The resettlement of Soviet Jews in Windsor, Ontario.

Hannah Ben-Ze'ev
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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS RÉCEUE
THE RESETTLEMENT OF SOVIET JEWS
IN WINDSOR, ONTARIO

by

Hannah Ben-Ze'ev

A thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the School of Social Work
in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Social Work at
The University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1982
RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Dr. F. C. Hansen, Chairman

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Dr. M. Kaplan, Member
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research study was to examine the different aspects of resettlement as perceived by the Soviet Jewish immigrants in Windsor, Ontario, Canada. It was based on three main areas of investigation:

1) A description of the population, e.g., the Soviet Jewish immigrants who live in Windsor.

2) An identification of the potential problem areas in the process of resettlement from the perspective of the study respondents.

3) An exploratory analysis aiming to determine if there is an association between the most difficult areas of this process and some selected characteristics of the population.

In order to delineate the whole process of immigration, seven areas have been differentiated: income management and employment; health; housing; education and language training; social integration and leisure-time activities; citizenship; and ethnic identity. These issues were extracted from the literature and from reports of professionals who work with the Soviet Jewish immigrants.

An interview schedule was used as the research instrument, being administered to 34 Soviet Jewish immigrants age 18 and up who have been in Canada at least three months.
What emerged from this study was that the Soviet Jewish newcomers in Windsor are basically satisfied with their new lives and are generally hopeful about their vocational and economic future. The women, however, experience more difficulties than the men in the area of employment.

The aged appear to be the most vulnerable group among the immigrants, encountering difficulties especially in the areas of income management and social integration.

In spite of age, social, and cultural differences, the Soviet Jews in Windsor constitute a group which cannot yet be identified as part of the Jewish community. Social integration was indeed perceived by the newcomers as a problem.

The findings also showed that although two-thirds of the study participants came from the Russian "heartland" with a non-Zionist approach, most of them possess a Jewish awareness and express a desire that their children would have stronger Jewish ties than themselves.

Recommendations were made as a result of the research findings in the areas of intervention, policy and research.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was made possible thanks to the Soviet Jewish Immigrants in Windsor whose hospitality and cooperation were more than I expected. To them, I extend my thanks.

Throughout the various phases of the survey, I was assisted by persons whom I would like to thank for the enrichment they have given me.

My sincere gratitude to Dr. F. C. Hansen, my research advisor, for leading me with diplomacy, patience and competence through stressful passages. His knowledge concerning research in general was of great help to me. I also wish to thank Dr. K. Chatterjee for his professional advice and continuous encouragement. Special thanks are due to Dr. M. Kaplan for his constructive comments and suggestions as well as for his supportive approach.

I would like to express deep gratitude to Mariana Goldman who was always available with time and effort in helping me to cope with this research study.

I gratefully acknowledge the cooperation of the staff of the Jewish Community Centre in Windsor.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The political and social changes in our society have increased the vulnerability of the individual and the family. In addition to the developmental stressful periods, people are faced today with more and more situations and events which might develop into a state of crisis. One of them is the uprooting of individuals and groups, and their transfer to new communities. This process creates problems people are forced to solve, and not always successfully.

This study will consider only one aspect of the complicated issue of migration which encompasses economic, social, and political ramifications. We shall limit ourselves to examining the transitional process which the individual and his family pass through as they move from their country of origin to a new community. The subjects of the survey are the Soviet Jews who have emigrated from the USSR to Canada, and reside in Windsor.

The researcher has been involved and interested in the absorption of Soviet Jews in Israel since 1970. Being a daughter of parents of Russian origin, she is able to understand their cultural background, and speak their language. Choosing the resettlement of these newcomers in Windsor as a subject of study was, therefore, a natural process for her.
Research has two general functions: intellectual, based on the desire to know or understand; and practical, based on the desire to know for the sake of being able to do something better or more efficiently (Selltiz, Wrightsman, and Cook, 1976, p. 7). Thus, the personal interest of the researcher in the resettlement of Soviet Jews in Windsor is a good reason for a study, but by no means the only one.

We believe that investigating the process of immigration is important since this phenomenon has become a part of modern times. A community awareness of the increase in migration, and of the immigrants' needs should become a factor in planning at all levels.

Both the literature and experience point to the fact that the Jewish communities in North America had initially no clear understanding of the "cultural baggage" with which the Soviet Jews were traveling. Consequently, there was not enough awareness and understanding of their adjustment problems. Several communities have reported, indeed, of changes in approach toward the Soviet Jewish immigrants, but there is still a long way to go.

The study aims at examining the different aspects of resettlement as perceived by the Soviet Jewish immigrants in Windsor. It is based on three main areas of investigation:

1) A description of the population, e.g., the Soviet Jews who live in Windsor, Ontario.
2) An identification of the potential problem areas in the process of resettlement from the perspective of the respondents.

3) An exploratory analysis to determine if there is an association between the most difficult areas of this process and some selected characteristics of the population.

The researcher's goal was to achieve a broad perspective of the resettlement process. Thus, she preferred to identify and examine the immigrants' needs in general rather than to focus on only one potential problem area.

The project describes the potential problem areas along two dimensions: environmental adjustment, and psychosocial adjustment.

We also believe that identifying problematic issues and the vulnerable sub-groups within the population at risk has both predictive and preventive value. Services should always be improved or established as a response to the situation in the real-life setting.

The study includes two main parts:

1) Chapters II, III and IV provide a theoretical framework which is based on a literature review, and deals with migration as a transitional phase, Canada's immigration policy, the background of the Soviet Jewish emigration, and other studies on the subject.
2) Chapters V, VI and VII describe the study design and methodology, and present the study results, conclusions and recommendations.
CHAPTER II

MIGRATION

A. Migration as Transition

A major part of social service activities deals with persons passing through transitional phases of their life span. Changing a job, moving from a farm to a city, migrating, leaving the parental home to get married - these are all experiences which involve the passing from one relatively stable state into an interval of strangeness and uncertainty on the way to a new stable state.

The transition may involve a relatively limited change in one's style of functioning, or may require a complete reorganization of the major networks in one's life. The change may be long anticipated, or entirely unexpected. The effect can be transitory, or the consequences may be irreversible. What is common in all the transition periods are the feelings of loss, anxiety and upset which sometimes result in states of active disequilibrium. The bridging period involves an interval of adaptation and reorganization, both in one's inner and outer worlds, during which time basic shifts in thinking, feeling and behaving must be made.

People pass through periods of transition in their life cycle during which they have to make a number of adjust-
ments. From this point of view, stresses and problems which occur during life transitions are legitimized as "normal" life processes (Golan, 1981, pp. 1-3; Gitterman and Germain, 1976, p. 604).

A number of researchers tried to plot the sources of help available to a person during these passages. The following is a mixture of several versions:

Self

Natural Help System: family, friends and neighbours

Mutual Help System: informal and formal (e.g., "Parents Without Partners," "Women Helping Women")

Nonprofessional Support System: voluntary organizations, community caregivers, paraprofessionals


The period of geographic moves or migrations falls within the overall definition of a time-limited interval of heightened stress and disruption that links together two relatively stable states (Golan, 1981, p. 100). Local residential movement (e.g., the typical North American geographical mobility) differs in some ways from migration over long distances which results in culture changing. However, each move involves the changing of social roles, the taking on of different social statuses, and the developing of a new social relationship. These changes can be a period of opportunity as well as danger. Migration is a two-sided phenomenon that fits the Chinese word for crisis, "wei-chei," which is written as a combination of two characters: those for danger and opportunity (Eaton, 1971, pp. x-xiv).
B. Defining Migration

It is important to note, before going on to a description of the migration process, that the terms "immigration" and "emigration" are actually two components of the same act. Emigration refers to the person's act of leaving his former country, and immigration refers to his arrival at the new community.

Migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. No restriction is placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act, and no distinction is made between external and internal migration. . . . No matter how short or how long, how easy or how difficult, every act of migration involves an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles. (Lee, 1969, p. 285)

This phenomenon has some aspects located within the culture system, some within the social system, and some within the personality system. It is a social process which links two systems of social organization. The migrant is the third social organization linking the area of origin with the area of destination (Mangalamp and Schwarzweller, 1970, pp. 6, 12).

The decision to migrate, and the process of immigration itself include four groups of factors:

a) Factors associated with the area of origin.

b) Factors associated with the area of destination.

c) Intervening obstacles.

d) Personal factors.
Immigration is a result, in part, of an assessment of the positive and negative factors of origin and destination. However, it is not so much the actual factors at origin and destination, as the perception of these factors, which results in migration. The decision to migrate, therefore, is never completely rational (Lee, 1969, pp. 287-288).

C. Why People Emigrate

As explained previously, it is assumed that readiness to migrate is more a function of perceived reality by the emigrant (e.g., feelings of relative deprivation) than a response to structural conditions per se. At the same time, people may overestimate the benefits of an area of destination without possessing exact knowledge of it.

Nair’s study (1980) of immigrants’ use of social services in Toronto shows that there are different reasons for emigration. People who are slightly better skilled than the average population in an underdeveloped country tend to emigrate, and these people also tend to be slightly less skilled than the average population in their country of destination. Sometimes the migrant follows relatives or friends. Often, there are few jobs at home, and one hears about many work opportunities abroad. In addition, there may be other frustrations, dissatisfactions, feelings of inadequacy or insecurity at the country of origin, and hope of resolving them through emigration. Rarely can an individual’s motivation be reduced to a single factor (pp.
Social, political, psychological, economic, and legal variables influence individuals or groups when considering migration.

D. Process of Migration: Some Social Characteristics

Although the migration episode has now been investigated for years, sociologists are still trying to build up a "theory of migration." The following is a review of the predominant explanations of this event.

Before discussing a description of the stages in the moving process, it seems relevant to examine Eisenstadt's (1970) conceptual analysis of immigration and adaptation, since it may help us understand the immigrant's reactions during this transitional period.

Having investigated the process of absorption of new immigrants in Israel, Eisenstadt (1970) suggests that the crucial factor in the process of adjustment is the extent to which the newcomers expect and are prepared to change their behaviour and undertake the performance of new roles. There is a wide variation among immigrants—from total acceptance of this necessity (defined as "positive predisposition to change") to total rejection (defined as "negative predisposition to change").

The immigrant with a positive predisposition to change is usually one with considerable ego-strength, which enables him not to cling 'ritually' to various status characteristics as prerequisites for self-esteem and social acceptance, and whose ego-strength is, at least to some degree, connected with his positive, non-conditional identification with the
Jewish community as a source of security and belongingness. (Eisenstadt, 1970, p. 350)

This type of newcomer is assumed to have a high level of frustration-tolerance, and a strong positive future perspective, meaning that the present is evaluated by the immigrant as a preparatory stage for the future. These traits are characterized by ego-integrity and flexibility of levels of aspirations.

Immigrants with a positive predisposition to change are prepared to forego status symbols such as, standard of living, style of dress, residence, and occupational choice, as long as they feel the future will provide them with some basic economic and social security.

Immigrants with a negative predisposition to change possess a "ritualistic" attitude to status, and thus their self-esteem depends on the acquisition and holding of the different symbols of social status. Consequently, they experience much greater difficulties than the newcomers with a positive approach to change, in integrating into the new social field (Eisenstadt, 1970, pp. 341-350).

It is assumed that the family plays a very important role in the process of immigration. Two main types of families could be distinguished in their ways of facing the difficulties: the solidary and the non-solidary type. The first one is a cohesive group with its common goals and norms. The second one does not prove a high degree of cohesion and of sharing goals.
The solidary family provides affection and a "base of security" in the transitional stage of immigration, while the non-solidary family puts its members, in many instances, under pressure (Eisenstadt, 1970, p. 355).

The general conclusion drawn from the discussion above is that the higher the positive predisposition to change is, the quicker and easier is the immigrant's adaptation to a new social setting. The newcomers need a sense of security "to pass the bridge," a feeling which should be provided by their family and by the new environment.

E. Stages in the Migration Process

Migration is more than the act of moving from one place to another. As Revi (1971) points out, it is a process involving four stages: 1) making a decision; 2) breaking with the past; 3) the transitional period - carrying out the move; and 4) making adjustment (p. 6).

The Decision-Making Process

The decision to migrate is usually a family decision, even if not all the members are involved in the move. The family member who originates the idea must not necessarily be the decision maker, a function determined by the family's culture, class, and structure.

Regardless of the individual's (or family's) reasons for migration, the emigrant must counter the tendency to preserve the status quo, the pressure to adhere to the familiar and known.
Since every decision involves a balancing of gains and losses, the decision-maker must assess the moving act in relation to the family network, its affects on family relationships, children's education and welfare, social ties, proximity to aging relatives and so forth (Reul, 1971, pp. 6-9).

The Break with the Past

Once the decision to migrate has been made, the individual and family must go through the phase of breaking with the past in order to plan for the future. The preparations to leave bring back a flood of memories that are often very distressing. Bella Bytensky (1979), a Russian newcomer, goes back to memories of the past the night before leaving the Soviet Union for good:

My cremation would be in twenty-four hours at the airport, the last strategic point that connected me with the past. Fifty-five years to be burnt to ashes. A new Bella in flesh and spirit would cross the border. What she would be like, time would tell. First, on the day of my departure, I had to attend my own funeral. The spirit was dead. (p. 9)

The physical actions are accompanied by feelings of loss. Since all the familiar things around the migrants are part of their identity, this sense of loss creates a conflict for them that may be seen in some form of separation anxiety. Their reaction to this and to subsequent stages of the migration episode depends on how successfully they can break with the past and prepare realistically for the future (Reul, 1971, pp. 9-10).
Maxine Gaylord (1979), who investigated the impact of geographic moves on middle and upper-middle class corporate employees and their families, observes that regardless of the reason for a family's move, it involves a sense of loss for all (pp. 187-188). Children often experience emotional difficulties, whereas adolescents suffer from social frustrations. The women give up friends, a sense of self-worth and identity, and often a job or career possibilities. All these renunciations result in loneliness and sometimes feelings of depression.

Actual Migration

The third phase in the transition of migration is the actual physical transfer from the old to the new location. The person (or family) during this phase can be considered to be "in between systems," having left the stable past and not yet a part of the new world ahead.

When they finally reach their destination, their first reaction is to observe and evaluate the new situation. They attempt to understand what is going on around them by comparing it with their former world and with their prior expectations. The newcomers try to figure out how they can, with their own values, hopes and experiences, fit into the new scene. At this stage, they are actually reacting more than acting.

The most common difficulty at this time, says Reul (1971), is the feeling of dissonance that results from ex-
experiencing situations which produce cognitive inconsistency. Dissonance is defined as "a negative drive state which occurs whenever an individual simultaneously holds two cognitions (ideas, beliefs, opinions) which are psychologically inconsistent" (p. 11). This state arises out of the gaps between what was and what is, and between what is and what they had hoped would be. Persons may find a sharp discrepancy between their own expectations regarding physical conditions in the new place and the actual reality. They may sense a difference between their opinions and attitudes and those of the significant others in the group they have just joined. They may note a difference in role expectations from what they have been used to and this may threaten their sense of identity or self-esteem.

The newcomer experiencing uncertainties and anxieties often reacts to the discrepancies by viewing the new world selectively, emphasizing the advantages and denying even obvious faults, and being overly enthusiastic about the new situation.

Another way of combating the state of dissonance is by one's proving himself. The migrants often attempt to rebuild their self-confidence either by putting forth their best efforts and work hard, or by downgrading other people or things in the new setting.

Reul (1971) notes that people who select their area of destination themselves experience the state of dissonance more than those who were not given the possibility to choose.
Refugees, or groups having been ordered to relocate, tend to feel less dissonance, since they had actually no real control over the selection of their destination (pp. 10-15).

The Adjustment Period

Adjustment occurs when the migrants begin to recover from the initial shock of being in a new environment, and proceed with the long and hard task of becoming part of a new social system. Instead of reacting emotionally, as in the previous stage, the newcomers now begin to follow a plan of action in order to change themselves, or the absorbing community for the benefit of both (Reul, 1971, p. 15).

Many scientists who study the issue of immigration emphasize the important role of the receptive country in the process of integration (Golan, 1981, p. 107; Weinberg, 1961, p. 172; Reul, 1971, p. 16).

The adjustment process does not only depend on the internal readiness for change of the immigrant. A large portion of a successful adaptation depends on the facilitating efforts of the host society. Providing employment, housing and education is only one side of the coin. The other side is fostering informal links between immigrants and local families, social organizations, community centres, and work places (Kolker and Ahmed, 1980, pp. 485-495).

Immigration actually consists of two complementary processes: the newcomer's integration into the community
and the community's absorption of the immigrant (Golan and Gruschka, 1971, p. 83). Golan and Gruschka (1971) developed an operational model of the steps that would have to be undertaken for successful integration and absorption. Six potential problem areas were delineated: income management (earning and spending), health, housing, education, leisure-time activities, and citizenship. In each of these areas, sets of tasks facing newcomers and communities as they attempt to solve these problems were outlined, along the two dimensions of the material-arrangemental axis, and the psychosocial axis. The first deals with the practical tasks that both the newcomer and the community have to carry out; the second deals with the cognitive and emotional aspects of adjustment (pp. 83-85).

It is during the period of adjustment that the newcomers who live among the people of their own background prepare themselves for the time when they will move into the larger community. By living close to former countrymen and speaking their language, they defend themselves against uprootedness and loss of identity (Weinberg, 1967, p. 174; Frankenstein, 1964, pp. 43-44; Bernard, 1976, p. 273). This situation may result negatively when the immigrants shut themselves up in a "ghetto," and do not become a part of the host community, but rather outsiders.

In countries where cultural pluralism is tolerated, ethnicity can be an advantage, a source of pride and a contributing background (Bernard, 1976, p. 273).
Carlos Sluzki (1979) suggests to divide the adjustment period into the short and long-range effects of migratory stress. The immigrant employs a task-oriented overefficient approach during the first months. Differences between the country of origin and destination are examined and analyzed. Previous family styles of functioning may be continued and even exaggerated. Conflicts or individual pathology tend to remain dormant.

During the next months and years, the newcomers are forced to choose between changing or maintaining the old family rules and values. Those who are ready to redistribute the roles and norms will adapt easier than those who maintain the old rules and consequently develop an alienating split between the inner world of the family and the outer world in which they live (Sluzki, 1979, pp. 383-386).

Having examined in detail the process of migration it now seems relevant to our study to present briefly Canada's immigration policy in general, and its involvement with refugees in particular.
CHAPTER III

IMMIGRATION IN CANADA

A. Historical Perspective

In 1936, a government "White Paper" outlined recommendations for a future immigration policy. It stressed the following reasons for encouraging immigration: 1) population growth; 2) expansion of the domestic market; 3) lower per capita costs of government and services; 4) cultural enrichment. The "White Paper" was in favour of selective immigration.

In the early 1970s, the Government of Canada decided to pass a new immigration act. The Ministry of Manpower and Immigration introduced a four volume "Green Paper" on immigration. In April 1978, Parliament proclaimed the new Immigration Act. For the first time in Canadian history, the government clearly defined a set of objectives for Canadian immigrant policy (Munro, 1978, p. 74).

B. Refugees in Canada

In 1951, the United Nations defined the conditions under which a person would be considered eligible for protection and assistance. This organization asked for international cooperation to assure that refugees would be welcome in countries where their fundamental human rights
and freedoms would be recognized. Although no special provision for the admission of refugees was made in the Immigration Act until 1978, Canada had always given permanent homes to refugees and victims of persecution (Munro, 1978, p. 67).

In addition to continual liberalization of its refugee policy during the years, the government introduced, in 1967, a special Handicapped Refugees Program. This country is also known for its response to major international crises; for example, the admission of the Hungarian refugees in 1956-57; the Tibetan refugees in 1970; the movement of Asian refugees from Uganda in 1972; and the Chilean movement in 1973-74.

Thus far Canadian refugee policy has been largely founded on the assumption that Canada can best contribute by offering resettlement opportunities, and that it is more useful to concentrate on helping large numbers of people requiring relatively little assistance rather than much smaller numbers of people requiring a great deal of assistance. (Manpower and Immigration, 1974, p. 116)

The subjects of this study are Soviet Jews who have immigrated to Canada under the status of refugees.

A convention refugee is a person who by reason of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion is:

a) outside the country of his/her nationality and is unable or, by reason of such fear, is unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country; or

b) not having a country of nationality, is outside the country of his/her former habitual residence and is unable or, by reason of such fear, is unwilling to return to that country;
c) a designated class person is one who is a member of a class designated by the Governor in Council in accordance with Canada's humanitarian tradition in respect of the displaced and persecuted. (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1981, pp. 1-2)

The 1978 Immigration Act also proclaimed specific provision for the first time for groups of interested Canadians to sponsor the admission to Canada of Convention Refugees and members of designated classes (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1981, pp. 2-3).

C. Future Perspective

The Honourable Lloyd Axworthy has recently announced immigration projections for the next three years. Canada plans to accept up to 145,000 immigrants annually for the next three years. It also plans to admit 14,000 refugees next year - including 1,000 more East Europeans and half as many Indochinese as last year. The Minister noted that it is impossible to project refugee figures for more than a year because of changes in the world situation. There is no ceiling, however, on the number of refugees that could be admitted under sponsorship agreements (Kage, 1981, p. 1).

As noted previously, immigration is a complicated phenomenon with a multiplicity of factors and systems involved. The first two chapters of this study implied a general approach to migration. The next chapter contains a description of the Soviet Jews and their problems as newcomers since their resettlement is the issue with which the study is concerned.
CHAPTER IV

BACKGROUND AND TRENDS OF SOVIET
JEWISH EMIGRATION

A. Status of Jews in the USSR -
   Historical Considerations

   Russia has a long history of discrimination against
Jews, and of anti-Semitism, going back to the 18th century.
The conditions in Soviet Russia, both socio-economical and
political, favoured the continuation and even the growth
of ethnic prejudice (Weinryb, 1972, p. 298).

   The fact that the Jewish group in the Soviet Union
constitutes both a nationality and a religious part, creates
a situation where any policy concerning either of these
groups affects all Soviet Jews, religious and secular
(Rothenberg, 1972, p. 185).

   While the trend to Russification existed and was on
the increase during the first two decades of the 20th century
in Russia, the Jews, although becoming more and more secular,
clung to an identity defined as Jewish. There was a growth
of both modern Yiddish-based, and Hebrew-based secular
Jewish culture.

   In the pre-revolutionary program, Bolshevism denied
the existence of a Jewish national entity, and claimed that
Socialism would resolve the Jewish question and put an end
to anti-Semitism.
In the fall of 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized power, the Jewish sections within this Party, called "Evsektsiia," aimed at gaining the support of the Jewish community for the Revolution and at creating a new Jewish culture. Their goal was to preserve a secular Jewish culture based on the Yiddish language. The major aspects of Jewish religious life and the use of the Hebrew language and its literature were declared illegal.

In the 1930s, Örbach (1980) states:

Jewish religious practices, Hebrew-based cultural activity, and Zionist-oriented work were not tolerated within the Soviet Union as legitimate expressions of Jewish life. On the other hand, that which had been acceptable, the Yiddish-based culture was no longer available, even in the ideologically constrained format developed in the 1920s. (p. 149).

This process led to the isolation, both physically and culturally, of the Soviet Jewish community from the rest of the world Jewry.

The younger generation was Jewish by definition but without any Jewish historical consciousness because of the total absence of Jewish schools in the USSR. They were, in fact, assimilated into the Russian society.

In the Soviet multi-national society (as distinct from either a national society or a "melting pot" society), nationality is a fundamental component of citizenship. The internal Soviet passport - which is indispensable for obtaining housing and a job, for moving about the country, applying for university admission, and for dealing with
the government - emphasizes nationality in its "Point 5."
For Jews, it reads "Yevrei" (Avidor, 1979, p. 21).

Jews are, with a few exceptions, disqualified from such careers as diplomacy, political journalism, the armed forces, the Communist Party apparatus, and high-ranking Party positions. Job and higher education quotas are part of their daily life. Yet, it is also true that they have succeeded in Soviet life far out of proportion to their numbers. In 1970, official figures showed that 134 Jews per 1,000 had received higher education, whereas ethnic Russians were 22 per 1,000 (Smith, 1976, p. 479).

It is clear from this historical review that under the impact of official indoctrination, Jews have been denied any connection with their tradition. For many years, Soviet Jews were characterized as the "Jews of silence" (Avidor, 1979, p. 21).

Paradoxically, however, it was official anti-Semitism which severely undercut the drive toward assimilation. During the last two decades, the Soviet Jewry has begun to look for various forms of expressing their Jewish identity. The most powerful motive for emigration was a newly derived sense of Jewish nationalism. "I am a man without a nationality in a very nationalistic country," declared Alex Goldfarb, a biologist who later left for Israel. In the Soviet system, being a Jew - and asserting Jewishness - conflicts with being a loyal Soviet citizen (Smith, 1976, p. 479).
In 1967-68, anti-Semitism became more sharply pronounced. The Israeli victory on the Six Day War in 1967 increased the hostile Soviet policies to Israel. Consequently, after 60 years of Soviet rule, a significant number of Soviet Jews emerged as a people conscious of their national identity, and asked to emigrate to the Jewish state.

The year 1971 saw a significant breakthrough in Soviet policy regarding emigration for Jews; the Soviet Union suddenly permitted Jews to leave for Israel. According to the Soviet law, the only rationale for leaving the Soviet Union is repatriation, or in other words, resettling in a national homeland, and family reunification. Thus, most of the Russian immigrants leave the USSR with exit-visas to Israel, stating the Jewish homeland as their destination.

B. Dimensions of the Soviet Immigration to North America

The initial waves of immigration came from the western part of the USSR, the area which has been annexed to the Soviet Union in 1939-1944 (the Baltic Republics, West Ukraine, West Byelorussia, Moldavia, and Transcarpathian Ukraine). Most of the immigrants from this area, strongly identifying with the Jewish culture and tradition, went to Israel. They led a rich and active Jewish life before World War II, and have not yet been fully separated from their historic Jewish roots.

By 1974, it became clear that the immigration patterns had shifted significantly. Those choosing not to go to Israel had increased from less than 2% of immigration in 1971 to about 80% in 1981.
Table 1 shows the Jewish Emigration from the USSR between 1965 and 1981. From October 1968 to December 1981, 259,679 persons left the Soviet Union with Israeli visas. Approximately 161,750 of them went to Israel.

Experts believe that the percentage of Soviet Jews who prefer to emigrate to other Western countries than Israel will increase. This conclusion is based on the following premises:

1) The future emigrants will be drawn by their friends and relatives in the West.

2) An analysis of the present pattern of the emigration movement shows that the future emigrant pool will be drawn from the Russian, Byelorussian, and Ukrainian republics. Jews lived there under a Soviet rule since 1917, and are, therefore "the most assimilated Jewish community in the country, and so is least likely to identify its own future with that of the Jewish community of Israel" (Orbach, 1980, p. 145).

Canada started to absorb Soviet Jews in 1973. Until the end of 1981, Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada (JIAS) received 8,043 immigrants from the USSR (see Table 2).

C. Soviet Jews in North America: A Profile

As mentioned previously, there are very few reports on the Soviet immigrants who emigrated specifically to Canada. Nevertheless, an extensive literature review shows that the description of the immigrants residing in the U.S. is pertinent to those in Canada. Furthermore, one should not forget that they have actually come from the same country of origin.
Table 1
Jewish Emigration from the USSR

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<td>2,803 (39.6)*</td>
<td>850 (24.9)*</td>
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<td>3,023 (42.1)</td>
<td>1,407 (15.8)</td>
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<td>2,469 (37.3)</td>
<td>1,155 (15.5)</td>
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<td>770 (28.1)</td>
<td>430 (22.3)</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>21,471 (34.4)</td>
<td>9,447 (18.6)</td>
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*Figures represent the percentage of those who proceeded to Israel.

Table 2

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<td>Vancouver, B.C.</td>
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<td>Windsor, Ont.</td>
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<td>Winnipeg, Man.</td>
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<td>7(21)</td>
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<td>35(39)</td>
<td>41(98)</td>
<td>51(143)</td>
<td>14(36)</td>
<td>249(635)</td>
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**TOTAL** | 119(294) | 249(589) | 484(1149) | 357(867) | 290(656) | 295(717) | 44(1142) | 684(1896) | 301(733) | 327(804) |

* figures in brackets refer to number of individuals.

Source: Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada, Montreal, 1982.
First, it is important to examine the geo-cultural differences among the Soviet Jews since they influence the values and expectations of the immigrants and are, therefore, relevant to their resettlement.

There are three broad types of Soviet Jews:

1) "Westerners" (known as "Zapadniki") - Jews from the western borderlands which were annexed to the USSR in 1939-44;
2) those in the Slavic "heartland" - the RSFSR (Russia), the Ukraine, and Byelorussia; 3) the Asian Jews - Georgian, "Mountain," and "Bukharan" Jews.

1) The "Westerners" constitute three per cent of the Jews in the Soviet Union. Having come under Soviet rule relatively recently from states where Jewish religion and culture flourished until the outbreak of World War II, they are more attached to Jewish identity and culture than "Heartlanders."

2) The "Heartlanders" make up 80% of the Soviet Jewish population. They are the furthest removed from Jewish tradition and culture. Having, for the most part, lost Jewish tradition and culture, these people are both consumers and producers of Russian culture, and are the single-most highly educated ethnic group in the USSR. The "Heartlanders" constitute about 85% of those who immigrate to the U.S. and Canada, rather than to Israel.

3) The Asian Jews are in sharp contrast to both European groups. They are less educated than the European Jews, but are more community conscious. They have a rich Jewish
cultural tradition and a long history of Zionist activity. Most of the Asian Jews immigrated to Israel (Gitelman, 1978, pp. 73-74).

The Soviet Jew who chooses to emigrate does so for a variety of reasons: his consciousness as a Jew has been raised by those dissidents who risked prisons and labour camps to demand their rights to emigrate. The future for his children is an uncertain one. He wants a better life in a society less oppressive than the one he has known. He emigrates for religious reasons. He emigrates for a new life as a Jew. (Jacobson, 1975, p. 191)

This immigrant is not the conventional type of a refugee. He is a professional person who left behind a good job, good friends and the Soviet version of the good life. For the elderly people, the process is even harder. As Bellà Bytensky (1979) explains:

The young ones took the initiative and we, the older generation, had to choose whether to stay in the country where we were brought up and lived all our lives, or to follow our children. It was the parenting instinct that won over in favour of the younger ones. (p. 55)

This parenting instinct was always a predominant factor in the Soviet Jewish family, which can be characterized by "family enmeshment and lack of autonomous functioning, accompanied by incomplete object constancy and difficulty in managing ambivalent feelings" (Hulewot, 1981, p. 53). The writer analyzes the dynamics of the Soviet Jewish family throughout the life cycle, focusing on the early phases. She claims that separation and mastery are discouraged by an overprotective and ambivalent behaviour of the mother. Some Soviet parents do not see discipline as a tool for
teaching self-control, but as a way of getting the child to respond to parental authority. Thus, discipline is not internalized, and consequently discourages autonomy.

The problem of separation-individuation might emerge throughout adulthood. Young couples, for instance, who continue to live with their parents because of housing shortages, experience a severe loyalty conflict between spouse and parents.

However, the Soviet family system has its advantages as well. One of them is the production of warm people with an unusual willingness to share and to help.

A post World War II study of displaced Soviets as compared to Americans showed that "the Soviets were found to be more fearful of and less optimistic about those in authority than Americans. Yet, leaders were expected to be warm, nurturant, and the source of initiative" (Hulewiat, 1981, p. 57). The writer claims that the Soviet immigrants express ambivalent, hostile-dependent relationships toward authority.

Uprooting and resettlement affect the family structure and exaggerate its traits. The tendency toward splitting ambivalent feelings on an individual level occurs on a family level as well, when one member takes on the emotional tasks (anxiety or depression) while another member focuses on the instrumental tasks. This might happen with families that are already structurally weak (Sluzki, 1979, p. 386).
Binding the ambivalent feelings toward the new environment means to try to solve the state of dissonance the newcomer experiences. This seems to be a difficult task for the Soviet immigrant because of his difficulty in managing ambivalence, but is yet crucial to successful resettlement.

The Soviet Jewish immigrant, whose occupational identity is in many cases his primary source of self-worth, might also experience feelings of massive insult to self-image when he does not find an adequate employment. He would then react aggressively, having difficulties in changing his professional expectations (Hulemat, 1981, pp. 58-59).

Migration encompasses both opportunity and trauma. For the immigrant coming from behind the iron curtain to the free world, the shock is even greater than usual.

One Soviet immigrant, a film director, pinpointed what distinguishes the Soviet Jews from other nationalities who had sought refuge in the U.S.:

You Americans think that refugees from Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union are all the same. We Soviets are not like the Eastern Europeans. We have had 57 years of isolation and brainwashing. We are not just from another country. We are from another planet. (Edelman, 1977, p. 157)

Before proceeding to an examination of the problems the Soviet Jews encounter during the resettlement process, let us outline briefly the emigration-immigration procedures from the Soviet Union to the West.
D. The Formal Process of Emigration from USSR and Immigration to North America

The Soviet Union allows Soviet Jews who produce an "invitation" from a family member in Israel to apply for an exit permit. All such permits are granted for travel to Israel. A number of Soviet Jews wishing to go to destinations other than Israel use the "Israeli pipeline" to emigrate. Only a small group of emigrants reach America through direct invitation for purpose of family reunion. In 1977, 538 Soviet Jews arrived to U.S. with U.S. exit visas (Ayidor, 1979, p. 33).

The principal transit station for the Soviet Jews en route to Israel is Vienna, Austria, where they are met by officials of the Jewish Agency, an organization officially serving as a liaison between Israel and the Jewish diaspora. Those who express the desire to settle in other countries than Israel are placed under the care of HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), a private American-based organization which sends them to a HIAS Centre in Rome. The Soviet refugees spend a couple of months there while HIAS officials are looking for communities to accept them (Gidwitz, 1976, pp. 27-28).

As explained previously, Soviet immigrants generally qualify for Canadian refugee status. Thus, Canada Manpower and Immigration officials offer prospective immigrants in Rome counselling and information regarding life in Canada,
as well as employment opportunities (Manpower and Immigration, 1974, pp. 124-136). How much the immigrants gain from this information is not the question to consider here.

Most of the newcomers are government or private organization sponsored. Being government sponsored, the newcomer is entitled to financial assistance and employment services. These include: help with rent during the first year of immigration, basic furniture, medical care insurance, occupational training programs, language training, and living expenses during the period of studies.

The employable people receive with their arrival a Landed Immigrant visa. Under certain circumstances an inadmissible person may enter Canada on a Minister's permit and subsequently become a landed immigrant under an Order-in-Council (Manpower and Immigration, 1974, p. 47). In this study, these are the retired parents of Soviet Jews who have resettled in Windsor. The Jewish Community Centre assumes responsibility for them, providing their basic needs.

All newly arrived immigrants must wait at least three years before being eligible to apply for Canadian citizenship. The Citizenship Act also requires a possession of adequate understanding of English or French, as well as some knowledge of Canada and the rights and duties of Canadian citizens (Munro, 1978, p. 54).
E. The Adjustment of Soviet Jews to North American Life

The transition from a closed totalitarian society, where the state provides many of the life-essential services and where, as a consequence, individual initiative and responsibility are largely reduced to a minimum, to an open society based on individual initiative and responsibility is a traumatic experience for many Soviet Jews. (Edelman, 1977, p. 169).

The freedom to choose, and the sudden need to make choices about jobs, apartments, schools, income management and other matters can be overwhelming for the newcomers. The realization that they can hear and read what they choose; that they can travel when and where they wish without official permission; and that they can live freely as Jews in a manner of their own choice is hardly believable at first.

The cultural shock of the Soviet immigrants is based primarily on a conflict of values between the Soviet society and the North American society. It is not only freedom of choice, independence, and competition which are strange to them. The Soviet Jews are also completely unfamiliar with the complex institutions of North American Jewry. They are criticized by the Jewish community for not being "Jewish," and yet how could they be, having no understanding or knowledge of the local "Jewishness."

The community's expectations of the Soviet Jew is filled with complex and extensive feelings of ambivalence and misunderstanding, ranging from the resentment of his not having gone to Israel or not being Jewish enough, to a feeling of one's own guilt that not enough is being done for our persecuted brethren. (Rubin, 1975, p. 200)
The difference in values can be illustrated in other areas as well. For instance, the traditional Jewish communal and family obligations to elderly parents conflicts sharply with the Soviet system where the government resumes full responsibility for the care of the elderly (Rubin, 1975, p. 197).

Another difficulty in absorbing the Soviet Jews is their tendency to see the Jewish Family and Community Service as an extension of the state. Consequently, they tend to not trust officials and are very suspicious. Local communities report that they are manipulating and demanding people with high expectations from the absorbing networks. Their ambivalent feelings of dependence - hostility towards authority are well expressed in their relationships with any official who is perceived by the immigrant as part of the bureaucracy (Dublin, 1977, pp. 280-281).

The newcomers have also an entirely different outlook regarding employment. To the Soviet Jews, job placement is something one is "locked into," permanently assigned to. Self-initiative and job mobility are not part of their repertoire.

Professionals and academics encounter difficulties not only in finding an appropriate job, but primarily concerning their job qualifications. The almost total isolation of Soviet society for many years meant that they, like all Russians, were denied or limited an access to information from abroad about new developments and to the literature in
their field of specialization. This tended to create gaps in the knowledge and skills of most professionals. Consequently, in addition to language difficulties, the highly educated immigrant must acquire the knowledge and skills utilized by Western professionals, a process which might be accompanied by frustration and anxiety (Edelman, 1977, p. 178).

The situation of women immigrants is upsetting as well. Most Soviet women in Russia take a job "as part of the natural order of things and find it hard to imagine not working," since the Soviet regime emphasizes constantly the duty to work (Smith, 1976, p. 130). The contraction of the job market in U.S.A. and Canada, due to the current recession, makes it difficult for even well-qualified persons to find appropriate employment, let alone for women.

The local Jewish communities play a central role in the absorption of the Soviet Jews and not only in the financial, vocational or housing areas. Says Carol Krames, a social worker with the Jewish Services in Hamilton, Ontario: "We try to give them a sense of identity. We try to teach them what the Russian Government has destroyed in them. That is, that there is pride in Jewishness" (Strauss, 1981, p. 2).

The Soviet Jews experience an identity dilemma in the USSR where they are not allowed to be Russians, while at the same time they are not allowed to live as Jews (Rubin, 1975, p. 196). Discovering and regaining this lost identity seems to be the main goal of the resettlement of the Soviet Jews in the free world.
F. Studies on the Resettlement of Soviet Jews in North America

Most of the studies on the adjustment of Soviet Jews to their new communities have been done in the United States. However, this research assumes that there are similarities between those who immigrate to the U.S.A. and those who resettle in Canada. It is, therefore, worthwhile to examine briefly other resettlement reports before going into an analysis of the Windsor experience.

Adjustment in the U.S.A.

The most recent study is a survey on the Soviet Jews' adjustment to the United States, based on 900 interviews with Soviet Jewish immigrant families that arrived in the U.S. between 1972 and 1980, currently living in 14 cities in the U.S. The survey had two major purposes: 1) to find out about the immigrants' socio-economic adjustments to their new country, and 2) to describe the nature and strength of their Jewish identities.

The study results showed that the Soviet immigrants are making a good adjustment to their new lives. Their education, occupational skills and the experience of having lived in urban centres allows them to enter the United States labour force in skilled occupations. Most of them knew some English before their arrival, and perceiving the lack of fluency in this language as their biggest problem, they seem to work on it with some success.

Labour-force participation is lower for Soviet immigrant males than for U.S. males, but Soviet immigrant
female participation is higher than for U.S. females. As for earnings, a large majority of the Russian newcomers are already leading comfortable, middle-class lives.

When asked what was better about their lives in the U.S. as compared to the Soviet Union, they listed income, standard of living, housing, and their lives as Jews. However, cultural life, friendships, and social status or position in the society were perceived by them as better in the Soviet Union. Looking five years into the future, almost all except those who were over 50 at the time of arrival to the U.S. expect to be fluent in English, to earn as much money as an average American family, and to be satisfied with their jobs.

It is of interest to notice that within the short period of residence in the U.S. the respondents feel more comfortable identifying themselves as American Jews than as Soviet Jews, Russians or Russian Americans. But Jewish alone is the term that fits their feelings best of all.

As to the Jewish dimension, the survey revealed that for more than one-half of the participants "being Jewish is very important" and for 43%, the term Jewish is the one they believe describes them very well. If they could be born over again, 90% would want to be born Jewish. The religious and communal aspects do not reflect such strong attachments as with their Jewish identity per se.
Almost three out of four said that all of their close friends are Jewish and for 55%, all of their close friends are Jews who left the Soviet Union during the past ten years. Quite clearly, the respondents want their children to have stronger Jewish ties and to know more about Judaism than they do.

The older respondents have stronger ties than the younger ones as measured by their subjective definition; in their observance of Jewish practices; and in what they want for their children concerning the Jewish identity.

The study concludes with the question: What does the future hold for the younger group of Soviet Jewish immigrants vis-à-vis their ethnic identity? (Simon and Simon, 1982).

The Cleveland Study

Another study surveyed the caseload of Soviet immigrants who were sponsored by the Cleveland Jewish community from 1972 through 1976. One hundred and forty-eight families out of 201 were interviewed.

A preliminary general observation indicated that relative reunions are an important factor in the immigrants' adjustment. Family members provide emotional and material support, and assist in the interpretation of agency policy and programs.

Housing. Seventy-five percent of the Soviet families have stayed in the area of the present Jewish community of Cleveland although the study shows housing mobility. The residences shown to the interviewers demonstrated a sense of permanence.
Employment. It was found that income levels of Soviet families compare with those of families in the general community. Forty-five per cent of Soviet families have two or more employed adult members. It seems that individuals have accepted the idea of employment in fields other than their specialties. Families also seem geared to two spouses working, like in Russia. The interviews demonstrated a progression of language skills which enhances the vocational prospects.

Jewish Identity. The replies indicated that there was a certain level of Jewish awareness for some while they lived in the USSR. The respondents also expressed a desire to deepen their Jewish identity while living in the U.S.

Social Needs. All of the respondents but one admitted that the relations they were having with acquaintances in Cleveland were not of the same type of friendships they experienced in the Soviet Union. The difference between the Russian people being very warm and open, as compared to the distant and reserved Americans was emphasized by most of the respondents. Yet, the majority expressed a desire to be integrated into the Jewish community.

The problem of isolation seems particularly predominant with the aged.

To conclude, this study found signs of progress in the Soviet immigrants' economic and language skills with hopes of continued development (Feldman, 1977).
The Detroit Study

In the summer of 1976, Zvi Gitelman conducted a survey among a random sample of 132 Soviet immigrants in the Detroit area. It is apparent from the data that the higher educated people have the most trouble finding suitable and satisfactory employment in their fields of specialization.

The better educated immigrants prove also to be less satisfied than the less educated, in general.

One-half of the immigrants considered their standard of living in the U.S. higher than that in the USSR, and at the same time see themselves as having lost considerable social status. Over two-thirds of the immigrants classify themselves as "working class" or "lower class," and only 19% assign themselves to the "middle class." This perception of lost social status is especially expressed among the better educated immigrants, perhaps because of the more radical change in their occupational and cultural status.

Less educated Soviet immigrants are disturbed mostly by the difficulty of learning English. The more educated ones complain about low level of culture in the U.S.

More than one-half of the respondents miss their friends and relatives in the Soviet Union. They perceive Americans as not as warm and sociable as Soviet people.

The Soviet Jews also express some hesitancy and ambivalence about American individual and social freedom as sometimes resulting in crime on the streets (Gitelman, 1978, pp. 76-82).
What emerges from the Detroit study is a picture of basically satisfied immigrants who are neither blindly enthusiastic about their new country, nor, for the most part, blindly negative toward their old one. Despite the fact that they are at the lower rungs of the economic ladder, the immigrants are hopeful about their vocational and economic future and feel that they have made a definite improvement in their standard of living. (Gitelman, 1978, p. 82).

Soviet Jews in Canada

The last study presented here was done in 1979 and consisted of a special group of Soviet Jews sponsored by the Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (JIAS) in Canada. The data was collected through interviews with 24 family units from different urban centres, and supplemented by general discussions with counsellors working with the immigrants.

The first general observation emerging from the interviews is a lack of positive correlation between the amount of time spent on language training and the degree of successful establishment of the immigrant family. While most of the immigrants strongly desired access to English courses, there appears to be little difference in Canadian language ability between those who had taken lengthy courses and those who had learned on the job.

As expected, the professionals (30%) were more likely to be working at jobs unrelated to their qualifications than were non-professionals. Spouses were having considerably more difficulty than heads of family in obtaining suitable employment.
A second general observation identifies the aged as the most problematic and vulnerable group. The lack of pensions for the elderly causes a morale and financial problem. Their dependence on the children or Jewish agencies and their loneliness increase the adjustment problems.

In terms of successful settlement, the Soviet immigrants being a highly motivated group have established themselves in Canada extremely well. A great part of them feel accepted in this country and satisfied with their choice of destination (CEIC, 1979).

The studies described above reveal the following common trends:

1. The Soviet Jews in North America achieve a high degree of adjustment in a relatively short time. Learning the English language is a key to their independence and self-functioning, and therefore, seems to be one of their main concerns.

2. The aged experience great difficulties in the resettlement process.

3. Social integration into the American society is still a goal to attain, since there is a social
and cultural gap between the Soviet immigrants and the communities they live in.

5) Most of the Soviet Jews identify with the Jewish people and express a desire to deepen their Jewish identity now living in the free world.

The identification of the problem and the purpose of this study were presented in Chapter I. Chapters II, III and IV provided the introductory information, and a review of pertinent literature.

The next step, after having discussed the rationale for this survey, was to formulate a specific problem which could indicate the required data and be investigated by scientific procedures. This process of linking the conceptual and informative framework with specific investigating areas and study procedures is described in Chapter V.
CHAPTER V

STUDY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with the problem formulation, the study design, the sample, the methods of data collection, the setting, the limitations of the research and definitions of significant terms.

A. Problem Formulation

In order to delineate the whole process of immigration, seven areas were differentiated: income management and employment; health; housing; education and language training; social integration and leisure-time activities; citizenship; and ethnic identity.

The identification of these potential problem areas was based on the conceptualization of Golan and Gruschka (1971, p. 84), with the following modifications. The issues of language training and ethnic identity have been added by the researcher since both the literature and experience emphasize them as important aspects of the resettlement of Soviet Jews in North America. The area of ethnic identity was also of personal interest to the investigator.

The next step was to define the researchable questions as follows:
1) What are the characteristics of the Soviet Jews in Windsor?

2) What are the potential problem areas in the process of resettlement from the perspective of the respondents?

3) Is there an association between the most difficult areas of this process as perceived by the immigrants and some of their selected characteristics?

Two basic questions emerged from the development of the second area of investigation: a) does the sample consist of sub-groups which might experience differently the process of resettlement? and b) does the process of integration/absorption include potential problem areas which involve practical and psychosocial aspects?

The objective of the third research question was to link the two first ones for predictive and preventive reasons, as explained in the introduction.

B. Classification

The research design depends on the research purpose. In our case, the study could be classified as a quantitative-descriptive study since it aimed at 1) describing a certain population, and 2) testing whether certain variables were associated.
In collecting evidence for a study of this sort, what is needed is not so much flexibility as a clear formulation of what and who is to be measured also techniques for valid and reliable measurements. (Sellitz et al., 1976, p. 102)

C. Data Collection Methods

The researcher was interested in data collection methods which would give her information about the respondents' perceptions, beliefs, feelings, motivations or future plans.

In the interview and questionnaire approach, heavy reliance is placed on verbal reports from the subjects for information. . . . Let us point out, however, that in everyday life we accept many verbal reports as valid. (Sellitz et al., 1976, pp. 292-293)

Thus, the interview was chosen as the data collection tool for the following reasons:

1) The investigator does not write or read Russian and would therefore have needed translation services if a questionnaire would have been used. On the other hand, she does speak Russian and Yiddish, a fact which enhanced and enriched her communication with the respondents.

2) Conducting a personal interview enabled the interviewer to sense the sentiments that might have underlined expressed concepts and opinions. She could also observe not only what the respondents said, but also the total situation to which they were responding.

3) The investigator preferred to use a standardized interview, for reasons of validity and reliability. However, it did not consist of "closed-ended" questions only, but of "open-ended" questions as well. These were used when the issue was complex, and the researcher was
interested in the respondents' formulation of the idea, their motivations and reactions.

In developing the interview schedule as an instrument for data collection, an attempt was made to keep the wording and ideas as simple and concrete as possible, and to ensure consistency in the topics covered. Items used in the interview schedule were based on suggestions from the literature, on ideas derived from conversations with professionals working with Soviet Jews, and on the researcher's personal experience.

The interview schedule included the following sections:

1) Population characteristics
2) Income management and employment
3) Health
4) Housing
5) Education and language training
6) Social integration and leisure-time activities
7) Citizenship
8) Ethnic identity.

In addition, the respondents were asked to use an attitudinal rating scale at the end of each section in order to evaluate the amount of difficulty they experienced in each area. The rating scales aimed at concentrating and measuring one of the central research questions in this study: In what areas do the Soviet Jews in Windsor encounter greater difficulties during the process of integration into the new community?
Structured attitude scales were also used to assess past and present job satisfaction, and position on the issue of intermarriage.

Most of the interviews were conducted in Russian and Yiddish at the immigrant's home and lasted between 80 to 120 minutes. Only one person refused to be interviewed. The respondents' outstanding hospitality and welcoming deserve to be mentioned. The interviews took place from March to May 1982.

D. The Sample

The target population consisted of 123 Soviet Jews, residing in the city of Windsor, Ontario, Canada. The available population in this case was identical to the target population since the researcher used an updated and accurate list of the newcomers provided by the Windsor Jewish Community Centre.

The researcher had chosen two necessary criteria which limited the selection of the sample.

The first criterion was the age of the respondent: 18 years and up. It seemed unnecessary to include children in the study since their contribution would only have been partial. They would not be able to conceptualize and give enough information about the different aspects of immigration. The researcher assumed that the problems children encounter would be reflected in their parents' interviews.
The second criterion was time of residing in Windsor: from 3 months and up. It was assumed that this study might have no significance if the respondents were newcomers for less than 3 months, which was taken as an average period for preliminary adjustment (based on the literature, communication with two resettlement officers in Windsor, and on the researcher's own experience).

Since the target population was not large, and the sample was already limited, as explained above, it was important for reasons of validity to choose the maximum possible representative sample. The researcher used, therefore, the probability sampling through a stratified random selection of the subjects. These were divided into two major groups according to their age: 1) 20 men and women, heads of different families, in the age range of 18 to 60; and 2) 10 elderly persons (men and women over the age of 60).

The first group was divided by sex: 10 males and 10 females, each of them being one of the heads of a family.

The rationale for the group division was the assumption that each group has its specific problems of integration which should be taken into consideration when analyzing the potential problem areas.

The second group constituted a larger proportion of the sample than it actually was in the target population. Out of 82 adults (18 years and up), only 18 people were over the age of 60 (21.9%); whereas in the sample they were 33.3%.
This device was utilized in order to guarantee that the "aged group" would be sampled in a sufficient proportion for statistical analysis, being identified as a group at risk.

The researcher was also interested in the young adults' perceptions of the resettlement process, especially concerning the issue of ethnic identity. Therefore, out of seven being in Windsor she interviewed four single young adults who lived in their parents' household and were above 18 years of age. Consequently, the number of the young adult respondents was small and their data was used only for the population description and for the presentation of the mean rating scores of potential problem areas.

The sample consisted, thus, of 34 individuals of age 18 years and up, who had been in Canada at least 3 months.

The researcher had several reasons for choosing to interview the subjects as individuals. Firstly, a family interview was considered as more time-consuming than interviewing an individual, a fact that could have limited the number of possible interviews, considering that the researcher was the only available interviewer. Secondly, she believed that a head of a family who would speak for a spouse might convey different information. Individual interviews, therefore, would be particularly effective when discussing complex issues such as social integration or ethnic identity. Thirdly, she gathered that for follow-up
surveys in any setting of immigrants, it would be more convenient and accurate to interview individuals rather than either family units, or adults who would answer questions for the whole family.

However, in order to perceive the general ambiance and get the "flavour," two family interviews were conducted as part of the pre-test.

E. The Setting

Resettlement is influenced by many factors, among which the specific local characteristics are of primary importance. The economic situation, housing, political and social "climate" should be taken into consideration.

The study was conducted in the City of Windsor, Ontario, Canada. Windsor is in Southwestern Ontario at the tip of the peninsula formed by Lake St. Clair, the Detroit River and Lake Erie. It is a city of 196,512 people and has a land area of 31,583 acres (City of Windsor, Ontario, 1981, p. 1).

The major provincial and national emphasis has always been on Windsor's pre-eminence as a manufacturing centre. Being located next door to the American's automotive capital - Detroit - assisted this city in becoming one of Canada's leading industrial cities, especially known for its automobile manufacturing. Other industries are: food and beverage, metal fabrication and machinery, and chemicals (City of Windsor, Ontario, 1981, pp. 3-4).
The population is composed of many racial origins, of which British constitutes 48.2%. The remainder are: French (17.2%), German, Italian, Netherlands, Polish, Scandinavian, Ukrainian, Native Indian and Other (Windsor Chamber of Commerce, 1980).

Windsor, as well as other cities in Canada, was hit by the economic recession. According to Statistics Canada, the rate of unemployment in the City of Windsor was 18.9% in January 1981, and 14.6% in March 1982. Canada Employment and Immigration Centre claims that 17.4% were unemployed on January 1981, and 16.9% on March 1982 (United Way, May 21, 1982).

Housing was also affected by the economic situation. There is now a large offer of residences in Windsor and a decrease in rent rates.

It is the researcher's impression (based on the study interviews) that whereas employment has become a problem during the last year, housing has been an easy issue to deal with.

F. Limitations

This study, as any other research work, had its limiting factors. They were as follows:

1) The Soviet immigrants were, in most cases, open and willing to answer the investigator's questions. However, in a few instances, since they had come from an authoritarian system, they tended to be suspicious and reluctant to questioning.
2) The researcher fulfilled two functions at the Jewish Community Centre. One, as a caseworker with the Russian newcomers for three months, and the other as a researcher, collecting the data for her study through the J.C.C. Consequently, she was perceived by the immigrants both as a member of the staff and as an outsider, a situation which sometimes created confusion for the respondents. The hope that they might gain something out of their participation in the research could cause biased answers. These limitations were partially solved by interviewing the persons in their homes and by defining clearly my objectives. It also turned out that none of the respondents had therapeutic relationships with the interviewer.

3) As explained in the previous chapter, the Soviet Jews use the "invitation" from Israel as a means for emigrating from the Soviet Union to other Western countries. The researcher, being Israeli, and knowing the need for a growing population in her country, might be affected by her personal feelings toward the newcomers. They, on the other hand, might experience feelings of guilt and uneasiness while communicating with her, a situation which could also result in biased answers.

4) Using the interview as the method of data collection had its own limitations as well. The researcher was limited in the number of respondents she could interview herself.
5) The research was done on a small population. There are 123 Soviet Jews in Windsor, of which 41 are children under the age of 18. To what extent the results of this study can be generalized is unknown at this point. However, it may be assumed that this survey, conducted in Windsor, could be generalized to other similar urban communities in Canada.

6) It was clear that there might be differences in the subjective cognition, concept and definition of rating the potential problem areas. What appears "very difficult" for one person, could be defined as "difficult" by another. However, since this study dealt with a complex issue and focused on the immigrant's subjective perceptions, such a limitation was kept in mind. Having seen the limiting factors, it seems relevant to point out some advantages of the researcher which helped her in conducting the study. Having experience in the absorption of Soviet Jews in Israel, knowing the language, and originally coming from a similar cultural background was, indeed, beneficial.

G. Definitions

Defining the basic terms in regard to the process of immigration of the Soviet Jews in Canada is important. Each of them has a different connotation and significance as far as the newcomer's situation is concerned. In
general, the way the newcomers perceive their act of immigration influences the identification of the potential problem areas. This perception may also differ according to the individual's characteristics.

Integration. "The condition of being formed into a whole by the addition or combination of parts or elements" (Webster, 1971, p. 1174). When used in this study, it refers to the newcomers' actions to adjust to the Canadian society. It does not involve an annihilation of the former culture, but rather a systematic preservation of the ethnic identity and the former cultural background. Windsor is an example of a multicultural society composed of different ethnic groups.

Emigration. "An act or instance of emigrating: departure from a place or abode, natural home, or country for life or residence elsewhere" (Webster, 1971, p. 741).

Immigration. "A going into a country for the purpose of permanent residence" (Webster, 1971, p. 1130). This act involves again adjustment and adaptation to a society and culture with a consistent body of normative standards.

Resettlement. "The process of settling in a new place or way of life" (Webster, 1971, p. 1931). This term is used interchangeably with "integration" in the literature and research.

Assimilation. "Sociocultural fusion wherein individuals and groups of differing ethnic heritage acquire the
basic habits, attitudes, and mode of life of an embracing national culture" (Webster, 1971, p. 132). This process does involve an annihilation of the former culture and tradition. It is distinguished from "acculturation," which, in this context, could be used in the same way as "integration."

**Soviet Jewish Immigrants.** This definition relates to persons of the Jewish faith, or who are married to Jews, who have emigrated from the USSR since 1968.
CHAPTER VI

STUDY RESULTS

A. Population Description

As specified previously, the first objective of this study was to describe the characteristics of the Soviet Jews in Windsor as reflected in the sample.

The researcher did not include the data of the four young adults in the statistical analysis of the population characteristics. The reason was that they constituted too small a group for significant statistical results and could only interfere with the stratification of the sample. This group would be described separately later on.

A close examination of the data reveals some interesting findings.

Republic of Origin

The majority of the Soviet Jews in Windsor (63.3%) came from the Slavic "heartland" namely, RSFSR (Russia), Ukraine and Byelorussia (White Russia). As mentioned previously, these people had been under Soviet rule most, if not all, of their life and, therefore, did not have strong ties to Israel and Zionism.

58.
The second group consisted of 33.3% coming from the western borderlands which were annexed to the USSR in 1939-1944.

One family (3.3%) came from the Asian part of the Soviet Union.

This emigration pattern matches the results of other surveys (Simon & Simon, 1982, p. 5) and supports the claim that the future emigrant pool to North America will be drawn from the Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian republics (Orbach, 1980, p. 145).

Table 3
Frequency and Percentage Distribution of the Soviet Immigrants' Republic of Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Republic</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Byelorussia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moldavia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSFSR</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lita</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagikistan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is of interest to notice that all the respondents lived in urban centres before their migration from the Soviet Union, a fact which might facilitate their integration into Canadian society.
Time of Residence in Canada

The time of residence in Canada varied from 3 to 42 months. It seems to represent a steady flow of immigrants throughout this period. One exception was a "wave" of 8 respondents (26.7%) who entered Canada 30 months ago.

Relatives and Former Friends

The interviews revealed that 20 respondents (66.7%) had relatives in Windsor. These include: parents, parents-in-law, brother, sister, brother or sister-in-law and children. The 10 aged newcomers were admitted to Canada on a Minister's Permit since their children immigrated to Windsor, Ontario. It seems clear at this point that more and more Soviet immigrants are drawn by their relatives in the U.S.A. and Canada, rather than by Israel.

As for friends, 76.7% of the respondents did not have friends in Windsor whom they had known in the Soviet Union.

Age

The age distribution of persons in the sample should also be given special attention. The group of 20 men and women consisted of 7 persons aged 27 to 34; and 13 persons aged 35 to 42. Their mean age was 35.7. The mean age of the "aged group" was 69.7.
Marital Status

All of the 20 respondents in the age group 27 to 60 (referred to as the "adults group") were married and heads of families. The picture in the "aged group" was different: only 3 out of 10 lived with spouses. This fact seemed to be understandable considering their age. The marital status of the survey participants is illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4
Frequency and Percentage Distribution of the Soviet Immigrants' Marital Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>76.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nuclear Family

The analysis of the population characteristics also revealed that all the respondents belonging to the "adults group" had at least one child under the age of 18. Eleven families out of 20 had 2 children. The aged family included either 1 or 2 persons. Table 5 shows the distribution of the respondents' nuclear family members.
Table 5
Frequency and Percentage Distribution of the
Soviet Immigrants' Family Members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of family members</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Education

The educational and occupational characteristics of the respondents in this survey showed a high standard. Seventeen out of 30 (56.7%) were university graduates.

In the "adults group" the number of men with higher education was equal to the number of women (7), constituting together, 70% of the group. In the "aged group," 2 men and 1 woman (30%) received diplomas from an institute of higher education. The age factor appeared to be very significant since older people had less opportunities to study.

This trend was also reflected in the fact that whereas among the "aged group" 4 people (1 man and 3 women) finished only elementary school, in the "adults group" none of the respondents stopped their education at this level.
The respondents' level of education is illustrated in Table 6. Since there is a difference in the education system between Canada and the USSR, four educational levels were identified: elementary school, high school, college-technical, and university, in order to be applicable to both systems.

### Table 6

**Frequency and Percentage Distribution of the Soviet Immigrants' Level of Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College-technical</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Occupation**

An analysis of the occupational characteristics of this sample actually reflected the level of education pattern.

The engineers constituted 36.7% of the sample. All of them but one belonged to the "adults group." One-half of this group (10 out of 20) were, indeed, engineers. This gives reason to believe that there is a connection between the industrial character of Windsor and the referral of immigrants to this city.
Another interesting observation indicates a difference in the occupational trends between men and women in the "adults group." Whereas 7 engineers were men, only 3 were women. The rest of the women in this group were: technician (3), economist and administrator (2), veterinarian assistant (1), and librarian (1). As for the men in the "adults group," the 3 who did not possess an engineering certificate were technicians (construction, food and pattern wood).

The "aged group" included one engineer, one technician, one nurse and one pharmacist, one linguist, four workers and one with no occupation.

Table 7 presents the occupations of the Soviet immigrants.

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technician</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical staff</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social sciences</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus far, the analysis of the population characteristics pointed to two main groups of Soviet Jews in Windsor.

The first one consisted of relatively young immigrants possessing personal and professional maturity: their mean age was 35.7; 70% had higher education; and all of them were married and had children. Maturity and a family support system could be advantages, and yet the age and occupational characteristics could also become reasons for difficulties in getting established, especially since the percentage of professionals was so high.

The second group of Russian newcomers consisted of retired persons, who were unemployable and, as a result, with less financial and occupational expectations.

Language Ability

A critical factor for successful resettlement in this country is Canadian language ability. The data analysis revealed that 60% of the sample were able to write a letter; 70% could read a newspaper; 70% could handle a daily conversation; and that 66.7% reasonably understood T.V. programs.

In the "aged group," 6 respondents out of 10 declared that they had no knowledge of the English language for various reasons: short time of residence in Canada, illness, and difficulties in absorbing the language because of their age. However, most of these people were aware of the importance of speaking the local language, and joined language training courses.
It is of interest to note that 80% of the survey participants did not learn English in the Soviet Union. Since the Soviet Jews are a highly motivated group, and perceive the learning of the English language as a key to their independence, they make great efforts in mastering this language.

Reasons for Migration

Of special interest was the question concerning the reasons of the newcomers for migrating from the Soviet Union. Most of the respondents gave more than one reason for this important decision. The following is a summary of the answers:

Anti-Semitism and a desire to live openly as a Jew - 66.7%
Better life in a society less oppressive - 50.0%
Better future for the children - 43.3%
Family reunion - 40.0%
Better professional future - 16.7%
All the Jewish friends left Russia - 6.7%
Economic improvement - 0.0%

There were differences between the answers of the two age groups. Whereas 80% of the "adults group" stated anti-Semitism as the primary reason for their migration, only 33% did so in the "aged group." The elderly identified family reunion as the primary reason in 90% of the cases. Only 15% of the "adults group" left the Soviet Union in order to live with their relatives.
These differences can be explained by the presumption that the elderly parents, in spite of having lived almost their entire life under the Soviet rule within an anti-semitic society, reached a respectful position in their community, and were frequently former professionals who had retired in Russia on a full pension. Since the ties in a Jewish family are usually very strong, their children's departure was in most of the cases the main reason for leaving Russia for good.

It is of interest to note that none of the respondents stated economic improvement as a reason for emigration. This might be related to the fact that the current Soviet newcomers left, indeed, a relatively high standard of living in the Soviet Union. However, the true motivations of the Soviet immigrants for leaving their former country are a controversial subject which has not been sufficiently explored, as yet.

The "Young Adults" Group

This group consisted of 4 respondents, singles, who lived in their parents' household. The age range of the 3 females was 19-20 years, and the male was 28 years old. He was also the only one who had higher education and was an engineer; the other 3 were students. None of them had relatives or old friends from the Soviet Union in Windsor. The four knew English quite well. The time of residence mean was 19.75 months. As in the larger sample, the majority
came from the Slavic republics: 2 from Byelorussia and 1 from Ukraine. One young adult came from Asia (Tagikistan).

When asked for their reasons for leaving the USSR, the 3 females explained that it was their parents' decision to migrate. Two of them also pointed to anti-semitism. The male in the group emigrated because he wanted to live a better life in a society less oppressive and without ethnic discrimination.

The population analysis which was presented above supports the researcher's presumption that the sample consisted of sub-groups with different characteristics and, as a result, with different needs during the process of immigration.

The first area of investigation of this study was to describe the population. The second was to identify the potential problem areas in the process of resettlement as perceived by the respondents.

B. Potential Problem Areas in Resettlement: Respondents' Perspective

General Remarks

The researcher used rating attitude scales in order to find in which areas the Soviet Jews in Windsor encountered difficulties in adjustment to the new community. Table 8 illustrates the means of the rating scores for each potential problem area, with special attention to the sub-groups in the sample.
Table 8

Mean Rating Scores of Potential Problem Areas
in Resettlement by Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Income management and employment</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Housing</th>
<th>Education and language training</th>
<th>Social Integration</th>
<th>Citizenship</th>
<th>Ethnic identity</th>
<th>Total means of group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aged</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>2.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young adults</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total means of area | 3.15 | 2.12 | 2.29 | 2.62 | 3.12 | 2.15 | 2.21 |

Note: The rating scale is as follows:
- Very easy = 1
- Easy = 2
- Moderately difficult = 3
- Difficult = 4
- Very difficult = 5
The first interesting finding was that even in the areas of income management and social integration, which received the highest total mean scores (3.15 and 3.12, respectively), the rating was actually moderate in terms of absolute difficulty (5).

The second important result was that the total mean of the "aged group" was the highest one (2.7). This fact matches opinions expressed in the literature and in the Canadian study which has identified the aged as the most vulnerable ones among the Soviet Jewish immigrants.

The lack of pension for the elderly was their principle complaint, and the main reason for rating the difficulty in the area of income management as a mean of 3.6. Sixty per cent of the "aged group" found the income issue moderately difficult (3). Twenty per cent claimed it was difficult (4), and another twenty per cent perceived income management as being very difficult for them (5).

Because of the economic situation and the housing shortage in the USSR, young couples often require their parents' assistance. The elderly parents in this study had retired in the Soviet Union on a full pension. Since they were not eligible for a pension in Canada, they frequently found themselves dependent on their children and on the Jewish community in Windsor. This role change became a morale problem and was expressed in most of the interviews with the elderly respondents.
Language training was also perceived as a problem by the aged respondents. None of them learned English in the Soviet Union and thus 50% found it difficult at their age to acquire a new language. However, the remaining 50% defined the language training as being easy. Becoming a student for these people was somehow a refreshing experience.

The mean score of social integration for the aged was also the highest in the sample. Twenty per cent claimed it was easy; 40% did experience some difficulties in social integration; and 40% felt it was very difficult for them to integrate into the new community. Being cut off from much of the social contact they would have in Russia, they expressed loneliness and emotional pain.

The mean score of health difficulty was higher in the "aged group" than in the others. This result is explainable when taking into consideration the age factor.

It is of interest to note that these people gave the lowest mean score for ethnic identity in the sample since this area was, for them, the easiest to deal with. The elderly were born either before or during the first years after the Russian Revolution so that they had the possibility to acquire Jewish education and tradition. Their Jewish identity was, therefore, more than just the fact they were born as Jews.
The researcher has divided the "adults group" into men and women in order to examine the differences in their rating scores. The predominant difference was in the area of income management and employment. The reason was expressed by most of the women as: although being professionals and intending to enter the labour force, they were unemployed. As mentioned in the literature review, almost all women work in the Soviet Union, and changing their family role from an outside employee to a housewife seems to be frustrating and depressing for the Soviet woman.

There was also a difference in the area of ethnic identity which might be explained as follows: whereas the men's group included 1 non-Jew, there were 2 non-Jews in the women's group. Considering the small size of the sample, this might be significant. The researcher's impression was that the respondents who did not belong to the Jewish faith did not experience any conflict or cognitive inconsistency regarding the Jewish identity.

The "young adults group" could not provide significant statistical data consisting of only 4 respondents. However, an examination of their rating scores revealed some interesting trends.

The areas of social integration and ethnic identity posed more difficulties for them than other issues. Their interviews revealed that the social contacts they had in Canada could, by no means, be compared to the meaningful,
warm relationships they had experienced in the Soviet Union. They claimed to have some Canadian acquaintances, but their close social circle was composed of Russian Jewish immigrants. It should also be remembered that 3 out of 4 emigrated from the Soviet Union not out of free choice but as a result of their parents' decision.

The "young adults" scored higher difficulty in ethnic identity (mean = 3.00) than the other sub-groups. The man in the group (age 28) rated this issue as easy; two females as medium; and one female as difficult. The last one experienced a conflict with her parents concerning her non-Jewish friends. The two others felt frustrated knowing nothing about Jewish religion, history and tradition. Their mothers were not Jewish, a fact which contributed to their confusion.

It is interesting to note that difficulty in education was rated the lowest by the young adults. All of them perceived the issue of learning as being easy.

The researcher's intention was to examine in more detail each of the potential problem areas in order to outline the specific problems the Soviet immigrants encountered. This examination was based on the respondents' rating and focused on the areas which were perceived by the newcomers as more difficult than others.
Income Management and Employment

This section of the interview referred to all the aspects of obtaining and spending an income. Employment is, in most cases, the determining factor for a successful resettlement.

Table 9 shows the job satisfaction of the immigrants in the USSR and in Canada.

These figures revealed two major trends in the "adults group": 1) the men experienced a sharp decrease in job satisfaction, regardless of their salary. Out of 10 respondents, 7 were not working in their profession; one was unemployed; and 2 were employed as professionals; 2) the job satisfaction scores of the women in the "adults group" had no statistical significance since 70% of them were unemployed in Canada. One woman out of the 3 who were employed did not work in her profession, but was still content to have obtained a job.

The "aged group" could not be part of the job satisfaction comparison since none of the 10 respondents was working in Canada. It is, however, interesting to note that all of them rated their former jobs as satisfying or very satisfying.

The answers to the question: "Is your spouse working?" also differed from men to women in the "adults group." Whereas the female respondents reported that 2 husbands were laid off, the male respondents reported of 7 unemployed wives
Table 9

Comparison of Respondents' Job Satisfaction
in the USSR and in Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Job satisfaction equal in Canada and the USSR (%)</th>
<th>Job satisfaction in Canada increased (%)</th>
<th>Job satisfaction in Canada decreased (%)</th>
<th>Jobless in Canada (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men (n=10)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women (n=10)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
who used the forced unemployment for learning the English language and for professional retraining.

One of the questions in this section pertained to income distribution and sufficiency. Eighteen respondents out of 20 in the "adults group" felt their income was sufficient for food, rent, clothing and recreation. Most of them said that their overall standard of living was higher in Canada than in the Soviet Union.

The answers of the elderly were of no surprise: 9 out of 10 claimed their income (provided by the Jewish community) was hardly enough for food and rent. One person lived with her married son, and therefore could not specify.

All the respondents of the "adults group" were already familiar with banking arrangements, with purchasing techniques and with new ways to maintain a house. Among the aged, 2 were not yet independent.

The mean time for this kind of adjustment was slightly less than 6 months. Eighty-two per cent of the sample were helped by friends, relatives or public services to get acquainted with daily life tasks.

The public transportation in Windsor was another subject referred to in the interviews. All the respondents of the "adults group" purchased a car, whereas none of the aged could afford it.

The mean time for purchasing a car was 6.5 months after the arrival to Canada. The majority of the "adults group" felt
it was impossible to be mobile without a private car. The elderly, however, somehow thought differently. Fifty percent of them were using buses and claimed to be satisfied with the service. Thirty percent said it was expensive, and twenty percent did not use buses and thought it was difficult without a car.

The difference in perception between the two groups could be explained by the fact that the aged needed transportation less than the other respondents since they were unemployed and lived in the centre of town. Most of them were helped by their children for shopping, medical visits and any urgent needs.

The psychosocial dimension of adjustment in the area of income management had been expressed in the newcomers' report about feelings of anxiety and stress since their immigration to Canada. Table 10 specifies the reasons for these feelings.

Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceived causes of anxiety</th>
<th>Men (n=10)</th>
<th>Women (n=10)</th>
<th>Aged (n=10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job security</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of work performance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status dislocation at work</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income limitations</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handling money</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not knowing English</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a Two women worried about their husbands' past job security rather than their own.
The differences between the "adults group" and the "aged group" emerged here as well. Sixty per cent of the elderly immigrants were worried about their income since they were not eligible to receive an old age pension. The "adults," on the other hand, knew they would be able to work and make a living in any case; their greater concern was to find an appropriate job based on their professional qualifications and similar to the one they held in the Soviet Union.

It is also of interest to note that the aged who did not intend to enter the labour-force had no anxieties concerning job security, level of work performance and status dislocation.

More than one-half of the respondents were concerned about their lack of English language ability.

The mean time for experiencing stress and anxiety was 9.2 months from the arrival in Canada. This relatively long period of time (resettlement workers report of 3 to 4 months) could be attributed to the cultural shock the Soviet Jews experience while resettling in the West. Many of them expressed concern about the instability in the employment market and the lack of professional opportunities in Windsor.

An examination of the newcomers' family roles showed no significant intrafamilial change. The shift from breadwinner to student was temporary, and the change from an outside employee to a housewife was imposed by the circumstances.
Social Integration and Leisure Activities

The purpose of including this section in the interview schedule was to evaluate the social adjustment of the Soviet Jews in Windsor.

As previously indicated (Table 8), the mean rating score of difficulty in this area was higher than in most of the other aspects of integration and pointed to the existence of some difficulties.

One of the central questions of this section was to determine how the Soviet Jews perceived themselves in Windsor. The results are summarized in Table 11.

Table 11
Frequency and Percentage Distribution of the Soviet Immigrants' Social Adjustment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social adjustment</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part of close group of friends</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of general community</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part of Jewish community</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigner</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;On my own&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data analysis indicated that none of the "adults group" felt they were part of the Jewish community, whereas 4 out of 10 aged did so. There are several reasons for this difference of perception. The aged used the Jewish community services more and participated in community programs. In
addition, the researcher assumes that the elderly had more knowledge of and emotional relation to Jewishness, and consequently possessed a stronger feeling of belonging to the Jewish circle.

Another interesting finding concerned 50% of the respondents who felt part of a close group of friends and relatives. A common claim expressed throughout most of the interviews was: "There is a gap between the local Jewish community and the Soviet immigrants. We come from different cultures and do not feel accepted by our Canadian brethren."

When asked who were their friends in Windsor, all 30 respondents pointed to Soviet Jewish newcomers. Four of the "adults group" also added acquaintances with Canadian Jews, and 5 with Canadian non-Jews.

In the "aged group," unsurprisingly, 7 out of 10 did have relationships with Canadian Jews.

It seemed clear that the Soviet Jewish immigrants constituted a group which still could not be identified as part of the Jewish community in Windsor. This group functioned as a support system for the newcomers providing both environmental and psychosocial assistance.

All the respondents had some connections with the Jewish Community Centre and Synagogue, but none of these organizations provided the opportunities for social integration of the immigrants on a regular basis.
Leisure-time activities was another subject dealt with during the interviews. Many of the study participants claimed that they had a better and richer cultural life in the Soviet Union than in Canada. Obstacles such as: a visa to the U.S.A., lack of time or money, and emotional stress prevented them from going out, especially to Detroit where a greater range of cultural activities is offered.

**Education and Language Training**

All the respondents in the "adults group" had children of school age - 27 children altogether - who were attending school. Four parents talked about problems with their children, referring to social difficulties with the Canadian students at school. One father also complained of having discipline problems with his son.

Twenty per cent of the respondents were considering the possibility of transferring their children to a Jewish school in Detroit, but were concerned about the physical and emotional burden it would impose on them. One parent planned to transfer his child back from Detroit to Windsor for this reason.

This section dealt not only with the education of the children but with the parents' language training as well. At the time of the interviews (March-May 1982), English courses were available in different levels, and most of the respondents were enrolled in one of the programs.
Out of 30 respondents, 24 had taken English lessons in Canada; three learned English in the Soviet Union; one, learned by himself; and two aged did not feel any necessity to take an English course.

The mean time of studies was 5.6 months. This included intensive courses, evening classes and 2 hours a day courses.

When asked whether the language training answered their needs, 33% answered that it was not enough and that they needed to study English more. Two respondents were not satisfied with the teaching system.

The researcher used one rating scale in order to evaluate the newcomers' perception of difficulty in education both for the parents and the children. In most of the cases, the respondents gave one score. However, there were 4 persons in the "adults group" who separated education for children from language training for adults, and rated them separately. Three of the respondents claimed that whereas school was easy for the children, acquiring the English language was difficult for the parents. One respondent felt the opposite: language training did not constitute a problem; it was the low level of education in his daughter's school which bothered him.

Housing

The City of Windsor was in economic distress when this survey was being conducted, but there was no housing shortage.
Out of 30 respondents, 2 had bought a house. The others were living in rented apartments. Seven families who came to Windsor recently lived in the same apartment building, close to downtown, and helped each other in any possible way. The rent was high and, consequently, most of the tenants intended to leave the place when the one year lease would expire.

All the respondents but one lived with their nuclear families or alone (widowed or divorced). Only one elderly woman shared a residence with her married son and his family.

The aged immigrants rented very inexpensive apartments, being restricted with their budget. They all lived in the area of the Jewish Community Centre and the Synagogue, close to downtown Windsor, and to a main road with appropriate public transportation.

Most of the respondents said they encountered no difficulties in finding a residence in a relatively short time. The Jewish Community Centre helped the aged to locate an apartment. Some of the Soviet immigrants experienced anxiety for a short time before having found a place to live. The aged were worried that they would have to stay with their children.

Two respondents rated housing as being difficult. The first because the family had bought a house and the mortgage was too high for their financial ability; the
second because the family came to Windsor almost four years ago and had difficulties then in finding an apartment.

Most of the apartments the researcher visited were furnished and well maintained.

Ethnic Identity

The "Jewish dimension" takes an important place in the resettlement of the Soviet Jews. It was their nationality which had driven them out of the Soviet Union, and it is primarily the Jewish communities which absorb them. The extent to which the immigrants define themselves as Jews, and seek to strengthen or maintain their Jewish identification should be a major consideration when planning Soviet resettlement programs.

Out of 30 respondents, 27 were Jewish. For all of them, being a Jew "here and now" meant to belong to an ethnic group. Nine of them suggested that being Jews also involved occasional observance of traditional practices. One aged woman perceived Jewishness as connected with religion.

The respondents were also asked to choose the term that best fits their perception of self in the Soviet Union and in Canada. Table 12 illustrates the distribution of responses.
Table 12
Percentage Distribution of the Soviet Immigrants’ Perception of Self in the USSR and in Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception of self</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jew</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Jew</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other(^a)</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)German and "human being"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception of self</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jew</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Jew</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Immigrant</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Jew</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data showed that the migration from the Soviet Union to Canada was not followed by a significant change of self-perception. About one-half of the participants considered themselves as Jews in both places, and more than one-third were "Russian Jews."

It is interesting to note that none of the Soviet Jews perceived themselves as a Canadian or Canadian Jew, partly because only one had a Canadian citizenship. This also suggests that their integration into the Canadian society is at this stage far from being accomplished.

The Soviet immigrants' identification with Jewishness was expressed through various responses. Twenty-four of 30 respondents declared they wanted to know more about the Jewish culture and tradition. Twenty-five wanted their children to be "more Jewish" than they were. Seventy-seven percent expressed strong objection to intermarriage. Only 2 persons said they had conflicts in regard to their ethnic identity.

Four children were attending a private Jewish school in Detroit because their parents wanted them to get Jewish education (3) and because "private education is better than public" (1).

Many parents said they would send their children to a Jewish day school if it were available in Windsor.
Quite clearly, the respondents expressed a strong attachment to the Jewish identity, and a desire to raise their children as free Jews. As for the religious aspect, it was a meaningless issue for most of the Soviet immigrants who participated in this study.

Citizenship

Twenty-nine respondents were still waiting to receive Canadian citizenship. The majority had no interest in the political and legal system of Canada.

Some of the newcomers had difficulties in understanding the rights and obligations of a resident in Windsor, and were guided by the Jewish Community Centre, or by other public services.

The aged immigrants needed more help than those in the "adults group" in dealing with laws and regulations, such as tax and traffic laws, government assistance and social services. Their children were the primary source of assistance in more than 50% of the cases.

Health

All the respondents had medical insurance and most of them were familiar with the main services. Fifty per cent had dental insurance provided through work, and the J.C.C. covered the expenses in emergency cases for those who were not insured.

Twenty-nine respondents needed medical care in Canada the same (25) or less (4) than in their former country.
Only one aged woman used medical service more than before. One respondent could not answer the question.

Out of 7 immigrants who felt stress and insecurity concerning the issue of medical services, 3 were aged. These feelings were usually experienced until the first encounter with the service. It should be noted that most of the survey participants expressed full satisfaction with the medicare in Windsor and indicated it was on a higher level than in the Soviet Union.

Section B dealt not only with the respondents' perception of difficulty in the different areas of resettlement, but also presented an analysis of their answers regarding each of these issues.

The objective of the next section (C) is to determine whether there is an association between the potential problem areas being perceived as somehow difficult by the Soviet Jews and some of their characteristics.

C. **Association Between Potential Problem Areas and Characteristics of Respondents**

The third area of investigation in this study was an exploratory analysis aiming to determine if there was an association between the most difficult areas of the resettlement process and some selected characteristics of the population.
The respondents were asked to rate their relative perception of difficulty in an attitudinal scale from 1 (very easy) to 5 (very difficult). The researcher chose the mean value of 2.5 (see Table 8) as the borderline for two reasons: 1) it was the midpoint of the scale; and 2) the Grand Mean of the potential problem areas was 2.52. Values of 2.5 and above have been considered as "difficult." Thus, the areas of income management and employment, social integration, and education, of which the mean rating was 2.5 or higher, entered this category. Each of these areas was tested against selected characteristics which seemed to have pertinence to the perception of difficulty by the immigrants, in order to determine the strength of association.

Table 13 presents the results based almost entirely on the Cramer's V statistics. It is important to indicate that, because of the small size of the sample and the dispersion of the answers, this statistical analysis should be considered with caution.

Income Management and Employment

The variables sex and education were tested as factors which might have influenced the perception of difficulty in income management of respondents in the employable age group. The aged immigrants (over age of 60) were not working, and lived on allowances provided by the Jewish Community Centre. Their financial situation, therefore, would not be influenced either by sex or by education. Thus, they were excluded from this analysis of association in order to increase the chances of a valid test.
Table 13
Association Between Potential Problem Areas
and Characteristics of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Income management</th>
<th>Social integration</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of education</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of English</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time of residence in Canada</td>
<td>0.30 (Gamma= -0.15)</td>
<td>0.31 (Gamma= -0.40)</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives in Windsor</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aThe "aged group" not included

The Cramer's V statistic showed a moderate association between sex and difficulty in the area of income management and employment (Cramer's V = 0.45). The women generally perceived this issue as being more difficult than the men.

This existence of association was supported by findings of other surveys which pointed to the fact that women experience more difficulties than men in the area of employment (CEIC, 1979, pp. 7-8; Simon & Simon, 1982, pp. 20-21;
Gitelman, 1978, p. 76). The researcher has reached the same conclusion when analyzing the mean rating scores and the answers of the "adults group" with regard to income management and employment.

It was found or mentioned in other studies that professionals and academics encounter more difficulties than others in obtaining an appropriate job (CEIC, 1979, p. 5; Edelman, 1977, p. 178; Gitelman, 1978, p. 76). However, the association between the level of education and perception of difficulty in income management in this study proved to be a low one (Cramer's V = 0.26). This means that a higher level of education does not necessarily result in a high score of difficulty for income management and employment. Several partial explanations come to mind: 1) It seems that the Soviet Jews in Windsor have accepted the idea of employment in fields other than their specialties. Many of them feel they need more time to acquire a better knowledge of the English language in order to pass qualification tests. 2) The Soviet immigrants are satisfied with having a job at all, taking into consideration Windsor's present state of economic recession. 3) Most of the immigrants, regardless of their level of education, admitted that their overall standard of living has been improved in Canada, as compared to that in the USSR, a fact which probably influenced their perception of difficulty and their rating.
The positive association between knowledge of the English language and difficulty in income management was also low (Cramer's $V = 0.35$). The "aged group" was included in this analysis since daily life tasks such as income distribution, purchasing habits, and house maintenance might be influenced by the knowledge or lack of knowledge of the English language.

Social Integration

The analysis showed that there was a low association between the existence of relatives in Windsor, and the perception of difficulty in the area of social integration (Cramer's $V = 0.37$). This seemed surprising since one would expect the immigrants who had relatives to rate this issue as easier than those who had no relatives. However, a partial explanation could be that the elderly people perceived social integration as being difficult in spite of the fact that all of them had relatives in Windsor. It should be kept in mind that the sample was stratified, and that one-third of it consisted of unemployed aged immigrants. In this group, the difficulty perceived in social integration was the highest one among the three groups (mean = 3.6), for reasons which have been explained previously.

The time of residence in Canada also proved to be positively associated with the perception of difficulty in social integration (Cramer's $V = 0.31$); i.e., the more time immigrants stay in Canada, the more it becomes difficult
for them to integrate socially. This surprising result might be partially explained. Firstly, the answers of the immigrants who were above 60 years old contributed to this outcome. The majority of these respondents, of whom 40% rated social integration as very difficult, were more than two years in Windsor. This fact suggests that time, in many cases, was not a "healing" factor, and that their social situation did not improve with the passing years.

Secondly, the immigrants' expectations might have changed with time. Whereas at their arrival in Canada they hoped to be absorbed by the new community in Windsor quickly and easily, as long as time passed they have experienced disappointment and difficulties in social integration.

Education and Language Training

It is of interest to note that the analysis pointed to a moderate negative association between the perception of difficulty in the area of education and language training and the time of residence in Canada. Since knowledge of the English language is considered by the Soviet Jews as a key to successful adjustment, their language ability improves with time and the issue of education then seems easier.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter has two purposes. The first one is to summarize the findings of the study in relation to other surveys, and to some concepts or theories of the migration process. The second is to provide recommendations which aim at enhancing the integration of Soviet Jews into their new communities. In addition, suggestions of issues for further research are presented.

A. Major Findings

Many of the Soviet Jewish immigrants experience, in addition to concrete difficulties, a cultural shock during the first period of migration from the USSR to the West. This term refers to the sociological aspects of the rapid change from one culture to another. At the same time, they also experience an identity crisis which is expressed primarily in status-role changes.

The ultimate aim of this study was to explore the main environmental and psychosocial aspects of the resettlement of Soviet Jews in Windsor, Ontario. It focused on three areas of investigation:
1) A description of the population.

2) An identification of the potential problem areas in the process of resettlement from the perspective of the respondents.

3) An exploratory analysis to determine if there is an association between the most difficult areas of this process and some selected characteristics of the population.

The following summarizes the major findings of the study. Although they are presented separately, in the order of the research questions, the researcher perceives them as interrelated parts of one phenomenon.

Population Description

The target population consisted of 123 Soviet Jews, residing in the City of Windsor, Ontario, Canada. The sample consisted of 34 individuals of age 18 and up, who had been in Canada at least 3 months. It was stratified for reasons of validity and consisted of 2 main age groups: 1) 20 men and women in the age range of 18 to 60, referred to as the "adults group"; 2) 10 aged: men and women over 60, the "aged group." The first group was divided by sex: 10 males and 10 females, each of them being one of the heads of a family.

Four young adults (age 18 and above) who lived in their parents' household were also interviewed, but because they constituted too small a group for significant statistical
results they were not included in the analysis of population characteristics, and were described separately.

The majority of the respondents (63.3%) came from the Slavic "heartland." Thirty-three per cent came from the western borderlands, and one family from the Asian part of the Soviet Union. Unlike the "heartlanders," the "Westerners" and the Asian Jews have some knowledge of Jewish culture and tradition.

Most of the immigrants gave more than one reason for emigrating from the Soviet Union. Anti-semitism and the desire to have a better life in a society less oppressive seemed to be the predominant ones in the "adults group." Family reunion was stated as the main reason in the "aged group."

The data which has been collected during the interviews revealed the following demographic characteristics of the respondents. The mean time for residence in Canada was 21.6 months. All 20 immigrants in the "adults group" were married and heads of families, with a mean age of 35.7. The "aged group" included 5 widowed, 3 married, and 2 divorced, with a mean age of 69.7.

The educational and occupational distribution showed a high standard: 56.7% of the sample were university graduates, of which the majority belonged to the "adults group." Interestingly enough, the engineers constituted 36.7% of the sample, and one-half of the "adults group."
difference in the occupational pattern between men and women in the "adults group" was observed: in spite of the Soviet indoctrination for sex equality, out of 10 engineers, 7 were men, and 3 were women. The technological occupations altogether constituted 60%, while the remainder represented a variety of professions.

The two age groups also differed in the respondents' language ability. In the "aged group," 60% of the respondents stated that they had no knowledge of the English language, whereas in the "adults group," 70% were able to read, write, speak and understand English.

The interviews revealed that 66.7% of the immigrants had relatives in Windsor, whereas only 23.3% had friends in Windsor whom they had known in the Soviet Union.

The "young adults group" consisted of 4 respondents, singles, with an age range of 19 to 28. Three females were students and one male was an engineer. As expected, they all knew English quite well. Like in the larger sample, the majority of them came from the Slavic republics.

The analysis of the population characteristics pointed to two main groups of Soviet Jews in Windsor. The first one consisted of relatively young, employable people, with professional and personal maturity, who were married and had children. The second one consisted of retired persons who were unemployable, less educated and, in most cases, lived alone. It was obvious that the age factor created the main differences between the two sub-groups.
However, some general remarks could be made in regard to all the survey participants. Firstly, the emigration pattern of the Soviet Jews in Windsor supported the claim that the future emigrant pool to North America will be drawn from the Slavic republics, and will consist of Soviet Jews who are the furthest removed from Jewish tradition and culture. Secondly, one of the main sources of help available to these immigrants is the natural support system which includes family, friends and neighbours. Thirdly, the profile of the Soviet Jews as described in this study resembles the one given in other surveys done in North America.

Potential Problem Areas: Respondents' Perspective

Rating scales were used in order to find in which areas the Soviet Jews in Windsor encountered difficulties in adjustment to the new community. They were asked to rate their perception of difficulty from 1 (very easy) to 5 (very difficult) in seven potential problem areas which have been outlined by the researcher.

The analysis of the rating scores revealed some interesting trends. The first general observation was that even in the areas of income management and social integration, which received the highest total means scores (3.15 and 3.12, respectively), the rating was actually moderate in terms of absolute difficulty (5). This phenomenon could be explained in two ways: either the respondents tended, for various
reasons, to give biased responses, or they, indeed, perceived the transitional stage of migration as being relatively easy.

An analysis of the answers pertaining to income management and employment showed two general trends in the "adults group": 1) the men experienced a sharp decrease in job satisfaction, regardless of their salary; 2) seventy percent of the responding women were unemployed. The same rate of unemployment was observed among the spouses of the male respondents.

In spite of the general job dissatisfaction, most of the immigrants in the "adults group" felt that their overall standard of living was higher in Canada than in the Soviet Union.

An analysis of the answers on the issue of social integration pointed to the existence of some difficulties as well.

One-half of the sample felt they were part of a close group of friends and relatives, and none of the "adults group" perceived themselves as part of the Jewish community in Windsor. When asked who were their friends, all the respondents pointed to Soviet Jewish newcomers. However, the majority of the aged immigrants (over the age of 60) did have relationships with Canadian Jews.

The second important result was that the total mean of the "aged group" was the highest one (2.7). The lack of pension for the elderly was their principle complaint, and the main reason for rating the difficulty in the area of
income management as a mean of 3.6. Language training was also perceived by them as a problem. The mean score of social integration for the aged was the highest in the sample (3.6), and so was the mean score of health difficulty (2.6).

The researcher has divided the "adults group" into men and women in order to examine the difference in their rating scores. The predominant difference was in the area of income management and employment, probably because of the role change from an outside employee to a housewife which has been enforced on the women by the circumstances.

The small number of young adults could not provide significant statistical data. However, an examination of their rating scores revealed some interesting trends. The areas of social integration and ethnic identity were more difficult for them than other issues. It is of interest to note that this group scored higher difficulty in ethnic identity (mean = 3.0) than the other sub-groups. Taking into consideration the number of the young adults, no definitive conclusions should be drawn from these results.

The "Jewish dimension" of the respondents is of special interest, since the extent to which the Soviet immigrants define themselves as Jews and seek to strengthen or maintain their ethnic identity should be taken into consideration when planning Soviet resettlement programs.

Out of 30 respondents, 27 were Jewish, and for all of them, being a Jew meant "to belong to an ethnic group."
The migration from the Soviet Union to Canada was not followed by a significant change of self-perception. About one-half of the participants considered themselves as Jews in both countries, and more than one-third defined themselves as "Russian Jews."

The Soviet immigrants' identification with Jewishness was expressed in various ways. Twenty-four of 30 respondents declared they wanted to know more about the Jewish culture and tradition. Twenty-five wanted their children to be "more Jewish" than they were. Seventy-seven per cent expressed strong objection to intermarriage; and many parents said they would send their children to a Jewish day school if there was one available in Windsor.

The description of the sample and the identification of the potential problem areas as perceived by the immigrants were followed by a third step. The aim of this exploratory analysis was to determine if there was an association between the most difficult areas of the resettlement process and some selected characteristics of the study population.

Association Between Potential Problem Areas and Characteristics of Respondents

The goal of the association analysis was to identify the factors which might influence specific potential problem issues, for predictive and preventive reasons.

The rating scores of difficulty in income management and employment were tested against sex. The results showed
a moderate association which supported the findings of this study and of other surveys pointing to the fact that women experience more difficulties than men in the area of employment.

Unlike other surveys, association between perception of difficulty in income management and the level of education proved to be a low one.

The association analysis in the area of social integration provided surprising results. It showed a low association with the existence of relatives in Windsor, and with the time of residence in Canada. These results might be partially explained by the fact that a great part of the elderly immigrants, in spite of them having relatives and residing in Windsor more than two years, rated social integration as difficult. A change of expectations and disappointment could be another explanation.

B. Conclusions

The findings of this study led to several general conclusions about the integration-absorption process of the Soviet Jews in Windsor, Ontario.

The profile of the respondents resembles the population description in other studies. This might suggest that some of the study results might be generalized to other groups of Soviet immigrants in Canada, as long as the local characteristics are taken into consideration.
The Soviet immigrants are energetic and highly motivated to achieve. Many of them are professionals for whom the job has profound meaning. However, it seems apparent that they have come to the realization that their adjustment requires time and postponement of professional aspirations. Women, on the other hand, perceive their employment situation more severely than men. These general observations are supported by findings of other surveys conducted in North America.

The aged in this study appear to be the most vulnerable group among the immigrants. The lack of old age pensions becomes a major morale problem for these people who are cut off from their former social milieu, and become dependent on the Jewish community and on their children. Learning a new language at their age and having to establish new social contacts are indeed difficult adjustment tasks. The Canadian survey and the Cleveland report arrived at similar conclusions (CEIC, 1979, p. 16; Feldman, 1977, p. 66).

In spite of age, social and cultural differences, the Soviet Jews in Windsor constitute a group which cannot be identified at this stage as an integrated part of the Jewish community of Windsor. As emphasized by the respondents, the gap between the Russian newcomers and the local Jews is primarily based on cultural differences. It is also the researcher's opinion that communities all over the world have always had reservations in regard to immigrants.
Other studies diverse in their reports concerning social integration. The Canadian study found that most of the respondents felt well accepted in Canada (CEIC, 1979, pp. 10-11). The recent study in the United States showed that most of the Soviet immigrants did not perceive social adjustment as a problem (Simon & Simon, 1982, p. 50). The Cleveland and Detroit reports expressed the respondents' perceptions of the social and cultural differences between the Russian people and the American people. Yet, the majority expressed a desire to be integrated into the Jewish community (Feldman, 1977, p. 67; Gitelman, 1978, p. 81, respectively).

The most surprising observation for the researcher was the extent of Jewish consciousness of the study participants. Although 66% of them came from the Russian "heartland" with a non-Zionist attitude, most of them expressed an identification with Judaism and a desire that their children would have stronger Jewish ties than they had. The religious aspect did not reflect such strong attachments. These results are supported by similar findings in other studies in the United States.

What emerges from the study in Windsor is that the Soviet Jewish immigrants are basically satisfied with their new lives. In spite of the economic recession, unemployment, job dissatisfaction and difficulties in social integration they perceive the process of resettlement as easy to moderately difficult and are generally hopeful about their vocational and economic future.
This phenomenon could be explained in several ways.

1. The respondents did not convey their true feelings about their adjustment. This argument seems unlikely when relating to 34 individuals, although answers might be biased to some extent as explained in the limitations of the study.

2. The respondents emigrated from the Soviet Union with a "positive predisposition to change." Thus, they were prepared to change their expectations and undertake the performance of new roles. As indicated in the literature review, these immigrants are assumed to have a high level of frustration-tolerance, and a strong positive future perspective. The family plays an important role as a natural support system.

3. Immigrants experience a state of dissonance when arriving at the country of destination. They react to the discrepancies in beliefs, values and opinions by viewing the new world selectively. This does not seem to be the coping pattern of the study participants. They appeared to be, in most cases, objective and realistic, and attempted to regain self-confidence by working hard and proving themselves.

The study results point to the fact that the sample was indeed composed of sub-groups which experienced differently the process of resettlement. This process included potential problem areas which might have become coping problems as reflected in the respondents' perception of difficulty in each of the areas.
After having explored the different aspects of the resettlement of the Soviet Jews in Windsor, it seems appropriate to conclude this study with recommendations related to the findings.

C. Recommendations

Resettlement of Soviet Jews in Windsor

The aged immigrants should be given special attention, constituting a population at risk. The lack of pensions for the elderly should be brought to the awareness of policy makers. The problem is not of making funds available as a temporary solution. These people need a formal pension, a small amount, which will be their own by law, and will consequently serve as a morale booster.

Their integration might also be enhanced by providing more joint activities with the local senior citizens at the Jewish Community Centre. Their Jewish consciousness could be an encouraging factor in their social integration having more in common with the Canadian elderly Jews than the younger Soviet immigrants have with the local Jews.

In order to achieve a successful absorption of immigrants, a community has to learn the background of the newcomers and to gain more understanding of their needs. Developing a network of volunteers who would be prepared through movies, discussions and lectures is highly recommended. The involvement of the Jewish community members in this process could be initiated by the different organizations within the community.
The development of resettlement programs depends on a multiplicity of factors among which the local conditions have a primary importance. The purpose of this study was not to present carefully designed projects, but rather to give general directions. However, two concrete suggestions seem to be particularly appropriate for Windsor.

The first one is to organize a group of professionals among the Soviet immigrants who would meet with a number of Canadian professionals from the same field, with common interests (technical occupations, for instance). The goal would be: a wide ranging exchange of information and orientation. Two objectives might be acquired: 1) assistance in the professional area; 2) establishment of social contacts between the local Jewish community and the newcomers.

The second suggestion is to begin to develop a family-to-family adoption program. The families should be chosen carefully with maximum attention to factors such as age, occupation, hobbies, children, and so on.

Most of the Soviet immigrants in Windsor are not engaged in the regular social activities of the Jewish Community Centre. A development of educational programs along with the social and recreational ones might be more effective, and answer the newcomers' special needs; e.g., conversational English classes, a self-help group, and a youth group. Since the study results indicate that a main source of help for the Soviet immigrants is their mutual support system, such projects might prove to be successful.
In the long run, a development of Russian community leaders is of great importance. Only an involvement of the newcomers in the policy-making bodies of the Jewish institutions will mean real integration.

The Soviet Jews generally feel themselves to be ethnically but not religiously Jewish, as it has been reflected in the study results. Jewish programming should take into consideration the Soviet immigrants' attitude towards religion and should not be imposed or boomed on them. Many of the study participants expressed a desire to learn more about the Jewish history and religion, but not through religious practices and rituals which are so strange and meaningless to them. The golden path might be to gradually introduce the Soviet Jewish immigrants to the social and cultural aspects of the North American Jewish life through participation in holiday celebrations, for instance.

The Jewish day school might be an important tool for reaching out to the adult generation through a connection made with the immigrants' children. Unfortunately, such a school is not available in Windsor.

Issues for Further Research

Although the Jewish social services are facing difficulties in dealing with the environmental and concrete needs of the Soviet Jewish immigrants, this does not seem to be the main area of future investigation. The focus in research should be on the different aspects of social integration and Jewish acculturation. The future of the children
of these immigrants as Jews is an issue which needs more exploration.

Different programs which aim at enhancing the absorption of the Soviet Jews should be implemented and constantly evaluated. Follow-up surveys five years or more after their arrival, might be an important tool for determining the extent and quality of their social adjustment, and Jewish acculturation.

A comparison between this group of immigrants and newcomers from other countries could help to indicate whether the newly arrived Soviet Jews in North America are basically different from other groups of immigrants in general, and from other groups of refugees in particular.

Another interesting issue which should be investigated is the influence of the Soviet immigration on the Jewish communities in North America. Agency reports indicate some of the benefits to the absorbing communities, but further systematical research is needed.

As to the role of the social work profession, further conceptualization of the nature of social work practice in resettlement might help to determine whether it should be a separate field of specialization or part of the social worker's practice repertoire.
The recommendations were guided by two concepts.

- The first one acknowledges the pluralistic and particularistic approach to integration which takes into account the differences between immigrant groups and their various needs.

  This view is distinguished from the "melting-pot" view which emphasizes "assimilation" and "ethnic integration." The resettlement of the Soviet Jews in North America should be based on mutual cultural influence.

- The second concept perceives the process of integration as double-sided.

There are always two poles involved in any process of resettlement, and the manner in which they come together will have a decisive effect upon the relations of the parties concerned. The success of resettlement therefore, will depend on whether the new settlers and the inhabitants of the country clash in a violent impact, embittered, mute and tense, or whether they meet in a spirit of friendliness. (Pfister-Ammende, 1960, cited in Feldman, 1977, p. 68)
APPENDIX
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

1. What is your age? ______
2. Male ______ Female ______
3. What is your present marital status? Single ______
   Married ______ Widowed ______ Divorced ______
   Separated ______ Other (comment) _______________________
4. What is the number of your nuclear family members? ______
5. Do you have relatives in Windsor?
   Yes (specify) __________________ No ______
6. Do you have friends from the USSR in Windsor?
   Yes ______ No ______
7. What is your highest level of education?
   Elementary ______ High School ______ Technical
   College ______ University (specify degree) ______
   Other _______________________
8. Do you know the English language?
   Writing (a letter) ______
   Reading (a newspaper) ______
   Speaking (daily conversation) ______
   Understanding (T.V.) ______
9. Did you learn the English language abroad?
   Yes ______ No ______
10. What is your occupation? ________________________
11. Have you arrived in Canada as: a) A government sponsored immigrant? ____ b) On a Minister's permit? ____

12. For how long have you now been in Canada? ________

13. a) Did you have any information about Canada before having arrived? Yes ____ No ____

b) What kind of information? ____________________________

14. What kind of place did you live in your home country? Rural/farm suburb ____ City ____

Other ______

15. In which republic did you live? ________________

16. What were your reasons for emigrating from the USSR?

Anti-semitism, wants to live as a Jew ____

Better future for the children ____

All the Jewish friends left Russia ____

Better life in a society less oppressive ____

Family reunion ____

Better professional future for respondent and spouse ____

Economic improvement ____

Other ____

SPouse

Age ____

Highest level of education ____

Occupation __________________________

Knowledge of English: writing ____ reading ____ speaking ____ understanding ____
B. INCOME MANAGEMENT AND EMPLOYMENT

1. What was your main work before immigrating to Canada?

2. What was your status at work then?

3. Were you then using your professional skills?
   Yes ___ No ___

4. How would you assess your satisfaction with your last occupation in your former country?
   Very dissatisfied ___
   Dissatisfied ___
   Moderately satisfied ___
   Satisfied ___
   Very satisfied ___

5. Are you working now?
   Full time ___
   Part time ___
   Not working ___
   Other ___

6. How long did it take you to find a job? ___

7. How did you find your present job?
   By myself ___
   Through friends or family ___
   Through public services ___
   Through a sponsor ___
   Other (specify) ___

8. Are you working in your profession?
   Yes ___ No ___
9. If you are not working in your profession, did you need retraining for your present work?
   Yes (specify) __________________________ No __________

10. What is your main work now? ________________

11. What is your status at work now? ____________

12. How would you assess your satisfaction with your occupation now?
   Very dissatisfied __________
   Dissatisfied __________
   Moderately satisfied __________
   Satisfied __________
   Very satisfied __________

13. If you are not working, how are you maintaining yourself?
   Spouse working __________
   Stipend or special grants __________
   Pension for disabled __________
   Employment and Immigration assistance __________
   Jewish Community __________
   Unemployment __________
   General welfare assistance __________
   Loans __________
   Private resources (savings, relatives, etc.) __________
   Other (specify) ____________________________
14. Only for married respondents: Is your spouse working? Yes ___ No ___

15. Do you find your present income sufficient for the following?
Food ___
House ___
Clothing ___
Recreation ___

16. a) Are you familiar now with banking arrangement; with purchasing techniques; and with new ways to maintain a house? Yes ___ No ___
b) If yes, who helped you?
Friends ___
Relatives ___
Sponsor ___
Nobody ___
Other ___
c) If the answer on 16a is yes, how long did it take you to get familiar? ___

17. Have you experienced difficulties regarding public transportation in Windsor? (comment and specify) ___

18. Have you purchased a car? Yes ___ No ___
If yes, how long after your arrival in Windsor? ___
19. Have you experienced any feelings of anxiety or stress concerning:

- Job security
- Levels of work performance
- Status dislocation at work
- Income limitations
- Accustomed ways of handling money
- Not knowing the English language

20. For how long have you experienced these feelings?

21. For family units only: Have your family roles changed:

- From an outside employee to a housewife
- From housewife to breadwinner
- From breadwinner to student
- Other/(specify)

22. Rate please the amount of difficulty you have experienced during the process of resettlement regarding income management and employment:

1=very easy  |  2=easy  |  3=moderately difficult  |  4=difficult  |  5=very difficult
C. HEALTH

1. Do you have medical insurance for you and for your family? Yes ___ No ___

2. Are you familiar with the following health services in Windsor?
   Physician ___
   Dentist ___
   Hospital ___
   Laboratory technician ___
   Public health nurse ___
   Physiotherapist ___

3. Do you have a dental insurance for you and/or your family? Yes ___ No ___

4. Does your dental insurance meet your needs?
   Yes ___ No ___ Do not know ___

5. Do you need medical care more, less, or the same as you did in your former country?
   More ___ Less ___ Same ___ Do not know ___

6. Have you experienced any feelings of anxiety, insecurity or stress concerning the following medical services in Windsor?
   Physician ___
   Dentist ___
   Hospital ___
   Laboratory technician ___
   Public health nurse ___
   Physiotherapist ___
7. For how long have you experienced these feelings?

8. Rate please the amount of difficulty you have experienced during the process of resettlement regarding health:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1=very easy</th>
<th>2=easy</th>
<th>3=moderately difficult</th>
<th>4=difficult</th>
<th>5=very difficult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
D. HOUSING

1. What kind of building are you living in?
   Apartment  
   Flat  
   Condominium  
   Townhouse/duplex  
   Full house  
   Other (specify) ________________________

2. With whom do you share your residence?
   Nuclear family  
   Friends  
   Alone  
   Other (specify) ________________________

3. Do you plan to stay there? Yes ___ No, for the following reason:
   Not convenient  
   Want to improve housing conditions  
   Present residence is temporary  
   Other (specify) ________________________

4. How many residences did you occupy in Windsor before the present one? ____________

5. How did you find your residence?
   By myself  
   Through friends or relatives  
   Through a public service  
   Through a sponsor  
   Newspaper ad  
   Other (specify) ________________________
6. How long did it take you to find your present residence?

7. Have you experienced feelings of anxiety, insecurity or frustration when looking for a residence? Yes No

8. If yes, for how long?

9. Rate please the amount of difficulty you have experienced during the process of resettlement regarding housing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1=very easy</th>
<th>2= easy</th>
<th>3=moderately difficult</th>
<th>4= difficult</th>
<th>5=very difficult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
E. EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE TRAINING

1. Do you have children of school age? Yes ___ No ___

2. For respondents with children of school age: Are all of them going to school? Yes ___ No ___

3. How long after your arrival in Windsor have the children started school? ______________________

4. Do you feel that they have problems at school or at home in any of these areas:
   Behavioural ___
   Learning ___
   Social - with other children ___
   Conflict with teacher ___
   Other (specify) ______________________

5. If the answer on 4 is yes, for how long? ___

6. Did they have similar problems in your former country? No ___ If yes, specify:
   Behavioural ___
   Learning ___
   Social - with other children ___
   Conflict with teacher ___
   Other (specify) ______________________

7. If you could, would you transfer the child(ren) to another school? No ___ Yes (specify) ______________________

8. Have you taken English lessons in Windsor (or elsewhere since your arrival in Canada)? Yes ___
   No ___
9. If the answer to 8 is yes, do they meet your needs?
Yes _____ No (specify) ________________________

10. Do you or a member of your family have special education needs? Yes ____ No _____

11. If the answer on 10 is yes:
   a) Were they met? Yes ____ No _____
   b) How long after your arrival? __________________

12. Rate please the amount of difficulty you have experienced during the process of resettlement regarding education and language training:

   1=very easy  2=easy  3=moderately difficult  4=difficult  5=very difficult
F. SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND LEISURE ACTIVITIES

1. Are your friends or acquaintances in Windsor:
   Canadians
   Soviet Jews
   Other (specify) ____________________________
   I don't have any __________________________

2. Are you engaged in the Jewish Community activities?
   No ______ If yes, specify:
   Women's group
   Jewish Community Centre
   Synagogue
   Other (specify) ____________________________

3. Are you engaged in Windsor Community activities?
   No ______ Yes (specify) ______________________

4. What do you prefer to do here in your spare time?
   Watch movies
   Theatre shows
   Concerts
   T.V.
   To visit friends
   Sport activities
   Reading
   Other (specify) ____________________________

5. What did you use to do in your spare time in the
   USSR? (specify as in 4). ______________________
6. How do you feel in Windsor?
   As a foreigner
   As part of the general community
   As part of the Jewish community
   Part of a close group of friends
   Other (specify) ____________________________

7. When you have a problem or need advice, whom would you ask for help?
   A neighbour
   A friend
   Family
   Public services
   Other (specify) ____________________________

8. Rate please the amount of difficulty you have experienced during the process of resettlement regarding social integration and leisure activities:
   1=very easy  2=easy  3=moderately difficult  4=difficult  5=very difficult
G. CITIZENSHIP

1. Are you a Canadian citizen? Yes ____ No ____

2. If the answer to 1 is no, would you like to become one? Yes ____ No ____

3. Have you any knowledge of the Canadian political system? Yes ____ No ____ Not interested ____

4. Do you identify with any political affiliation or with any special interest group in Windsor? (do not specify) Yes ____ No ____

5. Did you or do you have problems in understanding the rights and obligations of a resident in Windsor? No ____ If yes, specify in detail:
   Traffic laws __________________________
   Taxes __________________________
   Municipality services __________________________
   Other __________________________

6. Rate please the amount of difficulty you have experienced during the process of resettlement regarding citizenship:
   1=very easy 2= easy 3=moderately difficult 4= difficult 5=very difficult
H. ETHNIC IDENTITY

1. Are you Jewish? Yes ____ No ____

2. Were you aware in the USSR of your Jewish ethnicity? Yes ____ No ____

3. How did you feel in the USSR?
   As a Russian
   As a Russian Jew
   As a Jew
   Other (specify)

4. How do you feel in Windsor?
   As a Canadian
   As a Russian
   As a Russian Jew
   As a Jew
   As a Canadian Jew
   Other (specify)

5. Do you feel a need to know more about the Jewish culture and tradition? Yes ____ No ____

6. For parents with children of school age: Are your children attending a Jewish day school? Yes ____ No ____

7. If the answer to 6 is yes, why did you send them to a private Jewish school?
   For Jewish education
   Because of environmental pressure
Because private education is better.
Other (specify)

8. Are you experiencing any kind of conflict or crisis with regard to your ethnic identity? Yes ____  
No ____; or your religious identity? Yes ____  
No _____. (Add details if necessary) ______  

9. Were you engaged in the USSR in any activities regarded as Jewish?
Attending synagogue services regularly or on holidays ______
Learning Hebrew ______
Learning Jewish tradition ______
Celebrating Jewish holidays at home ______
Attending social meetings dealing with Jewish issues ______
Other (specify) ______

10. If the answer to 9 is yes, what did it mean to you?
Cultural event ______
Religious event ______
Social event ______
Identifying with the Jewish ethnicity ______
Other (specify) ______

11. What does it mean to you to be Jewish here and now?
To be religious ______
To observe occasionally traditional practices ______
To belong to an ethnic group ___
To be part of a community ___
It means nothing ___
Other (specify) ____________________________

12. Do you want your children to be "more Jewish" than you are? Yes ___ No ___

13. What do you think about intermarriage? Please rate:

1=strongly in favour | 2=in favour | 3=in different | 4=objection | 5=strong objection

14. What are your expectations from the Jewish Community in Windsor? Specify: ______________________

15. What do you think the Jewish Community in Windsor expects from you? Specify: ______________________

16. Rate please the amount of difficulty you have experienced during the process of resettlement regarding ethnic identity:

1=very easy | 2= easy | 3=moderately difficult | 4= difficult | 5=very difficult
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VITA AUCTORIS

Hannah Ben-Ze'ev was born in Italy on December 20, 1946, and moved with her parents to Israel in 1949. From 1952 to 1964 she attended Netivim Public School and Secondary School (majoring in Social Sciences) in Kiriat Haim.

In 1967 she graduated from the Hebrew University in Jerusalem with a B.A. diploma in English and French Civilization.

In 1970, after having completed the military service, she started to work in the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption as a resettlement officer and stayed there until 1975. She got married in 1971 and went back to school to complete her studies for a teaching certificate, but has never really worked as a teacher.

In 1976, she was accepted as a social worker in the Social Services Department of the Rehovot Municipality, and consequently was sent to complete her studies toward a B.S.W. degree. She graduated with a B.S.W. diploma from Bar-Ilam University in June 1979. During this period and until the summer of 1980 she served as a family counsellor in the Neighbourhood Service Staff.

Due to her husband's occupation, Hannah and her family moved temporarily to Windsor, Ontario in 1980. She was admitted to the M.S.W. program at the University of Windsor in September, 1981 and expects to graduate in October, 1982.