
FINAL REPORT

THE JEWISH CULTURAL

INTEGRATION OF JEWS FROM THE FSU*

INTO THE JEWISH PEOPLE:

ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES

by

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Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture

*Former Soviet Union

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BACKGROUND

The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture has been active in the revival of Jewish life worldwide, with a substantial effort in Eastern Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union (FSU). This experience has brought the Foundation into close contact with Jewish leadership in, and from, the FSU, including those in Israel and in the United States. And the Foundation has come to share many of their concerns.

The recent, current and prospective immigration of substantial numbers of Jewish immigrants from the countries of the former Soviet Union (FSU) into Israel and the United States has focused attention on the numerous issues involved in their absorption. Absorption is multi-dimensional: jobs, housing, language, and citizenship (e.g. democratic values and military service in Israel) are of great importance, not only for the quality of life of the individual immigrant, but also for the well-being of the State of Israel and the Jewish community in the United States.

But Jewish cultural absorption is important as well. Immigrants come from the FSU come from a society where all forms of Judaism were repressed for three generations. As such, they have been systematically deprived of knowledge of their Jewish heritage or the opportunity for Jewish expression. Israel is a democratic, pluralistic Jewish state with a multiplicity of models of Jewish behavior and values. This variety also characterizes Jewish life in the United States; secular culture is certainly omnipresent. At present, it is not clear whether Jewish immigrants from the FSU are being integrated effectively into Jewish life in the State of Israel or the Jewish community of the United States or whether their lack of Jewish background is making it difficult or impossible for Soviet immigrants to live full Jewish lives. In both Israel and the United States a variety of efforts are underway to insure that Jewish immigrants are offered opportunities to learn and participate in Jewish culture.

The Foundation believes that there needs to be a substantial effort to insure that Jewish immigrants are offered opportunities to learn about, and participate in, Jewish cultural life. Having identified the need, the Foundation commissioned this report, and established a distinguished advisory committee to oversee its preparation.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this report is to examine the state of Jewish cultural programming for, and with, recent Jewish immigrants from the FSU in Israel and the United States and to suggest ways that such programming can be improved. *In this report "Jewish cultural programming," is defined as: knowledge of Jewish history, Biblical and modern literature, Zionism, experience of the arts and expression (e.g. music and dance) of the Jewish people; observance of Jewish holidays and life cycle events; and an understanding of, and experience with, Jewish religious ideas and behaviors.*

The report is in seven parts: questions, methods, general findings in Israel, general findings in the United States, policy implications, recommendations and conclusion.

THE QUESTIONS

The analysis attempts to develop answers to the following four questions for Israel and for the United States:

- What programs are currently being used to promote Jewish culture for, and with, recent Jewish immigrants from the FSU?
- What is the level of participation?
- How effective is the current overall effort?
- What can be done to improve the effectiveness of the current effort?

METHODS

Before launching the study, we asked knowledgeable observers in Israel if there was an existing body of data on recent and current cultural absorption. They agreed that no such study existed.

Thus, while we had originally hoped to rely on secondary data sources, we had, in fact, to do some primary data collection. In Israel, a team of five field researchers under the direction of Mr. Konstantin Miroshnik, an experienced director of survey research, carried out site visits to a sample of programs in eight communities. Each of the eight communities contained a large number of recent immigrants from the FSU. These eight communities accounted for 38% of the nearly 500,000 olim from the FSU, 1990 - 1993 (see Exhibit 1).

Communities were selected to represent the different parts of the country: north, central and south. Four were large communities: Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa and Beersheva; and four were smaller communities: Holon, Bet Shemesh, Karmiel and Arad.

We compiled three kinds of information in the fall of 1993:

- Descriptive information on Jewish cultural programs being offered in each of the eight communities was collected. Over 400 programs were documented.
- Participant-observers visited a sample of these programs and recorded their impressions. In all, 55 programs were visited.¹

¹Of these, fifteen programs were determined not to meet the definition of Jewish cultural programming on page one. Conclusions in the report were based on analysis of the remaining 40 programs.

- Over 220 people were interviewed on-site about their experiences with formal and informal programs.²

In addition, we utilized published and unpublished information from secondary sources.

The Study was directed by Dr. Jacob B. Ukeles, President of Ukeles Associates Inc. The members of the Advisory Committee are Professors Mordechai Altshuler, Herman Branover, and Zvi Gitelman. The Advisory Committee provided guidance to the Study Director at the outset of the project and reviewed the study plan as well as the draft of the Final Report.

For the United States, we relied on published and unpublished information from secondary sources.

GENERAL FINDINGS: ISRAEL

A The Programs

At the beginning of the project, we had formulated a series of hypotheses about Jewish cultural programs. These hypotheses were based on preliminary interviews and anecdotal information. Most of them turned out to be wrong.

- 1 The first hypothesis was that we would find relatively little activity in small towns and outlying parts of the country and a great deal of activity in major cities in the center of the country.

This did not turn out to be true. In Holon, for example, there is a municipal Department of Cultural Absorption and programs run by Mossad Harav Kook. In fact, with budget cuts in the larger municipalities, there is probably more Jewish cultural programming per capita in smaller communities than larger ones.

- 2 The second hypothesis was that most programming is political party-connected and/or ideologically based, and that we would find relatively little trans-ideological programming.

While many programs are under the auspice of political parties, there is also a great deal of trans-ideological programming as well -- sponsored by Matnasim [community centers], moadonim [clubs] and municipalities.

- 3 We expected most programming to be didactic, involving lectures and discussion groups; instead we found substantial experiential programming, including holiday celebrations, cultural performances, and educational trips.

²Of these, 60 people were interviewed at programs which were determined not to meet the definition of Jewish cultural programming on page one. Conclusions in the report were based on analysis of the other 164 interviews.

- 4 We expected to find that Jews from the former Soviet Union were generally not in control of Jewish cultural programming. This turns out to be true; however, organizations created by olim such as the Zionist Forum, Shamir and Machanaim are important exceptions. We expected to find relatively little effort to find out what the olim themselves want in the way of Jewish cultural programming, and that does appear to be the case. Among participants interviewed, over 70% said they had not been consulted about their Jewish interests (see Exhibit 2)³.
- 5 One of our hypotheses was that informal, family-to-family contact was an important element in programs to transmit Jewish culture, and this turned out to be the case. Six out of ten respondents had been invited to Israeli homes for holidays, shabbat and/or family life cycle celebrations. While there was some anecdotal evidence to suggest that arrivals earlier in the period (1990 and 1991) had received a stronger welcome from individual Israeli families than later arrivals (1992 and 1993), this difference did not emerge in the interviews.
- 6 In terms of subject matter interests, interviewees expressed the greatest interest in Jewish history, the least interest in Jewish religion. Respondents were asked about how they spent their leisure time, and "library" had the highest positive response (see Exhibit 3). It is unlikely that one would find this response from any other group in Israel or in the United States. While respondents were very strongly interested in books in general, this did not necessarily translate into an interest in Jewish or Hebrew literature, probably because of language difficulties.
- 7 In general, we found an extraordinary range of sponsorship and involvement, tremendous diversity, but at the same time, tremendous overlap and duplication. There are Jewish cultural absorption programs run by the Ministry of Absorption, the Jewish Agency, municipalities, community centers, cultural centers, religious organizations, political parties, synagogues, and a wide variety of other institutions and organizations (see Policy Implications below, p. 7).

B The Participants

- 1 We expected to find mostly older and younger people (excluding middle age groups). This turned out not to be the case; people from all age groups were participating (see Exhibit 4).

³This conclusion, along with the other conclusions in this Report based on the 164 completed interviews, needs to be treated with some caution; not so much because of sample size -- the number 164 is an adequate sample size to draw meaningful conclusions -- but because the sampling method was not truly random: interviewers selected interviewees on site, trying to approximate a representation of those present.

- 2 We had expected to find that participants would be those who had been in Israel for some time (e.g. more than two years). Instead, we found that the participation of people that we interviewed is roughly in proportion to the aliya for those communities over the years 1990 through 1993 (see Exhibit 6). Those who have come most recently -- a group we had expected to be under-involved because of the competing pressures associated with aliya -- actually were slightly over-represented in the group participating in Jewish cultural programs.
- 3 Holiday celebrations and cultural performances attracted the greatest numbers of participants -- often in the hundreds. Lectures and discussions attracted smaller numbers of participants.

The higher education level of participants in the Survey was substantially higher than that reported in other studies of Jews from the FSU. It is difficult to tell whether this reflects the nature of participants in Jewish cultural programs or the nature of survey respondents.

C Impact

It is difficult to measure effectiveness or impact directly.

- 1 One indirect measure is the satisfaction of participants. Program participants who were interviewed were asked whether, in general, they were satisfied with Jewish cultural programming they had received. Sixty percent said yes and forty percent said no (see Exhibit 7).

Those who were satisfied were more likely to have been invited to the homes of religious Zionist families; were more likely to be older; were more likely to have a higher level of education; and were more likely to have come from major centers in the former Soviet Union than from smaller towns.

The reactions to the specific program at which people were interviewed indicated much higher satisfaction levels. Seventy percent were generally positive about their experience; there were very few major criticisms. Eighty-five percent said they gained knowledge. And, most important, ninety-five percent of the participants at the events in which we conducted interviews indicated that they would come again for a similar event.

When asked why they participated, thirty-five percent answered: "to have a better understanding of Israel;" twenty percent said: "to understand their role as being part of the Jewish people;" and twenty percent participated out of curiosity. No other explanation attracted as much attention (see Exhibit 8).

Three out of four participants who had been invited to an Israeli home, typically for a shabbat or holiday experience, felt that the experience had a very important positive impact on their understanding of Jewish culture.

2 Another level of effectiveness is the question of the impact of the total culture. We asked about participation in holiday celebration. For the recent immigrants to Israel (1990 - 1993), reported celebration of the holidays was extraordinarily high. Ninety percent celebrated Passover and Rosh Hashana and over eighty percent celebrated Sukkot, Chanuka, Yom Haatzmaut and Yom Kippur (see Exhibit 9).

These data need to be treated with some caution. "Celebration" could mean as little as "I did not go to work on that day," which is not a matter of choice when the workplace is closed on a national holiday.⁴ At the same time, because of the very fact that Jewish holidays are national holidays, that Jewish symbols are visible, the public cannot help having some, even subliminal positive impact on Jewish cultural identification.

GENERAL FINDINGS: UNITED STATES

In the United States, the scale of immigration from the FSU is significantly smaller than that in Israel. Half a million Jews came to Israel between 1990 and 1993. In the United States, the number is less than a third of that, with an overall Jewish community that is larger.

In the United States, six cities accounted for the bulk of immigrant absorption: Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco. Thirty-one other communities have had some immigration.

Many organizations are involved in absorption, but the lead in every community is the Federation. Most communities have an official resettlement agency and an official resettlement coordinator. Very often, one person is assigned to the issue of acculturation, particularly in the larger communities.

Programs include lectures and discussions on various Jewish subjects and holiday activities. Congregations are involved as well, typically in helping with weddings, bar or bat mitzvahs and some religious practice. Programs range from simple to very sophisticated. Among the latter, a program in Chicago called Shalom Sunday Family School at the Jewish Community Center involves the entire family -- not just the children -- in Jewish learning and experience.

One of the key aspects of Jewish cultural integration in the United States is that the acculturation system is guided by explicit principles, developed by the Council of Jewish Federations Task Force on Acculturation and Integration. The system has been adopted by almost all communities around the United States. Acculturation is seen as a reciprocal process between the immigrant and the indigenous community. There is a major emphasis on the mutuality of the process -- "we learn from them and they learn from us" (see Exhibit 10).

⁴I am indebted to Professor Gitelman for this observation.

Acculturation of recent refugees from the FSU in the United States means acculturation into the American Jewish community. And the emphasis is very heavily on the first and last words. In most communities, there is no separate Jewish cultural component. Jewish culture is typically not explicated as an identifiable part of the acculturation process. The goal is to "help newcomers bi-culturally."⁵

One specific study of refugees from the FSU was conducted by the Baltimore Jewish community. While the sample is small, the findings are consistent with anecdotal evidence from other settings.

Soviet Jews rarely had the opportunity to visit American Jewish homes -- contrast that with the family-to-family experience in Israel. They are interested in Jewish history, plays, films, concerts, and holiday celebrations. They are not interested in religion or synagogue. And that, again, is consistent with findings in Israel. However, when probed, they indicated that they find the synagogue and temple experience confusing, owing to an unfamiliarity with worship ceremonies and an inability to follow the prayers.

In terms of Jewish practice, the data -- both from Baltimore, from the New York population study, and from various other studies -- do not support the image of instant rampant assimilation of Jews from the former Soviet Union in the United States. It is highly likely that assimilation will come in the future -- as is happening to the rest of North America Jewry.

For example, studies indicate that holiday observance of immigrants from the former Soviet Union who have been here ten years or more, is very similar to level found in the rest of North American Jewish communities. So, for example, 70% report fasting on Yom Kippur. In New York, the percentage is even higher, closer to 80% (see Exhibit 11). Substantial numbers want Jewish education for their children. However, Jews who have been here two years or less, are at a substantially lower level of holiday observance -- substantially below other American Jews, and very substantially below Jews in Israel.

On the question of their commitment to being Jewish, many more Soviet Jews indicate that being Jewish is important to them than it is to other American Jews.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Israel is a Jewish country. The parts of Jewish culture that have been built into Israeli society are having a profound influence on immigrants from the FSU. This includes holiday observance and Jewish life cycle events. These norms in Israel are being adopted by Jews from the FSU.

⁵In addition to the "establishment" programs, there are programs specifically under the aegis of Orthodox and Charedi (ultra-Orthodox) groups (e.g. CHABAD-Lubavitch) in the United States with very strong Jewish content; but these affect a very small proportion of the immigrants from the FSU.

The family-to-family experience has been positive and widespread.

On the down side, the delivery system for transmitting Jewish cultural identity is chaotic and duplicative. There is no clear accountability. There is no clear strategy. It is the ultimate free market model.

Too much is being done for olim and not enough with olim. The bulk of the resources are not going to olim-led organizations, they are going to other kinds of organizations.

One of the crucial variables affecting this whole area has to do with the nature of the self identity of Jews from the former Soviet Union. One has to be very careful about generalizations because, for example, Jews from the Bukharin Mountains are very different from Jews from Moscow or Leningrad.

However, in work by anthropologists who have looked at this and confirmed by our own findings, many immigrants from the former Soviet Union have a very strong sense of Jewish self identity, but their identity is not primarily related to Jewish culture, it is related to a sense of Jewish peoplehood and ethnic pride, forged in the crucible of anti-semitism. The official, state-imposed identification found in internal passports in the Soviet Union clearly reinforced the strong sense of Jewish self-identity.

Once in Israel, their identity may be shaped more by Russian culture than by Jewish culture. In the former Soviet Union, they were Jews. In Israel, they become Russians. Russian culture -- literature, classical music and dance -- and, to a substantial extent, professions, become an important part of what gives them pride.

The Zionist Forum Library attracts 2,000 readers a year. And in a two and a half year period, the library has built a huge collection of books in Russian about Russian culture: science, technology, art and music. It is an enormously lively place, because it represents an appealing combination of Russian self-identity and pride while providing a safe haven from the sometimes negative attitude that exists in the broader society towards things Russian.

The preservation of Russian culture and heritage is competitive with the accumulation of Jewish culture. Thus the need of Jews from the FSU to preserve their current culture needs to be taken into account in thinking about future efforts to promote Jewish culture.

In the United States the pluses and minuses are almost the inverse. The system is relatively well integrated; and at least at the level of policy, there is a commitment to involve Jews from the FSU in the design of programs.

The crucial problem is that the level of Jewish learning and content is low. There is relatively little adult learning and experience of any quality. Many of the workers working with Jews from the FSU in the United States are themselves not particularly well educated Jewishly. Those who work in synagogues are somewhat better educated Jewishly.

In an environment in which Jewish continuity is perceived to be at risk in the United States, the self-same institutions that are struggling with Jewish identity and culture in general are not going to deliver high-quality product to Jews from the Soviet Union: it is beyond what they can do for themselves. This weakness in content is reinforced by the policy formulation accepted by the general American Jewish community to define acculturation as a synthesis of American, Jewish and community. In this environment, Jewish culture, per se, receives shallow attention.

RECOMMENDATIONS

First, opportunities for involvement of Jews from the FSU in formulating policy and program need to be enhanced. A larger share of the Jewish culture resources should go directly to those organizations established by emigres themselves.

Second, there needs to be greater attention to coordination, which is most feasible at the municipal level. Haifa, for example, has a very well-established structure of municipality-Jewish Agency cooperation. Twenty-four community centers deliver highly integrated programs. It is not perfect; but it's the beginnings of a model of municipal coordination.

One should not be naive about resolving issues of duplication and overlap, in a dynamic, intense and complex society like the modern state of Israel. However, more attention needs to be given to the development of an explicit strategy for Jewish cultural development. The process might begin with a series of consultations to probe the possibilities for cooperative programming, local coordination, and the development of strategic plans. Out of this effort might come one or more pilot programs to test some of the ideas developed via consultation. If these are successful, it could provide a platform for more comprehensive efforts.

In the United States, greater investment is needed in upgrading the knowledge and experience of Jewish communal workers and lay leaders in the content of Jewish culture. The Jewish component of the acculturation system needs to offer opportunities for Jewish content and Jewish experience of a much stronger and higher level.

There needs to be more emphasis, specifically on learning and teaching Jewish history, which is a concern of the emigres themselves. There is an obvious trans-ideological opportunity to include both Soviet Jewish history, Israel and Zionism, history of Jews in the United States, as well as Jewish history, in general.

It is important in both Israel and the United States to focus on family programs. In the United States, there is some evidence to suggest that emigre families are much more likely to have strong nuclear families than American Jews in general.

In both the United States and in Israel, the issue of timing in relation to Jewish cultural programming needs to be carefully considered. It can be argued that people need to get settled first, dealing with the basics of job, language and home before being ready to focus on the "esoteric" issue of Jewish culture. On the other hand, a strong case can be made for Jewish culture as an integral part of the absorption process from day one.

Based on extensive experience with Jewish cultural programming with Jews from the former Soviet Union. Rabbi Yehiel Poupko has suggested such a graduated process tied to the stages on the absorption process.⁶

⁶Rabbi Yehiel E. Poupko, "Some Principles for the Jewish Acculturation of Soviet Jewish Refugees," presented to the Council of Jewish Federations, November 1990.

The case for earlier, rather than later, attention to Jewish cultural programming is supported by findings in an important doctoral dissertation written at Yeshiva University but not yet published. Dr. Asher Epstein did a detailed study on the psychological aspects of resettlement in Israel.⁷ Epstein was particularly interested in the impact of Jewish identity on the quality of absorption and the anxiety and stress associated with that process. He found that Jews who came to Israel from the FSU with stronger levels of Jewish identity had an easier absorption and statistically significant lower levels of stress. It is conceivable that Jewish programming to help new arrivals better understand their own historical and cultural roots could reduce the level of stress and anxiety associated with absorption.

⁷Asher Epstein, "The Impact of Time in Israel and Jewish Identity on the Psychological Adjustment of Recent Soviet Jewish Immigrants to Israel" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yeshiva University). This dissertation was completed with partial support from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture.

CONCLUSION

Jewish culture in both Israel and the United States needs to be an explicit and identifiable component of the absorption and integration agenda.

Overall, the issue of Jewish cultural absorption is not getting sufficient attention in Israel.

For example, of twenty-seven papers presented at a recent conference on immigration from the FSU held in Tel Aviv this past December, twenty-five dealt with the economic, social and political dimensions of absorption. Two presentations alone dealt with the Jewish cultural dimensions of absorption.⁸

In relation to Jewish culture, Jews from the former Soviet Union represent extremes of risks and extremes of opportunity: risk, because these immigrants have been systematically deprived of their Jewish heritage; opportunity, because they maintain a fierce pride in their Jewishness.

The sheer size of the population, especially in Israel, and to a lesser extent in the United States, underlines the importance of the effort to strengthen the immigrants' knowledge and commitment to Jewish culture.

Jewish culture is the key ingredient in strengthening the bonds between Jews in Israel and Jews in other parts of the world; in insuring the continuity of the Jewish people into the future, and maintaining the Jewish character of the State of Israel.

⁸ "Russian Jews on Three Continents" (Dec 27 - Dec 30, 1993 sponsored by the Tel Aviv University and the City University of New York).

EXHIBITS

Exhibit 1. Aliya from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) to Israel and to Eight Study Communities

COMMUNITY	1990	1991	1992	1993	TOTAL
Haifa	25,300	12,900	5,200	4,700	48,100
Tel Aviv	19,200	12,000	5,400	5,200	41,800
Jerusalem	11,200	10,200	4,400	3,000	28,800
Beer Sheva	8,800	7,200	3,800	3,900	23,700
Holon	7,400	5,700	2,600	3,000	18,700
Karmiel	3,000	2,500	900	1,000	7,400
Arad	1,200	1,100	400	600	3,300
Bet Shemesh	300	400	200	300	1,200
TOTAL, 8 COMMUNITIES	76,400	52,000	22,900	21,700	173,000
TOTAL ISRAEL	183,400	146,500	64,600	65,700	460,200
Eight Communities as a % of Israel Aliya	42%	35%	35%	33%	38%

Source: Jewish Agency Reports.

Exhibit 2. Consultation with Participants about their Jewish Cultural Program Interests

Participants were asked, "Were you asked in the institutions involved in [Jewish] cultural-educational activities about your interests?"

RESPONSE	
Yes	10%
Yes, in order to attract me to take part in activities	12%
No	77%
No reponse	1%
TOTAL	100%

N=164

Exhibit 3. Frequency of Visits to Various Organizations, Institutions and Activities

ACTIVITY	OFTEN¹	SELDOM	NEVER	TOTAL²
Library	45%	23%	32%	100%
Cultural-Educational Content	20%	42%	38%	100%
Olim's Club	20%	47%	34%	100%
Synagogue	16%	39%	45%	100%
Swimming Pool	15%	23%	63%	100%
Retired Olim's Club	14%	10%	76%	100%
Theater	11%	53%	36%	100%
Community Center [Matnas]	9%	20%	71%	100%
Cinema	2%	39%	59%	100%

1 At least several times a month.

2 Totals may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Exhibit 4. Demographic Profile by Gender, Age and Education

GENDER	
Female	51%
Male	49%
Total	100%

AGE	
20 to 39	23%
40 to 59	43%
60 and over	28%
Total ¹	100%

EDUCATION	
Secondary or less	29%
Higher Education	71%
Total	100%

N=64

¹ Totals may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Exhibit 5. Emigration Profile

TYPE OF SETTLEMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION	
Major Centers	50%
Regional Centers [Oblost]	40%
Other	10%
Total	100%

REPUBLIC OF RESIDENCE IN THE SOVIET UNION	
Russia	44%
Ukraine	33%
Other	23%
Total	100%

YEAR OF ALIYA	
1990	37%
1991	33%
1992	12%
1993	17%
Total ¹	100%

¹ Totals may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Exhibit 6. Participants in Jewish Cultural Programs in the Eight Target Communities, by Year of Arrival in Israel

	1990	1991	1992	1993	Total
Number of Arrivals	76,400	52,000	22,900	21,700	17,300
Percent of Arrivals Over the Years 1990-93	44%	30%	13%	13%	100%
Participation Rate by Interviewees by Year of Arrival	39%	32%	11%	18%	100%

Source: Jewish Agency.

Exhibit 7. Participant Satisfaction with Jewish Cultural Programs

Participants were asked, "How satisfied are you with the content of the [Jewish cultural] events you take part in?"

RESPONSE	
Completely Satisfied	23%
Satisfied	41%
Not Quite Satisfied	23%
Not Satisfied At All	10%
No Reponse	4%
TOTAL¹	100%

¹ Totals may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

Exhibit 8. Reasons for Participating in Jewish Programs

Better Understanding of Israel	35%
Curiosity	20%
To Understand Meaning of Being Part of Jewry	19%
All Other Reasons	22%
No Response	4%
TOTAL	100%

Exhibit 9. Holiday Celebration

HOLIDAY	ALWAYS	SOMETIMES OR NEVER	TOTAL*
Rosh Hashana	90%	9%	100%
Pesach	88%	6%	100%
Yom Kippur	85%	13%	100%
Sukkot	83%	16%	100%
Chanukah	82%	18%	100%
Yom Haatzmaut	81%	18%	100%
Purim	74%	24%	100%
Shavout	71%	27%	100%

* Includes "No Reponse" of from .06% to 2.4%.

Exhibit 10. Jewish Practices Observed by Members of Focus Groups While in the USSR and the USA

JEWISH PRACTICES	TWO YEARS & LESS		TEN YEARS & LONGER	
	USSR	USA	USSR	USA
Fast on Yom Kippur	17%	27%	33%	73%
Light Shabbat Candles	10%	30%	13%	33%
Shabbat Services	---	33%	6%	27%
Passover Seder	23%	43%	27%	67%
Light Chanukah Candles	17%	57%	20%	60%
High Holiday Services	20%	47%	33%	67%
Jewish Cultural Events	30%	53%	---	60%
Donate Money to Jewish Causes	17%	43%	20%	60%
Volunteer for Jewish Organizations	3%	30%	6%	67%

Source: Linda Klonksy, "Resettlement and Acculturation Services for Soviet Jewish Emigres: An Attitudinal Scan of New American Members of the Baltimore Jewish Community."

Exhibit 11. Jewish Behavior of Soviet and Other Jews

1991 NY

BEHAVIOR	SOVIET JEWS	OTHER JEWS
Fast on Yom Kippur	79%	65%
Passover Seder	85%	92%
Chanukah Candles	92%	84%
Sabbath Candles	68%	46%
Two Sets of Dishes	29%	27%
Belong to a Synagogue	40%	43%
Attend Services Weekly	16%	16%
Visited Israel	35%	42%
Contribute to UJA	9%	37%

Source: New York Jewish Population Study, 1991.