incomplete. Therefore, when seeing others as complete and whole, the child

identifies with this image as the "ideal to which the child aspires. It is internalized as an ego-ideal or superego to serve as the armature upon which the ego, or subject, constitutes itself " (Nichols, 1981, p. 31). This is a misleading recognition, or misrepresentation of the child, since he/she is unable to recognize him/herself, but aspires to be recognized as such (Ferrette, 2006). Just like the child, Althusser akins this self-identification mirror-stage as the spectator-institution identification phase. The spectator is also misrecognizing himself or herself through the representation of others they are viewing, just like the child does (Allen and Smith, 1997). Within his theory, the ISA, specifically Hollywood, plays the role of cinematic representation for the individuals. Hollywood's Israeli character depictions and their assimilation with American identity hails to the American viewers the political ideologies, and therefore is shaping American viewers' identities as they view themselves through film characters on screen.

Thirdly, "ideology interpellates individuals as subjects" (Rushton and Bettinson, 2010, p. 36). Here, Althusser points out that an individual is 'hailed at', or called upon, as a 'subject', which is defined from a capitalist perspective, where they are deprived of choice and individuality (Rushton and Bettinson, 2010), or from a hierarchical perspective, where the subject is obliged to obey and serve a higher being (Ferrette, 2006), either way, the individual subject is not free to make true choices. The individual subject is hailed into an already existing complex social system, who is then led to believe that its identity is of a free choice, whereas they are actually pre-conditioned by this act of hailing into this complex social system (Ferrette, 2006). Althusser also claims that it is the ideology that makes individuals into subjects; they are not subjects prior to the ideology. "Individuals structure their understanding of themselves on the basis of the imaginary subject that precedes them," (Ferrette, 2006).

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This is the key factor on which Hollywood, as an ISA, partakes in and contributes to the creation of ideologies. When Hollywood films create an imagined subject for the spectators to identify with, the spectator is also expected to absorb subliminally the fabricated reality that is portrayed with it.

Lastly, "ideology can be countered by science" (Rushton and Bettinson, 2010, p. 37). Here, Althusser refers to science as the human sciences, which he explains that the only way to counter these ideologies is by breaking with the existing powers of that sustain society's existing powers. (Rushton and Bettinson, 2010). Today, Hollywood exists as a hegemonic power and influencer, it has the capability to change and introduce new narrative and ideologies to its captive audience. However, to actually produce new or change existing ideologies that is not consistent with or even contradicts the current narrative, there would need to be a major Hollywood restructuring. Like any long-standing institution, in times of change the institution must reshape and remodel itself to work with the new narrative. Another possibility for significant ideological change is if the United States is no longer a global leadership. This change of its political status would result in readdressing the key cultural and political alliances and, therefore, redefining Hollywood's role and ideological messages. As it stands now, this simpatico and special US-Israeli relation has been in favor of Israel and its image in film since its birth as a nation.

As part of this research on character depictions and their image, it is essential to include the recent discourse by Professor W. J. T. Mitchell who poses the concept of images as being alive and having something to 'say', regardless of their direct relation to semiotics or language. According to Mitchell, images, whether in pictures or art form, metaphors or in writing, mirror or projections, dreams or fantasmata, sensory or appearances (Mitchell, 1984), should be reviewed and studied as an entity

on their own, since they pose dual paradox of existence and non-existence. Images not only exist in the physical sense, but also in the mental or verbal sense as well. In today's world, images have their own desire and power. Their power lies in their ability to hail its viewer and transfix him (Mitchell, 1996). Images want to capture its viewer, in order to be properly studied, not only in terms of narrative, hermeneutics or semiotics, but in terms of its own existence, first as a semi-lively element of quasi human attributes, and second as a subpar entity with shameful markings and acts as both a scapegoat and a go-between (Mitchell, 1996).

> "For modern criticism, language and imagery have become enigmas, …
> The commonplace of modern studies of images, in fact, is that they must
> be understood as a kind of language; instead of providing a transparent
> window on the world, images are now regarded as the sort of sign that
> presents a deceptive appearance of naturalness and transparence
> concealing an opaque, distorting, arbitrary mechanism of representation, a
> process of ideological mystification (Mitchell, 1984, p. 504)."

This is consistent with Althusser's ideological ISAs and how they cultivate an individual unknowingly into conformity with state ideologies. These deceptive appearances color and shape the individual's mind subtly. The visual subtleties not only represent what is in the image itself, but also must be consciously considered of what they 'tell' by not explicitly telling. Mitchell's point is also applicable to the image of an actor. Specifically how and why actors are cast for select roles, and who will best embody the film's character. During the film, the actor becomes one with character's image, as mock-person, and therefore the viewer no longer sees the 'actor' but believes the film character to be alive on screen.

3.2 Film Theory and the Dream Machine

Film theory, specifically ideology, provides the critical tool for this research as it portrays film produced in Hollywood, the dream machine, where it tries "to ensure production on industrial principles" (Easthope, 1993, p. 10-11). Film theory also aims to study the institution of cinema, not just as an industry, which aims to fill cinema theaters, not make them empty, but also as a mental machinery — another sort of industry — "which spectators accustomed to the cinema have internalized historically and which has adapted them to the consumption of film" (Easthope, 1993, p. 11). Althusserian film theory will allow for a better understanding of how Hollywood 'hails' the spectators to consume the positions it offers them, and also, how it displays the narrative as commonsense and natural (Easthope, 1993). Hollywood, as an industry, invests millions of dollars in each film to ensure, as much as possible, its success and profitability. To minimize risk of failure, each film is carefully selected and handled with great attention to detail in order to stay true to its script and storyline, but also to produce a complete, cohesive, well thought-out film. Therefore, each film is actually a compilation of carefully assembled scenes and messages that will be hailed at the audience to internalize and accept.

With the end of WWII and as the United States became the protector of the Israeli state, Hollywood played the important role of an ISA and produced film increasingly in favor of Israel and how Israelis and Jews are just like American people. Ideologically, the newly found Israel was manifested as home and a safe haven for the exiled, vulnerable Jews (Mart 1996). In 1949, Hollywood first produced *The Sword in the Desert*, as the first ideological shift by depicted the Jews fighting for their independence from the British mandate, as a metaphor to colonial America

struggle for independence. As Hollywood continued its plight to hail its viewers into accepting and identifying with the Israeli people, in 1953, it produced *The Juggler*, the first film to be produced in Israel. Casting Kirk Douglas as the main character was an intentional break from Hollywood's previous stereotypical Jewish depictions. In addition, casting Milly Vitale to play the role of Yael as the blond female heroine was another image manipulation ploy and intentional transformation from previous female character depictions, which would help the American audience to identify with her character (Erens, 1984).

3.3 Framing Theory

Much of the academic and scholarly discourse in mass communication has discussed framing and its "theoretical and empirical vagueness" (Sheufele, 1999, p. 103), and not having a clear universal definition. In David Weaver's *Thoughts on Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming,* framing is described as having more than one clear definition. McCombs states "framing is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed" (Weaver, 2007, p. 143). Entman writes that "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described'' (Weaver 2007, p. 143). And finally, Ghanem, as cited by Weaver (2007), defines framing as "the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration" (Weaver 2007, p. 143).

Weaver states that framing is a more abstract and big picture, and includes "'a signature matrix' of condensing symbols… and reasoning devices" (Weaver, 2007, p. 143). Condensing symbols can include slogans, marketing taglines, and metaphors, whereas reasoning devices are more of moral considerations, impact, and consequences. He goes on to explain that framing, unlike agenda setting and priming, is linked to cultural aspects and is not just a mental concept (Weaver, 2007). Framing includes "problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluations, and treatment recommendations, as well as key themes, phrases, and words" (Weaver, 2007, p. 143). In general, Weaver describes framing as focusing more on how issues, objects, and people are portrayed in the media rather than which objects are portrayed, and how salient they are, as well as examining their important features and attributes (Weaver, 2007).

In his explanation of the cognitive processing of framing, Reese, as cited by Yang (2015), describes framing as "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (Yang, 2015, p. 257). This definition shows that schemas are not only used and reused in media and organizations, but that there is already context in the audience's minds that is used to interpret framing schema. This also suggests that the process includes both psychological (how a media presents information) and sociological aspects, as well as how this information resonates within the audience's mental schemas. Schema is a cognitive psychology notion to which audiences refer for categories and frameworks in order to understand what they hear and see. Cognitively, a schema has four dimensions: availability (whether this concept is available in memory when needed to retrieve it), accessibility (if the concept can be

"activated"), applicability (how well the media message fits with the present schema) and usability (if this schema will activate subsequent judgments) (Yang, 2015).

Therefore, media frames can cue and activate stereotyping schemas, which will either accept the existing schema or alter it. Gaertner and Dovidio, as cited by Yang (2015), define stereotypes "as a collection of associations that link a target group to a set of descriptive characteristics" (Yang, 2015, p. 258). Stereotyping is built on the three concepts. Firstly, even though there may be some truth to what is being stated, there is still missing information and grand generalization about a whole group of people. And of course, this generalization leads to no differentiation and individualization of a whole group (Yang, 2005). Secondly, stereotyping comes into play as a result of letting culture interfere with the audience's interpretations, rather than carefully evaluating the information themselves. Thirdly, each culture has its own social heritage, and it is usually shared with other societies (Yang, 2005).

In her research, Aimei Yang (2015) proposes five categories to frame genres: routinized superficialization, social categorization, threatening typification, legitimate victimization, and counter stereotype. Routinized superictialization is when minority groups are generally superficially covered, absent from real stories and there is no highlighting of their realities. This increases the gap between their stereotypical image and real image, since it seems like there is nothing new and nothing worth mentioning. Social categorization is when different frames are used subtly to differentiate between the in-groups (dominant) and the out-groups (marginalized) of similar activities. This category triggers differentiation within the same social group. Threatening typification is when tricks and biased images or sources are used to imply a certain frame on other groups. This is used to attribute certain images, often negative, on other groups. The effect of this framing induces feelings of fear, or even

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hostility, toward others. Legitimate victimization framing is inclined to blame certain groups of people for social problems instead of readdressing the real causes of these problems. This frame tends to trigger contempt or apathy for the disadvantaged groups. Counter stereotype framing tries to reduce the negative stereotype or even correct the misconception. This is a growing frame that appears on educational segments or new media. The effect of this framing is yet unclear, but Yang speculates that it has great potential (Yang, 2015). These stereotype frames are categorized by their effects on different or marginalized groups, resulting in "distinct social identification, fear, and antipathy or contempt" (Yang, 2015, p. 259 – 264).

Table 1: Yang, 2015, p. 257
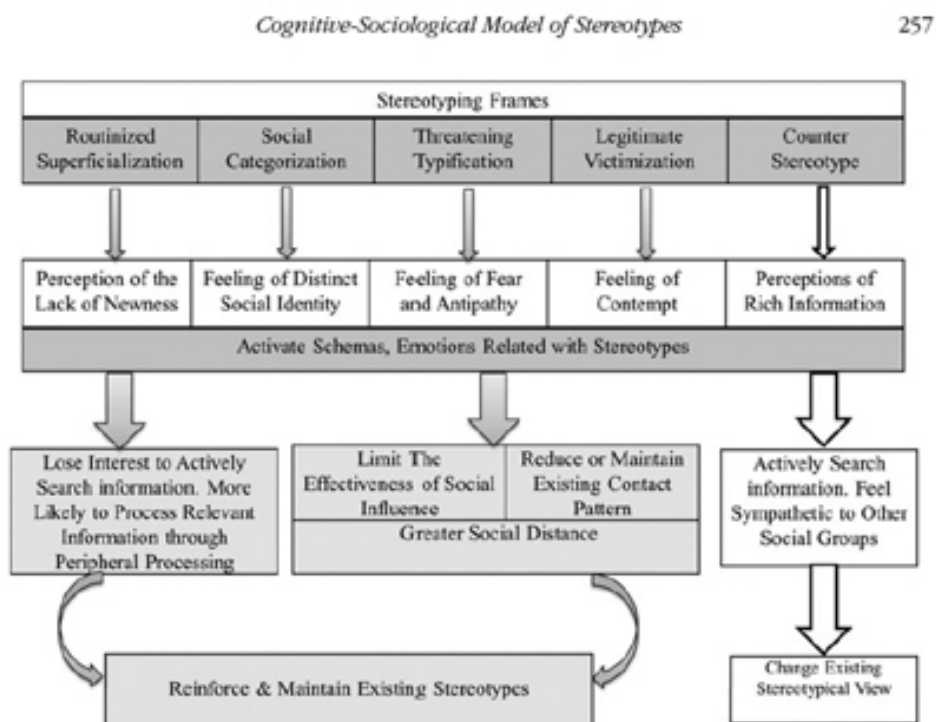
FIGURE 1 The cognitive-sociological model of stereotyping frames and their effects.

Yang continues to explain the link between media stereotype framing in relation to social distance. This concept, developed by sociologist Mannheim,

stipulates that "individuals' feelings of intimacy or alienation will decide the length of

the distance" (Yang, 2015, p. 264) toward other social groups or categorizations.

Since this concept is based on feelings, the stereotype framing can be activated

accordingly (Yang, 2015).

In *Framing as Theory of Media Effects*, Dietram Scheufele (1999) attempts to

organize the framing theory by reviewing previous impactful research, creating a

four-cell typology, and finally suggesting a process module for framing research. He

confirms that the framing theory lacks a proper theoretical model that would enable

research to be empirical and comparable. This, therefore, entails problematic

operational definitions, which result in incomparable results and research. In

summarizing media effects and its history, Scheufele quotes Neumna's famous

statement whereby "audiences rely on 'a version of reality built from personal

experience, interaction with peers, and interpreted selections from the mass media'"

(Scheufele, 1999, p. 105). The four-cell typology is divided into media vs. individual

frames and dependent vs. independent frames. This two-level frame concept was

previously introduced by Gitlin in 1980 and later by Entman in 1991. They both

expressed the need to use a two-level module for improving the framing theory by

bridging between social construction and day-to-day social interactions. In general,

the media frame is an organized idea to explain the unfolding of events, quickly

classifying and efficiently packaging it to the audiences. Entman's media frame

definition states: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make

them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular

problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment

recommendation" (Scheufele, 1999, p. 107). As for individual frames, they are

"mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information" (Entman, 1993, p. 53).

As a result of the dependent versus independent typology, Scheufele produced a four-step process module for framing research. Starting with "frame building, frame setting, individual-level effects of framing, [and] ending with linking between individual frames and media frames" (Scheufele, 1999, p. 115) allows for a cyclical process in which the audience will influence the frame building process as well.

Table 2: Scheufele, 1999, p. 115

Figure 1. A process model of framing research.
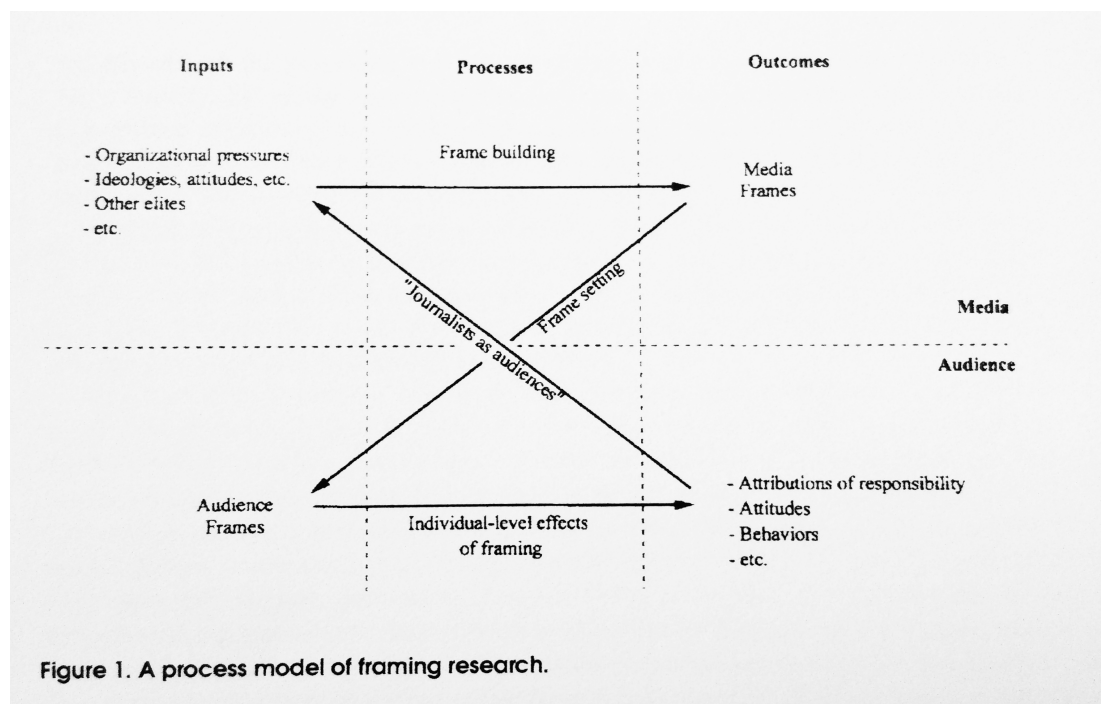
IV. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Questions

RQ1 – What are the physical and character attribute depictions of the Israeli main character in Hollywood films produced during the early years of Israeli statehood?

RQ2 – After 50 years of Israeli statehood, what are the physical and character attribute depictions of the Israeli main character in drama and comedy Hollywood films?

RQ3 – What are the similarities and differences between the Israeli main character depictions during the early years of statehood and after 50 years in Hollywood films?

RQ4 – What political ideals and social affiliation messages do these Hollywood films communicate to the American audience? How are these ideals and affliations messages channeled through to the American audience?

4.2. Methodology

This research will use discourse analysis as its methodology since it aims to highlight the depiction of the Israeli character in Hollywood films. Content analysis has been used in previous research but it not relevant to this research since it is not focusing on frequency of certain features, but on the detail, which is more appropriately conducting through discourse analysis. Three coders will conduct the analysis. The researcher will not participate in the coding process to ensure no bias or influence on research outcome especially since the researcher has read extensively on the early Israeli character Hollywood depictions. Only one coder is Arab and was

born and raised in the Middle East, while the other two coders are American and were born and raised in the United States. The decision to have one Arab and two American coders will allow for a more balanced research analysis since Hollywood films were produced for a Western/American audience. There will be three Israeli main characters to analyze. The reason for this sample size is because of the limited number of Israeli Hollywood characters in the early years of statehood, as well as in the early 21st century.

Research Questions 1, 2, 3 will be answered from the table coding sheet responses from, as they are all related to their character traits, personalities, physically appearances and communication with others. Research Questions 4 will be answered using after reviewing and finding common overarching themes, if any, in all three characters and then referring to the literature review and comparing coder outcomes.

4.3 Data Collection Method

The data collection is gathered by having the coders watch each film separately and answer a coding sheets directly after for each film separately. The coding sheets intend to simply map the type of character traits and representation for each film character. Since the research's aim is to analyze the Israeli main characters of each film, the only source of data is the films themselves.

The variables that will be analyzed in this discourse analysis are the characters' physical appearances and attire, communication tones, leadership traits, their attraction to the opposite sex, as well as their sense of probing their conviction to patriotic duties versus their basic human moral code balance.

To ensure validity and reliability, Holtsi's intercoder reliability test will be conducted, where the formula will be: Reliability = (2M / N1+N2) x 100. In this formula, M is the number of decisions where the coders agreed, and N1 and N2 are the numbers of actual coding made respectively (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000). The reliability test will reflect the percentage of agreement between the coders.

4.4 Population and Time Frame

The population of the research will be Hollywood films produced in early post-WWII (1948) until 2008 century, portraying Israeli characters. The reason for this 50-year time frame is two fold. First, since the Israeli state is only 50 years old, whereas the Jewish identity and film character have existed prior to its statehood, it is important to differentiate between the Israeli nationality and the religious affiliated character. This specific time frame allows for that distinction, any films produced prior to 1948 would not be a valid depiction of Israeli characters since there was no prior state or nationality yet. This is especially relevant and prominent in films that showcase the creation of the Israeli state and its struggle for its formation. Second, it is necessary to start with the early national identity Hollywood depictions by since that would be a benchmark for future Israeli characters. With the passing of more than 50 years, this research intends to explore the differences, if any, of Hollywood's Israeli national identity and how it has changed from its initial depiction. The use of only Hollywood produced films is directly related to the US-Israel political bond. The research intends to explore the Israeli national identity via the characters that Hollywood creates for the American audience.

4.5 Sample

The sample will include Hollywood genre where the Israeli character is a main/lead character in the film. The Jewish character in the pre-1948 film will be the control variable upon which to compare depictions in subsequent films, since technically there were no Israeli characters in film prior to 1948 Israeli State declaration. The sample will exclude films where the main/lead character is Jewish, not Israeli. Therefore, Mossad characters are included in the research sample.

A non-probability, purposive sample is used for this research, since the selection of films is made according to specific criteria. This means that data collection will be conducted "from a sample of units that have been selected from the target universe with the intention that they should be representative of that universe" (OECD, 2003). This type of sample is used when the research aims to discuss a specific theme and will, therefore, be selective in what will be included, eliminating films that do not meet the set criteria (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000).

The Hollywood films that fit this categorization and these set criteria would be Ari's *Exodus* (1960) featuring Paul Newman, Steven Spielberg's *Munich* (2005) featuring Eric Bana, and finally *You Don't Mess with the Zohan* (2008) featuring Adam Sandler. *Exodus* was chosen for this research because it was the first post-state that was a Hollywood success, as opposed to *The Juggler* and *The Sword in the Desert*, which did not do well in the US box office. It was an epic three-hour long film not to be taken lightly. Munich was chosen because it was the first film in the 21st century with an Israeli main character. Just like *Exodus*, it was is three-hour long film addressing a serious topic, which again is not to be taken lightly. As for *You Don't Mess with the Zohan*'s selection, it was based on the need to include a comedy

as to contrast Israeli characters in drama film, and explore if the character depictions are consistent or not. It was also included since it is produced in the 21st century as well which will showcase Israeli comedy characters after 50 years of Israeli statehood.

4.6 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the Israeli main and/or lead character. There is a total of three Israeli main characters and all are male, as the films selected all have male main characters. The main characters are Ari of *Exodus*, Avner of *Munich*, and Zohan of *You Don't Mess with the Zohan*. The reason for selecting only main characters for this research is to allow the film character a big enough role, have enough character development and portrayal in order to be able to better analysis the Israeli character in great detail. If other characters, secondary or support characters were chosen, the research may not have had enough aspects of the character to properly shed enough research on. The choice of having them all male characters is to eliminate character traits that may arise from gender differences or traits. Whereas keeping all characters as male allows for consistency in traits, personalities, and physically appearances. According to IMDb.com, *Munich* and *You Don't Mess with the Zohan* are the only films that fit all three criteria: Israeli main characters, produced by the 21st century Hollywood studios. Therefore, this eliminates any research bias in the selection process of these films.

See 'Coding Sheet Per Character' and 'Operational Definitions' for full character attributes that will be analyzed, compared, and discussed in the Appendix.

V. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The total number of questions answered per coder is 147. The number of agreed upon responses is 120. According to Holsti's formula, the intercoder reliability is 0.816, with an agreed upon range of .8 to 1.0.

5.1 About the Coders

Demographic information about coder 1 (RM) includes that he is male, in the age range of 19-25, grew up mostly in the United States, single, earning around EGP 1-5K monthly, educated in private schools, and highest degree earned is Bachelor of Arts. Coder 2 (KG) is female, in the age range of 19-25, grew up mostly in the United States, single, earning around EGP 5-10K monthly, partly private and partly public schooling, and highest degree earned is Bachelor of Arts. As for coder 3 (SA), he is male, older than 36 years, grew up mostly in the Middle East, married, earning around EGP 10-30K monthly, educated in private schools, and highest degree earned is Bachelor of Arts.

5.2 Findings

5.2.1 RQ1 – What are the physical and character attribute depictions of the Israeli main character in Hollywood films produced during the early years of Israeli statehood?

*Ari (*Exodus*) Depiction: Early years of Israeli Statehood*

The research results show that in *Exodus* Ari's physical depiction was quite clear and agreed upon between the coders. The intercoder reliability of Ari's character depiction alone was 0.857. Ari appears to be a young man in his twenties, well and fit, strong, and regular frame, with blond light colored hair and straight 'Greek' nose structure. His spoken accent is depicted as plain American accent. Ari's clothing and attire appeared casual, semi-formal and clean and proper. As for his personality, Ari is depicted as a serious, harsh, clear and straightforward, firm and rigid, as well as brave and courageous, compassionate, determined and active, and in-control of his emotions. His attraction to women is equally reciprocated by women's attraction to him. Ari's communication tone is depicted as bold, confident, outspoken, and passionate. His facial expression is described as firm and rigid, poker faced, and cold and unemotional. His leadership traits are depicted as being direct, democratic, problem solver, intuitive, takes responsibility, and persuasive.

As for Ari's interaction with his friends, he is seen as listening to others, democratic, firm and polite, considerate of others feelings and opinions, and willing to fight for others. As for his interaction with his enemy, he is considered humanitarian, firm and considerate of other's feelings and opinions. Ari was not depicted for having religious tendency nor practiced it, but did portray patriotic feelings, and morally sound, and able to differentiate between good versus evil. He is against mass killing, but is portrayed practicing and believing in his patriotic duties for the great good of the nation. With his strong sense of nationalism and inner peace, he is motivated to conduct his nationalistic duties, and he shows no issues of internal turmoil.

When confronted with a real and actual conflict, Ari is portrayed as handling it calculatingly and calmly, and displays no regret in his patriotic duties. When forced to fight, he stands up and fights back courageously, does not cower away. In his

interaction with others, Ari is depicted as treating and communicating with them fairly, respectfully, compassionately, and as equals, just like he treats his girlfriend. In general, Ari is depicted as courageous, smart and witty, has prominent leadership qualities, straightforward and clear, manly and attractive, patriotic and loyal. As for his on-screen time and presence, Ari is described as having similar time and number of lines as the other characters in the film and portrayed in natural lighting during most of the film. Ari is framed very much as an American image with his bravery, fairness to others, direct attitude and patriotism as he believes and fights for his country with his wit, charisma and muscle. The image he exudes is that of ideal manliness not only in physique, but charisma as well.

5.2.2 RQ2 – After 50 years of Israeli statehood, what are the physical and character attribute depictions of the Israeli main character in drama and comedy Hollywood films?

Avner (Munich) Depiction in Drama

The intercoder reliability for Avner's character alone is 0.673. The research results show that Avner's character depiction was not as clearly defined and has less apparent characteristics than the other characters in this research. Avner is physically portrayed as a young man in the age range of his early thirties or older, broad frame, wide shoulders, well and fit, regular height with brown or dark color hair and eyes, an aquiline, arched, (Jewish Semitic) shaped nose, with a unidentified slight accent and dressed in causal and semi-formal attire. The coders did not agree on a common description for his personality, communication tone, nor facial expression, which suggests a lack of a clearly defined character, but he was described as serious, determined and active. Avner is attracted to women, as well as found attractive by

women. His interaction with his friends is depicted as humanitarian, democratic, considerate of other's opinions and listens to others. Avner portrays no religious tendency and did not practice his faith during the film. As for his patriotic belief and duties, Avner is depicted with strong patriotic feelings, "but begins to question his action and 'mother Israel" *(KG, f, 19-25)*. This is confirmed as the coders indicate Avner's internal turmoil toward his patriotic duties and he questions the nation's methods to solving its problem with its enemy. His internal turmoil and questioning is reflected in his lack of internal peace nor serenity, as well as having regrets for his actions despite being motivated to fulfilling his duties. Anver is depicted as reflecting his inner conflict onto others through emotional expression. He is portrayed treating and being treated by his friends as equals and communicates with them in a fair, respectful and compassionate manner. As for Avner's treatment of his wife, he is also depicted as treating her as an equal and communicates with her in a friendly, fair, respectful and compassionate manner as well. When forced to fight, Avner is portrayed as strong, courageous, and willing to stand up and fight back. In general, Avner is depicted as courageous, physically strong, straightforward and clear, manly and attractive, with leadership qualities, polite, courteous of others, patriotic and loyal. In this film, Avner is seen as the main character where most of the screen time was with him and portrayed within both dramatic dark and light lighting. Avner was framed as a troubled agent torn between fulfilling his patriotic duties and his personal questionings. Contrary to Ari, his colors and facial appearance seem less American and more Middle Eastern.

*Zohan (*You Don't Mess with the Zohan*) Depiction in Comedy*

Zohan's intercoder reliability was the highest of the three films with R = 0.918. The research results show that Zohan is physically depicted as a young man in his thirties or older, well, fit, strong, muscular and built shape, with brown or dark hair and eye color, as well as being "well endowed" *(SA, m, 36+)*. His nose is clearly an aquiline, arched, (Jewish Semitic) shape. His language had a clear broken accent similar to that of Middle Eastern style English. He is very much attracted to women, just as much as women are attracted to him. Zohan's attire during the film was causal, jeans and t-shirt style clothing with a "flamboyant" *(SA, m, 36+)* touch.

Of the three characters, Zohan's sexuality was most apparent, and he even had a key gesture of pelvic thrust and sexual gestures in general. His personality was seen as playful and fun, approachable, brave and courageous, determined and active, in control of his emotions, friendly, compassionate, funny and comical. His tone of communication was warm, confident, outspoken and bold, and passionate. His facial expressions was expressive and easy to read, warm and pleasant.

As for Zohan's leadership traits, he was portrayed as charismatic, persuasive, honest, problem solving, direct and takes responsibility. In his interaction with his friends, he treats them with politeness, consideration for their feelings and opinions, willing to fight for them, as well as willing to sacrifice himself. Zohan displayed no religious tendencies nor practiced his faith, but had clear patriotic feelings and was morally sound with understanding of what is good versus evil, and is against mass killings. Zohan is depicted as a believer of his patriotic duties for the great good of his country and, therefore shows no inner conflicts or regrets of his patriotic actions, but on the contrary does question the methods the nations use to solve problems with the

enemy. He is motivated in doing his patriotic duties. When he was confronted with his own inner personal issues, he was able to address it and overcome the issue.

When Zohan was confronted with actual conflict, he showed creative problem solving skills. Zohan treated his friends as equals, in a friendly and fair manner, whereas not only did his friend reciprocate this, but in addition, they respected and even idolized him. In treating and communicating with this girlfriend, he was seen as treating her as an equal, as well as with compassion and in a friendly, fair manner. Even when treating and communicating with his opponent, Zohan is described as treating him fairly, friendly, as he himself is portrayed as being strong, stands up and fights back and outsmarts his opponent with his wit and cleverness. In general, Zohan is depicted as being very courageous, smart and witty, creative problem solver, physically strong, straightforward, clear and easy to read, polite and courteous to others. During the film, Zohan was seen as the main character with majority of the spoken lines and most of the on-screen time and portrayed in natural light. Zohan is framed within an Israeli version of the American dream, as he is representing as a superhuman, superhero Middle Eastern immigrant who escapes to the United States seeking refuge from the life he leaves behind in Israel, in pursuit of his lifelong dream.

5.2.3 RQ3 – What are the similarities and differences between the Israeli main character depictions during the early years of statehood and after 50 years in Hollywood films?

Starting with their similarities, all three of them are depicted as patriotic and doing their patriotic duties toward Israel. Even though technically there was no Israel prior to its declaration in 1948, Ari was leading and part of the *haganah* underground

movement. His activities were intended to pressure the world, mainly Britain, to acknowledge Israel's right to existence. Even after the declaration, Ari was faced with fighting the Arabs for the land and protecting the *kibbutz*. Avner was a former Mossad secret service agent assigned to the prime minister. After the 1972 Olympics hostage assassination, Avner was approached and re-recruited to head the special covert mission of assassinating the Palestinians who masterminded the Olympics assassination. As for Zohan, he was an IDF agent with extraordinary skills and talents who had fulfilled his assignments with the least causalities and bravest of actions. Another similarity is their physical strengths; all three characters were depicted as being fit, strong, and well built. In all their fighting, the three were never defeated or beaten up, but on the contrary; they would come out of the fight victorious or untouched by the enemy. They were also depicted as being courageous, brave and never ran away when forcing a fight. In addition to their physical body strength and bravery, all three characters were also clearly seen as attractive and approached by women; Kitty fell in love with Ari; Daphna was still very much in love with Avner; and Zohan was depicted as being irresistible to many women, including the Palestinian Dahlia. One last similarity between all three characters is the lack apparent Jewish beliefs or practice. Ari declared to Kitty he is a Jew and wears the Star of David pendent around his neck. When Avner was asked directly, he denied abruptly. As for Zohan, despite being the most exaggerated of the three characters, he too did not practice any religious behaviors or conduct any rituals.

In their physical appearance, both Avner and Zohan are depicted differently than Ari. They appeared more Middle Eastern looking with their dark brown hair, dark brown eyes and even non-Greek shaped nose. Zohan was even mistaken for a 'Mustafa' on his first day in New York, which indicates that Israelis are more likely

to be mistake for an Arab as opposed to an American. This is the opposite of how Ari was portrayed in the 1960s. Ari appeared on screen with blond hair, blue eyes, American-esque type appearance. He was a striking contrast to his previous Hollywood Jewish stars, like Sam Levene (*Crossfire*) and Rod Steiger (*The Pawnbroker*). Ari's non-Middle Eastern appearance helped him 'pass' from under Cypriot generals nose.

Avner and Zohan share common political views that are contrary to Ari's. After fulfilling their patriotic duties, both Avner and Zohan want to live a normal personal life. Both have internal conflict and seek a solution that would rid them of their anguishes. Initially, Avner's conviction of his duties to Mother Israel was beyond doubt. He did not hesitate to accept the special assignment. But as he was faced with the consequences and reality of his actions, he realized that he cannot continue with the mission and wanted to join his family in Brooklyn. As for Zohan, he kept his dream of becoming a hairdresser bottled up for years, but when he realized that his missions and sacrifices are being used as a coy and tool by the Israeli government to fool the Palestinians and that he is caught is in vicious circle of political game, he realizes his dream and moves to America. Both Anver and Zohan seek refuge in America, specifically New York, as a home, escape and hiding place as they rid themselves of their Israeli identities. "You run to America to get away from the hate and fighting," Zohan tells Dalia as he convinces her to be his girlfriend.

5.2.4 RQ4 – What are political ideals and social affiliation messages do these Hollywood films communicate to the American audience? How are these ideals and affiliation messages channeled through to the American audience?

There are mainly two broad political ideals and social affiliation messages being communicated and 'hailed' at the American audience through these Israeli characters: 'physically manly' (strong, able, brave, charismatic and do not cower away from defending themselves or for others); and 'politically Western' (practice political democracy, believe in co-existence and tolerance of others. They must fulfill their patriotic duties as it is for the greater good of Mother Israel).

Physically Manly: In all three films, Ari, Avner and Zohan had three common manly aspects, which were physical strength, attraction of women and charisma. All three characters were framed as physically strong, able to show bodily strength and manpower either in the body shapes or effortless ability to fight. Ari's physically strength and ability was highlighted several times throughout the film. The first time was when he was swimming to shore at night and meets up with this friend to plan for the escape of 677 holocaust survivors. The second and more prominent was the action packed rescue scene of Ari's uncle from prison. The third scene was when he was preparing for war at the *kibbutz*. He carried and led the kibbutz children to a safer place away from harm in preparation for the expected Arab attack. As for Avner's manliness, his physical ability was not as apparent as Ari or Zohan's, but he represented a fit soldier with the ability to assassinate, escape and fight back when needed. Avner shot his first Palestinian target at point blank, even though he was apparently nervous, he was still able to gather up his nerves and killed this target. After that, Avner courageously took part of in the military night attack to assassinate several targets inside their quarters in the heart of Beirut, as well as engaging in a close shooting with a Palestinian gang to ensure Hans' safe escape from the hotel bombing. As for Zohan, his superhero actions and supernatural physical ability was portrayed in his first encounter with the Phantom in Israel. He showed even more

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super-strength in his first fight in New York City with the angry businessman and tied him into a human pretzel. In addition, during his community watch, Zohan took on three bullies single-handedly effortlessly.

The second aspect of their manliness was framed in how women were easily attracted to them. In *Exodus*, as Ari was showing off Israel's countryside and proclaiming his grandfather's heritage of Palestine, Kitty, with no hints or introductions, gave Ari a passionate kiss. Prior to this, Ari had not shown any physical or emotional attraction toward Kitty. In *Munich*, Avner and his wife, Daphna, are still very much in love with each other. Even when tempted by the attractive Danish prostitute, Avner remained loyal to his wife and turned her down politely. As for Zohan, his manliness was quite apparent and even exaggerated. Not only were women uncontrollably attracted to him, but he was also portrayed as being well endowed from the very first frame of the film. The camera starts off with a tight shot of his pelvic area as if this is what defines Zohan first and foremost. After his first successful hairstyling client, a long queue of women are seen lined up in front of Rafael's salon waiting their turn to be serviced by Zohan as a sign of his manliness and over exaggerated sexuality.

Thirdly, each of these Israeli characters showed great bravery and charisma when faced with violence or bullying. Ari's bravery was an ongoing theme throughout the film, but especially highlighted when he went into the highly secured prison to free his uncle with only a handful of his comrades. Ari's bravery and charisma was most apparent from the very beginning of the film, when he took command of Exodus, the ship smuggling the 677 holocaust survivors. Not only did Ari's comrades consult him and follow his orders, but the 677 holocaust survivors also respected his leadership. They agreed with Ari's suggestion and stood with him

to make a global statement by staying on board Exodus and starting a hunger strike until they are allowed passage to Palestine. Even the mothers refused to leave the ship, despite the possible dangers, and told Ari they wanted a better future for their children and knew that there is no future if they leave the ship and go back to the Cypriot holding camps. Ari's bravery even extended to his Palestinian friend Taha when he sensed that he was in trouble with the rest of the village people. Avner's bravery was in this acceptance in taking on this mission and all the responsibility it entailed; making plans, ensuring the safety of his colleagues, keeping the team safe and gathering trusted intel for the completion of the mission. Even when his leadership was questioned, he took bold decisions to reinsure his team of their mission, like when they wanted to go after Salameh, an Israeli archenemy and Palestinian mastermind of many terrorist attacks. As for Zohan, he showed charisma and bravery when the stores were set on fire and he felt that Phantom would not be able to handle it by himself. With his quick thinking, he jumped right in to help Phantom put out the raging fire.

As revealed above, the literature review extensively states that when the Jewish/Israeli character was not assimilated within the American society, they were framed as unmanly, feminine, physically weak, and unable to fend for themselves. Therefore, as these three characters are framed as physically manly, strong, attractive, brave and charismatic, it is consistent with the American ideal and socially accepted character frame they associate with. In the time space of more than 50 years, Ari, Avner and Zohan are framed consistently within these accepted American ideals and social affiliations.

Politically Western: Ideologically, all three Israeli characters were framed as believing in Western political ideals and social norms. The main two themes 'hailed'

at the American audience are patriotic duties and democratic values, which include

right of existence, personal freedoms, tolerance and co-existence. As mentioned

above in great detail, all three characters believed in Mother Israel and their duty to

fulfill their patriotic sacrifices. None of them hesitated to fulfill their duties nor tried

to get out of their initial obligations. On the contrary, they were all highly recognized

for their sacrifices and honorable missions they undertook for the greater good of

Mother Israel.

Secondly, all three films expressed democratic principles and framed Ari,

Avner and Zohan as ambassadors and believers of these principles, believers of

Western political values. In *Exodus*, Ari was part of the *Haganah* underground

movement and his uncle Akiva, leader of the *Irgun*, a radical Zionist movement. In

their ideological conversation, Ari expressed how *Haganah* believes dialogue and

communication is the ultimate solution that will bring about Israeli's statehood. Akiva

expressed how *Irgun*'s method of violence and aggression will rid Palestine of the

British mandate and therefore, Israel will exist. Despite their dramatic difference in

strategies and although Ari expressed how *Irgun*'s action are harming Israeli's global

image, they both are left to do as they wish, no one is trying to get rid of the other.

Co-existence and tolerance was a prominent modern political ideals shared by

all three films. According to coder 1, "all three movies at certain points broach the

topic of Israeli-Arab cooperation is key to keeping peace or preventing the

continuation of a cycle of violence" *(RM, m, 19-25)*. Coder 3 writes about *Munich*,

"the conflict is not resolved at the end, leaving the audience sensing the futility of the

mission and its adverse impact on the main character and his team" *(SA, m, 36+)*. In

all three films, they address the question of "how will this end?" Ari and Zohan

propose a naïve solution of co-existence and acceptance of others. Taha, Ari's

sympathetic Palestinian friend, is buried along side Karen, the holocaust Jew survivor. Both are victims of violence and hate from the 'other'. Zohan's solution is an ideal world where everyone lives homogenously together in a society (America) accepting of all. As Dahlia says to Zohan, "here is America, we are all the same, thousands of miles away from all this hate." America is their safe haven where they can live in peace. When Zohan first arrives in New York, as he stands mesmerized in awe in front of the Paul Mitchell salon. Behind him is a huge billboard with just "love" written on it, sparkly contrasting the "hate" Zohan left behind back in Israel.

In *Munich*, Avner's mission started out as a statement for the world to see that Israelis will not be victims again, a declaration for their right of existence, just like Ari did with Exodus. During the film, Golden-Mayer speaks of Israel's right to retaliate for heinous crimes and against maniacs without being labeled uncivilized. As Avner begins to see the multiplicity of these crimes and the unraveling of more hate and violence, Avner then questions this strategy and acknowledges the damage it reaps is not worth its reward. When he felt his family was in danger, he asked Daphna to move to New York. He no longer feels that Israel is his home. Just like Zohan, Avner leaves the hate behind and moves to a place of tolerance and co-existence. Avner started out as a hunter, justified in his cause, but ended up being hunted, as a result of his actions. The solution was to move to a place where he believes has no place for hate. Both Avner and Zohan shed their Israeli identity and move to America for a life of peace, love, tolerance and happiness.

All three characters live by their belief in their right to peaceful co-existence and tolerance of others. Ari, Avner and Zohan all fight for their right of existence as the world turns a blind eye to their hate, discrimination and persecution. They all

represent their fight against terrorism, and all its definitions and interpretations: fighting for Western values of democracy and tolerance.

For more than 50 years, the political ideals that Hollywood has hailed at the American audience has be consistent with American WWII film messages. The American supremacy of democratic glorification has been again reflected not only in the early years of statehood, but even after 50 years. Avner and Zohan are both framed as democratic and of superior attitude than other social and political groups. Their decisions to disassociate from the violent and tyrannical Zionistic state is one example in which a more moderate and civilized political ideology is superior to brute and extensive use of force. All three characters condemned blind violence, even toward their archenemies, and encouraged dialogue, communication and discourse as a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Lastly, the willingness to create a society of co-existence is the American core, which was reflected in many pre-1948 films including *Crossfire* and *A Gentlemen's Agreement.* Therefore, the political ideal and social affiliations were maintained in accordance to the American society.

VI. CONCLUSION

In conclusion of this research, the Israeli character depictions in Hollywood films have consistently been a projection of American ideologies and discourse of their time. Since the Jewish moguls took over Hollywood in early 20th century the Israeli character changed from being reflected negatively as greedy, conniving merchants to a patriotic, strong, attractive male fighting for their American Dream. Reflecting on Ari's character and what he stands for, the research shows that he is fighting for his right of existence, freedom and 'Land of the Free' for all Jews all over the world. *Exodus* is metaphorically mirroring America's fight for independence from British colonial powers to become an independent free nation. Ari is fighting for his right of self-determination as a free Jew, free of oppression. That was the narrative of the time.

As for Avner, he symbolizes the Jewish diaspora paradoxical dilemma on the Zionist Israeli aggression against Palestinians. Avner is faced with the moral predicament of whether to continue with the mission and be a part of the 'War on Terrorism', which is making him stoop down to the level of terrorists, or to rise above this corrupting abyss of violence and find another way to keep his humanity, sanity, and sense of security. This is the narrative of today. How should a civilized nation respond to terrorism without becoming terrorists themselves? Although Jews are expected to be morally and politically supportive of Zionist Israeli strategies, *Munich*'s last scene clearly shows that this is not the case. By walking away in the opposite direction of Ephriam, his Israeli Mossad mission handler (Geoffrey Rush), Avner, now as an American Jew not as an Israeli Mossad agent, makes a clear disconnect of any political blind alliance to Zionist Israeli violence against their

Palestinian enemies. They, Jewish diaspora, are undoubtedly religiously connected to Israel, but they are not necessarily ideologically in agreement with Israeli methods. Their parting of ways is a message that not only speaks of Jewish diaspora, but also to Palestinians and Arabs in general. As iconic symbols of the War on Terrorism, the Twin Towers loom over this final scene as a reminder that America has also seen the ugly face of terrorism. And yet despite that Jews do not support this level of morally corrupt violence against Israel's enemies.

As for Zohan, he symbolizes the American Dream of peaceful co-existence, where everyone can live in peace with everyone else. Of the three characters, Zohan is the most progressive character presenting avant-garde political ideology and solution. His love and marriage to Dahlia is by far the most utopian solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Zohan, just like Avner, disassociates himself from Zionist Israel and its violent tactics against Palestinians making a clear statement that not all Israelis agree with the government strategies and vision. By choosing to leave the Mossad secret service and Israel to go live in New York specifically, *You Don't Mess with the Zohan* suggests that the best solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is open dialogue and finding common interests for both. By downscaling the Palestinians as enemies at large to specific individuals and neighbors across the street, the animosity ceased to exist and the whole neighborhood became a thriving community. This is the narrative of the future.

These three different character transformations starting with *Haganah* activist Ari and his love to American Karen, to morally anguished Avner disowning his Israeli legacy and finally to ex-Mossad hair stylist Zohan and his marriage to Palestinian Dahlia are prominent signs which indicate that although Hollywood is managed by Jews the films produced are sympathetic and positive portrayals of

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Jewish diaspora, but are not necessarily ideologically aligned with the Zionist Israeli politics. As Hollywood productions, these three films have framed the main Israeli characters consistently with the American society's core ideological beliefs and values: peace, freedom and co-existence, which endorses the concept that Hollywood is an American dream machine hailing at the American audience kinship to Israelis as a population and persons to further extending their support. They are no longer considered outsiders or but very much assimilated in the American societies.

According to Scheufele, the pre-1948 weak and unmanly routinized superficialization stereotype has been counter stereotyped with Ari's new character frame and aspects. This new frame resonated well with the American audience and therefore, even with the passing of more than 50 years, this new post-1948 frame was able to maintain the manliness of the Israeli character image. Hollywood successfully hailed at its American audiences the new frame and was able to create a new stereotype to the Israeli film characters: Israeli soldier who shoots and cries; and the Israeli man who believes in co-existence and the social ideal. According to Althusser's theory of ideology, these new frames was a carefully crafted and infused to the American audience. Since both *Exodus* and *Munich* were positioned as epic films, the audience is expected to be mindful while watching and subliminally absorb the context of these characters and their salient attributes. Hollywood, as the image-creator and influencer, has maintained and re-enforced this positive 'American-esque' character frame, while being still being able to enhance, modify and building upon the original New Jew/Israeli character.

6.1 Limitations

This research study used a purposive sample of three Hollywood films that included an Israeli as the main character of the film. This is too small a sample from which to draw any conclusions. This research is exploratory in nature, and therefore can only be considered as an indicator to possible changes in the depictions of Israelis in Hollywood films during the course of this time period.

Even though the total intercoder reliability was within the acceptable range, having more coders, as well as ensuring a balance between American and Arab coders with backgrounds that would ensure a more balanced analysis of characters. My current research included two Americans and one Arab coders; two males and one female.

Another limitation of this research is that all three films are depicting male Israeli main characters, none female. Due to the time criteria of exploring the early statehood and after years, the research results are all depictions associated to male characteristics and cannot be presumably applied to female Israeli characters. As the literature review has shown, there are different attributes and characteristics to female Jewish characters apart from the male characters. Therefore, my research results are only descriptive to these three male characters.

In addition, it is essential to point out that previous research produced using framing theory has mostly been based on mass media depictions and news media coverage, not on film character depictions or portrayals. The setback of this could be that in mass media and news media coverage there is repetition and higher frequency of exposure of certain characters' images or types of characters depictions. While in film the character's image is not consumed in high exposure frequency nor seen by masses, therefore the research may be slightly skewed and analyzed differently.

Although using Althusser's theory of ideology was very appropriate for this research, film theory in general is vast and diverse ranging from structuralism to feminism and auteur theory. This wide scope of theories is ambitious and complicated making it difficult to focus on a specific theory, as they are all interrelated to each other. This may result in having difficulty in developing a clear methodology for research without having to limit very much the scope of research to a narrow operational definition.

6.2 Suggestions for Future Research

One of my suggestions for future research is to include more coders. When increasing the number of coders, the researcher should make sure to include varying combinations of key demographics of the coders. The main demographic information that I suggest should include younger/older ages, American/Arab ethnicity, female/male balanced gender combination, and varied educational background levels. This diversity of demographics may result in different interpretations of the Israeli Hollywood film characters to show significant difference within demographical groups.

In addition, I recommend that the research use triangulation methodology. By combining qualitative and quantitative analysis, the research will result in a more representative research with statistical scales of measurement to support the discourse analysis results. By using triangulation, including in depth interviews, focus groups, surveys, content analysis, the research will be more conclusive of the depictions of the Israeli characters in the selected films. It would also be interesting to explore another

film theory, for example semiotics, and how it Hollywood has used symbolic significance to influence the Israeli film character.

Finally, I suggest that future research includes in the sample selection films that were produced in the 1970s, 80s and 90s as to show progression and evolution of change in character depictions from the original Ari-type character to the postmodern Zohan character. By capturing a steady periodic depiction, the future research may give an indication on when the change(s) occur and if there are any correlations to historical and political events during their time. I would also like to suggest that within the selection of films, not only should it include female Israeli main characters, but there should be a range of possible different character types and ages. This will portray an array of Israeli characters that are not all political activists or Mossad secret agents.

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Operational Definitions

For sake of simplicity, the attributes used are divided into two or three types. Therefore, some attributes are to relatively similar but not exact. The reason for this is to have some flexibility in terms of the character descriptions, but generally to minimize too wide a range of character attributes that might dilute from the general character frame.

1. Physical build: fit vs unfit
Fit: broad frame/wide; regular frame, tall, muscular/built shape, strong, well and fit
Unfit: thin frame/slender, fat, unfit, weak, weak and feeble

2. Clothing and attire: casual and everyday vs formal/army
Casual: jeans and t-shirts, causal, semi-casual/semi-formal, worn out and shabby
Formal: suits, professional work clothes, army wear, clean and proper

3. General personality: friendly and social vs cold and weak
Friendly: fun/playful, comical, funny, friendly, approachable, down-to-earth, clear and straightforward, compassionate, brave/courageous, determined and active,
Serious: sarcastic, serious, harsh, reserved/unemotional, cold/apathetic, antisocial, arrogant/snobby, mysterious/vague, firm/rigid, coward, fatalistic and passive, broken and passive, in-control of emotions

4. Communication tone: friendly vs cold
Friendly: warm, bold, confident, outspoken, passionate, argumentative
Cold: cold, reserved/unexpressive, timid/shy,

5. Facial expressions: easy to read vs reserved
Easy to read: expressive, easy to read, pleasant and warm
Reserved: cold/unemotional, poker face, firm and rigid

6. Leadership traits: charismatic vs weak
Charismatic: charismatic, persuasive, democratic, honest, direct, intuitive, problem solver, takes responsibility,
Weak: follower, non-confrontational, passive, dictatorial, conniving, bossy

7. Interaction with friends: equals vs not equals
Equals: humanitarian, considerate of others feelings and opinions, listens to others/democratic, polite, sacrificing and heroic acting, fighting for others,
Not Equals: stubborn, firm, hypocritical/two-faces, rude, cowards away from standing up for others, antisocial

8. Interaction with enemies: equals vs not equals
Equals: humanitarian, considerate of others feelings and opinions, listens to others/democratic, polite, sacrificing and heroic acting, fighting for others,
Not Equals: stubborn, firm, hypocritical/two-faces, rude, cowards away from standing up for others, antisocial

9. Religious: conducts any religious rituals of any religion, reads any religious verse

10. Strong patriotic feelings and believes: shows and obeys patriotic duties

11. Morally sound and knows the difference between "good and evil": comprehends the difference between right and wrong, and consequences of killing others

12. Has internal turmoil: shows conflicting ethical issues and not clear of how to act or do for the future

13. Questions patriotic methods: asks question about mission, purpose, reason for doing, reluctant to fulfill patriotic duties

14. Inner peace and serenity: believes and fulfils patriotic actions for the nation without any doubt, is always willing to conduct this duties or not

15. handles real conflict: Faces it straight-up vs avoids
Straight-up: has action plan/confrontation, creative problem solving, ethically
Avoids: evasively, hesitates, confused, unclear action plan, haphazourdously, seeks help from others, unethically, doesn't handle/address

16. Inner conflict reflected on other: displacement on other vs no displacement
Displacement: aggressive verbal communication, physical aggression, emotionally displaces it, emotionally expresses it,
No displacement: no effect, does not apply on to others

17. Treats and communicates with friends: fairly vs unfairly
Fairly: fairly, friendly, respectfully, disrespectfully, compassionately, as equals,
Unfairly: as subordinate, poorly, condescendingly, bosses them

18. Treats and communicates with girlfriend/wife: fairly vs unfairly
Fairly: fairly, friendly, respectfully, disrespectfully, compassionately, as equals,
Unfairly: as subordinate, poorly, condescendingly, bosses them

19. Treated and communicated with by friend: fairly vs unfairly
Fairly: fairly, friendly, respectfully, disrespectfully, compassionately, as equals,
Unfairly: as subordinate, poorly, condescendingly, bosses them

19. Treated and communicated with by girlfriend/wife: fairly vs unfairly
Fairly: fairly, friendly, respectfully, disrespectfully, compassionately, as equals,
Unfairly: as subordinate, poorly, condescendingly, bosses them

20. Treats and communicates with enemies: fairly vs unfairly
Fairly: fairly, friendly, respectfully, disrespectfully, compassionately, as equals,
Unfairly: as subordinate, poorly, condescendingly, bosses them

21. When forced to fight: Courageously vs not courageously
Courageously: stands up and fights back, outsmarts them with wit and cleverness, strong and able to fight, fights courageously,
Not courageously: scared and runs away, doesn't fight back and takes the hits passively, talks himself out of the fight, bargains a deal, weak and unable, to fight back

IX. APPENDIX II

Character Coding Sheet

Coder Initials _____ Date _____

Character Name Analyzed: (choose one only)
- o Ari from *Exodus* (Paul Newman)
- o Avner From *Munich*
- o Zohan from *You Don't Mess with the Zohan*

Character traits	Descriptions (if needed)	Further Response If Needed
Physical traits		

Age *(choose only one)*
  o 10-19
  o 20-30
  o 31-50
  o 51+		

Physically build *(choose all that apply)*
  o Thin frame/slender
  o Broad frame/wide shoulders
  o Regular frame
  o Tall
  o Short
  o Regular height
  o Muscular/built shape
  o Fat
  o Unfit
  o Strong
  o Weak
  o Well and Fit
  o Weak and feeble
  o Other _____		

Ethnicity through looks (*Western vs Middle Eastern*)
o Hair color:
    o Blond or light
    o Brown or dark
    o White hair
 	
o Eye color:
    o Blue or light
    o Brown or dark		

o   Completion color
     o   Fair / light
     o   Medium
     o   Dark
o   Hair texture type and color
     o   Straight and light
     o   Straight and dark
     o   Curly and light
     o   Curly and dark
     o   Frizzy and light
     o   Frizzy and dark
     o   Other _____
     o
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Ethnicity through Nose Shape
(choose only one)
     o   Straight (Greek")
     o   Aquilineo, arched
         (Jewish Semitic)
     o   Flat and Broad
     o   Snub
     o Other _____		

English Accent *(choose only one)*
     o   Plain American
     o   Southern American
     o   Broken English
         accent/Middle Eastern
         style
     o   Broken English European
         style
     o   British accent
     o Other _____		

Is physically attracted to women
     o   Yes
     o   No
 	
Is physically attracted by women
     o   Yes
     o No		

Clothing and attire *(choose all that apply)*
     o   Jeans and t-shirt
     o   Causal
     o   Formal
     o   Suits
     o   Semi-formal / semi causal
     o   Professional work cloths
     o   Army wear
     o Clean and Proper		

o Worn out and shabby o Other _____		

Has a key gesture
  o Yes
  o No
What is it: _____		

Personality traits and characteristics		

General personality *(choose all that apply)*
  o Fun/Playful
  o Sarcastic
  o Serious
  o Harsh
  o Comical/funny
  o Reserved/Unemotional
  o Friendly
  o Cold/Apathetic
  o Approachable
  o Antisocial
  o Arrogant/Snobby
  o Down-to-earth
  o Mysterious/Vague
  o Clear and straightforward
  o Firm/Rigid
  o Compassionate
  o Brave/Courageous
  o Coward
  o Fatalistic and passive
  o Determined and active
  o Broken and passive
  o In-control of emotions
  o Other _____		

Communication tone *(choose all that apply)*
  o Warm
  o Cold
  o Reserved/unexpressive
  o Bold
  o Confident
  o Outspoken
  o Timid/Shy
  o Passionate
  o Argumentative
  o Other _____		

Facial expressions *(choose all that apply)*
   o Expressive
   o Cold/Unemotional
   o Easily read
   o Poker face
   o Pleasant and warm
   o Firm and rigid
   o Other _____
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Leadership traits *(choose all that apply)*
   o Charismatic
   o Follower
   o Persuasive
   o Non-confrontational
   o Passive
   o Democratic
   o Dictatorial
   o Honest
   o Direct
   o Conniving
   o Intuitive
   o Problem solver
   o Takes responsibility
   o Bossy
   o Other _____		

Interaction with friends *(choose all that apply)*
   o Humanitarian
   o Considerate of others feelings and opinions
   o Listens to other/democratic
   o Stubborn
   o Firm
   o Hypocritical/Two-faced
   o Rude
   o Polite
   o Sacrificing and heroic acting
   o Fights for others
   o Cowards away from standing up for others
   o Antisocial
   o Other _____		

Interaction with enemy *(choose all that apply)* o Humanitarian		

o Considerate of others feelings and opinions o Listens to other/democratic o Stubborn o Firm o Hypocritical/Two-faced o Rude o Polite o Sacrificing and heroic acting o Fights for others o Cowards away from standing up for others o Antisocial o Other _____		
Has strong religious tendency and practicing o Yes o No		
Nationalism and Duty		
Has strong patriotic feeling o Yes o No		
Morally sound and knows the difference between "good vs evil" actions o Yes o No		
Is in favor of mass killing of enemy o Yes o No		
Believes and practices patriotic duties and the greater good of the nation o Yes o No		
Has internal turmoil with call for national duty(ies) o Yes o No		
Questions the national/patriotic methods for solving problems with enemy o Yes o No		

Has inner peace and serenity with nationalistic calls of duty
   o Yes
   o No		

Motivated for doing his nationalistic duty(ies)
   o Yes
   o No		

Has regrets for his national duty(ies) and actions
   o Yes
   o No		

Does he have a "key phrase"
   o Yes
   o No
What is it:_____		

How does he handle his inner conflict *(choose only one)*
   o Addressed it and overcomes it
   o Ignores it and proceeds with life
   o Didn't acknowledge it and suppressed it
   o Does not have any inner conflict
   o Other _____		

How does he handle 'actual/real' point of conflict *(choose only one)*
   o Evasively
   o Calculating and calmly
   o Hesitate
   o Has action plan for retaliation/confrontation
   o Confused
   o Unclear action plan
   o Haphazardously
   o Creative problem solving
   o Seeks help from others
   o Ethically
   o Unethically
   o Does not handle/address it
   o Other _____		

How is inner conflict reflected on other characters
    o   No effect
    o   Aggressive verbal communication
    o   Physical aggression
    o   Emotionally displaces it
    o   Emotional expression
    o   Does not apply
    o   Other _____
	81	

General Movie Attributes		

Point of view of the movie/its narrative is of *(choose only one)*
    o   Main character
    o   Another character
    o Third person		

How many lines does main character/he say *(choose only one)*
    o   Minimal lines
    o   Relative same as others in the movie
    o Most of the lines are for him		

How much camera time is on him *(choose only one)*
    o   Minimal time
    o   Relative same as others in the movie
    o Most of the time were on him		

How is the lighting / reflections on his face/body *(choose only one)*
    o   Natural lighting
    o   Dramatic dark and light lighting
    o   Mix of both styles
    o   Mostly dark lighting
    o Mostly light lighting		

Interaction with other movie characters		

How does he treat / communicate with his friend(s)
    o   Fairly
    o   Friendly
    o   Respectfully
    o Disrespectfully		

o Compassionately o As equals o As subordinate o Poorly o Condescendingly o Bosses them	82	
How does he treat / communicate with <u>his girlfriend/wife</u> o Fairly o Friendly o Respectfully o Disrespectfully o Compassionately o As equals o As subordinate o Poorly o Condescendingly o Bosses them		
How does his friend treat / communicate <u>with him</u> o Fairly o Friendly o Respectfully o Disrespectfully o Compassionately o As equals o As subordinate o Poorly o Condescendingly o Bosses them		
How does his wife/girlfriend treat / communicate <u>with a him</u> o Fairly o Friendly o Respectfully o Disrespectfully o Compassionately o As equals o As subordinate o Poorly o Condescendingly o Bosses them		
How does he react to <u>enemy's reactions</u> o Fairly o Friendly o Respectfully o Disrespectfully o Compassionately		

o As equals o As subordinate o Poorly o Condescendingly o Bosses them o Outsmarts them		
When forced to fight o Stands up and fights back o Scared and runs away o Doesn't fight back and takes the hits passively o Talks himself out of the fight o Bargains a deal out of the fight o Outsmarts them with wit and cleverness o Strong and able to fight o Weak and unable to fit back o Fights courageously		

Rate his following characteristics:
1 - Very courageous 5 4 3 2 1 Very cowardice
2 - Very smart and witty 5 4 3 2 1 Dull and not smart
3 - Problem solver and creative 5 4 3 2 1 Flustered and indecisive
4 - Has leadership qualities 5 4 3 2 1 Has follower qualities
5 - Physically strong 5 4 3 2 1 Physically feeble
6 - Straightforward and clear 5 4 3 2 1 Sly and conniving
7 - Manly and attractive 5 4 3 2 1 Feminine and unattractive
8 - Polite and courteous to others 5 4 3 2 1 Rude and disrespectful to others
9 - Patriotic and loyal 5 4 3 2 1 Unpatriotic and not loyal
10 - Straightforward and easy to read 5 4 3 2 1 Mysterious and vague
11 – Dictatorial decision-making 5 4 3 2 1 Democratic decision making

Coder General Demographic Information:
Age: 1-18 / 19 – 25 / 26 – 35 / 36+
Gender: F / M
Income range in LE: 1K-5K / 5K- 10K / 10K -30K / 30K+
Marital status: Single / Married / Divorced / Widowed
Mostly lived / grew up in: Middle East / Europe / United States / Africa / Other Region
Educated in: Public schools / Private schools
Highest Earned Educational Degree: 2 year college degree / BA / MA / PhD /

V. APPENDIX III

**Total Coding Sheet Compiled from 3 Coders of 3 Characters
Coders' Responses In Agreement**

Question #	Ari	Avner	Zohan	Question #	Ari	Avner	Zohan
1	Y	Y	Y	26	*N*	*N*	Y
2	Y	Y	Y	27	Y	*N*	Y
3	Y	Y	Y	28	*N*	Y	Y
4	Y	Y	Y	29	*N*	Y	Y
5	Y	Y	Y	30	Y	*N*	Y
6	Y	Y	Y	31	Y	Y	Y
7	Y	Y	Y	32	Y	Y	Y
8	Y	Y	Y	33	Y	Y	Y
9	Y	*N*	Y	34	Y	Y	Y
10	Y	*N*	Y	35	*N*	Y	Y
11	Y	*N*	Y	36	*N*	*N*	Y
12	Y	*N*	Y	37	*N*	*N*	Y
13	Y	Y	Y	38	Y	Y	Y
14	Y	*N*	*N*	39	Y	Y	Y
15	Y	Y	Y	40	Y	*N*	Y
16	Y	Y	Y	41	Y	*N*	Y
17	Y	*N*	Y	42	Y	Y	Y
18	Y	*N*	Y	43	Y	Y	Y
19	Y	*N*	Y	44	Y	Y	Y
20	Y	Y	Y	45	Y	Y	*N*
21	*N*	Y	Y	46	Y	Y	Y
22	Y	Y	Y	47	Y	Y	*N*
23	Y	Y	Y	48	Y	*N*	Y
24	Y	Y	Y	49	Y	Y	*N*
25	Y	Y	Y				
				Total Agreed (per character)	**42**	**33**	**45**
				Total Agreed (all 3 characters)			**120**

Y = Yes: all three coders has same/similar response
N = No: the three coders did not have on same/similar response