

1-1-2008

Moving around the world : Russian Jews from Israel in Toronto

Lea Soibelman
Ryerson University

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalcommons.ryerson.ca/dissertations>



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Soibelman, Lea, "Moving around the world : Russian Jews from Israel in Toronto" (2008). *Theses and dissertations*. Paper 500.

This Major Research Paper is brought to you for free and open access by Digital Commons @ Ryerson. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Ryerson. For more information, please contact bcameron@ryerson.ca.

FC
106
• R0
S65
2008

MOVING AROUND THE WORLD:
RUSSIAN JEWS FROM ISRAEL IN TORONTO

by

Lea Soibelman
BSW, Tel Aviv University, 1981

A Major Research Paper
Presented to Ryerson University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
In the Program of
Immigration and Settlement Studies

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2008

© Lea Soibelman 2008

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Myer Siemiatycki for his supervision of this project. His guidance and dedication made a great contribution to this paper.

The invaluable input of Dr. Arthur Ross is also greatly appreciated.

I would also like to thank all my professors for their guidance throughout my studies at Ryerson.

Special thanks to my family for their incredible patience and support.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1	
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2	
Historical and Conceptual Context.....	6
Chapter 3	
Russian Jewish Immigrants of the 1990s in Israel.....	22
Chapter 4	
Russian Jews from Israel in Toronto.....	30
Chapter 5	
Conclusion.....	45
Bibliography.....	50
List of tables	
Table 1- Socio-demographic Profile of the Respondents.....	4
Table 2 - Primary Identity of the Respondents in their Countries of Residence.....	39
List of Appendices	
Appendix 1- Questionnaire.....	48

Chapter 1

Introduction

This paper will explore the immigration experience of Russian Jews from Israel arriving in the Greater Toronto Area, herein referred to as Toronto, in the late 1990s and early 2000s. During the last two decades of the 20th century there has been a continuous influx of Russian Jews from Israel to Toronto. This cohort is usually referred to as “a secondary migration of Russian Jews”. This ongoing immigrant cohort has become the major source of recent Jewish immigrants in Toronto. Unlike Russian Jews who arrived in Canada directly from the FSU (Former Soviet Union) this group of immigrants had a different journey. They left a hostile FSU for their historical homeland, Israel, and then arrived in Toronto joining another diaspora, which is rather welcoming and, in a way, embracing. Thus, one could say they had the experience of living in the diaspora and their homeland, though for some of them Israel remained a homeland only from a mythical point of view.

In Israel they were exposed to the wide range of Jewish culture *e.g.* Hebrew language, Jewish holidays, Jewish education, *etc.* Whether integrated or not they had lived in a Jewish state. They also had lived in a Westernized society and had acquired some salient skills that their counterparts arriving directly from the FSU lacked *e.g.* they were used to a systematic job search, had some experience with organizational structures found in the Western world, and many had improved their English skills as an international professional language. On the one hand, they have gone through the

difficulties of immigration once, gaining “migration experience”, on the other hand, they experienced the emotional trauma and hardship of immigration again. Thus, we cannot include all Russian Jews arriving in Toronto in the same broad category, ignoring their “Israeli experience”.

Moreover, there are differences within the cohort of Russian Jews from Israel. It can be divided into two major groups: the first one, which had to struggle to leave the communist Soviet Union before 1990, and the second one, which freely left the country during the process of *perestroika* and the breakdown of the communist regime. Unlike those in the first group, the immigrants, who left for Israel in late 1980s early 1990s, rapidly left a country which was in a crisis with collapsing political structures and deteriorating economic conditions. They arrived in Israel at a unique time: never before had Israel experienced such a high influx of immigrants in a short period of time and it had difficulties accommodating thousands of newcomers arriving every month. Therefore, the circumstances of both the departure and arrival of this second group were different from the previous one, which affected their settlement in Israel and consequently contributed to their motivation to leave Israel.

This study is focused on the immigration related experiences of the second group, e.g. those who left the FSU for Israel in late 1980s and early 1990s and arrived in Toronto as secondary migrants in the late 1990s and early 2000s. It will explore the unique character of this cohort, their settlement in Toronto as well as their identities and transnational practices. I argue that this cohort of Russian Jews has notable features which have affected their adjustment and integration in Toronto. I contend that their identities fluctuated as they came to settle in new places. It is important to take into

consideration that Russian Jews were minority groups in both the FSU and Israel; they were labeled Jews in the FSU, but Russians in Israel. The interesting question is how they see themselves in Canada and how they are perceived by the established Jewish community. Russian Jews who came to Canada at the end of the 20th century joined a community with a long and deeply rooted Jewish history. It has been hosting immigrants from many Eastern European countries, South America, Israel, Morocco, Iran and other countries.

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the participants' perceptions, ways of thinking, feelings, beliefs, values, views and arguments. This examination is intended to make an attempt to answer "what", "how" and "why" questions related to Russian Jewish immigrant experiences in Toronto by analyzing qualitative data, collected using a distinctive qualitative strategy known as narrative inquiry. Elliott (2005) argues that "Narrative (stories) in the human science should be defined provisionally as discourses with a clear sequential order that connects events in a meaningful way for a definite audience and thus offers insights about the world and / or people's experiences of it" (p. 3). As Franzosi (1998) notes: "All classes, all human groups have their narrative. Narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural. It is simply like life itself" (p. 517). I believe that using the narrative inquiry contributes to the truthfulness, richness, and quality of collected data, which in turn ensures more accurate results.

Participants for the study were located by consecutive referrals (snow-balling) with the starting point in my own informal networks among Russian Jews from Israel living in Toronto. The study sample consisted of 6 Russian Jewish immigrants from Israel, 3 male and 3 female, ages 35 to 55, who had lived in Israel for 10 – 12 years and arrived in

Toronto in late 1990s and early 2000s. The majority of them were employed at the time of study and lived in private homes in Thornhill, Richmond Hill and other suburbs. To preserve the anonymity of the participants, I have changed their names, but kept intact other personal details (age, occupation, length of residence in Canada, etc.). Table 1 illustrates the socio-demographic profile of the respondents.

Table 1

Socio-demographic Profile of the Respondents

Name	Age	Occupation Former / Current	Years in Toronto	Family Composition
Anna	48	teacher/settlement worker	7	married +2 (19, 23)*
Alex	55	electronic engineer/same	10	married +2 (18, 25)
Olga	45	system analyst/same	6	married+2 (8, 20)
Lena	40	teacher/student	6	married+2 (10, 15)
Vlad	36	mechanical engineer/same	7	married+2 (7, 10)
Josef	43	programmer/same	9	married+1 (16)

*Number and Ages of Children

To collect data I conducted 6 in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews are beneficial for generating personal accounts, understanding the personal context and exploring issues in depth and detail. The interviews are essential to understand complex process and issues, for instance motivations, decisions, impacts, and outcomes, as well as to explore private subjects and sensitive issues (Lewis, 2003, Elliot, 2005). The interviews, lasting on average 35 minutes were conducted in Russian. The questionnaire was composed of open-ended questions to allow a number of possible detailed answers, possibility to expand the question, to probe, clarify and generate additional data by interacting with a respondent. The interviews were tape recorded, accurately transcribed and analyzed using thematic coding as described by Neuman (2006).

Having worked with Russian Jews from Israel for 18 years and having gone through similar immigration experiences contribute to my in-depth understanding and insight into the participants and the related issues which in turn add to the credibility of the presented findings and their analysis. I also had an opportunity to participate and observe numerous community events organized for Russian Jews in Toronto. Some parts of this paper are based on these observations.

Chapter 2

Historical and Conceptual Context

The earliest Jewish settlers arrived in Canada over two centuries ago in the second half of the eighteenth century. By 1840 there were about two hundred Jews in Canada; most of them came from England and Germany and resided in Montreal. During the 1850s and 1860s additional Jewish communities developed in the Atlantic provinces as well as in Toronto (Abella, 1990, Tulchinsky, 1992). The migration of Jews from Russia to Canada started at the end of the nineteenth century when thousands of Jews fled economic hardships and massacres in Russian towns and villages. The turmoil of the First World War and the communist revolution induced further migration during the 1920s. Russian and other Eastern European Jews settled in the Prairies, especially in Winnipeg. Between 1914 and 1930 Russian Jewish immigrants kept gradually moving from farms in Western Canada and mines in the north of the country to the “ghettos” of Montreal and Toronto where they established Jewish cultural, charity and fundraising organizations. Abella referred to this period as an “era of organization” in the history of the Jewish community in Canada (p. 147).

In the spring of 1919, the first plenary assembly of a newly established Canadian Jewish Congress in Montreal passed a resolution calling for a creation of a central Canadian organization for Jewish immigration. The first office of JIAS (Jewish Immigrant Aid Society as it was first called) was opened in Montreal; the Toronto office

was established in 1922. The mandate of this organization was to influence Canadian immigration policy to allow more Jewish immigrants into the country as well as to provide assistance to arriving immigrants. The idea of creation of such an agency was primarily based on one of the most important principles of Judaism, that each Jew is responsible for another and for saving a Jewish life. In addition, the Canadian Jewish community was also acting in its self interest: the relatively small Jewish community saw immigration as a key component to its growth, intensification and development.

"Immigrants established JIAS so JIAS could establish immigrants" so went the motto of JIAS in its early years (The JIAS Toronto 75th Anniversary Community Heritage Book). Since 1922 the Toronto office of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Services has been providing immigration and settlement services to immigrants from all over the world: Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, the Former Soviet Union, Romania, Morocco, Syria, Israel, Argentina and other countries.

From the onset of the Great Depression until the end of the Second World War, Canada practically shut its doors to Jewish immigration. Not until 1948 did thousands of Jews, predominantly Holocaust survivors, find refuge in Canada, in part as a result of pressure from the Canadian Jewish Congress, Bnai Brith and other Jewish organizations, as well as from labor unions. Around 40, 0000 Holocaust survivors arrived in Canada during the late 1940s. Between 1950 and 1953, several thousand Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe, including Russian Jews, managed to enter Canada before the Cold War closed entry again (Cohen, 2001, p. 215).

In 1972, after years of pressure from the Western World, the Soviet government announced that Jews could leave for Israel for the purpose of family reunification. The

Soviet authorities started granting exit permits to Jews, who presented an invitation from a relative from Israel. They were forced to give up their Soviet citizenship leaving the country stateless as it was written in their exit permits (Basok, 1991, Heitman, 1991). There were no diplomatic relations between the FSU and Israel; therefore they traveled to Vienna, where they were met by a representative of the Jewish Agency for Israel. They were given a choice between going on to Israel or staying in Europe and applying for settlement in the USA or Canada. Not all Russian Jews wanted to go to Israel due to various reasons: some of them had relatives in the US and Canada, many feared political instability in Israel and mandatory military service, and for some of them it was just the only way to escape from the communist country to the free world.

The number of Russian Jews refusing to go to Israel constantly increased. In 1980 the rate of Russian Jews who arrived in Vienna and refused to go to Israel was 65% and it climbed even further to 81% by 1983 (Avrich-Skapinker, 1993, p. 100). According to the Canadian Immigration Act which came into effect in 1978 and the accompanying regulations of 1979, Russian Jews were able to apply for permanent residence in Canada in a designated class of "East European Self-Exiled Persons" category. Thus, they could be sponsored by a NGO such as JIAS.

Russian Jews were motivated to leave the FSU for several reasons: Anti-Semitism, discrimination, lack of freedom and human rights, family reunification, economic hardships, *etc.* (Avrich- Skapinker, 1993, Basok and Brym, 1991, Benifand, 1991). They brought with them plenty of "cultural baggage" from the republics they came from and therefore demonstrated obvious cultural diversity. For instance, in the FSU in addition to their knowledge of the Russian language they had to learn the specific language of the

republic of residence, *e.g.* Ukrainian, Moldavian, Latvian, *etc.* Even their common Russian language was often different in terms of the dialect and pronunciation. In addition to linguistic differences, there were obvious differences in gender relationships, family dynamics, food and even in the ways they celebrated Jewish Holidays. Jews from Asian republics had darker complexions, their clothes had different colors and silhouettes, they usually had more children and consequently were noticeably different from Europeans. There was a certain “geographical classification” and sorting within the immigrant community itself, which had an impact on the development of their social networks.

Those who arrived in Toronto in early 1980s joined an existing community of approximately 8,000 Russian Jews (Avrich-Skapinker, 1993, p. 167), who had already made some efforts to have the Russian Jewish community become structured and organized. However the process of integration of the Russian Jews into the larger Toronto Jewish community moved very slowly. Some members of the Toronto Jewish community expressed concerns that “the Soviet Jews were just too different, too disinterested or distant to ever become part of the mainstream community” (Avrich-Skapinker, 1993, p. 158). The Toronto Jewish community made a lot of efforts to assist Russian Jewish immigrants to successfully settle in Toronto: financial support, assistance finding accommodation, emergency medical aid, free membership to the Jewish Community Centre, free summer camps for children, subsidies for Hebrew schools, as well as certain assistance with employment. But the integration, the way the local Jewish community had perceived it, did not take place as expected. The established community wanted these immigrants to become its members, not just service recipients. However, as Cohen

(2001) noted “Russian Jews expected to be economically assisted and to be left alone to practice their secular orientation and their strong attachment to Russian culture” (p. 224). As Marcus and Swarts (1984) pointed out there was a significant cultural gap between the Jewish host community, with its religious and social institutions, and the immigrants, who came from a secular society where they hardly practiced their Jewish customs and traditions.

In 1990, following the ending of the communist regime, the East European Self-Exiled class was eliminated, which resulted in the end of this “Europe route” for Russian Jews (Basok, 1991, p. 145). However, in early 1990s the Toronto Jewish community faced a new influx of Russian Jews, arriving directly from the FSU in the independent and family categories. This new cohort of Russian Jews from the post-communist FSU was in many ways different from the previous one. Since most were coming as independent immigrants, they had to meet the selection criteria (age, education, knowledge of English, occupation, *etc.*). Consequently, they were younger and their language skills were better. They had the benefit of access to information about Canada through their relatives and friends in Canada, the foreign press, television, radio, newspapers, *etc.* Unlike those who were leaving a communist country, they could easily travel, did not have to give up their citizenship and thus could go back.

The “push” factors for Russian Jews in the post-communist FSU were generally similar to those of previous immigrant cohort: with growing anti-Semitism, discrimination and rising neo-fascist groups the FSU was not safe for Jews. In addition many people, to a great extent, were motivated to leave due to “the worsening of the economic decline, political disintegration and ethnic strife in the country” (Heitman,

1991, p.4). According to Tolts (2004) the immigrant cohort leaving the FSU in the 1990s was more assimilated into larger Russian culture than the previous ones. The findings of another study also confirm that “recently arrived Russian Jews in Toronto brought with them less of the Jewish cultural capital” (Anisef, Baichman-Anisef & Siemiatycki, 2002, p. 8).

The large wave of Russian Jews from Israel started in the middle of 1990s. This cohort is usually referred as “a secondary migration of Russian Jews” (Cohen, 2001, Kraft, 2000). While Russian Jews from the FSU arrived as an oppressed group of people fleeing ant-Semitism and discrimination, the secondary migration of Russian Jews from Israel to Canada was typically prompted by fear of war and terrorism, mandatory military service, economic hardships, difficulties encountered by intermarried couples, as well as difficulties integrating into an Israeli society, predicated on a more religious ideology revealed in religiously based legislation, than they had expected or were comfortable with. This ongoing immigrant cohort has become the major source of recent Jewish immigrants in Toronto (Shahar & Magomet, 2005, JIAS records, 2007). As noted in the introduction, this cohort was different from the previous ones in many ways starting with their very “itinerary”: from a hostile FSU to their mythical homeland, Israel, and then to the Jewish diaspora in Canada.

In order to present an informed analysis of Russian Jews from Israel in Toronto, it is necessary to establish the working definitions of a Jew and a Russian Jew.

Who is a Jew

Jews are a people, *am Ysrael* (“the nation of Israel”), an ethnic group defined by a common descent, a sense of history, and other cultural attributes (Weinfeld, 2001, p.16). By the time of the Spanish Expulsion in 1492, there were three major populations and cultural concentration of Jews. Oriental (*Mizrahi*) Jews came from long standing Jewish communities throughout the Middle East and North Africa. Sephardi Jews (*Sephard* means “Spain” in Hebrew) were those originated from Spain and Portugal. The third group are Ashkenazi Jews (*Ashkenaz* is the older Hebrew word for Germany). This group refers to the Jews whose origins are in Central and Eastern Europe, are associated with Yiddish language and culture, and who were influenced by Christianity and European civilization (Weinfeld, 2001, pp. 16-17). Judaism shares some of the characteristics of a nation, an ethnicity, a religion, and a culture, making the definition of who is a Jew vary to some extent depending on whether a religious or ethnic approach to identity is used.

According to Jewish law (*Halacha*), a child born to a Jewish mother is considered a Jew. According to Reform Judaism a person is a Jew if they were born to either a Jewish mother or a Jewish father. The creation of the state of Israel in 1948 contributed to further ambiguity of who was considered a Jew. As noted, by *Halacha* only a child of a Jewish mother is a Jew, regardless of the father’s descent. Half-Jews on the paternal side are not considered Jews. However, immigration to Israel is regulated by the Law of Return enacted in 1950, which allows entry and immediate citizenship to Jews, their children,

and grandchildren on both sides (maternal and paternal). The Law of Return was amended in 1970 because of the lack of clarity of the fundamental question “Who is a Jew” in the Population Registry (Al-Haj, 2004, p. 35). The amendment expanded the Law of Return and stipulated that “the right of return applied also to the non-Jewish child, grandchild, or spouse of a Jew, as well as to the children’s and grandchildren’s spouses” (Al Haj, 2004, p. 35). In this way the right of return and citizenship was extended to many who were not Jewish according to *Halacha*. The estimated number of non-Jews among the last wave of Russian Jews currently living in Israel is around 350,000, that is, over one third of the total, as indicated on the Interior Ministry’s website (Remennick, 2007, p. 61). The “Who is a Jew?” question still vexes *Knesset* (Israeli Parliament) and has brought orthodox and secular Israelis into sharp conflict. For the purpose of this paper an individual who has at least one Jewish parent and who identifies with Jews will be considered a Jew.

The definition of Russian Jews has been always problematic and sometimes confusing. “Russians” is a general term commonly used to describe immigrants from all the republics of the FSU. One can argue this is wrong, because each republic has its own distinctive ethnic nature, which is typically manifested in language, arts, and customs and often in a particular accent and dialect of the Russian language. However it is essential to remember that all the republics of the FSU went through a process of Russification, *i.e.* an adoption of the Russian language or some other Russian attributes (whether voluntary or not) by non Russian communities. It is significant to remember that the community in Toronto defines itself as Russian Jewish: indeed the name of its largest community institution is the Russian Jewish Community Centre. Hence, the most basic and

straightforward definition will be used in this paper: Russian Jews are Jews born in the FSU. It is essential to keep in mind the wide ranging diversity of Russian Jews, because their customs, traditions, and identities were influenced by a particular culture of the republic they were residing in. The majority of the FSU Jews lived in Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia, with about 35 per cent across the Baltic states, Moldova, the Caucasus and Central Asia.

Ethnic Identity

The term ethnic derives from two Greek words: *ethnos* and *ethnikos*. In classical Greek *ethnos* meant a number of people living together, a company, or a band of comrades. *Ethnos* is the distinctive spirit and attitude of a people and culture. *Ethnikos* means national. Hiebert (2000) argues that “in contemporary usage, ethnicity is seen as both the way in which individuals define their personal identity and a type of social stratification that emerges when people form groups based on their real or perceived origins” (p. 235).

Andersen (2001) points out that global diasporas have contributed over centuries, but especially in recent decades, to “extremely complex ethnic contact situations. Ethnic identification today has become increasingly complicated by the scattering of ethnic people” (p. 216). The mobility of people of diverse ethnic affiliations could hardly be overstated today. Multiple ethnic and social identities have emerged in modern pluralistic societies. Quite a few scholars (Anderson, 2001, Basok, 2002, Song, 2003) argue that ethnic identity is not constant and can fluctuate over time. Basok (2002), who conducted several studies on Russian Jewish immigrants in Toronto, views “identity as being

constantly (re)constituted in relation to local and global encounters” (p. 345). She suggests that people may be uncertain about what constitutes their own identities and when some immigrants question and redefine the meanings of their ethnic identities, it can result in identities becoming fragmented (p. 342). These findings resonate with those by Anisef, Baichman-Anisef & Siemiatycki (2002), who argue that Russian Jewish youth, especially those who lived in Israel, develop multiple fragmented identities: “Are they Russian? Are they Israeli? Are they Jewish, and if so, what part of their identity does it take?” (p. 22).

Some aspects of identity can be self-imposed and others can be the result of outside influence. According to Weinberg (1996) identity is multi-faceted; therefore an individual can identify with more than one group on multiple levels. Issues of identity and belonging to a group might be more complicated for diasporas’ minorities such as Russian Jews. Historically the formation of the identity of Russian Jews was, to a great extent, affected by their experiences: pogroms, anti-Semitism, the creation of a communist Soviet Union, the Holocaust, the creation of the state of Israel, *etc.* Russian Jews had to maintain their collective memory and traditions to keep their Jewish identity and preserve it for future generations (Weinberg, p.63). Their identity had to incorporate traditional Jewish values and modern life. For the majority of Russian Jews, who grew up in an atheist society, being Jewish meant to belong to an ethnic group. But their Russian Jewish identities were also influenced by their education and exposure to arts and literature, as well as other experiences, which were based on Russian culture. Consequently, culturally they identified themselves as Russians. As Cohen (2001) has observed many leading Russian writers, poets, journalists, actors, composers, and

musicians were Jews – Jews were among the creators of the Russian Soviet culture.

“They are an integral part, often labeled “the heart” of the Russian intelligentsia. This explains the solid connection between the Russian cultural traditions and Russian Jewish identity” (p.219).

Diaspora and transnationalism

Migration processes are seen in the political and economic context of an expanding global economy. These processes reflect the historical context of the links between origins and destinations which are based on earlier colonization, political influence, trade, investment or cultural ties, as well as the current economic, social and political contexts. Migration could be viewed as a response to the flow of capital, technology, institutional forms and cultural innovations in an interactive process across the globe. Contemporary immigrants tend to move back and forth between their homes and hosting countries creating transnational diasporas. Evans Braziel and Mannur (2003) suggest that the word diaspora is derived from the Greek term *diasperien*: *dia*, meaning “across” and *sperien* – “to sow or scatter seeds”. They argue that the term diaspora refers to “displaced communities of people who have been dislocated from their native homeland through the movements of migration, immigration, or exile” (p. 1).

Generally, the term diaspora refers to the dispersion of any ethnic community. Brubaker (2005) argues that there are three core elements that are widely accepted to be constitutive of diaspora: dispersion, homeland orientation, and boundary-maintenance. Dispersion is the most widely accepted criterion. It can be interpreted broadly as any kind of dispersion of people, provided that the dispersion crosses state borders. The second constitutive criterion is the orientation to a “homeland” as a source of values, identity,

and loyalty. Safran (1991) suggests four characteristics of homeland orientation. These include, first, a collective memory or myth about the homeland; second, regarding the ancestral homeland as home and as the place to which one would eventually return; third being collectively “committed to the maintenance or restoration of the homeland and to its safety and prosperity”; and fourth “continuing to relate, personally or vicariously” to the homeland, in a way that significantly shapes ones identity and solidarity (Safran, 1991, pp. 83-84). The third constitutive criterion is boundary-maintenance, which involves “the preservation of a distinctive identity *vis-à-vis* a host society or societies” (Brubaker, 2005, p. 7). He argues that boundary-maintenance is an indispensable criterion of diaspora. It is this that makes diaspora a distinctive community, held together by an active solidarity, “as well as by relatively dense social relationship, that cut across state boundaries and link members of the diaspora in different states into a single transnational community” (p. 7).

According to Shuval (2000) the essence of diaspora is a social construct founded on feeling, memory, history, mythology, group identity, longings, allegorical and virtual elements, all of which play a role in establishing a diaspora reality. In her discourse on diaspora she quotes words of Walter Benjamin (1968): “effaced stories are recovered, different futures are imagined...” (p.43). She suggests that this term has acquired a broad semantic domain and now encompasses “a motley array of groups such as political refugees, alien residents, guest workers, immigrants, expellees, ethnic and racial minorities, overseas communities” (p. 42). She provides several examples, such as Russians living in non-Russian states of the Former Soviet Union, Palestinians, who have developed a sense of diaspora since 1948, a Black diaspora which pertains to persons

from a variety of African countries, and the group of refugees from Kosovo. Shuval (2000) argues that time is an essential element in understanding diaspora consciousness. A sense of diaspora can be immediate: a response to the trauma of exile. It can also occur or re-occur after several generations when group members are themselves no longer immigrants though their predecessors were. When a diaspora group experiences exclusion, social discrimination, or limited opportunities for advancement, an active diaspora culture helps to maintain a sense of community and belonging to a more rewarding welcoming social entity (Shuval, 2000). What distinguishes a diaspora is an ongoing or reawakened attachment and loyalty to an earlier culture and specifically to a space defined as a homeland which has been left.

Before the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, all Jews were considered to be living in the Diaspora. In the Diaspora Jews kept their Jewish identity alive for centuries even in the absence of a homeland, to which they could return. Clearly Israel has been defined as the homeland of the Jewish people and its diaspora is located all over the world with major concentrations in the USA, Canada, France, the FSU, and Argentina. Jews remain intimately connected to their biblical homeland – Israel, and generations of diaspora Jews have traditionally prayed for a return to a Holy Land, reciting “Next Year in Jerusalem” at the end of Passover Seder, and praying daily for a return to the Holy Land.

In the case of Russian Jewish emigration to Israel we may speak not just about “coming home”, but the creation of a new diaspora in the mythical homeland. Trier (1996) argues that Russian Jews “do not simply come home; rather they become diasporic in relation to their erstwhile homeland, Russia. Diaspora does not cease to exist

when Russian Jews come home to Israel. On the contrary, a new Russian-Jewish diaspora emerges” (p. 2). Israel tended to be regarded as a “homeland” in the sense of a refuge, to which Jews could seek in case the socio-political climate in the FSU should make emigration imperative (Trier, 1996). Despite the expectation that Russian Jews in Israel would not become a diaspora community, they have created one with strong transnational links to the FSU.

It is essential to point out that while a diaspora may be described as transnational, it is not synonymous with transnationalism. A diaspora may be conceptualized as “a concomitant of transnationalism” (Evans Braziel and Mannur, 2003, p. 8). Wong and Satzweich (2006) argue that there is considerable overlap between the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora. According to them the concepts of transnationalism and transnational communities are broader and more inclusive than those of diaspora and diasporic communities. “Transnational communities encompass diasporas, but not all transnational communities are diasporas” (p. 6).

Unlike immigrants in previous generations who usually made a once in a life-time move from their country to another, contemporary immigrants tend to move back and forth (physically, virtually, and otherwise) between their country of origin and their host country, creating transnational ethnic communities. Common language and cultural heritage are the key cementing factors for transnational diasporas. According to Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc (1995) transnationalism can be defined as “process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (p. 48). There are ongoing and

continuing ways in which “current-day” immigrants construct and reconstitute their simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society” (p. 49).

Transnational activities may take various forms, including: social (regular contacts with relatives and friends back home, travel for family occasions, *etc.*); cultural (*e.g.* celebrating ethnic, religious or national holidays associated with the home country); religious (*e.g.* maintaining religious identities and practices associated with specific leaders or institutions based in the home country or region, economic support for faith-based projects and organizations); economic (family remittances, collective remittances, investments, owning a home or property in a home country); and political (voting, raising funds for parties or social movements, lobbying the host governments regarding homeland issues). Individuals may engage in some or all of the above types of practices. The frequency, intensity, and scope of participation vary. There may be regular patterns or types of transnational engagement associated with particular national origin or ethnic groups.

The transnationality of immigrant communities, the split of economic, social, and political loyalties among immigrants is often perceived as problematic by receiving societies and may slow the process of integration. Different communities exhibit various levels of cultural separatism and segregation in the host society. Modern communication and transportation technologies make it possible for immigrants to engage in increasingly frequent and significant transnational practices. Ethnic communities are marked by various transnational aspects: personal, institutional, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual. It is essential to take into consideration that Canada’s policy of multiculturalism, to a certain extent, promotes and supports transnational practices. The emergence of ethno-

cultural transnational communities within receiving societies indicates that people from particular regions of origin share ways of life and structure their new social spaces, neighborhoods, and local communities in a manner that accommodates both old and new. “Old and new mentalities and practices overlap in a single space and through migrant linkages both worlds overlap in communities of origin too” (Harzig and Hoeder, 2006, p. 43). Such community formation allows for the establishment of institutions deemed necessary for adjustment and backward linkages. Wong and Satzewich (2006) note that transnationalism in Canada “may be conceptualized as an extension of multiculturalism beyond national borders and thus as having a cross-border spatial dimension” (p. 4). This paper will demonstrate that Russian Jews from Israel show strong transnational links with both Israel and the FSU.

In this chapter we have examined the different immigration cohorts of Russian Jews as well as the complexity of the definition of a Jew. We have also examined the conceptual framework of ethnic identity, diaspora and transnationalism. The next chapter will explore the settlement of Russian Jews in Israel.

Chapter 3

Russian- Jewish Immigrants of the 1990s in Israel

Cohort Profile

In order to understand the profile of Russian Jews who arrived in Israel in the 1990s from the FSU it is essential to explore some of their important characteristics. In his research Tolts (2004) identifies two major groups of Russian Jews in the FSU. One is the “core” Jewish population that consists of those who identify themselves as Jews in terms of their ethnicity. The second group is the “enlarged” Jewish population, which includes Jews “along with their non-Jewish household members”. According to Tolts the proportion of the “enlarged” to “core” Jewish population has been constantly increasing. It was 1.5 to 1 in the late 1970s, increased to 1.6 to 1 in the late 1980s, 1.8 to 1 in 1994, and 1.9 to 1 in 2001 (pp. 38-39). The statistics show an obvious increase in intermarriage rates that undoubtedly have influenced Jewish identity.

In the FSU a Jewish identity is formed in the home and is primarily based on a collective memory, traditions and spiritual aspects of Jewish life. However, the exposure to the basic elements of the Jewish identity is declining and weakening within the growing “enlarged” Jewish population. Consequently the immigrant cohorts leaving the FSU in 1990s were more assimilated into the larger Russian culture than the previous ones. It is important to remember that being Jewish had never been a matter of choice for Russian Jews. The internal passports of all the citizens included a *nationalnost* entry, meaning ethnic origin - the infamous fifth paragraph - that “became synonymous with Jewish “social disability” among other “normal” citizens” (Remennick, 2007, p. 20).

Having this written in their passports prevented many Jews from having equal rights entering universities, job promotions and it sparked frequent anti-Semitic remarks. At the age of sixteen everyone was ascribed the ethnicity of one's parents; those born of mixed marriages could choose either ethnic designation. Thus a person born to two Jewish parents entered society officially defined as a Jew.

According to Trier (1996) in early 1990s when the gates of the FSU were opened and Jews could leave for Israel, offspring of mixed families whose passports indicated non-Jewish nationalities and who never thought of themselves as Jews, began to consider the possibility of emigration. "Being a Jew became something desirable, as Jewishness opened a gateway to new possibilities" (p. 5). It is important to bear in mind that the latest immigration wave from the FSU was set in motion mainly by "push factors" (economic crisis, political instability, growing nationalism and anti-Semitism). Positive identification with Judaism, Zionism and other Israeli values was rather weak. For many Russian Jews Israel was a less desirable destination than the US and other Western countries, which introduced strict migrant quotas for Soviet citizens in the early 1990s. Thus, for most leaving for Israel was a pragmatic rather than an ideological decision

Just as immigration to Israel is known as a homecoming, or reuniting of the dispersed diasporas, the Hebrew word *aliyah* (ascent to Jerusalem) and *olim* (the ascending returnees) are used in Israel instead of the international terms "immigration" and "immigrants". I will use these words because they are very typical of the Israeli discourse on immigration, constantly appear in the mass media, and are used by immigrants themselves.

The wave of *olim* (from 1989 on) was rather unique in its scope, socio-economic profile and impact on the host society. Although Russian *olim* have settled across the country, in some cities and towns (e.g. Haifa, Ashdod) their share of the population has reached 30 – 40 per cent, which create ethnic enclaves (Remennick, 2002). Besides their demographic impact newcomers from the FSU have greatly contributed to the country's social capital. About 60 per cent of the newcomers had academic degrees and had been professionals or white-collar workers in the FSU (CBS 1999). However, despite the state's efforts to smooth the transition of educated immigrants by way of Hebrew training, professional courses and educational scholarships, only thirty percent could find jobs relevant to their qualifications. The majority, especially older and female immigrants, had to make their living by unskilled or semi-skilled work, often in the service sector (Remennick, 1999). Thus, in the occupational realm, integration of Russian immigrants was not very successful, meaning that they had no direct incentives to improve their command of Hebrew and had few points of contacts with their Israeli co-workers (Lissak and Leshem, 1999).

In the cultural realm, adult Russian speakers cherished their heritage and resisted attempts at their rapid "Israelization" (Epstein and Kheimets, 2000). Having fled one major state-imposed ideology in the FSU they were cautious in subscribing to another dominant ideology – Zionism in Israel (Lissak and Leshem, 1999). According to Remennick (2002, 2004, 2007) immigrants sustained their ties with Russian culture via two main channels: transnational links with the FSU and the creation of a versatile cultural media market in Israel. Over 300 Russian book/video/music stores have opened across Israel and about twenty newspapers and magazines in Russian were published

(exceeding the number of Hebrew publications). All pivotal cultural events in the FSU were exported to Israel by Russian TV channels and live tours of Russian artists (Remennick, 2004, p. 433). As Epstein and Kheimets (2000) pointed out, most Russians held to the superiority of Russian Cultural traditions as compared to Israeli culture and wished to preserve the old ways. The transnational links to the FSU appeared to be more than obvious. It is also important to point out that the Russian language and Russian-Soviet culture play the crucial role in the formation of Russian-Jewish ethnicity and the Israeli Russian community. In fact, it is the main common ground for the otherwise diverse groups of the FSU immigrants, including Jews of various ethnic origins (European, Caucasian and Asian) coming from a wide array of places and social backgrounds. Thus, it is possible to say that, in a way, cultural retention united Russian Jews from different areas of the FSU.

Al-Haj (2002) argues that immigrants from the FSU in Israel form a distinct ethnic group within the Israeli social and cultural fabric. This is reflected in their closed social networks, ethnic information sources, strong desire to maintain ethno-cultural continuity, and the fact that the ethnic component (Jews from the FSU or immigrants from the FSU) is central for self-identification. He argues that their purely ethnic identification is connected with difficulties in absorption and a lack of social and psychological adjustment to Israeli society. He suggests that as a whole the ethnic identification of immigrants from the FSU in Israel “is not a reactive identity, which is mainly generated by alienation”. It is rather based on “group connectedness and pride in their Russian cultural roots”. Hence, he concludes that “the desire to perpetuate ethnic organizations is

not a reactive-circumstantial attitude, but the result of a strategic view of their status and interests at both the individual and collective levels” (p. 65).

Settlement in Israel

The settlement experience of Russian *olim* of 1970s and early 1980s waves was rather smooth and expedient. Most of these people had moved to Israel because they wanted to live in a Jewish state and not because no other country would receive them. They spent their first year in state-sponsored Absorption Centers, where they had an opportunity to study Hebrew and get to know their new country. The professional skills of the *olim* were in high demand in an Israeli market still in need of locally trained doctors, engineers, and scientists, so most *olim* could make a life in their old professions. Private housing had been inexpensive and many *olim* of these years also got access to subsidized public housing.

Having few sentiment to anything Russian and Soviet many of them switched to Hebrew as their primary language and changed their Russian names to Hebrew ones, symbolically shedding their old identity. In brief they “rapidly joined the Israeli middle class and blended very well into the secular Ashkenazi mainstream of the time” (Remennick, 2007, p. 55).

By the early 1990s the social and economic context of the settlement of tens of thousands of former Soviet newcomers has changed dramatically. The skilled labor market of Israel provided enough locally trained professionals in virtually every field. The political events of that period featured the first Palestinian Intifada and the Gulf War with Iraqi missiles targeting Israeli towns and keeping citizens in shelters. “The country’s

internal agenda was certainly full and its resources stretched as thin as ever; adding to the strain, the Russian immigrants kept arriving by the thousands” (Remennick, 2007, p. 55). The small country was flooded by newcomers, looking for house rentals and jobs. The new policy of so-called direct absorption meant that new arrivals received direct financial aid for six months (the so-called absorption basket) that was hypothetically sufficient for them to rent an apartment in the free market, buy basic home appliances, and devote most of their time to studying Hebrew in full-time free classes. For the next six months, those who did not find jobs could get an interest free loan that had to be repaid after three years. In practice, the financial aid was barely sufficient to cover housing rentals and most *olim* had to find manual jobs soon upon arrival in order to supplement their absorption basket.

The occupational adjustment of the newcomers was very difficult. In the early 1990s, the unemployment level among Russian immigrants reached 40 percent; this slowly declined and reached the national average of 11 percent by the late 1990s. Yet throughout this period, just over a quarter of the *olim* holding academic degrees from the FSU worked in their original professions (Remennick, 2007, p. 57).

The extent of occupational downgrading was especially dramatic for women and older professionals of either gender, who had often been senior specialists before emigration (Remennick, 2003). Governmental programs of retraining and aid in finding the first employment were of help mainly to younger and more dynamic immigrants. It was highly traumatic for educated immigrants to find themselves in the bottom tier of the workforce. Remennick (2007) points out that the feelings of social displacement were “augmented by an overarching sense of insecurity – financial (due to unstable income

and mounting debts), physical (reflecting ongoing military conflict and acts of terror), and psychological (reflecting poor command of Hebrew, misunderstanding of local norms, and loss of support networks)” (p. 58).

In addition to the above difficulties, Russian and other non-Jewish wives of Jewish men found themselves in an especially precarious position. There is no legal separation between the state and religion in many important aspects of Israel’s laws and government. Orthodox Judaism dominates all official religious institutions. According to the Law of Return non-Jewish wives were granted Israeli citizenship, but were denied basic civic rights. The matters of marriage, divorce, registration of newborns and burial are all controlled by the religious authorities, which exclude non-Jews from their proceedings. This meant that non-Jewish *olim* could not get married in Israel, although their foreign marital certificates were fully recognized by the state for all official purposes. They also had more troubles getting divorced, registering their non-Jewish children as citizens and inviting their non-Jewish parents or siblings to visit or join them in Israel.

Obviously their children inherited their Russianness. The only way out was to go through conversion (*giyur*) in its most thorough Orthodox style, which meant attending the *giyur* classes, passing a final examination and keeping other Jewish traditions and rituals. According to Remennick (2007) during the early and mid–1990s, thousands of Russian, Ukrainian, and other women studied in the *giyur* classes, but only about half of them could pass the final examinations. This situation caused mixed families to feel that they were second class citizens.

The economic, social and mostly political situation in Israel in the 1990s made many *olim* question whether they want to continue living in Israel. Even if they had reached a certain economic stability (*e.g.* well paid positions, purchased real estate) and felt more or less comfortable in the Israeli society, the constant stress caused by the terrorist attacks and by the ongoing military threat, and mandatory military service motivated them to leave Israel. According to Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics the number of immigrants from the FSU, who left Israel in 2000 was 3,022 and it climbed to 4, 406 in 2002.

Chapter 4

Russian Jews from Israel in Toronto

The receiving community

Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s Canada became one of the most appealing destinations for Russian Jews from Israel. Eligibility for independent economic immigration in the “skilled worker” category is assessed by means of the Point System, whereby the applicants and their adult family members are ascribed points for their age, education, occupation and work experience, proficiency in official languages, whether they have a close relative living in Canada, and proof of authorized employment. “The relative lenience of Canadian immigration policy towards skilled immigrants and high human capital of the Russian Jews reflected in their eligibility under the Point System” (Remennick, 2007, p. 279). A steady stream of applicants has been stalking the offices of Canadian Embassy in Tel Aviv since the mid 1990s and an estimated 3000 to 7000 (includes Russian Jews and other Israelis) left for Canada every year (p. 283).

Russian Jews from Israel arriving in Toronto came to a city with a large and vibrant Jewish community. According to the 2006 Census the Jewish population in Toronto has reached 141,685. There are numerous facilities available to the community ranging from Jewish day and afternoon schools for students of every background to kosher restaurants and shops, a large number of synagogues of every denomination and two community centers. With a third in a building stage Jewish community services are available from cradle to grave to help those in need. Culturally the community offers museums, art galleries, annual Yiddish and Jewish film festivals, a Jewish Book Fair, a variety of

concerts and Holidays celebrations. There are active immigrant communities from South Africa, Russia, Israel Argentina, Morocco to name a few, who add to the cultural diversity of the Toronto Jewish community.

There is a strong bond between Toronto's Jewish community and Israel. The connection of the Toronto Jewish community to Israel is not just an expression of identification and shared fate. Israel is joined to Jews in diaspora through social and communications networks. The older social networks facilitated by membership in Zionist organizations still exist, but they are "overshadowed by a broad range of relationships: familial, economic, professional, cultural, and philanthropic" (Schoenfeld, Shaffir, and Weinfeld, 2006, p. 281). The United Jewish Appeal in Canada (UJA) raises millions of dollars each year. A large portion of the funds goes to social welfare in Israel. Israeli universities, hospitals, social services, and religious institutions have established "Canadian Friends of ..." to raise funds directly and develop ties with the Canadian Jewish population. Religious groups have parallel, cooperating organizations in Israel and Canada. The Hebrew language and identification with Israel are part of the curriculum of Canadian Jewish schools. Missions to Israel, programs of touring and study involve hundreds of Canadian Jews each year, and the list goes on.

While Russian Jews arriving from the FSU were viewed as an oppressed group of people fleeing anti-Semitism and economic hardships, migrants from Israel were viewed differently by the established Jewish community. They were considered *yordim*, literally "those who go down", those who had chosen to leave Israel – violators of the Zionist ideology and, as such, a potential hazard for the Jewish state. In addition they were often considered "double dippers", e. g. those who had received assistance with their settlement

in Israel and wanted to benefit from the services here. The established Jewish community was reluctant to accept the fact that Russian Jews from Israel have the right and opportunity to choose where to live. Recently, however, this attitude has been changing slightly and attempts have been made to better integrate them into the mainstream Jewish community.

Jewish Immigrant Aid Services, Toronto (JIAS, Toronto) is the agency providing services to all newcomers to Toronto. During the past decade 75 per cent of the agency clientele have been Russian Jews from Israel. The agency provides variety of settlement and integration services such as information and referral, English as a Second language classes, immigration consultations, employment counseling, short term financial assistance, youth program, programs for seniors, a family matching program, and Jewish Holidays celebrations. In addition to JIAS there are other agencies within the Jewish community providing services for newcomers: the Bathurst Jewish Community Centre, the Jewish Information Service, the Board of Jewish Education, Jewish Family and Child Services, Jewish Vocational Services, and some others.

Findings and discourse

The individual interviews conducted for this study pertained to the four general realms: causes of immigration to Canada, settlement experiences, identity, and transnationalism. I will discuss each of them separately.

Causes of immigration to Canada

Unlike the findings of the recent study by Remennick (2007), which included both Russian Jews arriving in Toronto directly from the FSU and Israel, who reported economic reasons as primary in their decision to move to Canada, all the participants in my study strongly identified lack of safety and political instability as primary reasons for leaving Israel. They reported leaving Israel to escape the constant stress caused by the ongoing military threat and terrorists attacks. It is important to remember that all of them had experienced bombings during the Gulf War, as well as numerous terrorist attacks. They had gone through the experience of warning sirens, wearing gas masks and hiding in bomb shelters. One of the participants witnessed a terrorist attack. A close friend of another one was injured in one of the attacks. As one of the participants said: "Our generation knew about the war only from our parents' stories, books and movies; it is very difficult to live in a country where a war can start every day. But the most terrible thing is that even when there is no war, one does not feel safe; one takes a bus or goes to a mall and never knows whether he will be a victim of a terrorist act". All of the participants also voiced concerns that their children, both male and female, would have to serve in the Israel Defense Forces. They also cited additional motives reflecting their wish to leave Israel due to limited employment opportunities, its Middle Eastern cultural flavor, their dislike of native Israelis, the overly religious character of the state, the hot climate and other reasons.

Some participants shared that their preferred destination was the U.S., but as immigration there was almost impossible, they decided on Canada. Others preferred Canada due to relatively inexpensive higher education, universal access to health care,

and a developed welfare system. An additional argument in favor of moving to Canada was the promise of initial help from relatives or friends already living in Canada. Being one of the few Western countries still receiving independent immigrants, Canada became their destination of choice. An interesting observation is that some participants sounded embarrassed and even apologetic when discussing their motives for leaving Israel. Only 2 of them did not mention how much help they had received and how much they missed Israel.

Settlement experiences

The majority of the respondents named employment as the major challenge in their settlement in Toronto. All of them had been admitted to Canada as independent immigrants meaning that their education and occupational skills had been recognized as eligible. However, just several specific categories of professionals experienced a relatively smooth transition from the Israeli to the Canadian labor market, namely programmers, electronic engineers, and other computer specialists. Barriers to career continuity were the highest for members of the so-called regulated occupations: physicians, nurses, psychologists, teachers, social workers, accountants, lawyers and others. The newcomers had known that they would have to go through an accreditation process to be licensed to practice, but did not realize how complex, stressful, and time consuming the process would be.

For many immigrants their limited command of English posed a significant barrier to getting Canadian accreditation in their profession. Although most of them attended English classes, their language was insufficient to pass complex examinations in medical

specialties, accounting, teaching, and others. Lena, who was an elementary school teacher in Israel, shared that she could not pass the TOEFL (Test of English Foreign Language) to obtain a teaching license in Ontario. As a result, she decided to go to college to become a Social Service Worker. The participants shared that that their expectations about work opportunities in Canada had been unrealistic, partly because the points they had scored on their applications made them believe that their specific skills were in demand. Alex, whose spouse had worked as a pediatrician in the FSU and then (after licensure) as a general practitioner in Israel, recounted that she knew too little about Canadian medical regulations. Upon arrival she learned that Ontario offered foreign-trained physicians a very limited number of residency slots each year, and those who did not complete a residency had no chance to practice medicine at all. She was ready to move out of Toronto and practice in a small town, but even this was impossible. After taking an expensive course she became an imaging technician.

In addition to the above, the respondents also named the lack of Canadian experience as a significant obstacle in obtaining employment in their occupations. It seemed like a vicious circle: the employers were reluctant to hire them without Canadian experience. The only way out was to find a volunteer position, which was not easy either. In agreement with the earlier findings by Remennick (2007) my study has shown that the immigrants with former professional careers had a harder time finding employment than did immigrants in skilled technical or manual occupations. This could be explained both by higher demands for English proficiency placed on professionals vs. manual occupations and by the need to overcome tight licensing regulations to enter the professional labor market.

Some of the participants indicated they had hoped for more assistance with their employment from the Jewish community. Though many of them had attended job search seminars at the JVS (Jewish Vocational Services) and received individual counseling, they were disappointed that the agency could not connect them to actual employers. Most of the participants acknowledged the useful services they received from JIAS, such as settlement counseling, ESL program, subsidized summer camp for their children, etc.

Most participants indicated that the adjustment of their children, especially teenagers, was not easy. Many young immigrants from Israel faced a broad linguistic and cultural gap between themselves and mainstream Canadian society, including their peers in schools and other frameworks. It confirms the findings of the research on Russian speaking youths by Anisef, Baichman-Anisef, and Siemiatycki (2002).

Several themes emerged from parental stories about their children's adjustment. The teenagers found it difficult to be included in local peer groups and instead joined informal groups of teens from Israel and the FSU. Upon arrival all the participants initially resided in northern Bathurst corridor neighborhoods, where most local schools received sizeable groups of Russian and Hebrew speaking immigrant students. The teens shared with their parents that they felt excluded and alienated from their Canadian classmates. Some of them begged their parents to go back to Israel, where they felt at home. During my interviews the parents shared that the difficulties experienced by their children had added to their general anxieties and worries during the initial period of settling in a new country. They were nervous not only about the academic achievements of their children, but were also afraid that they would hang out with the "wrong crowd."

Some participants indicated that they had had language difficulties attending teacher-parent interviews. On many occasions the parents felt very insecure. As one of them noted: "We really did not know what was good for our son. Was it in his best interest to attend school with such a high number of Russian and Hebrew speaking students? How could we recommend what subjects to choose? Should we encourage him to find a job or is it better for him to attend summer school?" Some expressed concern that immigrant students and their parents had not received sufficient information and support from schools.

Some parents considered the option of sending their children to a Hebrew day school. Though they were offered substantial tuition subsidies, they were reluctant to do so due to the fact that the curriculum included religious studies and that they would not qualify for the same subsidy when they start working. A recent survey conducted by UJA Federation of Greater Toronto shows that less than one in ten immigrants from the FSU have their children enrolled in Jewish day schools, and they are also not likely to provide a supplementary Jewish education for their children.

Similar to the earlier findings by Basok (2002) and Remennick (2007) my research has shown that Russian Jews from Israel could hardly find common ground with mainstream Canadian society generally and the established Jewish community specifically. The participants appreciated Canadians' open attitude towards other cultures and languages. They did not experience any kind of discrimination on the basis of their Jewish origin or immigrant status. At the same time, only one of them mentioned having informal relationship with native Canadians outside workplace, school, or any other

institutional context. Most of them perceived Canadians as cold and uninterested in having social ties with immigrants.

As for relations with the Canadian Jewish community the reactions of the respondents varied. Some considered Canadian Jews religiously observant and that the newcomers were expected to be the same. They felt unable to meet the expectations of the Toronto Jewish community and believed they would be excluded from its networks. As one informant noted: "In Israel you go to synagogue only if you want to pray and there is no membership fee. Here, in Canada, if you attend a synagogue you belong to the community. We are not used to this". Some believed in the importance of coming of age rituals (bar/bat-mitzvahs) and Sunday Jewish schools for their children. Unlike those who arrived directly from the FSU, Russian Jews who had lived in Israel were more inclined to take part in Jewish life and participate in community activities, which they saw as a way to maintain their symbolic connection to Israel. The participants reported that they felt closer to Israelis living in Toronto than to Canadian-born Jews. They felt a broad social and cultural distance between themselves and the members of the Toronto Jewish community.

Overall the respondents considered their settlement in Canada successful. They believed the "Israeli experience" contributed to overcoming the difficulties they had faced. However, they indicated that it was a bumpy road to adjust to a new country. In the words of one respondent: "Canada is very different from Israel. It takes time to adjust to a new life style, make friends and feel at home. It took me less time to find a good job in Israel and it was easier to make new friends. It is not simple to start a new life again". Most of the respondents appreciated they felt safe in Canada and did not have to worry

about a war, military service or terrorist attack. They generally reported an improvement in their material well-being.

Identity

In agreement with Basok's earlier findings (2002) this study confirms that "new identities emerge as people come to settle in new places" (p. 341). Table 2 reflects the participants' responses to the question on their primary identity. It illustrates the multiplicity and flexibility of identities of Russian Jews from Israel.

Table 2

Primary Identity of the Respondents in their Countries of Residence

	<u>FSU</u>	<u>ISRAEL</u>	<u>CANADA</u>
Anna	Russian Jew	Russian Jew	Jew
Alex	Soviet Jew	Soviet Jew	Israeli Jew
Olga	Russian Jew	Russian	Russian Jew
Lena	Russian Jew	Jew	Israeli Jew
Vlad	Jew	Jew	Jew
Josef	Russian Jew	Russian Jew	Jew

Only one respondent reported no changes in his identity stating he always felt Jewish. He is the youngest participant, who was in his late teens when Judaism was revived in the FSU in late 1980 early 1990s and he moved to Israel at the age of 19. This may explain the consistency in his identity.

Though people originating from the same place may use the same label to identify themselves, the content and the meanings assigned to this identity may vary in different parts of the world (Basok, 2002). The majority of respondents shared that in the FSU they felt Jewish simply because they were born in a Jewish family, but an additional fragment of Russian or Soviet identity was continuously present. This Russian component of their identity can be attributed to ongoing process of Russification as noted in Chapter 2. The second important experience defining their identity as Jews was anti-Semitism. In the FSU they were constantly reminded of their Jewishness not only by the identification of their ethnicity in their passports, but also by the hatred and animosity of gentiles. In addition 2 respondents named celebration of Jewish traditions, knowledge of Jewish history, and synagogue attendance as experiences that nourished their Jewish identities in the FSU.

The stay in Israel produced a different effect on different people. Some of them said that having lived in Israel made them feel more Jewish because they were able to learn Hebrew and Jewish traditions. On the other hand encounters with other Jews in Israel, including Israeli-born Jews, who perceived Jews from the FSU as distinct made them feel Russian. Many noted that they were continuously called Russians by other Jews in Israel

who made them feel that they were not Jewish enough. As one participant noted: “It was expected from us to give up our Russian culture. Everything Jewish was sort of imposed on us, which alienated me from Judaism and strengthened my Russian identity”. It is interesting that overall, the stay in Israel seems to have had a negative impact on the religiosity of Russian Jews. On the other hand almost all of the immigrants surveyed indicated that the Israeli experience strengthened their connection with Jewish traditions. The majority of them feel Jewish, however their Jewish identity is defined as ethnic rather than religious. Here, in Toronto they have been showing behavioral expressions of Jewishness and an affirmative connection to the Jewish traditions and Israel. It is manifested in celebrating Jewish holidays, such as Passover, Chanukah, Rosh Hashanah, and Yom Kippur, and they do not want their children to forget Hebrew. They show attachment to Israel by participating in related activities e. g. the celebration of Israel Independence day, the annual UJA Federation Walk for Israel, the Israeli Bazaar, etc.

These findings resonate in the results of a recent survey conducted by the UJA Federation, which demonstrate that most FSU born immigrants feel a strong sense of patriotism towards Israel. Only 2 respondents indicated they occasionally attended the Jewish Russian Community Centre for Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur. The majority of participants expressed the notion of “feeling good to be Jewish in Toronto”. The following comment illustrates this: “In Canadian multicultural society no identity is imposed on individuals and they are not afraid to disclose their identity. Our children are taught in schools to respect people from all ethnic backgrounds”.

Two respondents indicated “Israeli Jew” as their primary identity here in Toronto. This phenomenon could be a result of significant experiences in Israel, which had impact

on their identity. For example, Lena (who came to Israel at the age of 23) had been living in Israel for 12 years, she got married and both of her children were born in Israel. The children brought a lot of “Israeliness” to her family’s life, e.g. usage of the Hebrew language, acquaintance with the school system, social network, etc. She has been in Toronto for 6 years and still has a strong sense of attachment to Israel. Alex, who came to Israel at a more mature age of 37 and has been in Toronto for 10 years, also indicated “Israeli Jew” as his primary identity. According to Alex his social and professional networks in Toronto include Russian Jews from Israel and native Israelis. He does not have a lot in common with Russian Jews who arrived directly from the FSU or Canadians.

Transnationalism

In both of their new homelands, Israel and Canada, Russian Jewish immigrants manifest multiple signs of transnational identity and life style. The expressions of transnationalism are mainly found in the cultural and psychological, rather than economic and business domain. There are many signs of “transnationalism from below” (Guarnizo and Smith, 1998) i.e. social and cultural ties on an individual level between co-ethnics across national borders. As noted, during 1990s Russian Jews in Israel created a thriving subculture of their own with local Russian theaters, bookstores, newspapers, schools, television and radio programs. It is possible to say that, as a result, Russian Jews came to Toronto with certain predetermined transnational orientations as an integral part of their identity. The well developed Russian infrastructure in Toronto has been in existence since the mid 1980s. However, the transnational character pertains to both countries: their

country of origin and their first country of immigration. On one hand, they feel part of a global Russian speaking community stretching between the FSU, Israel, and the West, on the other hand they do not see themselves as just Russians, but rather “Russian Israelis.” It is hard to determine which part of their transnational nature prevails.

Russian language and the Russian literature play a salient role in the Toronto Russian community. There are numerous free newspapers in Russian, which are available in Russian deli and book stores. There are only a few in Hebrew. The majority of respondents said they would prefer to read Hebrew newspapers. The participants reported that they sometimes rent Russian movies as well as attend Russian theatre productions and concerts. Some of them have both Russian and Israeli satellite TV. They prefer to go to Israeli restaurants and buy Israeli foods. They are well aware of the political and economic situation in Israel. Almost all of their friends are Russian Jews from Israel; they have little in common with those who came directly from the FSU. As one respondent notes: “It is hard for us to relate to somebody who had not lived in Israel. They often express their opinions about Israel and criticize it without really understanding what this country is all about. They have never experienced living in a Jewish state.” The majority of the respondents refer to Israel as their homeland. Many immigrants of all ages keep close personal ties with their relatives and friends in Israel, the FSU and the U.S. With the development of cheap and accessible communications, such as e-mail and calling cards more immigrants maintain these ties. The majority of the study participants have travelled to Israel at least once since their arrival in Canada, mostly to visit elderly parents. All of them have received in their homes guests from the FSU, Israel and the US.

In her study Remennick (2007) highlights the differences in recent findings by Morawska (2004) among Russian Jews in Philadelphia. Unlike Russian Jews in Toronto Russian Jews in Philadelphia displayed a strong host-country orientation and few transnational engagements with either the FSU or Israel. According to Remennick this difference can be explained by the specific composition of the Russian Jewish community in Toronto with a higher share of ethnically mixed families parts of which still live in the FSU, as well as the strong cultural bonds many Russian Jews had developed with Israel. Another possible explanation of greater transnational ties with co-ethnics among Toronto Russians, she suggests, is their relative marginalization in Canada: “Unlike their American counterparts, few of them can call themselves proud Canadians” (p. 307). She concludes that “Russian Toronto is certainly becoming an important isle on the expanding map of the Russian-speaking post-communist diaspora” (p. 307).

Chapter 5

Conclusion

“Trading place trading luck” so goes an old Hebrew proverb. Russian Jews from Israel dared to do it twice. This study addressed the causes of their secondary migration to Canada, settlement experiences, identity, and transnationalism. Russian Jews from Israel present a particularly interesting case because of their multiple migrations. Having experienced a variety of push and pull factors they moved around the globe in search of a better future for them and their children.

After residing in a country with a communist doctrine they left for a country with a dominant Zionist ideology and a strong religious influence, and then moved to Canada, a country without a strongly imposed belief system. In the FSU they were forced to be atheists as well as to abandon their Jewish roots. In Israel they were expected to leave behind their Russian culture. Here in Canada they have joined a society which supports multiculturalism and transnational migration. Moreover, transnational migration is being viewed as an almost inevitable solution for first generation immigrants. Being a minority in all three countries supports the trend towards a hyphenated identity which includes strong attachment to their Russian background. They were transformed from being a member of Jewish national minority in the FSU to a member of Russian national minority in Israel. Being a minority in Israel did not prevent them from keeping their Russian culture. Moreover, as one journalist put it they created “their own world apart, a Russian speaking state-within-the state” (Green, 2003). Here, in Canada the community of Russian Jews from Israel is sustained by Russian language publications, book stores,

websites, cultural events, etc. Russian culture plays a significant role in the lives of Russian Jews from Israel.

When people migrate their understanding of the world often changes. They are confronted with new categorizations and labels imposed on them. They are driven by two conflicting desires: to adapt to the new environment and to retain the memory of their previous life as something precious and worthwhile. Though the ethnic component is central to the self-identification of the majority of Russian Jews, there are clear indicators of a multifaceted set of identities as well as the invention of new ones. Some consider themselves “Israeli Jews”, others “Russian Jews”. Apart from the name they manifest strong attachment to Russian culture. Russian culture and language are major cementing factors for Russian Jews. They also demonstrate strong sentimental and cultural ties to Israel. Thus, the concept of homeland acquires an additional connotation. It is not just a country of origin, but a place one feels he belongs to. There are clear indications that Russian Jews from Israel combine their “Russianness” and “Israeliness”. Given the diversity of their immigrant experiences they are at liberty to choose the best of both worlds.

It looks like Russian Jews from Israel living in Toronto manifest feelings of foreignness towards their host country. So far, Canada has become home in terms of their place of residence and the security of citizenship. However, they did not indicate any feelings of attachment or identification with Canada. This could be a result of several reasons. First, the relatively short time the migrants have been residing in Canada. Second, it is important to remember that as secondary migrants, they have experienced the emotional trauma of uprooting and relocation again. Furthermore, they have

developed strong extensive networks, which help them to maintain their transnational practices. Russian Jews from Israel view Canada as a safe and comfortable niche. For them, Canadian identity, integration and social inclusion are benefits for their children.

Appendix 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Demographic Data

- Age
- Year of immigration to Israel
- Year of immigration to Canada
- Family status: single, married, divorced, separated, common law
- Children: number, sex, age
- Current occupation

2. Can you please tell me what Jewish traditions, if any, did you observe when you were living in the FSU? Did it change when you moved to Israel? And now that you are living in Canada?

3. When you were living in the FSU what did you consider to be your primary identity? Did it change when you moved to Israel? And now that you are living in Canada?

4. Can you tell me the reasons for leaving Israel?

5. What were your most significant experiences when you were living in Israel?

6. Can you tell me about the main obstacles / difficulties / challenges you had upon arrival in Toronto?

7. What support did you receive and from whom?

8. After living in Toronto for _____ years how would you describe your settlement and adjustment to Canada?
9. Have you had an opportunity attending any community events? If yes, which ones?
10. If you are attending cultural events (concerts, theater, etc) what productions present the most interest to you (Canadian, Russian, Israeli)?
11. What are your major sources of information?
12. Who are your circles of friends (Russians from Israel, Israelis, etc)?
13. Do you keep in touch with your relatives and / or friends in Russia and / or Israel? If yes how?
14. Do you take trips abroad? Where?
15. Knowing the goals and the focus of my study, would you add anything you feel might be important for me to know? Do you have any questions and / or comments?

Bibliography

- Abella, I. (1990). *A Coat of Many Colors: Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Publishers.
- Allahar, A. L. (2001). The Politics of Ethnic Identity Construction. *Identity*, 1(30), 197- 208.
- Al-Haj, M. (2002). Ethnic Mobilization in an ethno-national state: the case of immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25(2), 238- 257.
- Al-Haj, M. (2002). Identity Patterns among Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Israel: Assimilation vs. ethnic formation. *International Migration*, 40(2), 452-475.
- Al-Haj, M. (2004). *Immigration and Ethnic Formation in a Deeply Divided Society: the Case of the 1990's Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Israel*. The Netherland: Koninklijke Brill.
- Anderson, A. B. (1998). A diaspora and exile; a Canadian and Comparative Perspective. *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, 18, 13- 30.
- Anderson, A. B. (2001). The Complexity of Ethnic Identities: a Postmodern Reevaluation. *Identity* 1(3), 209-333.
- Anisef, P., Baichman-Anisef, E., & Siemiatycki, M. (2002). *Multiple Identities & Marginal Ties: The Experience of Russian Jewish Immigrant Youth in Toronto*. CERIS Working Paper Series. #19, 29 pp.
- Avrich-Skapinker, M. (1993). *Canadian Jewish Involvement with Soviet Jewry, 1970-1990: The Toronto Case Study*. Thesis for Doctor of Philosophy (History and Philosophy), University of Toronto.
- Basok, T. & Brym, R. (1991). Soviet- Jewish Emigration and Resettlement in 1990s: An Overview. In Basok T. & Brym R. (Eds.), *Soviet-Jewish Emigration and Resettlement in the 1990s* (pp. xi-xxii). Toronto: York Lanes Press
- Basok, T. (2002). Fragmented Identities: The Case of Former Soviet Jews. *Identity*, 2(4), 341-360.
- Benifand, A. (1991). Jewish Emigration from the USSR in the 1990s. In Basok T. & Brym, R (Eds.), *Soviet-Jewish Emigration and Resettlement in 1990s* (pp. 35-50). Toronto: York Lanes Press.

- Berry, J. W. (1997). Lead Article. Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: an International Review*, 46(1), 5-68.
- Brubaker, R. (2005). The "diaspora" diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(1), 1-9.
- Brym, R., Shafir, W. & Weinfeld M., (1993). *The Jews in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Csillag, R. (2002, October 24). Immigration Key to Growth of Jewish Community. *The Canadian Jewish News*, p.11.
Retrieved February 24, 2006 from <http://www.cjnews.com/viewarticle.asp?id=6742>
- Chavez, A. F., & Guido-DiBrito, F. (1999). Racial and Ethnic Identity and Development. *New Directions for Adults and Continuing Education*, 84, Winter.
- Clifford, J. (1994). Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology*, 9(3), 302-338.
- Cohen, R. (2001). The New Immigrants: A Contemporary Profile. In Klein, R. & Dimant, F. (Eds.), *From Immigration to Integration: The Canadian Jewish Experience: A Millennium Edition* (pp. 214-221). Institute for International Affairs, Bnai Brith Canada: Malcom Lester.
- Elazar, D. & Weinfeld M. (Eds.). *Still moving: Jewish migration in comparative perspective*. Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick.
- Elliott, J. (2005). *Using Narrative in Social Research. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Epstein, A. and Kheimets, N. (2000). Immigrant intelligentsia and its second generation: cultural segregation as a road to social integration? *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 1(4), 461-476
- Evans Braziel, J. and Mannur, A. (2003). Nation, Migration, Globalization: Points of contention in diaspora studies. *Theorizing diaspora: A Reader* (Keywords in Cultural Studies, 6). Blackwell Publishing.
- Franzosi, R. (1998). Narrative Analysis – Or Why (And How) Sociologists Should Be Interested In Narrative. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 517-554.
- Gitelman, Z. (1998). The Decline of the Diaspora Jewish Nation: Boundaries, Content and Jewish Identity. *Jewish Social Studies*, 4(2), 112-132.
- Glickman, Y. (1996). Russian Jews in Canada: Threat to Identity or Promise of Renewal? In Howard Adelman and John Simpson (Eds.), *Multiculturalism, Jews, and Identities in Canada* (pp. 192-218). Jerusalem: The Magnes Press.

- Glick Schiller, N., Bash, L. Blanc Szanton, C. (1995). From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68(1), 48-65.
- Golden, D. (2002). BELONGING THROUGH TIME: Nurturing national identity among newcomers to Israel from the former Soviet Union. *Time & Society*, 11(1), 5-24.
- Green, D. (2003, November 3). A Culture of Their Own. *The Jerusalem Report*, p. 34. Retrieved June 18, 2008 from ProQuest Database.
- Guarnizo, L. E. and Smith, M.P. (1998). The Locations of Transnationalism. In Smith, M. P. and Guarnizo, L. E. (Eds.), *Transnationalism From Below* (pp. 3-34). New Brunswick: Transaction.
- Harzigf, C. & Hoerder, D. (2006). Transnationalism and Generational Communications. In Satzewich V. & Wong L. (Eds.) *Transitional Identities and Practices in Canada* (pp. 35- 51) Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Heitman, S. (1991). Soviet Emigration in 1990: A New "Forth Wave?" In Basok T. & Brym, R. (Eds.), *Soviet-Jewish Emigration and Resettlement in the 1990s* (pp.1-15). Toronto: York Lanes Press.
- Hiebert, D. (2000). Ethnicity. *The Dictionary of Human Geography 4th Edition* (pp.235-238). Oxford: Oxford Blackwell.
- Hutnyk, J. (2005). Hybridity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(1), 79-102.
- Kallen, E. (1977). *Spanning the Generations: A study in Jewish Identity*. Don Mills, Ontario: Longman Canada Limited.
- Kearney, M. (1995). THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 547-565.
- Kraft, F. (2000, January 20). UJA Federation Seeks to Integrate Russian-born Jews. *The Canadian Jewish News*, p. 15. Retrieved June 18, 2008 from ProQuest Database.
- Laitin, D. (2004). The De-cosmopolitanization of the Russian Diaspora: A View from Brooklyn in the "Far Abroad". *Diaspora*, 13(1), 5-35
- Lang, B. (2005). Hyphenated-Jews and the Anxiety of Identity. *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society*, 12(1), 1-15.
- Levitt, P. and Glick Schiller, N. (2004). Transnational Perspectives on Migration; Conceptualizing Simultaneity. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1002-1039.
- Lewin-Epstein, N., Ro'i, Y., Ritterband, P. (1997). *Russian Jews on Three Continents: Migration and Resettlement*. London: Frank Cass.

- Lewis, J. (2003). Design Issues. In Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice. A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Lissak, M. and Leshem, E. (1995). The Russian intelligentsia in Israel: Between Ghettoization and Integration. *Israel affairs*, 2(2), 20-36
- Lungen, P. (2003 January 9). Russian Jews in Toronto: a separate solitude? *The Canadian Jewish News*, p. 11. Retrieved February 24, 2006 from <http://www.cjnews.com/viewarticle.asp?id=594>
- Markus, R. & Schwartz, D. (1984). Soviet Jewish Émigrés in Toronto: Ethnic Self-Identity and Issues of Integration. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 16(2), 71-87.
- Neuman, L. W. (2006). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Pearson Education.
- Packard, R. (1997). The JIAS Toronto 75th Anniversary Community Heritage Book. Toronto: Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada
- Persky, I., Birman, D. (2005). ETHNIC IDENTITY IN ACCULTURATION RESEARCH. A Study of Multiple Identities of Jewish Refugees From the Former Soviet Union. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36(5), 557-572.
- Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic Identity, Immigration and Well-Being: an Interactional Perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 493-510.
- Portes, A. (1999). Conclusion: Towards a new world – the origins and effects of transnational activities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 463-477.
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 217-237
- Remennick, L. (2002). Transnational Community in the Making: Russian Jewish Immigrants of the 1990's in Israel. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28(3), 515-530.
- Remennick, L. (2003). What Does Integration Mean? Social Insertion of Russian Immigrants in Israel. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 4(1), 23- 49.
- Remennick, L. (2003). From Russian to Hebrew via HebRush: Integrational Patterns of

Language Use among Former Soviet Immigrants in Israel. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 24(5), 431-453.

Remennick, L. (2003). Language acquisition as the main vehicle of social integration: Russian immigrants of the 1990s in Israel. *International Journal of Sociology of Language*, 164, 83-105.

Remennick, L. (2004). Language acquisition, ethnicity and social integration among former Soviet immigrants of the 1990s in Israel. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27(3), 431-454.

Remennick, L. (2007). *Russian Jews on Three Continents. Identity, Integration, and Conflict*. Transaction Publisher, New Brunswick.

Safran, W. (1991). Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return. *Diaspora*, 1(1), 83-99.

Satzewich, V. & Wong, L., Eds. (2006). *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Schoenfeld, S., Shaffir, W., and Weinfeld, M. (2006). Canadian Jewry and Transnationalism: Israel, Anti-Semitism, and the Jewish Diaspora. In Satzewich, V. and Wong, L. (Eds.) *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada* (pp. 278-295). Vancouver: UBC Press.

Shahar, C. & Magomet, H. (2005). 2001 *Census Analysis Series. The Jewish Community of Canada*. Toronto: UJA Federations Canada.

Shahar, C. & Rosenbaum, T. (2006). *Jewish Life in Greater Toronto. A Survey of the Attitudes & Behaviors of Greater Toronto Jewish Community*. Toronto: UJA Federation of Greater Toronto.

Sheffer, G. (2005). Is the Jewish Diaspora unique? Reflection on the Diaspora's current situation. *Israel Studies*, 10(1), 1-25.

Shuval, J. (1998). Migration to Israel: the methodology of "uniqueness". *International Migration*, 36(1), pp. 1-23.

Shuval, J. T. (2000). Diaspora Migration: Definitional Ambiguities and a Theoretical Paradigm. *International Migration*, 38 (5) pp. 41-57.

Smith, M. P. & Guarnizo, L. E. (1998). *Transnationalism From Below*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Song, M. (2003). *Choosing Ethnic Identity*. Boston: Polity

- Tolts, M. (2004). The Post-Soviet Jewish Population in Russia and the World. *Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe*, 1 (52), pp. 37-63.
- Tololyan, K. (1991). The Nation-State and its Others: In lieu of a Preface. *Diaspora*, 1(1), 3-7.
- Trier, T. (1996). Reversed Diaspora: Russian Jewry, the Transition in Russia and the Migration to Israel. *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, 14(1), pp.1-16
- Tulchinsky, G. (1992). *Taking Root: the origins of the Canadian Jewish Community*. Toronto: Lester Publishing Limited.
- Tulchinsky, G. (1998). *Branching out: the transformation of the Canadian Jewish community*. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited
- United Jewish Appeal (UJA) Federation (2000). *UJA Task Force Report*. Toronto.
- Weinberg, D. H. (1996). *Between Tradition and Modernity: Haim Zhitkowski, Simon Dubnow, Ahad Ha-Am, and the shaping of Modern Jewish Identity*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Weinfeld, M. (2001) *Like Everyone Else...But Different. The Paradoxical Success of Canadian Jews*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd.
- Wong, L. and Satzewich, V. (2006). Introduction: The Meaning and Significance of Transnationalism. In Satzewich, V. and Wong, L. (Eds.) *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada* (pp. 1-15). Vancouver: UBCPress.
- Yeoh, B., Willis, K. and Farkhi, S. (2003). Introduction: Transnationalism and its edges. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 26(2), 207-217
- Zerubavel, Y. (1995). *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and The Making of Israeli National Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago.