Adaptation of Jewish migrants from the former Soviet Union in Melbourne, 1975-1999

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Abstract

This study examines the socioeconomic and cultural adaptation of the estimated 7,000 Jews and their relatives from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) who settled in Melbourne, Australia, between 1975 and 1999. They mainly migrated to Australia under specially devised humanitarian visas. Soviet Jews had been subject to discrimination. The Soviet state undermined Jewish identity, transforming it from its traditional multidimensionality that encompassed religion and culture into a distinctive, mainly unidimensional, secular ethnic identity.

This research aims to understand the ways that Jews from the FSU settled in the thriving and prosperous Jewish communities of Melbourne with their distinctive identity. The study is socio-historical and employs a triangulation methodology. Sources utilised include the Australian Census and other statistical sources, the Gen17 Australian Jewish community survey with 8,621 participants and six international Jewish surveys, records in four archival holdings of government and communal organisations, 14 life story interviews, three-year participant observation, and local and international newspaper articles.

Age at migration was an important factor that contributed to the extent to which Jews from the FSU were able to attain labour market success. Those who migrated to Melbourne after having completed their tertiary education in the FSU were less able to achieve socioeconomic success relative to the Australian-born population. On the other hand, those from the FSU who migrated under 25 years of age experienced considerable socioeconomic upward mobility. Younger migrants were able to achieve a socioeconomic status similar to local Jews in Melbourne, and one considerably higher than the Australian-born population.

The cultural adaptation of Jews from the FSU indicates that the identity of many was affected by the local Melbourne context, but that their distinct Soviet secular upbringing remained the primary influence. I argue that in order to compare 'like with like', Jews from the FSU—of whom about nine in ten self-identify as non-religious or traditional—should be compared to the non-religious and traditional cohorts in the Melbourne Jewish community. Comparing like with like indicates an increase in their observance of Jewish traditions, although they remain far less observant than local Jews. Their ethnic identity is relatively strong, similar to Australian-born Jews. They indicate, however, a weak feeling of connection to and participation in Jewish communal life. It remains to be seen whether they will transmit their relatively 'thin' Jewish culture to their children.

Declaration

This thesis is an original work of my research and contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signature:

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Date: 11 November 2019

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Terminology

The term 'Soviet Union' refers to the period from 1917 to the country's disintegration in December 1991. The term 'Former Soviet Union' (FSU) refers to the periods before and after the 1991 divide, as it is often used in other scholarship in this field. Although it would be more accurate to use the phrase 'Soviet Union and its successor states', the term FSU serves the purpose of maintaining flow in the text and should be understood as synonymous.

Following from the above, 'Soviet Jews' refers to those who lived in the Soviet Union (before 1992). 'Jews from the FSU' refers to those who lived there before and after the 1991 divide. 'Russian-speaking Jews' is an alternative way to refer to Jews from the FSU. Although many Jews lived in (former) Soviet republics other than Russia, they usually spoke Russian.

In Chapters Five and Six, Australian-born Jews, native-born Jews, Israeli-born Jews, and South-African born Jews living in Australia are referred to as 'Australian-born', 'native-born', 'Israelis' and 'South Africans', respectively, for the purpose of maintaining flow in the text. When discussing countries other than Australia, the context makes it clear when referring to native-born Jews living there (for example, Israelis living in Israel). When not referring to Australian-born Jews, the phrase 'Australian-born population' is used.

Archival referencing

As per the American Psychological Association (APA) 6th Referencing style, the author and date of the archival document cited is usually mentioned in the text. The full reference can be found by author and date under the section *Archival material* in the bibliography. Quotes from those documents do not have a page reference as they are mostly single-page documents.

Acronyms

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACMID	Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset
AFRJ	Australian Forum of Russian Speaking Jewry
AJN	Australian Jewish News
AJT	Australian Jewish Times
AJWRS	Australian Jewish Welfare and Relief Society
AJWS	Australian Jewish Welfare Society
AMC	Australian Medical Council
AMEC	Australian Medical Examining Council
BNLA	Building a New Life in Australia
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics [Israel]
CIROQA	Committee of Inquiry on Recognition of Overseas Qualification in Australia
CoRMS	Characteristics of Recent Migrants Survey
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DIEA	Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs
DSS	Department of Social Services
ECAJ	Executive Council of Australian Jewry
ERP	Estimated Resident Population
ESB	English-Speaking Background
FAJWS	Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare Societies
FSU	Former Soviet Union
HIAS	Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
HRSCM	House of Representatives Standing Committee on Migration

IEA	Institution of Engineers, Australia
JCCV	Jewish Community Council of Victoria
JCVA	Jewish Care Victoria Archives
JDC	[American Jewish] Joint Distribution Committee
LGA	Local Government Area
MCQ	Multiple-Choice Questions
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NESB	Non-English-Speaking Background
NSW	New South Wales
NYANA	New York Association for New Americans
OET	Occupational English Test
OTD	Overseas-Trained Doctor
PC	Principal Component
PCA	Principal Component Analysis
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PITMID	Personal Income Tax and Migrants Integrated Dataset
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic
RSJ	Russian-Speaking Jew(ish)
SAC	Special Assistance Category
SBS	Special Broadcasting Service
SDB	Settlement Database
SHP	Special Humanitarian Program
SZCV	State Zionist Council of Victoria
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
ZFA	Zionist Federation of Australia

Introduction

Close to two million Jews and their relatives emigrated from the Soviet Union and its successor states from 1970 (Tolts, 2016, p. 24). Between 1975 and 1999, less than half of one percent of these migrants settled in Melbourne, Australia; their socioeconomic and cultural adaptation are the topic of this thesis. They migrated from a context that was markedly different from the one in Melbourne. The Soviet Union was an authoritarian country with a state-controlled economy that attempted to eliminate religion. Soviet Jews were subject to the regime's discrimination from the 1920s, while at the same time experiencing remarkable upward socioeconomic mobility. First, the Jewish religion was targeted and became almost non-existent in public, followed by an almost complete closure of Jewish cultural institutions from the late 1940s, culminating in attempts to halt their upward mobility. The Soviet state undermined the traditional multidimensionality of Jewish identity that encompassed religion and culture, and forcefully transformed it into a distinctive, mainly unidimensional, secular ethnic identity.

This context is referred to in a confrontation between the Australian and Soviet representatives at the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). In the 1960s, Soviet citizens were forbidden to emigrate. It was Australia that first raised the emigration issue of Soviet Jews at the United Nations, and further provided a moral and legal basis for it (Lipski & Rutland, 2015, p. 55; see also Jensen, 2016, pp. 143-6). On 1 November 1962, the Australian representative at the Third Committee, Douglas White, presented the view that

> Jewish communities throughout the world had expressed concern at the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union, where there had been criticism of the Jews by the Press and radio, and even by some Soviet authorities, together with the restriction of Jewish religious observances and official action against individual Jews. If the USSR [Union of Soviet Socialist Republics] had difficulty in giving Jews full freedom to practice their religion, it had a moral obligation, under article 13 paragraph 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to permit them to leave the country. (UNGA, 1962, p. 186)

The Soviet representative, T. N. Nikolaeva, denied all charges and 'said that she had been astonished to hear the Australian representative make an undeserved attack on her country' (UNGA, 1962, p. 186). She presented Soviet Jews' notable achievements as supposed proof that there was no antisemitism in the Soviet Union, stating that the

> real facts of the situation concerning Jews in the Soviet Union were the following. Although Jews represented only 1.1 per cent of the population, they accounted for about 10 per cent of the country's professionals, scientists and artists; in 1961 over 7,000 Jews had been elected as deputies to local organs of authority; they were well represented, too, in the highest organs of Soviet power; they had, and availed themselves of, full opportunities in every sphere of the country's life. (UNGA, 1962, p. 187)

Despite Nikolaeva's denial, it was White's description that more accurately represented their disadvantaged circumstances, although they were highly educated and occupied prominent positions.[1] Sociologist Larissa Remennick coined the term 'discriminated elite' to describe Jews in the Soviet Union (2012, p. 31).

Only from the late 1960s could some Soviet Jews escape discrimination through emigration. Until the end of 1980s, the Soviet state opposed the emigration of its citizens, but it had tried to rid itself of dissenters in the preceding decades (Gitelman, 2016, p. 9). On 3 December 1966,

[1] For more discussion about the socioeconomic profile of Soviet Jews and the discrimination they experienced, see Altshuler (1987; 1998); Australian Parliament (1979); Kostyrchenko (1995; 2007); Pinkus (1984; 1988); Ro'i (1991, 2012); Ro'i and Beker (1991); Sawyer (1979); Slezkine (2004); Tolts (1997).

Soviet Premier Aleksey Kosygin announced in Paris that his government would not prevent the reunion of families separated by the Second World War (Lazin, 2006, p. 391; 2009, pp. 18-9). Political scientist Robert Freedman states that the 'reprinting of that statement by [the official newspaper of the Soviet government] *Izvestia* spurred hundreds of Soviet Jews to apply to emigrate, albeit without immediate success' (1989, p. 68). According to historian Benjamin Pinkus, 'Soviet Jews took this to mean that emigration was now legal, and a number of Jews who came to the OVIR (Visa Office) to apply for exit permits produced copies of the newspapers containing Kosygin's declaration' (1988, p. 253). In January 1967, a modest Soviet emigration to Israel of about 100 to 200 people per month began (Chernin, 1999, p. 54). Between 1968 and 1971, about 17,000 Soviet Jews and their relatives emigrated (Gitelman, 2016, p. 10).

The diplomatic pressure on the Soviet Union, mainly from the United States, eventually led to a mass emigration of Jews and their relatives that began in 1971, totalling about 234,000 between then and 1980 (Gitelman, 2016, p. 10).[2] Soviet Jews could apply for exit permits after receiving Israeli *vyzovy* (letters of invitation, in Russian). They would usually travel to Vienna, Austria, where the Jewish Agency for Israel (*Sochnut*) organised flights to Israel. In the 1970s, one-third of Soviet Jews chose to emigrate to countries other than Israel; after 1974 they increasingly chose the United States (Gitelman, 2016, p. 10). This became known as the 'drop out' phenomenon.[3] Those who did not emigrate to Israel were transferred by the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) to Rome, Italy, where they received temporary

[2] For more discussion on the United States' influence on Soviet policy and its emigration process, see Altshuler (2005); Buwalda (1997); Freedman (1984); Goldman (1999); Korey (1999); Ro'i (1997); Salitan (1997); Sawyer (1979); Schifter (1997; 1999).
[3] For more discussion on the drop out phenomenon, see Altshuler (2005); Buwalda (1997); Dominitz (1997); Levanon (1999); Lazin (2005a; 2005b; 2006; 2009); Lipski and Rutland (2015); Rutland (2017); Sawyer (1979); Windmueller (1999).

asylum, as is discussed in Chapter One. In Rome, HIAS referred their applications to embassies of the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Buwalda, 1997, pp. 59-60). In the 1980s, the Soviet Union once more severely restricted emigration. Only in 1989 could Soviet Jews and their relatives again emigrate in large numbers. According to journalist Sam Lipski and historian Suzanne Rutland, the Soviet Jewish 'emigration was the largest human knowledge transfer in the 20th century. It even eclipsed the migration of Jewish scientists and intellectuals in the 1930s from Nazi Germany to the United States' (2015, p. xix).

The Jewish population in the Soviet Union and its successor states (hereafter referred to as the Former Soviet Union – FSU)[4] decreased from 1.9 million in 1970 to 390,000 in 2002 (DellaPergola, Rebhun, & Tolts, 2005, p. 64). By 2010, the total number of Jews in the FSU further declined to 326,000 (Tolts, 2018, p. 214). Demographers Sergio DellaPergola, Uzi Rebhun, and Mark Tolts project that by 2080 there will be no Jews left in the FSU (2000, p. 123). This is an extreme example (others are ethnic Germans, Hungarians, and Russians) of what sociologist Rogers Brubaker calls migrations of 'ethnic unmixing' and 'ethnic affinity' (1995; 1998). Ethnic unmixing refers to push factors that contributed to their emigration, while ethnic affinity refers to pull factors.

The ethnic affinity of Jews meant that their 'privileged' immigration was primarily in order to 'mix' with their 'ethnic kin' in Israel, where they would be automatically eligible for citizenship (Brubaker, 1998, pp. 1047-9). Demographer Jasna Capo Zmegac explains that '*ethnically privileged migrations*' are 'those in which ethnicity figures as a prominent factor in migration, both at the point of origin and at the point of destination' (2005, p. 200; emphasis in original). In this sense, Jewish migrants to Australia from the FSU were also

[4] As discussed in the beginning of the thesis under *Notes on terminology*.

ethnically privileged. They arrived under Australian humanitarian visas devised especially for them, with the requirement that the Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare Societies (FAJWS) would sponsor them.

The FAJWS sponsored Jews from the FSU with the prospect that they would contribute to rejuvenating aging Jewish communities and viewed 'mixing' with their ethnic kin as a matter of course. Yet, although Jews sought to ethnically unmix from the FSU, many of those who chose not to immigrate to Israel did not necessarily seek to mix with their local ethnic kin. As discussed in Chapter Four, the primary motives of Jews from the FSU to emigrate to Melbourne were to achieve socioeconomic success and to provide their children with a better future; freedom to practice Jewish religion and culture was of secondary importance, if it was a consideration at all. The irony lies in the fact that migration became for many a gateway to change the ethnic identity that offered them the privilege to migrate in the first place. This outcome disappointed the local Jewish leaders who had invested much effort in the Soviet Jewry movement that had enabled their mass migration.

A tiny proportion of the Jewish migrants from the FSU settled in Australia, but it was a large one relative to the number of local Jews. Thus, although they account for less than 1% of the total Jewish emigration from the FSU, in 2016 close to one in ten Jews in Australia was born in the FSU, with a slightly higher proportion in Melbourne. They live mostly in the same suburbs, or in proximity, to local Jews.

Aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to better understand the socioeconomic and cultural adaptation of Jews from the FSU who settled in Melbourne between 1975 and 1999. Two research questions are addressed:

1. In which ways did Jews from the FSU adapt socioeconomically in Melbourne?
2. In which ways did Jews from the FSU adapt culturally within the Melbourne Jewish community?

The introduction is divided into four sections. First, I describe the methodology and sources used to address the research questions. Then I provide a conceptual overview of the reasons that led to Jewish identity being experienced differently in the Soviet Union compared to the West. Third, I discuss international studies about Jews from the FSU that have informed this study and previous Australian research. Lastly, I present the research gaps and how this study attempts to address them.

Methodology and sources

This socio-historical study addresses the research questions using 'methodological between-method triangulation' (Denzin, 1978, pp. 301-4). Triangulation is often used in studies that combine several data sources using mixed methods. Using multiple data sources and methods can both increase confidence in aligned findings, and/or add context to better understand issues under investigation. Psychologist Sarah Hastings notes that researchers emphasise the different uses of triangulation. She states that 'some investigators view it as critical to establishing corroborating evidence, and others focus on its potential to provide multiple

lines of sight and multiple contexts to enrich the understanding of a research question' (2010, p. 1538).

Sociologist Norman Denzin identified four types of triangulation: data, investigator, theory, and methodological (1978, pp. 294-304). The first refers to when multiple sources of data are used for one investigation; the second, to when several evaluators are engaged in a study; and the third, theory triangulation, to when multiple theoretical perspectives are considered (Hastings, 2010, p. 1538). Methodological triangulation is the one applicable to this thesis, which can further be divided into 'within-method' and 'between-method'. Within-method means that multiple quantitative or qualitative methods are used but within the one method. The latter, between-method, is applicable to this thesis; it combines dissimilar methods to measure the same item. Denzin states that the 'rationale for this strategy is that the flaws of one method are often the strengths of another; and by combining methods, observers can achieve the best of each while overcoming their unique deficiencies' (1978, p. 302).

My approach to this study is similar to Remennick, a leading scholar on Russian-speaking Jewish migrants, who has a 'broad view of sociology as a synthetic and multifaceted discipline' and considers herself a 'holistic social observer' (2012, p. 10). She explains her research paradigm and method in the following way:

> I deem myself a holistic social observer, merging the elements of sociology, social anthropology, and cultural analysis […]. In order to compile a genuine picture of social reality it is essential to combine different research tools and perspectives, both structured (surveys, statistics) and interpretative-qualitative such as personal narratives of the immigrants, observations of their interactions with host societies, and analysis of the cultural artifacts produced by the Russian-speaking diaspora (mass media, Websites, fiction, folklore, etc). I also find great epistemological value in the

> unobtrusive methods of social observation that zoom in on spontaneous human environments and interactions, inevitably altered by structured tools and formalized settings of the orthodox social research. (2012, p. 10)

The approach of a holistic social observer makes it possible to use interdisciplinary research tools and perspectives to address the research questions from many angles. For example, in Chapters Two and Three I use census data to examine the socioeconomic attainment of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne by comparing them to other groups. Similar analyses have been undertaken in the United States and Canada. To inform the analysis of cultural adaptation of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne in Part II of this thesis, I make use of scholarly literature about ethnicity as is discussed in the following pages, which provides a conceptual overview of Jewish identity in the Soviet Union. In Chapters Five and Six I construct religiosity and ethnicity scales by using 46 behavioural and attitudinal items from the Gen17 Australian Jewish community survey. In this I follow sociologist Steven Cohen (2001), as is further discussed in those chapters. In Chapter Seven I examine the community that Jews from the FSU have built in Melbourne by using 'unobtrusive methods of social observation that zoom in on spontaneous human environments and interactions', similar to Remennick, in addition to life stories interviews, and census and survey data.

In sum, this thesis uses triangulation employing the following quantitative and qualitative sources:

- Australian government: Australian Census; Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset; Characteristics of Recent Migrants Survey; Department of Home Affairs; Estimated Resident Population; Personal Income Tax and Migrants Integrated Dataset; and Settlement Database of the Department of Social Services
- Surveys: 2017 Gen17 Australian Jewish community survey; 2008-09 Australian Gen08 Jewish population survey; 2004 Australian survey of Jews in the Diaspora; 1991

Melbourne Jewish community survey; 2014-15 Pew Research Center's *Israel's Religiously Divided Society*; 2013 Pew Research Center's *A Portrait of Jewish Americans*; and 2011 Jewish community study of New York

- Qualitative: Jewish Care Victoria Archives; National Archives of Australia; Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society archives; American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee archives; newspaper articles; three-year participant observation; and 14 life story interviews

The range of sources increase confidence in the findings about Jews from the FSU by showing consistency across methods, and makes it possible to investigate the migrants' settlement experiences in multiple contexts, further illuminating the intricacies involved in their heterogenous adaptation process. These rich data sources have not been mined in previous Australian research about migrants from the FSU; their settlement experiences were therefore not systematically analysed, as discussed in the subsection of the introduction *Australian research,* and in the section *Addressing research gaps*.

The 2016 Australian Census is the latest and best available data source to analyse socioeconomic attainment of Jews from the FSU. It has an optional question about religion that makes it possible to identify most Jews. The census provides data about education, labour force participation, unemployment, occupations, and income. This can be cross tabulated with age, gender, and year of arrival. In this thesis, the socioeconomic attainment of Jews from the FSU is further compared to the Australian-born population, other migrant groups and all Jews living in Melbourne.

One important data source is the 2017 Gen17 Australian Jewish community survey, which was undertaken to assist with Jewish communal planning and had a non-probability convenience sample of 8,621 participants. The Gen17 survey sample is further discussed in

Chapter Five. I was part of the planning group and recruited migrants from the FSU to participate in the survey. I did this by contacting Russian-speaking organisations, which emailed their members, pinning posts on Russian language Facebook pages, doing interviews on Russian language radio stations, and publishing articles promoting the survey in Russian language media. The Gen17 survey enables the analysis of migrants from the FSU and their horizontal comparison to Australian-born Jews and to the other two large groups of contemporary Jewish migrants in Melbourne, those born in Israel and South Africa.

The Gen17 survey further made it possible to compare migrants from the FSU globally and vertically: globally, because those in Melbourne are compared to their peers in other countries; vertically, because their current Jewish identification is compared to their upbringing. For a global comparison I obtained available datasets from two Jewish surveys in the United States and one from Israel that included migrants from the FSU. In addition, upon request I received three Australian Jewish survey datasets that were undertaken in previous years. The primary analysis of these datasets made it possible to discuss the adaptation of migrants from the FSU over time. There are some limitations to doing a comparative analysis between surveys as many of their questions are differently phrased and because of their different sampling methods. The findings therefore are discussed as indicating patterns, and are not considered to be accurate to the level of a few percentage points.

The migration of Jews from the FSU is global and so are the archival holdings. In Australia I researched documents from the Jewish Care Victoria Archives (JCVA) and the National Archives of Australia (NAA). In New York City, I researched the HIAS and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) archives, two organisations from the United States that were instrumental in the migration to Australia. The international archival

research made it possible to present in this thesis a broader perspective that considers the various global players involved, which helps better place the expectations and reservations of local actors in Australia.

Participant observation has been used as a data collection method for over a century and is considered essential in ethnographic studies (Kawulich, 2005). Sociologists Colin Jerolmack and Shamus Khan state that '[u]nlike other methods that presume what people do on the basis of what people tell the researcher, ethnography seeks direct observation of social action' (2018, p. 1). Participant observation is explained by anthropologists Kathleen DeWalt and Billie DeWalt as 'a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture' (2011, p. 1).

To become immersed in the life routines and culture of migrants from the FSU in Melbourne, I undertook three years of participant observation between 2016 and 2019. During this period, I participated in and kept notes of my observations of a number of events and activities that were organised for migrants from the FSU in Australia, both Jewish and non-Jewish. This included attending (among others), both in Melbourne and Sydney: Russian restaurants and film festivals, religious events at Russian-speaking synagogues and those organised by other religious activists, events organised by Russian-speaking clubs and local Jewish organisations, interacting with key informants who are leaders of Russian-speaking or local Jewish organisations and Russian-speaking or local activists, and the monitoring of discussions and posts on Russian language Facebook groups.

Life history interviewing methods were pioneered by anthropologists but have since often been adopted by sociologists and historians (Goodson, 2001, p. 129). Life stories can be

‘long’ or ‘short’. Long life stories are gathered over a long period of time and attempt to cover a person’s entire life using multiple sources. What is relevant for this thesis are short life stories interviews, which take much less time and tend to be much more focused. Sociologist Ken Plummer explains that short life stories ‘are gathered through in-depth interviews, along with open-ended questionnaires, requiring gentle probes that take somewhere between half an hour and 3 hours. The stories here usually have to be more focused than the long life histories’ (2004, p. 565).

In 2018, I undertook 14 short life story interviews of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne. After receiving approval from the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (Project ID: 14401), I recruited interview participants by contacting Russian-speaking organisations, which emailed their members, through pinned posts on Russian language Facebook pages and doing interviews on Russian language radio stations, and publishing articles promoting the study in Russian language media. I first sent an Explanatory Statement, Consent Form and short survey questionnaire to those who contacted me and indicated their interest to participate. More people were willing to participate than required. The questionnaire made it possible to select participants with different backgrounds based on their age, gender, FSU republic before emigrating, age at arrival, year of arrival, occupation, and current place of residence. A list of interview participants and a copy of documents sent to them can be found in Appendix 2.

Participants were made aware that the focus was on their settlement experiences in Melbourne, specifically about their socioeconomic and cultural adaptation. The interviews at times required reminding and gentle probing about their experiences in Melbourne when participants tended to focus on their lives in the Soviet Union. Besides this one exception,

the interviews were guided by the participants and the stories that they wanted to share. The recorded and partially transcribed interviews were conducted face-to-face and took between one and three hours, on average about two. In addition, I conducted shorter and more focused interviews with two Australian-born Jewish physicians who organised medical tutorials for Soviet physicians who migrated in the 1970s. At the time of the interviews, one lived in Melbourne, and the other in Sydney; the latter was the only interview conducted by phone.

My background provided me with several advantages when undertaking participant observation and interviews. My parents are Jews from the FSU who first emigrated to Israel (my mother in the late 1960s and father in the early 1970s), and within a few years re-migrated to Antwerp, Belgium, where I was born. I grew up in a multilingual household with my parents often speaking Russian and have some affinity to the culture. I speak Russian, Yiddish and Hebrew, which made it possible to communicate with Jews from the FSU who felt more at ease to express their 'inner worlds' in any one of those languages, rather than in English. Although I did not grow up in the Soviet Union and Russian is not my first language, and therefore am in many ways culturally different from those I interacted with, my experience is that my background often contributed to me being viewed more as an 'insider', who they could trust with their stories differently than they would with an 'outsider'. My background also entailed some limitations. Unlike in Melbourne, in Antwerp there is no Russian-speaking Jewish community and I therefore did not grow up in one. Further, I immigrated to Australia only a couple of years prior to this study, which meant that I could not directly relate to some of the experiences of those who settled in Melbourne in the 1970s and 1990s, especially those who migrated at a younger age and attended Australian schools.

Conceptual overview of Jewish identity in the Soviet Union

This section is divided into four parts. First, I discuss the dimensions of Jewish identity and why an ethnic boundary is crucial. Then I describe how Jewish identity in the Soviet Union deteriorated into a unidimensional secular ethnic identity. Third, I explore why Soviet Jewish 'nationality', as it was called in Soviet parlance, was often experienced as a biological category that did not require behaving as Jewish. Lastly, I address how migrants from the FSU who did not demonstrate their Jewishness through behaviours that were socially recognised as Jewish had their 'Jewish label' challenged by some Australian Jews.

There is a rich scholarly literature about the concepts of ethnicity, religion and culture, and how they interact. A brief overview of relevant scholarly literature helps elucidate the three dimensions of Jewish identity and how an ethnic boundary is maintained. Jewish identity is multidimensional and includes ethnicity, religion and culture. The markers of the ethnic dimension include, among others, a sense of peoplehood and commitment to maintaining endogamous relationships (Cohen, 2001, p. 106). The religious dimension includes belonging to a community of faith and the observance of religious traditions (Cohen, 2001, p. 106). The cultural dimension encompasses language, customs, dress, and food taboos (Gitelman, 2012, p. 22).

In the West, ethnicity is viewed, and often lived, within the theory of constructivism, which means ethnicity is a socially and intellectually constructed concept (Banks, 1996; Barth, 1969; Fenton, 2010; Scott, 1990; Smith, 2005). In the twentieth century, the analytical framework to study a people gradually shifted from 'race' to 'culture' to 'ethnicity' (Wolf, Kahn, Roseberry, & Wallerstein, 1994; Zander, 2004, p. 34). Ethnicity and culture are not coterminous, although in the social sciences these terms are often confused (Conversi,

2000, p. 134). Sociologist Anthony Smith defines ethnic communities (*ethnie*) 'as named human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity' (2005, p. 32). Sociologist Daniele Conversi argues that culture is an 'open project' in contrast to ethnicity (2000, p. 135); ethnicity, as opposed to culture, tends to be closed to people not believed to share the same ancestry, whereas becoming a member of a culture is open to anyone who learns its norms, codes and traditions, and participates in its events. Sociologist Steve Fenton explains that it is not sufficient for a people to supposedly 'possess' attributes of shared ancestry and culture; rather, '*they elaborate these into the idea of a community founded upon these attributes*' (2010, p. 3; emphasis in original).

Anthropologist Fredrik Barth is credited with significantly contributing to the shift away from a static to an interactional model of ethnicity by distinguishing the concept of ethnicity from that of culture (Zander, 2004, p. 35). Barth views ethnicity as a form of social organisation (Vermeulen & Govers, 1994, p. 2). He makes an important distinction between the maintenance of an ethnic boundary and the culture enclosed in it (Barth, 1969, pp. 14-5). The critical feature for the continuity of ethnic groups is the maintenance of the boundary by self-ascription and ascription of others. Socially relevant factors alone have the function of evaluating whether a person belongs within the social boundary of the ethnic group or not. Barth therefore concludes that the 'cultural stuff' (content) enclosed in the ethnic boundary is not the focus; it is the boundary itself that has to be investigated (1969, p. 15).

Compared to the complexities of defining ethnicity and culture, political scientist Zvi Gitelman remarks that religion can simply be defined as belonging to a community of faith with 'a system of beliefs and practices assuming a supernatural deity' (2012, p. 19).

Historian Timothy Smith states that it is 'obvious' that 'religion and ethnicity are intertwined in modern urban and industrial societies' (1978, p. 1155). According to sociologist Stephen Sharot, 'ethnicity is the subjective component which provides the "real" reasons for joining synagogues and carrying out religious practices' (1997, p. 40).

Historically, Jews have closely intertwined ethnicity and religion, and in the Torah they were defined as the 'holy people', in a synthesis of religion (holy) and ethnicity (people) (Cohen, 2001, p. 101). In this sense Judaism is a 'tribal' religion, because it is associated exclusively with one people (Gitelman, 2012, p. 122). It was at the encounter of Jews with modernity that a degree of separation between Jewish ethnicity and religion became apparent (Cohen, 2001, p. 101). Before the 1930s, in the Soviet Union many Jews were religious, and most had a 'thick' Jewish culture, which included language, customs, dress, and food taboos (Gitelman, 2012, pp. 22-3). Yet the traditional multidimensionality of Jewish identity deteriorated to become unidimensional in the Soviet Union. Below I discuss why this occurred.

Jews had a problematic status in the Soviet Union and were not considered a nation (*natsiia*) with national autonomy that was allowed to maintain its culture. Refusing Jews the status of a nation was in reaction to the Bund, a secular Jewish socialist labour party, which in 1901 adopted the position that Jews should enjoy full national autonomy (Smith, 1999, p. 11). In 1903, Vladimir Lenin, future head of the Soviet government, rejected the Bund's demand by quoting Karl Kautsky, one of the most prominent Marxist theoreticians, who stated that 'Jews have ceased to be a nation, for a nation without a territory is unthinkable' (Dutt, 1977, p. 99). Lenin concluded that Jews would not have full national autonomy and decided that the only possible solution for the Jewish question was for them to assimilate into the general population (Dutt, 1977, pp. 100-1). According to him, Jews were 'pioneers

of socialism' and were ready for the advanced historical Marxist stage of assimilation (*sliianie*) (Blank, 1995, p. 53). Without national and cultural autonomy, public Jewish religion and culture in the Soviet Union were almost completely destroyed.[5]

Jewish religion and culture underwent rapid decline in the Soviet Union because of the Soviet regime's discrimination. The Soviet regime promoted atheism and persecuted all religions based on the famous premise of Karl Marx that 'religion is the opiate of the masses'. The Soviet authority forbade teaching religion to anyone under 14 years of age (Corley, 1996, p. 14; Rothenberg, 1971, p. 6). In 1921, some of the former leaders of the Bund in the Soviet Union—by then abolished—joined the communist Jewish Sections (*Evsektsii*) and persecuted Jewish religion with fervour (Gitelman, 2012, p. 129; Pinkus, 1988, pp. 58-65; Rothenberg, 1971, p. 43). By the end of 1920s, more than 600 synagogues had closed, all *heders* (Jewish religious schools) had been abolished, and most clergy had been forced to take up other vocations (Bociurkiw, 1970, pp. 16-7; Corley, 1996, p. 63; Gitelman, 2012, p. 129). According to scholar Joshua Rothenberg, by 1966 only 62 synagogues remained open, with about 15 to 20 rabbis serving a Soviet Jewish population of about 2.268 million (1971, pp. 46-7; 50).

Between 1948 and 1953, towards the end of what is known as the Soviet Jews' 'Black Years' (1939-1953), all remaining Jewish secular institutions were closed, almost completely repressing Jewish public culture and the Yiddish language (Pinkus, 1988, pp. 138; 174-7; Rothenberg, 1971, p. 43). Rothenberg remarked that it was 'highly ironical' that all secular institutions closed and '[t]hus the synagogue became the only existing Jewish institution in

[5] In 1931, the Soviet regime experimented with establishing a Jewish Federative national unit in the Birobidzhan Region of the Far Eastern Provinces that potentially could have provided Jews some national and cultural autonomy (Pinkus, 1988, pp. 71-6). Yet as Pinkus states, the 'Birobidzhan experiment was destined to failure from the outset' (1988, p. 52).

the country' (1971, p. 43; Pinkus, 1988, pp. 206-8). Only from 1959 was a limited expression of secular Jewish public culture permitted again (Rothenberg, 1971, p. 43).

In addition, during the Holocaust, Soviet Jews who lived in towns and *shtetlach* (Jewish villages) perished in higher proportions compared to those living in big cities who had better odds at escaping the advancing German army. Before the Holocaust, Soviet Jews who lived in towns and shtetlach usually spoke Yiddish and intermarriage to non-Jews was a marginal phenomenon, whereas in big cities there was increased linguistic Russification and intermarriage was on the rise (Altshuler, 1998, pp. 187-90). As a result, historian Mordechai Altshuler notes that 'Soviet Jewry after the war had little cultural or social resemblance to what it had been only a few short years before' (1998, p. 190).

Following the repression of Jewish religion and culture, and the devastation of the Holocaust, Gitelman remarks that later generations of Soviet Jews only retained 'shards of languages, traces of holiday observances, memories of ways of life and practices, and a feeling that Jews were, at the least, different' (2012, p. 330). Soviet Jews retained what Gitelman calls a 'thin' Jewish culture, which was mostly based on their mobility, urbanism and education, which became their Jewish markers and cultural content (2012, p. 332). Thin Jewish culture is not the same as thin Jewish identity because their Jewish ethnic identity remained salient, as discussed below. Remennick describes in a similar fashion the 'features [that] formed the basis of the unique Russian-Soviet Jewish identity and defined ethnic and cultural boundaries between the Jews and other Soviet people':

> In response to the policies of exclusion and vilification, Soviet Jews fortified some features of their traditional culture that helped them adapt and achieve upward mobility: cultivation of intellectualism, respect for hard effort and know-how in one's line of work, strength of family networks, in-group solidarity, moderation in their

> lifestyle, quiet negation or sheer manipulation of the Soviet system, in which they had to partake in order to achieve any success in their profession or business. (2012, p. 31)

On the one hand, the Soviet regime was destroying Jewish religion and culture; on the other hand, it was preserving a secular Jewish ethnic identity by ascribing it the status of an official nationality (*natsional'nost*), which was registered under the nationality category on the fifth line of internal Soviet passports. Despite the prediction by Lenin that Jews would soon disappear as an ethnic group, for reasons that are unclear, they were classified as a nationality in 1918 (Gitelman, 2012, p. 88). The nationality classification acknowledged a long list of peoples as minor nationalities or ethnic groups, but many nationalities, like Jews, were not recognised as nations and therefore were refused national autonomy.

Most Soviet Jews acculturated and thoroughly became Russified but could not assimilate because of their Jewish nationality and official antisemitic campaigns against them (Vinogradov, 2010, p. 62). Gitelman notes that they were 'Russians culturally, but Jews officially, socially and psychologically' (2012, p. 12). Soviet policies had the effect of making Jews firmly sense they were part of an ethnic group, but weakened their belief in being part of a Jewish nation and subverted their link to Judaism (Gitelman, 2012, p. 327). Jewish ethnicity became totally separated from religion, which was distinct for the Soviet Union and unprecedented in Jewish history (Gitelman, 2012, p. 127). Thus, although the Soviet regime tried to assimilate Jews by undermining institutions that promoted thick culture, it paradoxically ended up maintaining a passive secular Jewish ethnic identity by ascribing them Jewish nationality (Gitelman, 1991, p. 5). The Soviet regime most probably could not have imagined that Jews could survive as a distinct group based only on thin Jewish culture (Gitelman, 2012, p. 78; 328).

Jewish nationality often came to the fore when undertaking important life activities. Nationality was not the same as citizenship; Jews were Soviet citizens but had Jewish nationality. From 16 years of age residents were required to have an internal Soviet passport with the nationality declared in the infamous 'fifth paragraph'. The internal passports were necessary for almost every stage of life: from obtaining employment, applying for accommodation, and enrolling children in schools and later in universities to being admitted to hospitals. The nationality of a person could be advantageous, as in the case of Russian nationality, while many other major nationalities were neither good nor bad. Some nationalities, including Jews, faced discrimination. In line with the Soviet nationality policy, a nationality was officially inherited at birth from the parents. A person's nationality was therefore not a choice, though children of ethnically mixed marriages could choose the nationality of either their mother or father (Pinkus, 1988, p. 57). Many children from mixed marriages chose nationalities other than Jewish to avoid discrimination (Remennick, 1998, p. 242). Those who were classified as Jewish on their internal Soviet passports often saw themselves as 'invalids of the fifth category' (Gitelman, 1991, p. 22). Remennick remarks that

> Jewish identity was imposed on Soviet Jews beyond or against their will, and some of them spent much effort trying to get rid of this "birthmark" that hampered their upward mobility: they Russified their family names, took literary pseudonyms, or bribed officials to change the item on their internal passport. (1998, p. 242)

In contrast to the West, in the Soviet Union ethnicity was viewed and lived as a historical, essential and intrinsic attribute of ethnic communities; in other words, a primordial attachment, not an intellectual or social construct (Bromley & Kozlov, 1989; Tishkov, 1997). Soviet nationality policy made ethnicity a category of inequality; primordial theory further infused it with biological terminology and thereby equated ethnicity to race. Viewing ethnic

groups through a primordial prism, the Soviet regime resorted to discrimination and even ethnic cleansing of several nationalities. As historian Terry Martin states, 'the Soviet turn toward ethnic cleansing in the 1930s was not even accompanied by a trend favouring assimilation, but rather by an increased emphasis on the distinct primordial essence of the Soviet Union's nationalities' (2001, p. 341).

Nationality was construed as an intrinsic attribute equivalent to a biological category. Historian Yuri Slezkine notes that in the Soviet Union 'individual ethnicity [nationality] had become a biological category impervious to cultural, linguistic or geographical change' (1994, p. 444). Soviet Jews similarly often viewed their Jewish nationality as biologically inherited, based on 'blood' and feeling (Gitelman, 2012, pp. 108-10). Being Jewish was therefore often experienced as an intrinsic attribute and not something one was required to demonstrate. Gitelman states that in 'the FSU one does not have to *do* anything Jewish; one simply *is* Jewish' (2012, p. 110; emphasis in original). Anthropologist Fran Markowitz similarly found that in the Soviet Union '[b]eing a Jew is an immutable biological and social fact, ascribed at birth like sex and eye color' (1988, p. 81).

The sense of being Jewish as an intrinsic attribute and biological category can be viewed as the intellectual construct named 'primordial attachment' by anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1963, p. 109). Geertz made a distinction between non-civic and civic ties associated with citizen obligations acquired in modern states. He explained that the non-civic tie is based on primordial attachment and natural affinity, which stem from the 'givens' and are in 'great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself' (1963, pp. 109-10). The givens as defined by Geertz are 'place, tongue, blood, looks, and way-of-life' (1963, p. 128). For those born into an ethnic group, their primordial attachment and

affinity are often considered as given and natural—some would say spiritual—as opposed to civic ties that are acquired through social interactions (Geertz, 1963, p. 109).

An example of primordial attachment expressed as a biological category is mentioned by an interview participant in this study, Rami, who describes being Jewish as a matter of 'blood':

> My youngest one had identity problems, he don't know what he, we is. Because I say: you're not Australian, like you're Australian by passport, but your blood is Italian and Jewish, nothing to do with just because you've been [born] in Australia.

Rami explains that his youngest son was born to a non-Jewish Italian woman. Rami realises that his son is not considered Jewish according to *halacha* (Jewish religious law), according to which being Jewish is inherited matrilineally, or through conversion. Rami is not raising his three sons as Jews. Although he agrees that his youngest son is religiously not Jewish, ethnically he does consider him as such, at least partially, and therefore should feel that he belongs to the Jewish people. Rami does not agree that his son belongs to the Australian people, although he is 'Australian by passport'. The primordial attachment of having Jewish 'blood' may have been considered enough in the Soviet Union to ascribe the Jewish label to a person, but in Australia this does not suffice. For his son to be recognised as Jewish in Melbourne, he needs to be ascribed a Jewish identity by converting, which would require behaving in ways that are socially recognised as Jewish, not only claiming Jewishness based on 'blood' and feeling.

Other interview participants also use biological categories and mention that being Jewish is recognisable on a person's face through distinct Jewish facial features, such as interview participant Svetlana. When asked to elaborate, she responds: 'How Jewish people, how

Jewish people look like? I don't know. I mean, I, I know how, I feel it, I feel it, I can tell you exactly who's Jewish and who's not Jewish, just by looking at them.'

Several interview participants expressed their Jewishness as an intrinsic attribute with concepts like blood, facial features, feeling, genes and psychological make-up. Markowitz explains similarly that it is prevalent for Soviet Jews to understand their Jewishness in the following way: 'We are Jews by our blood, our genes, our historical experience. While one can change religion, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to change genes and blood' (1988, p. 81). Because for most Soviet Jews being Jewish was a given and in their 'blood', the ascription of their Jewish label was not challenged and they did not think it necessary to prove it by behaving as Jewish.

In contrast, in Australia being Jewish is usually considered a social construct and a matter of choice, not something that is in the 'blood' or 'genes'. Because Jewishness is deemed a social construct and not a biological category in Australia, persons usually can assimilate into the wider society without being ascribed the Jewish label by others against their will, unlike in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, to be recognised as Jewish in Australia, a person often has to demonstrate Jewishness in religious, cultural or ethnic dimensions. Because a social construct by definition does not exist on its own, it needs to be maintained through perception expressed in behaviour; this is in contrast with an inherent quality like eye colour that does not have to be acted upon, it simply is. In the Soviet Union, Jewishness was maintained by the authorities as a category registered in internal passports, denying the opportunity to assimilate. In Australia, Jewishness has to be maintained in other ways, such as behaving in ways that are socially recognised as Jewish, unless people are willing to assimilate. Markowitz notes that in 'American society where one's Jewishness is not self-

evident, it is necessary to demonstrate, both to the Gentile world and to the Jewish community, that one is a Jew by doing specifically Jewish things' (1988, p. 83).

Surveys indicate that the vast majority of Australian Jews accept the halachic definition that one is Jewish if born of a Jewish mother, but in addition to this, they regard their Jewishness as including other behavioural dimensions, like culture, religion and tradition. In contrast, migrants from the FSU in Australia mainly view their Jewishness as a secular and ethnic category inherited at birth and as their nationality, with few including other behavioural dimensions. The different Jewish identities are exemplified in a 2004 Australian survey of Jews in the Diaspora about the needs of Jews from the FSU, Israel and South Africa (Rutland & Gariano, 2005). Survey participants were asked to choose as many categories as applicable to best describe their Jewishness (Table 1). Very high proportions of the three migrant groups indicated that their Jewishness was best described as being by birth (91% to 97%), with the exception of Australian-born Jews (76%). Migrants from the FSU were characterised by much higher proportions who indicated Jewishness by nationality (69%) compared to other Jewish groups (34% to 48%). Of other Jewish groups, however, relatively high proportions indicated that behavioural dimensions best described their Jewishness. Other Jewish groups indicated relatively high proportions of Jewishness by culture (69% to 78%), religion (47% to 71%) and tradition (49% to 80%), compared to far fewer migrants from the FSU (37%, 29% and 37%, respectively).

Table 1: Which of the following best describes your Jewishness? Select as many as applicable; By country of birth in Australia in 2004

Jewish by…	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Australian-born**
Birth	**93%**	**97%**	**91%**	**76%**
Nationality	**69%**	48%	36%	34%
Culture	37%	**69%**	**78%**	**76%**
Tradition	37%	49%	**80%**	**67%**
Religion	29%	47%	**71%**	**69%**

Source: Rutland & Galiano, 2005, p. 33; n=548.

As indicated in Table 1, the different social contexts in the Soviet Union and Australia resulted in different identity markers for what constitutes Jewishness. Migrants from the FSU and Australian Jews formed different Jewish identities, because identity always forms within the social context persons are embedded in (Stets & Burke, 2003, p. 130). Migrants from the FSU and other Jewish groups ascribe themselves the label 'Jewish'; they share the label, but they often do not share cultural content and markers of what comprises being Jewish. Markowitz similarly mentions that it is possible that Soviet and American Jews 'ascribe to themselves the same ethnic label but fail to agree on the cultural content' (1998, p. 80). Sharing an ethnic label but not cultural content and markers can result in a separation of the two groups into distinct identities (Gitelman, 2012, pp. 340-1; Markowitz, 1998, p. 80). An example of the possible creation of distinct identities is when Australian Jewish community activists and leaders sometimes express the view, more often privately than publicly, that migrants from the FSU are not 'really Jews', instead ascribing them the label 'Russians' (Goldlust, 2016, p. 164).

An example of feeling that the Jewish label is challenged is provided by interview participant Mendel. He mentions that in the Soviet Union 'it was shameful to be Jew'; however, 'here different story [laughs], I am not enough Jew.' When asked what is enough to be considered a Jew in Melbourne, Mendel responds that one has to 'follow some religious [practice].' In

the Soviet Union, his being Jewish was unchallenged even when it was shameful and perhaps against his will to be so. Yet in Melbourne, he experiences his Jewishness being challenged; at the least, it is not considered enough, unless he demonstrates it through Jewish behaviours. Mendel finds himself in a new social context where he must adapt his identity to include demonstration of Jewish religious and cultural behaviours before he can be considered as 'enough' of a Jew, otherwise his Jewish identity is challenged.

In summary, Jewish identity in the Soviet Union was differently formed compared to Australia. Migrants from the FSU settled in Melbourne with a distinct secular Soviet Jewish identity that was primarily ethnic and totally separated from religion. They further had a thin Jewish culture and often found their Jewish identity being challenged in Australia. Without demonstrating Jewish behaviours that are recognised by wider Jewish communities, their inclusion within the Jewish boundary is challenged. The question is essentially whether migrants from the FSU belong within the Jewish boundary or not, and if they have invested their old identities with new meanings in the local social context (Keyes, 1981, p. 15).

Literature review

International studies

The international studies about Jews from the FSU discussed in this subsection have informed my research, and similar approaches and methods were applied to investigate the various aspects of the migrants' adaptation in Melbourne. International studies often focused on their socioeconomic and cultural adaptation. Their religious and ethnic identity were often examined using survey instruments measuring their participation in Jewish communities, observance of Jewish religious and cultural practices, and endogamous preferences. They were usually compared to local Jews. One study compared the religious

and ethnic identity of Jews from the FSU to local Jews, but only to those who did not identify as Orthodox. Community building was often explored by using interviews and participant observation. Socioeconomic adaptation was often analysed based on census data and compared to other groups. More recent studies have compared the socioeconomic and cultural adaptation of those who migrated at a young age or were born in the host country to those of their parents. Finally, recent studies often undertook a global approach and compared Jews from the FSU to their peers in other countries.

Several studies were undertaken about Soviet Jews in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1981, a relatively large survey was undertaken of 900 Soviet Jewish immigrant families living in 14 cities in the United States (Simon & Simon, 1982a, p. 284). The purpose of the study was to examine their socioeconomic adjustment, and to describe their Jewish identity (Simon & Simon, 1982a, p. 283). The survey notes that most were well educated and technically skilled, and were ambitious about their careers and had high expectations, but that many 'had to accept less prestigious and important positions than they held in the Soviet Union' (Simon & Simon, 1982b, p. 541). The study found that most respondents felt that 'being Jewish is very important', but few were active in Jewish community organisations and most did not observe traditional religious practices (Simon & Simon, 1982a, p. 289). In a follow-up study in 1984, sociologist Rita Simon concludes that 'while the time that has elapsed between our initial survey and this most recent one is only three years, the results show more extensive and stronger ties to the Jewish community and to Jewish practices, observances and values' (1987, p. 77).

Between 1979 and 1985, the Soviet Interview Project was undertaken to study the 'everyday life in the Soviet Union by conducting highly-structured interviews with a

probability sample of eligible Soviet emigrants in the United States' (Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 2019). Although the study included Jews and non-Jews, political scientist Rasma Karklins analysed a large subsample of 2,424 Jewish respondents with the goal to examine their Soviet Jewish identity (1987, p. 29). She found that the 'significance of endogamous preferences among Soviet Jews as well as the high consistency in ethnic identification stand out' (1987, p. 41).

In the 1980s, sociologist Steven Gold undertook in-depth interviews and participant observation for his PhD study comparing Soviet Jewish and Vietnamese refugees in the San Francisco Bay Area '*to better understand how immigrant groups both create ethnic-based ties and establish connections with the larger society*' (1985, p. 1; emphasis in original). He found that although Soviet Jews had internal diversity too, they were more uniform than the Vietnamese refugees. Gold explains that Soviet Jews 'shared a common religion, urban origins, a high educational level, and similar middle- to working-class standing. Additionally, Jews' commonalities were reinforced through their resettlement by a centralised, coordinated, and professionally staffed resettlement system' (1987, p. 232). They experienced a relatively rapid economic integration, similar to that of other educated nonrefugee immigrant groups (Gold, 1987, p. 232).

In the same period, between 1984 and 1985, Markowitz undertook an ethnographic study that was 'the first major investigation into the question of community among Soviet Jewish émigrés in New York' (1993, p. 2). In her book *A Community in Spite of Itself* she states that they 'constitute a community without organizations but within which they conduct mutual assistance and social activities on an informal basis according to individual needs or desires and groupwide understandings' (1993, p. 236).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991, a number of large-scale studies of Jews in the FSU were undertaken. One of the first large-scale surveys was carried out in 1993 of a representative sample of 1,000 Jews in Moscow, Kiev and Minsk (Brym with Ryvkina, 1994, p. 3). One aspect of the study was to examine how strongly they identified as Jews. Scholars Robert Brym with Rozalina Ryvkina found that 'only about one-third expressed interest in remaining or becoming personally involved in the Jewish community'; about one-quarter of them felt part of that community and about one-fifth were engaged in religious and cultural practices (1994, p. 99).

In the same period, between 1992 and 1993, a large-scale survey was undertaken to examine to what extent Jewish identity had survived in the FSU, in which 1,300 Jews in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Ekaterinburg participated (Chervyakov, Gitelman, & Shapiro, 1997, p. 281). The survey was later replicated in five Ukrainian cities with 2,000 participants (Chervyakov, Gitelman, & Shapiro, 1997, p. 281; Gitelman, 2012, p. 351). There was a follow-up survey in 1997-98 in the Russian Federation and Ukraine using a snowball sample (of different people) that comprised about 3,300 Jews; both surveys in total included 6,664 Jews, with demographics resembling the 1989 Russian and Ukrainian Census (Gitelman, 2012, pp. 4; 349-53). Gitelman found that few managed to preserve a thick culture and that a larger minority did not maintain any kind of Jewish culture, and that 'most Jews, like those we interviewed, retained a thin culture that they redefined in light of changing circumstances' (2012, p. 329).

In Canada, the educational and income attainment and the economic mobility of Jews from the FSU was compared to all Canadian immigrants, all Canadian Jews, and all Canadian residents based on the 1996 Canadian Census (Brym, 2001, p. 35). Brym found that although

the educational attainment of Jewish immigrants from the FSU was higher than that of Canadian Jews as a whole, their average annual income was much lower than that of local Jews and the general population, and similar to all immigrants (2001, p. 39). Yet, he concludes that they 'experience a higher rate of upward mobility as the years pass. Given that this experience occurs in a high-mobility society, Canadian Jewish immigrants from the FSU must be considered an economic success story in the making' (2001, p. 40). In 2018, a national survey of Jews in Canada was undertaken with a representative sample of 2,335 individuals of whom 152 indicated Russian as their mother tongue (Brym, Neuman, & Lenton, 2019, pp. 77-80). The survey focused on what it means to be Jewish in Canada (2019, p. 1), and found that '[o]nly among FSU Jews do we find a substantially larger proportion (79%) who feel less than very connected to the Jewish community' (2019, p. 74).

In New York, a Jewish community study is undertaken every ten years to better understand the local Jewish community. The latest one was in 2011, with a probability sample of 5,993 respondents (Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012, p. 5). Exceptionally for this survey, Jews from the FSU were compared to local Jews but controlled for those who were 'non-Orthodox non-Russian-speaking' (2012, pp. 234-9). The survey states that 'Russian-speakers exhibit very high levels of ethnic belonging' compared to non-Orthodox non-Russian-speaking Jews (2012, p. 238). The survey notes, however, that 'Russian speakers resist identifying with mainstream Jewish denominational identities' and that they did not affiliate with 'voluntary organizations and involvement with Jewish charitable giving' (2012, pp. 236-8). As to their economic adaptation, the survey found that many households had low incomes and that they earned lower average incomes than the general Jewish population, although in 2011 in comparison to the previous survey in 2002, the 'immigrant Russian-speaking Jewish population ha[d] undergone socioeconomic advances in the nine years' (2012, p. 233).

After the mass migration of close to one million Jews and their relatives from the FSU to Israel in the 1990s, they became the focus of a range of studies.[6] One of the more recent large surveys including Jews from the FSU was the Pew Research Center survey *Israel's Religiously Divided Society*, which was undertaken in 2014-15 and had a probability sample of 3,789 Jews (2016, p. 10; 229). According to the Pew survey, a much higher proportion of second-generation Israelis from FSU background identify as *Haredi* (strictly Orthodox) (14%) than the first generation (4%) (2016, p. 105). Yet, this finding should be considered with caution because the survey defined second-generation Israelis from FSU background too broadly. The survey considered all Jews who were born in Israel with at least one parent from the FSU as second generation, without controlling for the year they were born or the year their parents made Aliyah (K. Starr, Pew, personal communication, January 25, 2019). Such a broad definition of second generation would include many whose parents were born in the FSU but who arrived in Israel before the Second World War or shortly after. This definition does not limit the analysis to the children of those who made Aliyah from 1967 (when the first emigration wave from the Soviet Union began), who could properly be defined as the second generation from the FSU to compare with the first.

From the 2000s, comparative studies about Jews from the FSU in several countries were undertaken that framed them as a Russian-speaking Jewish diaspora.[7] The first book, published in 2006, was by scholars Ben-Rafael et al., titled *Building a Diaspora: Russian Jews in Israel, Germany and the USA*. They state that the 'threefold aim of the research was to

[6] For some of the latest studies about Jews from the FSU in Israel, see Elias & Lerner (2016); Gorodzeisky & Semyonov (2011); Leshem (2008); Ofer (2016); Prashizky & Remennick (2014; 2015; 2016; 2018); Raijman, Semyonov, & Geffen (2014); Remennick (2009; 2011a; 2011b; 2012; 2015; 2018); Remennick & Prashizky (2012); Ro'i (2016); Semyonov, Raijman, & Maskileyson (2015); Yelenevskaya & Fialkova (2004).
[7] In 1997, the edited book *Russian Jews on Three Continents: Migration and Resettlement* was published based on papers from a 1993 conference, but it is not a comparative study (Lewin-Epstein, Ro'i, & Ritterband, 1997).

understand the building of communities in these three countries, the elaboration of their collective identities, and their articulation of self-presentation. These tasks were pursued using the same research tools in each country investigated' (2006, p. vii). A second book by Remennick was published in 2007 with a paperback edition in 2012, titled *Russian Jews on Three Continents: Identity, Integration, and Conflict*. Remennick states that her 'analytical frame is broadly comparative, juxtaposing the challenges of social integration experienced by Russian Jews in the different national settings of Israel, the U.S., Canada, and Germany' (2012, p. 1). She notes that she 'did not include Australia in this book', because according to her 'virtually nothing has been published on the integration experiences of this small group of former Soviet Jews' (2012, p. 12). As the subsection on Australian scholarship below shows, there have been several studies, but they have not been published as books; only a few academic articles have appeared in international journals.

In 2016, an edited book by Gitelman was published, titled *The New Jewish Diaspora: Russian-Speaking Immigrants in the United States, Israel, and Germany*. This is not a comparative study but is based on a selection of papers presented at a 2011 conference on the contemporary Russian-speaking Jewish diaspora (Gitelman, 2016, p. xv). Several chapters, however, are international comparative studies (Bagno-Moldavski, 2016; Rebhun, 2016; Wanner, 2016). A chapter by Gold compares the settlement experiences of Russian-speaking Jews and Israeli immigrants in the United States. One finding, based on the 2000 US Census, is that men from the FSU and from Israel earned a similar median income, which was much higher compared to all foreign-born men (Gold, 2016, pp. 109-12). Gold notes, however, that '[w]hile the average income of Russian migrants suggests a generally successful integration into the American middle class, the economic adjustment of this population ranges widely from poverty to significant wealth' (2016, p. 111). As to some

aspects of their cultural adaptation, Gold concludes that 'Israeli Americans appear to be both more diverse and more involved with their country of origin and the host society than Russian-speaking Jews in the United States' (2016, p. 119). Yet, Russian-speaking Jews maintain transnational ties among their communities in Russia, Ukraine, Israel, the United States, Germany, and Canada (Gold, 2016, p. 118).

Australian research

It is not surprising that from the three relatively large contemporary Jewish migrations to Australia, Jews from the FSU are the most studied, more than those born in South Africa and Israel. As mentioned in the previous sections, the following three distinct characteristics of migrants from the FSU are not shared by the latter two groups, which increases the interest of many local Jews in their adaptation patterns. First, Australian Jews actively participated in the 1960s and 1970s in the Soviet Jewry movement, which eventually enabled their emigration (Lipski & Rutland, 2015). Second, about three-quarters of those who immigrated from the FSU to Australia did so on humanitarian visas that were specially devised for them after local Jewish communities successfully lobbied the Australian government. Third, when Soviet migrants settled in Australia, they had a distinct Jewish identity and did not participate in Jewish communities; local communities seek to understand why this occurred and what could be done to change this. Yet, counterintuitively, although Jews from the FSU are the most studied, they remain the least understood.

Available research about Jews from the FSU in Australia includes four PhD and two Honours theses, one comparative review, one encyclopaedia article, one survey report, and ten academic journal articles or book chapters, as discussed below. In addition, historians included Jews from the FSU in their books about the general Jewish population in Australia

(Benjamin, 1998, W. D. Rubinstein, 1991; Rutland, 1997; 2005). There is only one book published about Jews from the FSU in Australia, but it is primarily written from the perspective of Australian local Jewish communities and their contribution to the Soviet Jewry movement (Lipski & Rutland, 2015). As mentioned above, Remennick notes that 'virtually nothing has been published' on their integration experiences in Australia. This was most probably her experience because only one article about the Jewish identity of migrants from the FSU in Australia was published in an international academic journal (Rutland, 2011). The other nine articles or book chapters were either published in Australia with limited exposure to international scholars in this field, or in international journals but did not frame the research as being about the Jewish identity of migrants from the FSU.[8] Finally, three Australian Jewish community survey reports and one 2013 PhD thesis included a limited number of findings about Jews from the FSU (Goldlust, 1993a; 1993b; Markus, Jacobs, & Aronov, 2009; Porat, 2013).

Two PhD theses about Jews from the FSU are from 2014 and two Honours theses from 1997. Educationist Fruma Rosenfeld interviewed participants in her 2014 PhD study about the impact that two Orthodox Jewish schools in Melbourne had on the Jewish identity and observance of Russian-speaking students. Her aim was to inform best practice in educational programming (2014, p. ii). Historian Jessica Taft undertook a 2014 PhD study about the Australian humanitarian visas that enabled Soviet Jews to migrate to Australia in the 1970s. Inna Zaitseva, herself an immigrant from the FSU, surveyed a non-probability sample of 100 Jews from the FSU who settled in the 1990s in Melbourne about their adaptation patterns for her 1997 Honours thesis. Elena Boyarovsky, also an immigrant from the FSU, interviewed

[8] The articles or book chapters are: Frenkel (1990); Goldlust (2016); Kouzmin (1988); Taft (1988); Taft & Steinkalk (1982; 1985); Ryazantsev (2013); Venturin (2019); Zaitseva (2006).

Jews from the FSU who settled in the 1970s in Melbourne for her 1997 Honours thesis about their adaptation to the Australian democratic, 'open' and 'individualistic' society.

The first PhD study in 1982 was by psychologist Elka Steinkalk, who explains that her study 'explored the adaptation patterns of Soviet Jewish immigrants in Victoria, and the psychosocial correlates of this process. Particular attention was paid to comparisons of adults and adolescent subjects to Australia' (p. 1). In 1978 she undertook a representative survey of 101 adolescents and their 154 parents, about one-quarter of all Soviet Jews in Melbourne at the time, whom she compared to 94 Jewish adolescents born in Australia (Green, 1979, p. 8; Steinkalk, 1982, p. 1). She found that for both Soviet parents and adolescents it was 'noteworthy' that most felt it was extremely or very important to be concerned about the fate of the Jewish people, but that religious observance was of very little importance to them and that they 'demonstrated a low degree of identification with the Jewish community' (1982, pp. 234-8).

Steinkalk's study, however, was conducted after Soviet Jews had been living in Melbourne for a median period of 18 months (Taft & Steinkalk, 1985, p. 19). Her study is informative about some of their experiences when first settling in Melbourne, but not regarding how they adapted several years after their migration. Steinkalk alludes to this by concluding that it

> is possible that, had this study been undertaken between 1981 and 1982, the results regarding Jewish identification would have been different. At the time of the investigation, in 1978, the Soviet Jewish adults had little contact with Jewish organisations and little involvement in Jewish community life. In the intervening years Jewish organisations became more interested and energetic in encouraging Soviet Jewish involvement and participation in the local Jewish community: both on a segregated basis, through organisations and activities specifically for Soviet Jews, and on an integrated basis, by their participation in community life with the rest of the Jewish community. (1982, p. 284)

Anthropologist Anna Frenkel undertook for her 1987 PhD study a six-year participant observation of Soviet Jews who settled in Australia in the 1970s to examine their socioeconomic and cultural adaptation. Her study addressed their adaptation on average ten years after settling in Australia. She notes that they 'arrived without any capital and with a few possessions and were in need of welfare help. Yet the greatest majority were men and women of working age with high technical and professional qualifications', and that problems regarding their economic adaptation were gradually overcome during her observation (1987, p. i). As to their identity, Frenkel notes that there 'was no doubt that my informants represented Jews totally assimilated to Russian/Soviet culture' (1987, p. ii). Despite Steinkalk's assumption that if her study had been undertaken in 1982 the results regarding Jewish identification would have been different, Frenkel found that

> [a]ll my informants with children unanimously stated that it was only for their sake that they had disrupted their lives in mid-career, and it was a fact that most of their school-age children were attending Jewish day-schools. As to themselves, they felt alienated from any ethnic group, including the Jewish, in Australia and, as a group, have led the life of social and psychological isolation. (1987, p. ii)

In a 1992 review of studies in the United States, Canada and Australia about the 'Jewishness of Soviet emigrants of the 1970s', scholars John Goldlust and Ron Taft state that Soviet Jews experienced a loss of the high status that they had achieved in the Soviet Union, and that because they 'exhibited little interest in embracing religious ritual, community involvement and other aspects of American Jewish culture, it was often inferred that they were not "really Jews"' (1992, p. 40). They add to this, however, that 'we must also remember that most of them were studied within only a few years of their arrival and their lack of integration is typical of new immigrants' (1992, p. 39). Yet, a decade later, Goldlust notes in an encyclopaedia article about Jews from the FSU in Australia that 'they have remained very

much a “community within a community”’ (2001, p. 545). As to their socioeconomic adaptation, he found based on the 1996 Australian Census that ‘from the evidence available, the occupational profile of Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union suggests that they are already well represented in higher status occupations and professions’ (2001, p. 546).

Frenkel’s study did not compare Soviet Jews to other Jewish groups, and Steinkalk only compared Soviet adolescents to Jewish ones born in Australia. The 2004 survey of Jews in the Diaspora in Australia, on the other hand, did compare Jews from the FSU to other groups. The survey was commissioned by the Jewish Agency for Israel in conjunction with the Zionist Federation of Australia to study the profile and needs of the three main recent Jewish migrations to Australia: those born in the FSU, Israel, and South Africa (Rutland & Gariano, 2005, p. vi; 2). The survey had a non-probability convenience sample of 602 respondents, including 217 migrants from the FSU (Rutland & Gariano, 2005, p. vi; 7).

The 2004 survey did not establish the number of Jews from the FSU in Australia, instead quoting ethnic community leaders, with numbers ranging between 26,000 and 30,000 (Rutland & Gariano, 2005, p. 7). Based on this estimate, supposedly one-third of Australian Jews were from the FSU; yet this is not the case, as discussed in Chapter One. The survey found that compared to the other Jewish groups, Jews from the FSU earned the lowest average incomes, scored the lowest on a scale of religiosity, and were the least connected to the Australian Jewish community (2005, pp. vi-vii). Scholars Suzanne Rutland and Antonio Gariano conclude, however, that ‘[o]verall, the survey indicated a strong support for maintaining Jewish identity and an increase in Jewish practice from Jews from the FSU and Israelis since arriving in Australia’ (2005, p. viii). Yet, they note that ‘the survey is biased

towards Jews that are active and/or committed members of the Jewish community and that therefore care should be taken in interpretation of the data' (2005, p. vi).

Addressing research gaps

This thesis addresses several gaps in the literature summarised above. Until the 1990s, there were reliable sources about the number of Jews from the FSU in Australia (Frenkel, 1990, p. 709). Yet, after the second migration wave in the 1990s, their estimated numbers started to inflate (Goldlust, 2001, p. 543; Rutland, 2011, p. 68). This thesis addresses this gap by establishing a two-stage methodology to estimate the number of Jews from the FSU in Australia based on the best available data.

Second, previous research did not systematically analyse the socioeconomic adaptation of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne and did not compare them to other groups. Unlike international studies, Australian research did not mine census data, with the one exception of a limited analysis of the 1996 Census (Goldlust, 2001). This thesis addresses this gap and systematically analyses the available rich data sources about their socioeconomic attainment over time while comparing them to other population groups in Melbourne. In addition, it is not only important to describe their attainments, but also to provide explanations as to why downward or upward mobility occurred. Furthermore, previous studies were undertaken relatively soon after most Jews from the FSU had settled in Australia; this thesis attempts to update these findings two to four decades after their migration.

Third, most previous research did not compare Jews from the FSU in Melbourne to other Jewish groups, this important context to better understand their cultural adaptation is addressed in this thesis. An additional important context is to compare them to other Jewish groups controlled for their religious identification—similar to the approach of the above-

mentioned 2011 New York study which compared them to 'non-Orthodox non-Russian-speaking' Jews (Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012). The 2004 Australian survey of Jews in the Diaspora compared them to other Jewish groups, but did not control for religious identification. The 2004 survey acknowledged that the sample was biased towards Jews that are active and/or committed members of the Jewish community. Jews from the FSU were therefore not only compared to other Jewish groups that had relatively high proportions of religious persons, they were compared so within a biased sample. This thesis controls for religious identification and compares 'like with like' by comparing non-religious and traditional Jews from the FSU with the non-religious and traditional cohorts among other Jewish groups.

One previous review compared Jews from the FSU in Australia to their peers in other countries but was limited to those who migrated in the 1970s (Goldlust & Taft, 1992). This thesis attempts to update some of these findings by comparing Jews from the FSU who settled in the 1970s and 1990s in Melbourne to their peers in the United States and Israel. Unlike the previous comparative review and in line with more recent international studies, in this thesis I undertake a primary analysis of international survey datasets and compare them to the Gen17 survey. This makes it possible to compare similar variables measuring the religious and ethnic identity of migrants from the FSU in different local contexts on three continents.

Fifth, previous Australian research did not examine the impact of the local context on adult Jews from the FSU who were partly or wholly socialised in Melbourne, unlike international studies. This thesis addresses this gap and controls for age at migration to examine the

socioeconomic and cultural adaptation of those who were socialised in Melbourne compared to those who were not, and relative to other groups.

Only one previous research study undertook a participant observation of the Russian-speaking Jewish community in Australia (Frenkel, 1987). Yet, this research was before the larger migration in the 1990s. This thesis addresses this gap and attempts to provide an overview and better understanding of the community that Jews from the FSU have built in Melbourne by using the methods of participant observation and life stories interviews. Previous research at times interviewed leaders of Russian-speaking clubs and organisations, while the focus in this thesis is to interview a broader range of migrants from the FSU about their settlement experiences.

Finally, previous research usually did not mine the rich international archival holdings about Jews from the FSU in Australia. The exception is the 2014 PhD by Taft, but her study focused on the Australian humanitarian visas in the 1970s. This thesis examines four international archival holdings, containing many documents that were not discussed in previous research. This made it possible, among other benefits, to offer an overview of the visas under which migrants from the FSU arrived in Australia, discuss the demographics and skills of those who migrated to Australia, supplement findings about their earlier socioeconomic and cultural adaptation, and present a broader perspective of how their migration to Australia came to be, as well as the conflicts within the Australian Jewish community that accompanied it, as discussed in Chapter Four, *Mutually Broken Expectations*.

Chapter outline

This thesis is divided into two parts: Part I addresses socioeconomic adaptation and Part II cultural adaptation. Part I has three chapters. Chapter One examines the demographics of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne. I discuss the visas under which they migrated, analyse their number in Australia, and examine their age structure in Melbourne. Chapter Two examines the socioeconomic distribution of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne over the past four decades. Chapter Three examines the lower socioeconomic distribution of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne explained by three interrelated general factors and four occupation-specific factors using two case studies: engineers and physicians. In addition, the factors that contributed to lower occupational attainment for the older age group from the FSU are contrasted with factors that contributed to a higher socioeconomic status for the younger age group.

Part II has four chapters. Chapter Four examines the shifting relationships and expectations between Jewish communities and migrants from the FSU. Chapter Five examines how Jews from the FSU adapted their religious identity in Melbourne. This is undertaken by analysing their religious identity comparatively in three ways: vertically, in relation to their upbringing; horizontally, to their local Jewish communities; and globally, to their peers in other countries. Chapter Six analyses the Jewish ethnic belonging of migrants from the FSU as compared to other Jewish groups. Finally, Chapter Seven examines the communities Jews from the FSU have built in Melbourne and their participation in existing Jewish communities.

PART I: SOCIOECONOMIC ADAPTATION

Chapter 1: Demographics of Jews from the Former Soviet Union in Melbourne

This chapter examines the demographics of Jews from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) who settled in Melbourne between 1975 and 1999. To explore their demographics, I divide the chapter into four section. First, to set the context, I describe the Australian humanitarian intake from the Second World War to the 1970s. Then I discuss the visas under which Jews migrated to Australia from the FSU. Third, I analyse the number of Jews from the FSU who arrived in Australia between 1975 and 1999, and their current number based on the 2016 Census. Lastly, I examine the age structure of Jews from the FSU who settled in Melbourne.

According to the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), 'Australia is one of the world's most generous contributors to international refugee resettlement efforts, successfully settling more than 880,000 refugees and others in humanitarian need since the end of the Second World War' (2019a, p. 3). In addition to assisting refugee resettlement from Europe post-war, Australia viewed humanitarian migrations as an opportunity to receive a large-scale migrant intake, which it welcomed for two interrelated reasons: to increase its population to a number deemed capable of defending the country, and to increase its labour force, viewed as essential for building a prosperous society without unemployment (Appleyard, 2001, p. 62; Jordens, 2001, p. 65; Rivett, 2001, p. 831; York, 2003, p. 2). To facilitate large-scale migration, Australia established its first Ministry of Immigration in 1945 (Karlsen, Phillips, & Koleth, 2011, p. 2; Phillips, Klapdor, & Simon-Davies, 2010, p. 4).

In 1947, Australia became one of the signatories of the International Refugee Organization, under which it settled 170,700 displaced European refugees between 1947 and 1953

(Rivett, 2001, p. 831). In 1954, Australia ratified the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Karlsen, Phillips, & Koleth, 2011, p. 2; Phillips, Klapdor, & Simon-Davies, 2010, p. 4). The 1951 Convention defines a refugee as any person who

> owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010, p. 14)

Following the ratification of the 1951 Convention in 1954, Australia accepted an estimated 126,400 overwhelmingly European humanitarian migrants between 1954 and 1975 (Phillips, 2017, p. 2; Rivett, 2001, p. 831; York, 2003, p. 135).

Before 1977, Australia's humanitarian migration policy was not clearly defined. The former Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2007-2013) stated that 'Australia's approach to refugee resettlement was largely to respond to specific international events as they arose' but that the 'Indochinese refugee crisis prompted the government of the time to introduce a clear refugee policy and administrative machinery in 1977' (2009, p. 21). In addition, before 1980 Australia did not have a clearly defined humanitarian program for persons who did not fit the 1951 Convention definition of refugee. Historian Jessica Taft argues that it was 'the Soviet Jewish migration phenomenon and the resulting SHP [Special Humanitarian Program] entry program to Australia [that] altered Australian overseas refugee policy' (2014, p. 7).[9] Australia had two reasons not to consider Soviet Jews as refugees based on

[9] Taft wrote her 2014 PhD thesis about Australia's SHP for the entry of Soviet Jews.

the definition of the 1951 Convention, but rather as 'quasi-refugees' (McPherson, 1977). First, Australia had doubts whether Soviet Jews were discriminated against as a group, second, Soviet Jews had valid travel documents for Israel. Ian Lindenmayer, First Assistant Secretary in charge of Intake at the then Australian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIEA), wrote in 1979 to the newly appointed Minister of the DIEA, Ian Macphee, explaining the Soviet Jewish migration in the following way:

> There is some doubt about whether Soviet Jews strictly meet the definition of a refugee. In particular, whether they as a group (as distinct from some dissident individual Jews) have a "well-founded fear of persecution …" in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, Australia has acted generously and flexibly in deciding to relax entry criteria for them. Moreover, unlike many refugees, they all have (in Israel) another country willing – indeed eager – to resettle them. They leave the USSR [Union of Soviet Socialist Republics] with travel documents validated for Israel, where they have the offer of permanent settlement and full integration. In seeking resettlement in the West they are motivated essentially by family reunion or economic/career considerations.

As mentioned by Lindenmayer, Soviet Jews' refugee status was not always recognised because of their distinctive emigration process. Until the end of 1980s, the Soviet state opposed the emigration of any of its citizens (Gitelman, 2016, p. 9). In the preceding decade, however, the Soviet Union tried to rid itself of dissenters, leading to roughly 291,000 Jews and their relatives emigrating between 1970 and 1988 (Gitelman, 2016, p. 9; Tolts, 2016, p. 24). As mentioned in the introduction, Soviet Jews could apply for exit visas after receiving Israeli *vyzovy*. Those who emigrated had to renounce their Soviet citizenship and became stateless. In the terminology of the 1951 Convention quoted above, they found themselves 'not having a nationality and being outside the country of [their] former habitual residence' (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010, p. 14). They would usually travel to Vienna, where the Jewish Agency for Israel organised flights to Israel. In Israel they were

automatically eligible for citizenship based on its Law of Return. Many Soviet Jews, however, chose to immigrate to countries other than Israel. Between 1970-1988 only about three-fifths (57%) migrated to Israel (Tolts, 2016, p. 24). Those who did not immigrate to Israel were transferred by the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) to Rome, where they received temporary asylum but remained stateless. In Rome, HIAS referred their applications to embassies of the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

In the 1970s, the Australian government responded to specific international humanitarian events as they arose by operating special ad-hoc programs under which it was possible for Soviet Jews to immigrate to Australia. The DIEA stated that '[r]eflecting its humanitarian concern, Australia operates a number of special programs to help people who are not refugees but whose individual circumstances warrant sympathy. Under these programs normal migration criteria are relaxed' (1978, p. 28). Under the auspices of such a special program, Australia permitted Soviet Jews to enter from 1974.

Australian humanitarian visas devised for Jews from the FSU

The Soviet Jewish Program was established in December 1974 after the Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare Societies (FAJWS) successfully approached the Minister of the then Department of Labor and Immigration, Clyde Cameron, who agreed to accept 80 Soviet Jewish families from Rome (Barclay, 1977). Eventually the Program expanded into larger numbers of Soviet Jews immigrating to Australia in proportion to the rate of emigration from the Soviet Union. As discussed in the previous section, those arriving under the Program were not recognised as refugees but as 'quasi-refugees'. This meant that they were not eligible for government benefits provided to refugees and that their visa sponsors were

required to sign maintenance guarantees for women and men aged 50 and over and 55 and over, respectively (Lindenmayer, 1979).

In 1980, during intensive negotiations between the FAJWS and the Australian government, the group specific SHP was introduced as a new refugee sub-category that superseded the Soviet Jewish Program (Taft, 2014, p. 6; Weatherstone, 1980). Being included under a group specific SHP meant that Soviet Jews became eligible for government benefits provided to refugees and maintenance guarantees were no longer required. A letter about Soviet Jews from the DIEA to the Australian migration offices in Rome and Vienna explained that the group specific SHP 'was established to meet the needs of groups and individuals in refugee-type situations who are unable to meet the strict international accepted refugee definitions, but to whom – for humanitarian or other reasons – the Australian Government wishes to offer resettlement opportunities' (Weatherstone, 1980). In 1981, the group specific SHP was superseded by the 'Global SHP', the criteria of which were identical to the former (Taft, 2014, p. 6). Few Soviet Jews immigrated to Australia under the SHP, because the Soviet Union once more severely restricted their emigration in the 1980s. Only 16,400 Soviet Jews and their relatives were allowed to emigrate between 1981 and 1986, after the relationship between the Soviet Union and the West deteriorated following the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Gitelman, 2016, p. 10).

In 1989, Soviet Jews and their relatives could once again emigrate in large numbers. That year, 72,000 did; about four-fifths (78%) of them migrated to the United States (Tolts, 2016, p. 24). That same year, the United States Attorney General ruled that Soviet Jews should not be granted refugee status because they were no longer considered to have credible fear of persecution (Gitelman, 2016, p. 9). Australia soon followed the United States, ruling from

1990 that Soviet Jews were not eligible for the SHP; in its place, a direct route from Moscow for family reunion migration was opened in June that year (Benjamin, 1998, p. 296). Several hundred Soviet Jews who were already in Rome became ineligible for the SHP. After a successful approach by the FAJWS, in March 1990 the Australian government devised the humanitarian visa subclass 207 Soviet Concession especially for those in Rome. A criterion of visa subclass 207 was that in order to be eligible 'the application for the visa [had to have] the support of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society and the Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare Societies' (Migration Regulations, 1990, § 107A(e)). Visa subclass 207 was repealed in August 1994 (DSS, 2018a).

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991, many Jews from the FSU who previously settled in Australia wanted to be reunited with their families who had stayed behind. After yet another successful approach by the FAJWS, Australia recognised Jews in the FSU as a discriminated ethnic minority, and in February 1992 devised the humanitarian visa subclass 210 Minorities of Former USSR under the newly established Special Assistance Category (SAC) (Migration Regulations, 1992, § 107F). The SAC was introduced in 1991 for 'those who, while not meeting the Refugee or Special Humanitarian criteria, are nonetheless in situations of discrimination, displacement or hardship. Most SACs require proposers of applicants to be close family members resident in Australia' (Rivett, 2001, p. 832). Visa subclass 210 was devised for ethnic minorities of the FSU that included Jews and Molokans (a Russian religious sectarian community) (House of Representatives, 1992, p. 248; Slivkoff, 2006). For visa subclass 210, the only applications considered were those supported in writing by 'the Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare Societies or an organisation that is accepted by the Minister as representing the Molokan community in Australia' (Migration Regulations, 1992, § 107F(e)). From June 1997, Jews from the FSU were not considered a

discriminated minority and were no longer eligible for visa subclass 210, with the exception of a limited number of Jews from the Commonwealth of Independent States who could apply for the 1997-98 migrant intake (Benjamin, 1998, pp. 296-297). Visa subclass 210 was eventually repealed from the SAC in July 1999 (DSS, 2018b). Historian Suzanne Rutland similarly remarks that the number of Jews migrating to Australia from the FSU has greatly decreased since 1997, because most no longer qualify for the humanitarian programme (2005, p. 140). Between 1990 and 1999, 1.267 million Jews and their relatives emigrated from the FSU, of whom about two-thirds (65%) settled in Israel, about one-fifth (18%) in the United States, and one in ten (10%) in Germany (Tolts, 2016, p. 24).

Number of Jews migrating to Australia from the FSU: 1975-1999

There has been a lack of clarity about the number of Jews from the FSU who settled in Australia between 1975 and 1999. Rutland noted in 2011 that the total number of Jews who have migrated to Australia from the FSU 'remains unclear' (p. 68). Uncertainty arises primarily because ethnic community leaders tend to overestimate the number of persons in their ethnic groups. The country's leading demographer in the 1990s, Charles Price, observed that while 'estimates produced by ethnic leaders in Australia' can be helpful, they 'are sometimes greatly exaggerated' (2001, p. 81).

In 2017, for example, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that 'Down Under, the Zionist Federation of Australia has implemented its Kangarusski program, aimed at the country's 40,000 Russian-speaking Jews' (Amouyal, 2017). The assumption that there are 40,000 Russian-speaking Jews in Australia means that supposedly one-third of Australian Jews are from the FSU. By exaggerating the numbers to this point, community leaders create expectations that could never be met. For example, as Jews from the FSU only comprise about one-quarter of

the number expected by the Zionist Federation of Australia (ZFA), it may perceive that three-quarters have supposedly been 'lost' to Jewish communities and have chosen not to participate in ZFA activities, rather than recognising that their numbers are much smaller.

Australian scholars have also overestimated the number of Jews from the FSU in Australia, ranging from 14,000 to 30,000. In 1997 Rutland estimated this number at 14,000-15,000 (p. 393). Sociologist John Goldlust estimated it at 18,000-20,000 in 2001 (p. 543). In 2005 and in 2011, Rutland revised her estimation and quoted ethnic community leaders, with numbers ranging between 26,000 and 30,000 (Rutland, 2011, p. 68; Rutland & Gariano, 2005, p. 7). After reading an early version of my findings, however, Goldlust has accepted my numbers, stating that 'it is unlikely that the total number of former Jews (including non-Jewish spouses and children) who have settled in Australia since the 1970s could have reached much above 12,000' (2016, p. 158). Rutland has since similarly stated that 'Gruzman gives the total number of Russian-speaking Jews migrating to Australia between 1973 and 1997 as 12,000, although some earlier estimates, based mostly on hearsay, put the number at a much higher level of between 20,000 and 30,000' (2017, p. 229).

What follows is a discussion of how I derive the estimated number of Jews and their relatives from the FSU who settled in Australia between 1975 and 1999 at 12,000-13,000. This estimate includes all those who migrated to Australia from the FSU on the visas here discussed, although some of their spouses were not Jewish (an issue discussed below). My estimates are derived by triangulation using both quantitative and qualitative methods. First, I analyse data available from the DHA and the 2006 Australian Census. Then I provide further support for my estimates using unpublished documents from the National Archives of Australia (NAA) and the Jewish Care Victoria Archives (JCVA).

The DHA publishes the number of permanent immigrants settling in Australia annually. Between 1975 and 1999, 27,827 persons from the FSU, including non-Jews, settled in Australia (DHA, 2019b). The question remains as to what proportion of that number were Jewish. The 2006 Census, which is undertaken by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), is the best available data for estimating the proportion of Jews among immigrants from the FSU who arrived between 1975 and 1999. The census has an optional question that asks respondents their religion, which can then be cross tabulated with year of arrival. The census, however, has limitations. As the religion question is optional, many choose not to answer, while others indicate 'no religion'. The proportion of Jews who did not indicate a religion is unknown and needs to be estimated. This can be done by assuming that the proportion of Jews and non-Jews from the FSU who did not indicate a religion is similar. Adding the number of those who indicated their religion as Judaism and the estimated number of Jews who did not indicate one makes it possible to estimate the proportion of Jewish immigrants from the FSU that arrived in Australia between 1975 and 1999, as discussed below.

The 2006 Census indicates that 18,822 persons from the FSU arrived in Australia between 1975 and 1999 and were still in the country (Table 2). Jews from the FSU arrived in Australia primarily in two waves, between 1976-81 and 1988-98. Of the total, 5,875 indicated their religion as Judaism (31%), 5,332 did not indicate a religion (28%) and 7,610 indicated a religion other than Judaism (41%).

Table 2: Migrants from the FSU by year of arrival and by religion in Australia in 2006

Arrived	**Judaism**	**Religion not indicated**	**Non-Jewish religions**	**Total**
1975	80	57	41	**181**
1976	123	62	68	**251**
1977	169	70	59	**294**
1978	204	119	53	**381**
1979	508	210	75	**792**
1980	327	162	97	**586**
1981	165	72	58	**295**
1982	43	31	53	**133**
1983	18	24	49	**91**
1984	16	26	45	**85**
1985	21	19	61	**105**
1986	44	30	33	**109**
1987	53	42	77	**174**
1988	161	105	104	**364**
1989	563	280	204	**1,046**
1990	446	244	252	**936**
1991	504	360	422	**1,283**
1992	781	793	704	**2,284**
1993	371	417	541	**1,328**
1994	483	548	721	**1,753**
1995	257	397	726	**1,382**
1996	238	431	882	**1,548**
1997	125	309	676	**1,115**
1998	117	268	735	**1,119**
1999	48	259	879	**1,191**
Total	**5,875**	**5,332**	**7,610**	**18,822**
%	*31%*	*28%*	*41%*	***100%***

Source: 2006 Australian Census; 'Religion not indicated' includes: 'No Religion', 'Supplementary codes' and 'Not stated'; numbers do not add up because the ABS randomly adjusts cell values for confidentiality reasons.

Most important for this analysis is to estimate the proportion of Jews who did not indicate a religion in the census. It is assumed that those who indicated a religion other than Judaism are not Jewish. Of those who indicated a religion, 44% indicated Judaism (5,875/(5,875+7,610)) and 56% indicated a religion other than Judaism. By assuming similar proportions, it can be inferred that an additional 2,346 people (44% of 5,332) were Jews who did not indicate a religion in the census. Combining those numbers (5,875+2,346) results in 8,221 Jews, or 44% of the total (8,221/18,822).

The census provides a smaller number compared to the DHA statistics because some migrants who are included in the latter have since re-migrated or deceased. The census also undercounts all persons, primarily as a result of people who do not complete the form, and those who are overseas on census night. To provide a more accurate population count, the ABS produces the Estimated Resident Population (ERP), which uses two main components to adjust for the census undercount: a Post Enumeration Survey and an estimate of the number of Australian Residents Temporarily Overseas based on departure and arrival passenger cards. ERP adjustment is further discussed and applied in the following section. The proportion of Jews in the census therefore needs to be applied to the DHA number of 27,827 persons from the FSU. This calculation (0.44*27,827) indicates that 12,000-13,000 Jews and their relatives from the FSU arrived in Australia between 1975 and 1999.

My estimate is further supported by unpublished documents from the NAA and the JCVA. Under the Soviet Jewish Program and later SHP, 4,668 immigrants settled in Australia between the 1974-75 and 1980-81 financial years, 86% of the total migration from the FSU in that period (Table 3). The number is further corroborated by several sources reporting that during the first migration wave, between the 1970s and early 1980s, about 5,000 Soviet Jews and their relatives settled in Australia (Rivett, 2001, p. 830; W. D. Rubinstein, 1991, pp. 68-9; Rutland, 1997, p. 364; Steinkalk, 1982, p. 32).

Table 3: Government sources of total FSU settler arrivals in Australia and Jewish FSU arrivals; 1974-75 to 1980-81

Financial Year	**DHA - Published**	**DIEA - Unpublished**	**Difference**	**Percent**
	Total FSU	*Soviet Jewish*	*DHA - DIEA*	*Soviet Jewish*
1974-75	281	118	163	42%
1975-76	481	338	143	70%
1976-77	533	437	96	82%
1977-78	705	577	128	82%
1978-79	828	902	-74	-
1979-80	1,859	1,777	82	96%
1980-81	712	519	193	73%
Total	**5,399**	**4,668**	**731**	**86%**

Source: DHA, 2019b; Lindenmayer, 1980; Simington, 1981; "Soviet Jews Visaed," 1977. In 1978-79 the discrepancy is most probably because DHA and DIEA registered some migrants in different financial years.

There are no sources available for the number of Soviet Jews who migrated to Australia in 1990 on visa subclass 207 Soviet Concession. An *Australian Jewish Times* (AJT) article from 1989, however, reported that '[m]ore than 300 Soviet Jews are stranded in Rome waiting for clearance from the Australian Immigration Department' ("Soviet Jews in Rome," 1989, p. 7). I estimate the number of Soviet Jews and their relatives arriving under visa subclass 207 was not more than a couple of hundred.

Under visa subclass 210 Minorities of Former USSR, a total of 3,992 persons migrated to Australia between 1992 and 1998, of whom almost all were Jews and their relatives (Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2015). The Settlement Database (SDB) of the Department of Social Services (DSS) contains records of people who had been granted an Australian visa from 1991. The SDB, however, recorded 'Russian Jewish' ethnicity only from 1993, not from 1992, and indicates that 3,160 Jews and their relatives from the FSU migrated to Australia under visa subclass 210 between 1993 and 1998, with the median year of arrival being 1994. In addition to those who arrived under visa subclass 210, in the 1990s a couple of thousand arrived under non-humanitarian visas. Adding the numbers, approximately 6,000 settled in Australia in the early 1990s. This is corroborated by Rutland,

who in 1997 stated that of the Russian-speaking Jews in Australia, '5,500 arrived between 1992 and 1996' (p. 393).

From a number of sources it can thus be estimated that 12,000-13,000 Jews and their relatives from the FSU settled in Australia between 1975 and 1999. Adding those who settled in Australia under the various humanitarian visas devised for Jews from the FSU, about 5,000 did so in the 1970s and about 4,000 in the 1990s, a total of approximately 9,000, which means that about three-quarters migrated under the humanitarian stream (Table 5). In addition, in the 1980s and 1990s about 3,000 Jews and their relatives from the FSU settled in Australia under the non-humanitarian family and skilled migration streams. I estimate that about 2,000 arrived under the family stream and about 1,000 under the skilled stream. My estimates are supported by a 1997 survey undertaken by Inna Zaitseva about the adaptation of Jews from the FSU who settled in Melbourne in the 1990s, which found that only about one in ten (8%) migrated under the skilled stream (Zaitseva, 1997, p. 27).[10]

Between 1975 and 1999, about three-fifths of Jews from the FSU settled in Melbourne and two-fifths in Sydney (Table 5). In the 1970s, about half settled in Melbourne and half in Sydney (Rutland, 1997, p. 364; Steinkalk, 1982, p. 32). Anthropologist Anna Frenkel reported in 1990 that 'some 6,000 [Soviet Jews] were admitted as permanent settlers to Australia, divided almost equally between Sydney and Melbourne' (p. 709).[11] In the 1990s, about two-thirds settled in Melbourne and about one-third in Sydney. A report by the SDB from 1999 available at the JCVA shows that between 1992 and 1998, 2,587 persons who arrived under visa subclass 210 settled in Melbourne, about two-thirds (65%) of the total (Table 4).

[10] Zaitseva wrote her 1997 Honours thesis about the adaptation of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne.
[11] Frenkel wrote her 1987 PhD thesis about the adaptation of Soviet Jews in Australia.

Table 4: Visa subclass 210 Minorities of Former USSR in Melbourne; 1992-98

Visa subclass 210 Minorities of Former USSR	**Number of visas issued**
1992	800
1993	501
1994	675
1995	300
1996	198
1997	83
1998	30
Total	**2,587**

Source: "Settlement Database," 1999

Overall, an estimated 7,000 Jews and their relatives from the FSU settled in Melbourne between 1975 and 1999 and 5,000 in Sydney, with a few hundred in other cities (Table 5). Rodney Benjamin, previously President of the Australian Jewish Welfare and Relief Society (AJWRS), similarly noted in 1998 that the number of assisted Jews from the FSU in Melbourne 'has totalled some 7000' (p. 297).

Table 5: Estimated numbers of Jews and their relatives from the FSU who migrated to Australia by migration wave and migration stream; 1975-1999

Year of arrival	**Visa stream**	**Melbourne**	**Sydney**	**Australia**	**% Australia**
1975-1985	Total	2,500	2,500	5,000	-
1986-1999	Total	4,500	2,500	7,000	-
1975-1999	Humanitarian	5,000	4,000	9,000	75%
	Family	1,300	700	2,000	17%
	Skilled	700	300	1,000	8%
	Total	**7,000**	**5,000**	**12,000**	**100%**

Although about 9,000 Australian humanitarian visas were granted to Jews from the FSU, not all who migrated under those visas self-identified as Jewish, because a number of them had non-Jewish spouses. Non-Jewish spouses often migrated with their children and parents, who would not self-identify as Jewish either. I estimate that in the 1970s about one in ten spouses were non-Jewish, while in the 1990s this number ranged between one-quarter and one-third. This is further discussed in Chapter Four, *Mutually Broken Expectations*.

Number of Jews from the FSU in Australia in 2016

The current number of Jews from the FSU in Australia can be expected to be lower because some have since re-migrated or died; from 2000 their immigration to Australia has notably decreased. Based on the 2016 Census, of Jews from the FSU who lived in Australia in 2016, 593 arrived between 2000 and 2016. They are under enumerated in the census, however, and I estimate that about 1,200 arrived in Australia during that period, as discussed below.

What follows is a discussion of how I derive my estimate that 10,100 Jews from the FSU lived in Australia in 2016, of whom 6,400 were in Melbourne and 3,300 in Sydney, with a few hundred in other cities. The 2016 Census indicates that of those who arrived in Australia after 1970, 5,046 were born in the FSU and indicated their religion as Judaism; of these, 3,190 lived in Victoria and 1,678 in New South Wales (NSW). Yet, the census under enumerates Jews, especially Jews from the FSU, because an unknown proportion did not indicate a religion. More Jews were under enumerated in the 2016 Census compared to other census years, but this is an issue that is outside of scope of this thesis (see Gruzman, forthcoming).

To estimate the number of Jews in Australia, I developed a two-stage methodology based on concentrated populations and the ERP. Although the proportion of Jews from the FSU who did not identify as Jewish in the census is unknown, an approximation can be established based on Local Government Areas (LGAs) where their population is highly concentrated. Jews from the FSU in Australia mainly live in areas of Jewish concentration. The 2016 Census indicates that 6,443 persons from the FSU who arrived after 1970 lived in the Victorian LGAs of Glen Eira, Port Phillip and Bayside, and in the NSW LGA of Waverley. Of those, only about one-fifth (19%) indicated a religion other than Judaism and are not considered Jewish. Of the remaining about four-fifths (81%) who could possibly be Jewish,

46% (more than half) indicated their religion as Judaism, and 35% did not indicate a religion. It can be assumed that also some of the latter are Jewish. Since about 2.5 times more persons from the FSU identified as Jewish (46%) compared to non-Jewish (19%), the proportion of those not indicating a religion (35%) can function as a proxy with a large measure of reliability for Jews from the FSU not indicating a religion in those LGAs. Furthermore, because about three-fifths (58%) of Jews from the FSU in Australia who indicated their religion as Judaism (n=5,046) lived in those LGAs (n=2,927), the proportion of those who did not indicate a religion in those areas can therefore be generalised to all Jews from the FSU in Australia. The generalisation is a conservative approach because higher proportions of Jews living in LGAs with the highest Jewish concentration would have indicated their religion as Judaism in the census compared to Jews living in more diverse LGAs. Based on the above calculation, adjustment factors can be established to account for those who did not indicate a religion in the census. The adjustment factors for the 2016 Census underenumeration of Jews from the FSU in Australia and Victoria is 35%, in NSW 34%.

In addition to adjustment factors used to account for the underenumeration of Jews in the census, ERP adjustments need to be applied because the census undercounts all persons, as discussed in the previous section. Furthermore, the ERP can be used to adjust specifically for persons from the FSU. Some persons indicate in the census their country of birth as the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics); yet, the census does not have this category and therefore classifies them as 'inadequately described'. As a consequence, this group does not appear in the census as being born in one of the 15 republics from the FSU. The ERP found 'that around 40% of inadequately described countries of birth in the census were attributable to the USSR' (M. Skeggs, ABS, personal communication, December 20, 2018). From 2016, the ERP commenced apportioning those who indicated their country of birth as

the USSR according to the proportion of persons in republics from the FSU. Based on my analysis of the ERP, adjustments can be established to correct for the undercount in the census. The 2016 ERP adjustments for persons from the FSU in Australia is 1.30, for Victoria and NSW 1.31.

Applying both the ERP and adjustment factors to Jews from the FSU in Australia, an estimated 10,100 lived in Australia in 2016, of whom 6,400 were in Victoria and 3,300 in NSW, with a few hundred in other cities (Table 6).

Table 6: Estimated number of Jews from the FSU and ERP and adjustment factors for Australia, Victoria and NSW in 2016

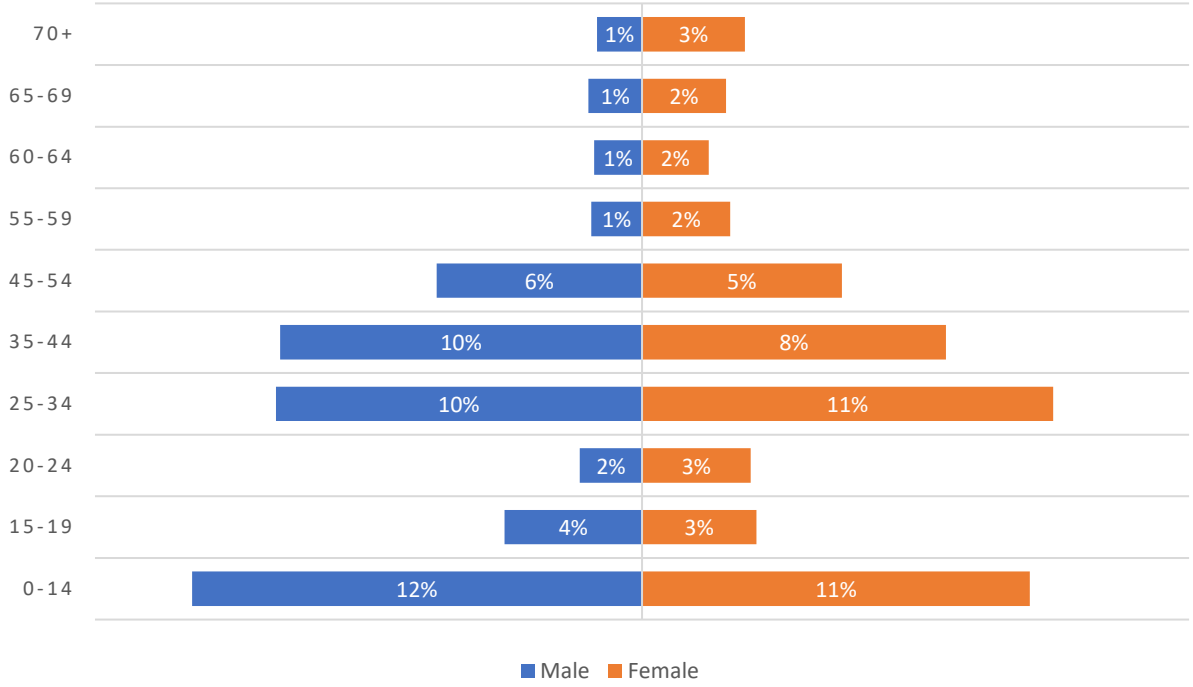
	Victoria	NSW	Australia
Judaism in census	3,190	1,678	5,046
ERP adjustment	1.31	1.31	1.30
Subtotal	4,179	2,198	6,560
*Adjustment factor**	35%	34%	35%
Estimated (rounded)	**6,400**	**3,300**	**10,100**

Source: 2016 Australian Census; * Adjustment factors apply to (previously unknown) estimated number of Jews. Adjustment factors should not be added to the number of Jews indicating their religion as Jewish (e.g. not 6,560+35%=8,856). Instead, the complementary of adjustment factors should be applied to divide the enumerated number of Jews who indicated their religion as Judaism in the census (e.g. 1-35%=0.65 is then applied as 6,560/0.65=10,092; this is equal to 10,092-35%=6,560).

Age structure of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne: 1973 to 2016

This final section examines the age structure of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne by migration wave and based on the 2016 Census. In 1985, Walter Lippmann, then Executive Vice-President of the FAJWS, provided a table with the age structure of Soviet Jews who settled in Melbourne between 1973 and 1983, which was published in Frenkel's 1987 PhD thesis (p. 424). Lippmann's table shows that 2,520 Soviet Jews and their relatives settled in Melbourne in that period. My analysis indicates that their median age was 32; about one-quarter (23%) were under 15, and about another quarter (26%) were 45 or over (Figure 1).

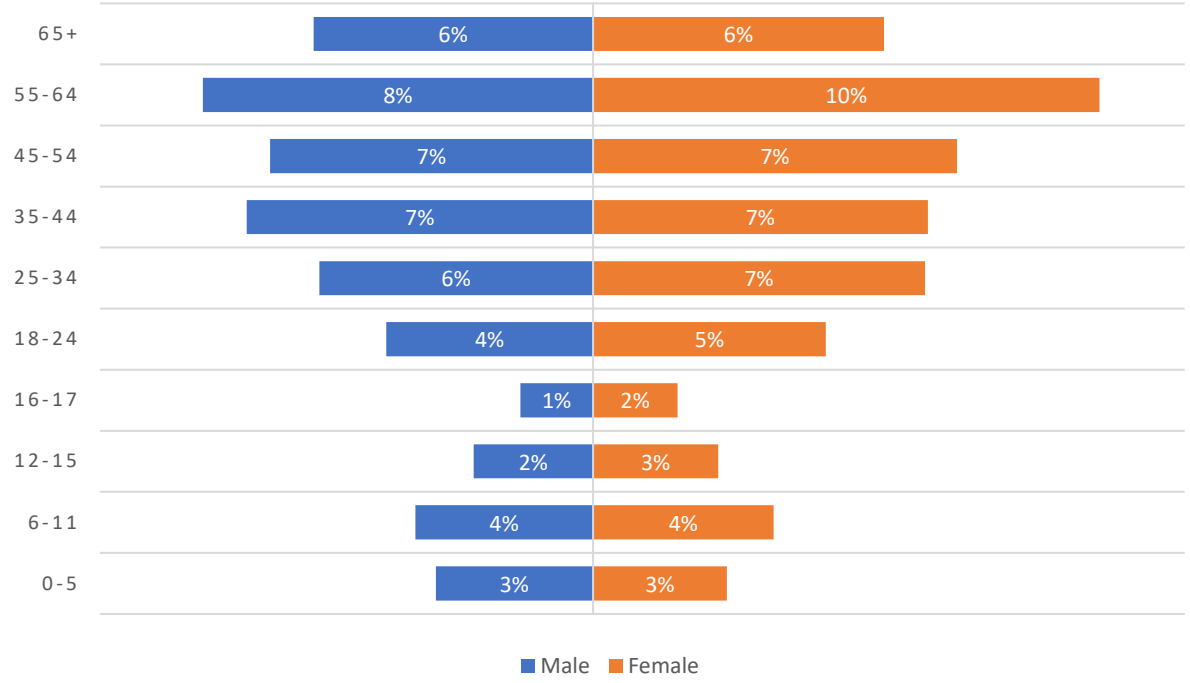
Figure 1: Age structure by gender of Soviet Jews and their relatives who settled in Melbourne; 1973-1983



Source: Frenkel, 1987, p. 424; does not add to 100 because of rounding; n=2,520.

The SDB reports the age structure of 1,694 persons who indicated 'Russian Jewish' ethnicity and who settled in Melbourne between 1993 and 1998. My analysis indicates that they had a considerable older age structure compared to the 1970s: their median age was 40, about one-fifth (18%) were 15 or under, and more than two-fifths (44%) were 45 or over (Figure 2).

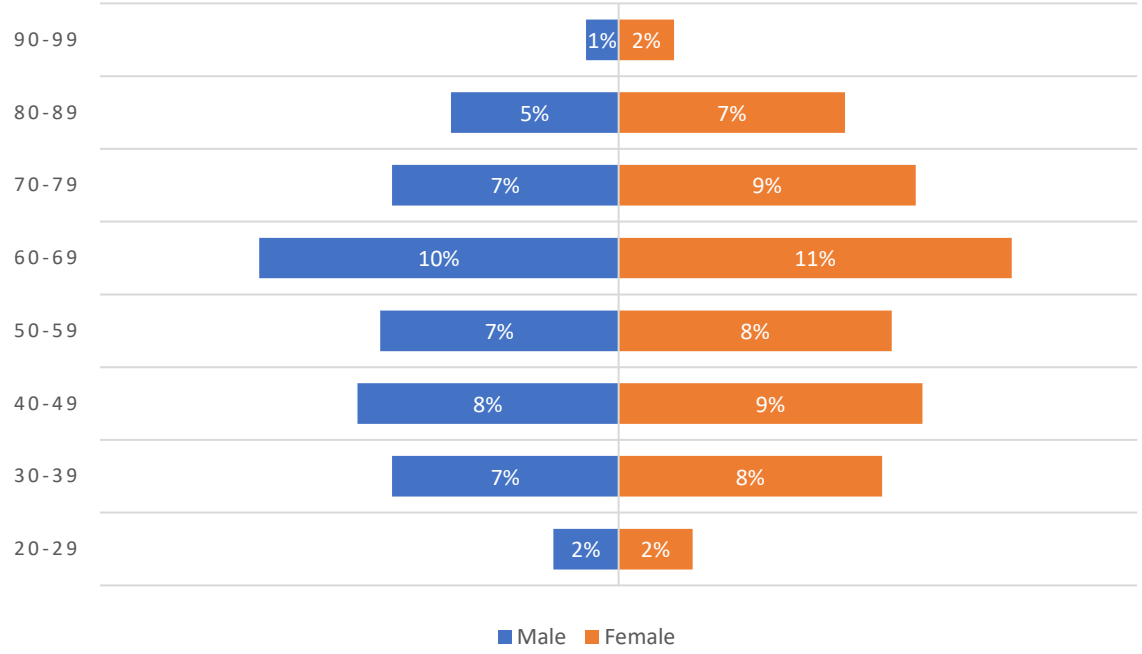
Figure 2: Age structure by gender of Jews and their relatives from the FSU who settled in Melbourne; 1993-98, SDB



Source: DSS, 2017a; does not add to 100 because of rounding; n=1,694.

Analysis of the 2016 Census indicates that at that time Jews from the FSU had an old age structure. The median age of Jews from the FSU who arrived after 1970 and lived in Greater Melbourne was 60, compared to 42 for the total Jewish population and 36 for the total Australian population in Greater Melbourne. Only about one in twenty (4%) Jews from the FSU were aged 29 or under, and more than one-quarter (29%) were 70 or over (Figure 3). Very few were under 20 years of age because from 2000 relatively small numbers of Jews migrated to Australia from the FSU.

Figure 3: Age structure by gender of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne in 2016



Source: 2016 Australian Census; does not add to 100 because of rounding; n=3,176.

In summary, an estimated 12,000-13,000 Jews and their relatives from the FSU arrived in Australia, primarily during two migration waves, 1976-81 and 1988-98. About three-quarters arrived under specially devised humanitarian visas. In 2016, an estimated 10,100 Jews from the FSU lived in Australia, of whom 6,400 were in Victoria and 3,300 in NSW, with a few hundred in other cities. Those who arrived during the first wave and who settled in Melbourne had a median age of 32, while those who arrived in the second wave were considerably older with a median age of 40. By 2016, because of the relatively small numbers of Jews continuing to migrate from the FSU to Australia after 2000, Jews from the FSU in Melbourne had an old age structure, with a median of 60 years.

The following chapter examines the socioeconomic distribution of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne over the past four decades.

Chapter 2: Socioeconomic Distribution

This chapter examines the socioeconomic distribution of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne over the past four decades. Based on government documents, as discussed below, it seems that migrants from the FSU to Australia were less highly skilled than those who went to the United States. Analysis of the 2016 Australian Census indicates that the older generation (45-64 years) from the FSU underwent occupational downgrading and earned a lower median income compared to the Australian-born population. The younger generation (25-44 years), on the other hand, experienced considerable upward economic mobility. The following chapter addresses the possible reasons that contributed to their socioeconomic distribution presented in this chapter.

Discussing the socioeconomic distribution of migrants from the FSU based solely on the latest data two or four decades later does not make it possible to understand the adaptation process that they underwent since first settling in Melbourne. In the 1970s and 1990s, Jewish migrants from the FSU underwent periods of high unemployment rates and many experienced occupational downgrading, which means that they had to find employment in lower skilled occupations for which they were overqualified compared to those they had in the Soviet Union. According to sociologist Larissa Remennick, 'Soviet-trained professionals often perceived their occupational role as the core of their self-image and self-esteem' (2012, p. 332). Those who were previously employed as highly skilled managers and professionals found themselves working as handymen or became perpetually dependent on welfare. As Remennick's informant in Germany, who was 'a sixty-year-old unemployed chemistry professor from Kharkov', stated:

> Every day I make believe that I am still a university professor, but I know that I am fooling myself. . . It's all behind me, now I am no better than any illiterate Turkish laborer working in a construction site. . . In fact I am worse, as he is making his living honestly and I am just a parasite. (2012, pp. 372-3)

Bouts of unemployment and occupational downgrading did not only often have a negative impact on self-esteem, but also contributed to the way in which local Jewish communities perceived the migrants. Exploring the socioeconomic distribution of migrants from the FSU over the past four decades and how they adapted based on the latest data reveals a crucial part of their migration and settlement experiences in Melbourne.

To examine the socioeconomic distribution of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne, I divide this chapter into five sections. First, the educational and occupational distribution of Jews in the Soviet Union is discussed using Soviet statistics from the 1970s and 1989. The description of the socioeconomic distribution over the past four decades in Melbourne is divided into:

- First migration wave in the 1970s
- Second migration wave in the 1990s
- At the time of 2006 Australian Census
- At the time of 2016 Australian Census

I explore the socioeconomic distribution of the first migration wave using survey data and data about the migration to the United States, supplemented with documents from the NAA and the JCVA. For the second migration wave, I provide data from the SDB and the 1996 Australian Census. Lastly, I analyse the migrant's socioeconomic distribution one and two decades later based on the 2006 and 2016 Australian Census.

Socioeconomic distribution in the Soviet Union

Official Soviet statistics from the 1970s and 1989 indicate that Jews had high educational and occupational attainment (human capital). The statistics can serve as an approximation of the socioeconomic distribution of Soviet Jews who emigrated during the first wave in the 1970s and the second one in the 1990s. In 1970, about one-quarter (24%) of Soviet Jews had some form of higher education, compared to far fewer among the total urban population (6%) (Altshuler, 1987, p. 110). Controlling for economically active persons in the Soviet Union in 1970, one-third (33%) of Jews had some form of higher education compared to about one in ten (9%) of the total urban population (Altshuler, 1987, p. 144-6). Similar proportions of economically active Soviet Jewish women (32%) and Jewish men (34%) had some form of higher education. In 1966, about half of Soviet Jewish women (48%) and men (52%) worked as professionals (Altshuler, 1987, p. 155).

According to historian Benjamin Pinkus, Soviet authorities encouraged Jews to concentrate on the natural sciences and scientific research. Jews accounted for 3% of all medical doctors in the Soviet Union in 1978 (Pinkus, 1988, p. 270). Soviet scientific workers were highly differentiated and had various levels of education and expertise. The elite among them were the independent researchers who held scientific degrees of *Kandidat* or *Doktor nauk*. In 1977, the share of Jews among the total independent researchers was high (8%), of *Kandidats* 7% and *Doktors* 12% (Altshuler, 1987, pp. 165-6).

Census statistics indicate that in 1989, too, Jews had high human capital in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). The 1989 RSFSR Census indicates that of those employed in urban regions, a very high proportion of Jews, about two-thirds (64%), had some form of higher education compared to less than one-fifth (17%) of the general RSFSR

population (Sacks, 1998, p. 253). The ten main occupations of employed Jews in the RSFSR in 1989 compared to Russians are shown in Table 7:

Table 7: Ten main occupations of employed Jews in the RSFSR compared to Russians; 1989 RSFSR Census

Ten main occupations	**Jews (%)**	**Russians (%)**
Engineers	16.3	5.1
Physicians	6.3	0.9
Scientific personnel	5.3	0.5
Primary and secondary school teachers	5.2	2.2
Chief production and technical managers	3.3	0.6
Non-manual workers with unspecified specialty	3.1	2.4
Heads of scientific organisations	2.8	0.3
Chief engineering-technical specialists	2.6	0.5
Teachers in universities	2.6	0.4
Metalworkers, fitters, assemblers	2.6	7.2

Source: Sacks, 1998, p. 258

In 1989, the most common occupations for Jews in the RSFSR were engineers (16%), physicians (6%), scientific personnel (5%) and schoolteachers (5%). Similarly, Remennick notes that in Israel the three largest occupational categories among the second wave of migrants from the FSU were engineers, physicians and teachers (2012, p. 76).

Socioeconomic distribution in Melbourne in the 1970s

There are no comprehensive official data sources about the socioeconomic distribution of Soviet Jews who settled in Melbourne in the 1970s. I present the best available data, but it is partial and with limitations. There are two data sources that indicate the socioeconomic distribution of Soviet Jews. First, a survey from 1978 indicates their level of education, unemployment rate, occupational attainment in Melbourne compared to the Soviet Union, and level of satisfaction with their employment in Melbourne. Second, in 1979 the AJWRS presented occupational categories that were based on the Soviet migration to the United States, which were assumed to equally represent the occupational qualifications of Soviet Jews in Melbourne. Based on archival documents from the NAA and the JCVA, however, it

seems that migrants to Melbourne were less skilled than those who went to the United States.

A 1978 survey of Soviet Jews indicates their socioeconomic distribution in the 1970s. Psychologist Elka Steinkalk undertook in 1978 a survey about the adaptation patterns of Soviet Jews in Melbourne.[12] The survey comprised 90% of all Soviet Jewish immigrants aged 30 to 50 who had at least one child aged 12-20 and who settled in Melbourne between 1975 and 1978 (Steinkalk, 1982, pp. 79-82). The survey shows that Soviet Jews were highly educated, with more than half (56%) having a tertiary education (Steinkalk, 1982, p. 84). The survey describes the occupational profile that the migrants had in the Soviet Union and their occupational profile in Melbourne by 1978, indicating a notable occupational downgrading, as presented in Table 8:

Table 8: Occupational profile of Soviet Jews in the Soviet Union and in Melbourne; 1978 survey

Occupation	**Professional**	**Management/ Administration**	**Self employed**	**Clerical**	**Salesman**	**Skilled**	**Unskilled**	**Unemployed**	**Total**
Soviet Union	54%	3%	6%	9%	—	27%	1%	—	**100%**
Melbourne	23%	1%	5%	4%	3%	22%	26%	16%	**100%**

Source: Steinkalk, 1982, p. 84; n=154.

According to the 1978 survey that was limited to those aged 30 to 50, in the Soviet Union more than half (54%) of migrants were employed as professionals and about one-quarter (27%) as skilled labour. In the Soviet Union there was no unemployment because everyone was required to work. In Melbourne, about one-quarter (23%) were employed as professionals, about another quarter (26%) as unskilled labour, and a high proportion (16%) were unemployed. The finding indicates that about one-quarter who had been employed as professionals in the Soviet Union worked as unskilled labour in Melbourne. It is little

[12] Steinkalk wrote her 1982 PhD thesis about the adaptation patterns of Soviet Jews in Melbourne.

wonder, therefore, that in 1978 about two-fifths (43%) of migrants were dissatisfied with their present work (Steinkalk, 1982, p. 121). In 1979, Lippmann reported in the *Melbourne Chronicle* that about one in five (21%) working-age Soviet migrants in Melbourne were unemployed, with many more women being unemployed (including non-working housewives) (29%) compared to men (13%) (1979a, p. 5). In addition to those unemployed in 1979, about one in twenty (6%) working-age Soviet migrants were engaged in retraining or full-time study (Lippmann, 1979a, p. 5).

Geoffrey Green, then President of the AJWRS, published in 1979 what he presented as a proximation of the occupational distribution of Jews in the Soviet Union before migrating to Melbourne between 1974 and 1979. Green explained that the previous occupational distribution of Soviet Jews in Melbourne was not available, and presented instead the occupational profile of Jews in the Soviet Union before migrating to the United States between January and June 1979. Green justified this by assuming that the Soviet migration to Melbourne was a 'microcosm' of the much larger migration to the United States (1979, p. 3). Green's assumption that migrants to Melbourne and the United States had a similar occupational distribution in the Soviet Union before migrating, however, seems not to have been the case, as discussed below. Green's occupational distribution of Jews in the Soviet Union before migrating to the United States is presented in Table 9:

Table 9: Occupational distribution of Jews in the Soviet Union before migrating to the United States; January - June 1979

Occupation	**Male (%)**	**Female (%)**	**Total (%)**	**% of Labour force**
Professionals	10	18	14	24
Humanities	*1.5*	*7.5*	*4.7*	*8*
Social Science	*1.0*	*2.0*	*1.5*	*3*
Medicine	*2.0*	*5.1*	*3.7*	*6*
Sciences	*1.5*	*1.0*	*1.2*	*2*
Arts & Entertainment	*3.3*	*2.0*	*2.5*	*4*
Others	*0.7*	*0.4*	*0.6*	*1*
Engineers	13	5	9	15
Technicians	6	7	6	11
Subtotal				**50**
White Collar – Managerial, Clerical, Sales	2.5	13	8	14
Blue Collar – Machine tools, Brickwork, Structural	18	3	10	17
Service	8	9	9	15
Transportation	3	0.1	1	3
Unskilled	0.3	0.5		
Not listed	0.2	0.4		
Not in labour force	39	44	42	
Children	*7*	*5*	*6*	
Housewives	*-*	*3*	*1*	
Students	*22*	*18*	*20*	
Retired	*10*	*18*	*15*	
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Green, 1979, p. 6; does not add to 100 because of rounding; n=12,630.

Only a limited comparison can be made with Steinkalk's 1978 survey because the occupations are differently classified. According to occupational categories of the Soviet migration to the United States, of those in the labour force, half (50%) were professionals or technicians (including engineers), which is similar to the 1978 survey, and about one-third (35%) were recorded as blue collar, service, and transportation—a mix of semi-skilled and unskilled labour—which is higher than in the 1978 survey (27%). Of the labour force, 15% were qualified as engineers and about one in five (6%) in medicine.

HIAS filtering of Soviet immigrants: Australia compared to the United States

Several government and JCVA documents indicate that it can be assumed that the Soviet migration in the 1970s to Australia was less skilled compared to the United States. Government documents indicate three reasons why fewer highly qualified Soviet migrants settled in Australia. First, it seems that in the 1970s HIAS in Rome tended to refer Soviet migrants with higher occupational and educational qualifications to apply for a visa at the United States Embassy and not to Australia or Canada. Second, in contrast to the United States, in the 1970s Australia had a structurally limited industrial and technological labour market that could not offer appropriate employment to highly skilled migrants. Third, Australia had difficulties in recognising the academic and occupational qualifications of highly educated Soviet migrants. In addition, JCVA documents indicate that in the 1970s the AJWRS discouraged physicians from migrating to Melbourne because their Soviet medical qualifications would not be recognised in Australia unless they undertook extensive retraining. Furthermore, some local Jewish leaders were concerned that the medical retraining would require too much time and in the meantime those migrants might become a financial burden for local Jewish communities.

A Quarterly Narrative Report that was submitted by the Australian Office of the Chief Migration Officer in Rome in July 1978 to the Programme Control and Development Branch of the DIEA in Canberra, Australia, summarised these concerns as follows:

> We have suspected, and in fact partly confirmed, that the Jewish agency here, HIAS, has tended to refer cases with less occupational or educational qualifications to us and Canada and those with more substantial qualifications to the U.S.A. authorities. We have spoken to HIAS about this and have reminded them of the value of giving us a more representative pattern of referrals while at the same time acknowledging that

> our industrial, technological and employment situation in Australia would not be able to accommodate the same range of abilities and experience as the U.S.A.

In the Quarterly Narrative Report there is further a hand-written comment by Secretary N. Hoffmann that '[w]e should mention this to Mr Lippmann, he may also not be aware of this!'. Hoffmann eventually wrote about their suspicion to Lippmann in August 1978 asking him 'to make some enquiries into the situation.' Lippmann replied to Hoffmann in October 1978 explaining that the primary reason that HIAS referred some Soviet migrants elsewhere was because of the anticipated difficulties in having their high qualifications recognised in Australia. In Lippmann's words:

> I had an opportunity of discussing with my colleagues at HIAS […] As a general comment, we feel that this is too sweeping a statement; there were a few instances in which people with high qualifications were referred elsewhere, primarily because of the feeling that these qualifications would not be recognised in Australia. […] I have conveyed your concern to the social workers at HIAS, and they were glad to learn that Australia would welcome people with high occupational and educational qualifications, and that they would experience no undue barriers in having these qualifications recognised in Australia.

Barbara Benson, Secretary and colleague of Hoffmann, replied to Lippmann in November 1978:

> I am afraid that the HIAS social workers have drawn an incorrect inference if they believe that these highly-qualified personnel "would experience no undue barriers in having these qualifications recognised in Australia". There is a great deal of difficulty in having academic and occupational qualifications from the USSR recognised in Australia, despite the continuing efforts of the Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications.

It seems that HIAS was correct to anticipate that some highly educated Soviet migrants would face difficulties in having their qualifications recognised in Australia, hence referring them to the United States. The difficulties in having overseas qualifications from the FSU

recognised in Australia, especially for physicians, are further discussed in the following subsection and in more detail in the following chapter. In addition, it is probable that many highly skilled Soviet migrants insisted that HIAS refer them to apply for a visa at the United States Embassy, not to Australia. Scholars Yinon Cohen, Yitchak Haberfeld, and Irena Kogan found that in the 1970s and 1980s the most highly educated Soviet Jews chose to migrate to the United States rather than to Israel, and in the 1990s their preference was also the United States rather than Israel or Germany (2011, p. 16). They argue that 'skilled immigrants prefer countries where the returns on skills are higher', like the United States, rather than Australia, especially in the 1970s (2011, p. 16). Even in the 1990s, when the United States imposed restrictions on visas for Jews from the FSU, in contrast to Israel and Germany, Cohen, Haberfeld, and Kogan found that former Soviet Jewish

> skilled immigrants continued to reach the US in greater proportions than Israel or Germany. Apparently, they are not deterred by visa requirements and care less about material assistance. Rather, wage level, labour market flexibility and returns on skills, all of which are higher in the US, appear to be more important for their destination choices. (2011, p. 17)

Physicians

Documents from the JCVA indicate that Soviet Jewish physicians were discouraged from immigrating to Melbourne. H. Fischer, then Secretary of the AJWRS, sent a letter in 1976 to Evi Eller, then Director of HIAS Rome, regarding a Soviet Jewish physician who wished to immigrate but had no close relatives in Melbourne. Fischer wrote that the doctor should request the 'Australian Consulate in Rome to forward curriculum vitae and copies of her degree, as well as all other relevant facts to the Committee for Overseas Qualifications in Canberra'. Fischer's further instructions were:

> If this Committee will consider her academic qualifications to be of a standard equivalent to that of Australian requirements, then and only then should she come to Australia. If this Committee decides that she is unable to work here as a doctor, or as a laboratory assistant, [she] must be willing to accept any other work offered to her. As an Organisation, we have no objection to her settling in Australia, but we think it wise to forewarn [her] as to possibilities for her future here.

Many Soviet physicians were most probably discouraged from immigrating to Melbourne upon receiving forewarnings from the AJWRS that they would most probably not be able to practise medicine. In addition, some members in committees under the AJWRS were concerned about the prolonged financial assistance needed to requalify Soviet physicians. More broadly, they proposed to disseminate information in Rome about the Australian economic recession in 1979 to discourage migrants from applying for a visa to Australia, as they would face difficulties to find employment. An example can be found in the minutes of a meeting the Financial Aid Committee under the AJWRS held in 1979. During that meeting it was proposed to financially assist a Soviet physician who 'need[ed] a thorough knowledge of English in order to re-qualify [and was] attending [a] TAFE [English] course at Latrobe [University]' (Financial Aid Committee, 1979). In the meeting Y. Pushett, then Member of the Financial Aid Committee,

> repeatedly emphasised the need for fuller background information on Russian immigrants, in particular their motivation for coming to Australia, and their expectation of forthcoming financial assistance. Can work expectations be accurate enough to warrant a larger outlay of cash for f.i. [for instance] a doctor than for an unskilled person.

Pushett questioned the 'larger outlay of cash' by the Financial Aid Committee for physicians until they were retrained to practise medicine in Melbourne and proposed a fuller background information on potential Soviet migrants who could become a financial burden

during their retraining. Pushett went a step further and questioned the 'motivation for coming to Australia' of Soviet migrants 'and their expectation of forthcoming financial assistance.' The reluctance of some Jewish community leaders to assist Soviet Jews to immigrate to Melbourne is further discussed in Chapter Four, *Mutually Broken Expectations*. Other members of the Financial Aid Committee defended Soviet Jews and did not consider their motivation for immigration as important, and viewed work for physicians in hospital employment as readily available and with future larger earning capacity. Avram Zeleznikow, Chair of the Financial Aid Committee, saw fit to explain to other Committee Members 'that we want the people [Soviet Jews] to come here [Melbourne]'. Zeleznikow therefore did not favour the choice to forewarn Soviet migrants in Rome about the employment situation in Australia, which might have discouraged them from immigrating to Melbourne. It is not known if the Financial Aid Committee was aware that Fischer had written letters to HIAS in Rome discouraging physicians with no close Australian relatives from immigrating to Melbourne or if such letters were still being sent in 1979.

Socioeconomic distribution in Melbourne in the 1990s

For the 1990s there are two data sources that indicate the educational and occupational attainment of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne: the SDB and the 1996 Census. The SDB provides information about the educational attainment of migrants from the FSU at the time of their visa application during the second migration wave. As discussed in the previous chapter, the SDB represents about three-quarters of all Jews from the FSU who arrived in Australia between 1992-98.

Years of education were recorded in the SDB, with 15 years of education or more representing either a bachelor's degree or higher, or its equivalent. About three-fifths (59%)

of migrants from the FSU in Melbourne who were aged 25 or over and answered the question had 15 years of education or more (Table 10). About three-fifths of women (57%) and men (61%) had 15 years of education or more.

Table 10: 15 years of education or more among Jews from the FSU at time of visa application by age and gender in Melbourne; 1992-98, SDB

15 years of education or more	**Men**	**Women**	**Total**
25-34 years	55%	59%	**57%**
35-44 years	62%	57%	**59%**
45-54 years	70%	59%	**64%**
55-64 years	67%	62%	**64%**
65 years or over	49%	42%	**46%**
Total	**61%**	**57%**	**59%**

Source: DSS, 2017a; n=700.

Socioeconomic data about Jews from the FSU in Australia that included their educational and occupational distribution was extracted by Goldlust from the 1996 Census. In 1996, Jews from the FSU were highly educated, with about two-fifths (41%) holding a bachelor's degree or higher compared to one in ten (10%) of all Australians (Goldlust, 2001, p. 546). The occupational distribution of employed Jews from the FSU in 1996 was: managers and administrators (8%); professionals (28%); technicians and associate professionals (12%); tradespersons and related workers (12%); clerical, sales and service workers (29%); production and transport workers (7%); and labourers and related workers (4%) (Goldlust, 2001, pp. 546-7). More migrants from the FSU were employed as professionals (28%) and as managers and administrators (8%) than in 1978 (23% and 1%, respectively). Based on a 1991 Jewish community survey undertaken in Melbourne, Goldlust found that a very high proportion of Soviet Jews who migrated after 1974 were unemployed (40%), particularly those who arrived between 1988 and 1991 (1993b, pp. 80-1; 2001, p. 546).

Socioeconomic distribution in 2006

The socioeconomic distribution of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne in 2006 is analysed using that year's census data. In contrast to previous data sources, the census offers highly reliable data about socioeconomic distribution, including information about education, labour force participation, unemployment, occupations, and income. The analysis is controlled for Jews from the FSU who settled in Greater Melbourne between 1975 and 1999, and compares them to the socioeconomic distribution of the Australian-born population. The 2006 Census indicates that the occupational attainment of migrants from the FSU only changed slightly from 1996, as presented in Table 11. Compared to 1996, there was a slight increase of professionals (28% to 32%) in 2006 and a slight decrease of clerical, sales and service workers (29% to 26%).

Table 11: Occupational distribution of Jews from the FSU in Australia in 1996 and in Melbourne in 2006

Occupational distribution	**1996 Census**	**2006 Census**
Managers and Administrators	8%	8%
Professionals	28%	32%
Associate Professionals	12%	12%
Tradespersons and Related Workers	12%	12%
Clerical, Sales and Service Workers	29%	26%
Production and Transport Workers	7%	7%
Labourers and Related Workers	4%	3%
Total	**100%**	**100%**

Source: 2006 Australian Census; Goldlust, 2001, pp. 546-7

Two-fifths (40%) of migrants from the FSU had a bachelor's degree or higher in 2006, similar to 1996 (41%). The youngest age group (25-34 years) had the highest proportion of bachelor's degrees or higher (62%), especially women (70%) (Table 12). Higher proportions of Jews from the FSU had a bachelor's degree or higher in all age ranges for both genders (40%) compared to the Australian-born population (24%).

Table 12: Holders of a bachelor's degree or higher among Jews from the FSU by age and gender compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2006

BA degree or higher	**Jews from the FSU (%)**			**Australian-born (%)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
25-34 years	53	70	62	26	37	32
35-44 years	42	50	47	24	28	26
45-54 years	48	43	45	25	25	25
55-64 years	44	35	39	21	18	19
65 years or over	29	26	28	12	7	9
Total	**40**	**39**	**40**	**23**	**25**	**24**

Source: 2006 Australian Census

A similar proportion of Jews from the FSU were not in the labour force (20%) compared to the Australian-born population (18%) (Table 13). In the younger age group (25-44 years), fewer Jewish women from the FSU did not participate in the labour force compared to Australian-born women, but the opposite was the case for the older age group (45-64 years). Likewise, a similar proportion of the younger age group and a slightly higher proportion in the older age group from the FSU were unemployed compared to the Australian-born population.

Table 13: Jews from the FSU not in the labour force and unemployed by age and gender compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2006

Labour force status	**Jews from the FSU (%)**			**Australian-born (%)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
	Not in the labour force					
25-34 years	7	15	11	7	21	14
35-44 years	6	16	11	7	24	16
45-54 years	8	22	16	9	19	14
55-64 years	24	50	37	25	44	35
Total	**11**	**27**	**20**	**10**	**25**	**18**
	Unemployed					
25-34 years	1	3	2	4	3	3
35-44 years	4	4	3	3	3	3
45-54 years	3	6	4	3	2	2
55-64 years	6	5	5	3	1	2
Total	**3**	**4**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**3**

Source: 2006 Australian Census

About twice as many employed migrants from the FSU were business owner managers in all age ranges for both genders (35%) compared to the Australian-born population (18%) (Table 14).

Table 14: Business owner managers among Jews from the FSU by age and gender compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2006

Owner managers	**Jews from the FSU (%)**			**Australian-born (%)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
25-34 years	33	15	24	14	6	11
35-44 years	42	26	35	25	13	19
45-54 years	47	26	38	28	13	21
55-64 years	52	37	45	34	17	26
Total	**44**	**25**	**35**	**23**	**11**	**18**

Source: 2006 Australian Census

Similar proportions of employed migrants from the FSU indicated their occupation as managers (14%) compared to the Australian-born population (15%), but higher proportions were professionals (33% and 26%) (Table 15). Yet there is a difference in the occupational distribution between the younger age group (25-44 years) of migrants from the FSU and the middle-aged group (45-64 years). Much higher proportions of the younger age group were employed as professionals (42%) compared to the middle-aged group (24%), who had higher proportions employed as technicians and trade workers (21%), machinery operators and drivers (10%), community and personal service workers (9%), and as labourers (6%) (Table 16). For the Australian-born population in Melbourne, there was almost no difference in the occupational distribution between age groups.

Table 15: Occupational distribution of Jews from the FSU by gender compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2006

Occupational distribution	**Jews from the FSU (%)**			**Australian-born (%)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Managers	18	10	14	19	11	15
Professionals	28	38	33	23	30	26
Technicians and Trades Workers	23	9	17	22	4	13
Community and Personal Service Workers	4	10	7	4	11	7
Clerical and Administrative Workers	3	16	9	8	29	18
Sales Workers	7	11	9	6	9	8
Machinery Operators and Drivers	12	1	7	10	1	6
Labourers	5	4	4	8	5	6
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: 2006 Australian Census; does not add to 100 because of rounding.

Table 16: Occupational distribution of Jews from the FSU by age and gender in Melbourne in 2006

Occupational distribution	**Aged 25-44 (%)**			**Aged 45-64 (%)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Managers	18	8	13	17	11	15
Professionals	38	47	42	20	29	24
Technicians and Trades Workers	17	8	13	29	12	21
Community and Personal Service Workers	3	6	5	5	15	9
Clerical and Administrative Workers	5	17	11	2	15	8
Sales Workers	9	11	9	5	13	9
Machinery Operators and Drivers	7	1	4	16	1	10
Labourers	3	1	3	6	6	6
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: 2006 Australian Census; does not add to 100 because of rounding.

Migrants from the FSU had a much lower median gross weekly individual income ($350) compared to the Australian-born population ($650) (Table 17). Crosstabulation of age, however, indicates that the median incomes of the older age groups were much lower compared to the Australian-born population, whereas the youngest age group (25-44 years) had a similar median weekly income ($800) compared to the Australian-born population ($750). Women from the FSU and Australian-born ones earned lower median incomes compared to men. The disparity in dollar terms between the median weekly income of women from the FSU ($300) compared to Australian-born women ($475) is substantial, but much smaller than between men from the FSU ($425) and Australian-born men ($850).

Table 17: Median gross weekly individual income of Jews from the FSU by age and gender compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2006

Median weekly income	**Jews from the FSU ($)**			**Australian-born ($)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
25-44 years	950	650	800	925	575	750
45-64 years	600	375	475	925	475	700
65 years or over	225	225	225	375	300	325
Total	**425**	**300**	**350**	**850**	**475**	**650**

Source: 2006 Australian Census

Socioeconomic distribution in 2016

The last socioeconomic distribution analysis of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne is based on the 2016 Census, which is the most recent and best available data. Similar to 2006, the 2016 Census provides data about education, labour force participation, unemployment, occupations, and income. The analysis is controlled for Jews from the FSU who settled in Greater Melbourne between 1975 and 1999, and compares them to the socioeconomic distribution of the Australian-born population. The 2016 Census indicates that the occupational attainment of migrants from the FSU changed slightly from 2006, as presented in Table 18. Compared to 2006, there was an increase of professionals (33% to 38%) in 2016 and a decrease of technicians and trades workers (17% to 11%).

Table 18: Occupational distribution of Jews from the FSU by gender in Melbourne in 2006 and 2016

Occupations	**2006 Census (%)**			**2016 Census (%)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Managers	18	10	14	21	12	17
Professionals	28	38	33	32	45	38
Technicians and Trades Workers	23	9	17	16	7	11
Community and Personal Service Workers	4	10	7	5	11	8
Clerical and Administrative Workers	3	16	9	8	18	13
Sales Workers	7	11	9	7	8	8
Machinery Operators and Drivers	12	1	7	7	0	4
Labourers	5	4	4	3	1	2
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: 2006 and 2016 Australian Census; does not add to 100 because of rounding.

In 2016, close to half (47%) of migrants from the FSU had a bachelor's degree or higher; this is a higher proportion compared to 2006 (40%). The youngest age group (25-34 years) had the highest proportion of bachelor's degrees or higher (68%), especially women (73%) (Table 19). Higher proportions of Jews from the FSU had a bachelor's degree or higher in all age ranges for both genders (47%) compared to the Australian-born population (30%).

Table 19: Holders of a bachelor's degree or higher among Jews from the FSU by age and gender compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2016

BA degree or higher	**Jews from the FSU (%)**			**Australian-born (%)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
25-34 years	65	73	68	32	46	39
35-44 years	55	68	64	31	42	37
45-54 years	48	54	48	26	31	29
55-64 years	45	47	47	26	27	27
65 years or over	36	38	37	20	15	17
Total	**45**	**49**	**47**	**28**	**33**	**30**

Source: 2016 Australian Census

A similar proportion of Jews from the FSU and the Australian-born population were not in the labour force (17% and 16%, respectively) (Table 20). In the younger age group (25-44 years), fewer migrants from the FSU did not participate in the labour force compared to the Australian-born population, and a similar proportion of the middle-aged group (45-64 years). There is a notable increase in labour force participation of the middle-aged group from the FSU in 2016 compared to 2006. As for unemployment, both age groups and genders from the FSU and from Australia had approximately similar unemployment rates (2% to 4%). There is a decrease in unemployment of the middle-aged group from the FSU in 2016 compared to 2006.

Table 20: Jews from the FSU not in the labour force and unemployed by age and gender compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2016

Labour force status	**Jews from the FSU (%)**			**Australian-born (%)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
	Not in the labour force					
25-44 years	5	14	9	8	18	13
45-54 years	10	16	12	10	18	14
55-64 years	20	36	28	22	34	29
Total	**12**	**22**	**17**	**11**	**21**	**16**
	Unemployed					
25-44 years	2	3	3	4	3	4
45-64 years	3	2	3	3	3	3
Total	**4**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**3**	**3**

Source: 2016 Australian Census

About twice as many employed migrants from the FSU in all age ranges for both genders were business owner managers (34%) compared to the Australian-born population (16%) (Table 21). There was a similar proportion of business owner managers from the FSU in 2016 (34%) than in 2006 (35%), although there were lower proportions in the youngest age group (25-34 years) in 2016 (17% compared to 24%).

Table 21: Business owner managers among Jews from the FSU by age and gender compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2016

Owner managers	**Jews from the FSU (%)**			**Australian-born (%)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
25-34 years	24	11	17	12	6	9
35-44 years	44	19	33	21	12	16
45-54 years	49	25	38	26	13	19
55-64 years	55	29	42	29	13	21
Total	**46**	**22**	**34**	**21**	**10**	**16**

Source: 2016 Australian Census

Similar proportions of employed migrants from the FSU indicated their occupation as managers (17%) compared to the Australian-born population (16%), but much higher proportions were professionals (38% and 28%) (Table 22). There is a notable difference in the occupational distribution between the younger age group (25-44 years) of migrants from the FSU and the middle-aged group (45-64 years). Much higher proportions of the

younger age group were employed as professionals (49%) compared to the middle-aged group (31%), who had higher proportions employed as technicians and trade workers (16%), community and personal service workers (11%), machinery operators and drivers (6%), and as labourers (4%) (Table 23). For the Australian-born population, there were no marked differences in the occupational distribution between age groups with the exception of professionals increasing in the younger age group (30%) compared to the middle-aged group (25%). The younger age group from the FSU had much higher proportions of professionals (49%) than the Australian-born population (30%).

Table 22: Occupational distribution of Jews from the FSU by gender compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2016

Occupational distribution	**Jews from the FSU (%)**			**Australian-born (%)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Managers	21	12	17	20	12	16
Professionals	32	45	38	24	33	28
Technicians and Trades Workers	16	7	11	22	4	13
Community and Personal Service Workers	5	11	8	5	12	9
Clerical and Administrative Workers	8	18	13	8	25	16
Sales Workers	7	8	8	6	9	8
Machinery Operators and Drivers	7	0	4	9	1	5
Labourers	3	1	2	7	3	5
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: 2016 Australian Census; does not add to 100 because of rounding.

Table 23: Occupational distribution of Jews from the FSU by age and gender in Melbourne in 2016

Occupational distribution	**Aged 25-44 (%)**			**Aged 45-64 (%)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
Managers	25	11	18	18	12	15
Professionals	41	54	49	25	35	31
Technicians and Trades Workers	10	1	6	21	11	16
Community and Personal Service Workers	1	6	3	6	16	11
Clerical and Administrative Workers	10	19	15	5	16	10
Sales Workers	9	7	8	6	9	7
Machinery Operators and Drivers	3	0	2	12	0	6
Labourers	0	0	0	4	3	4
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: 2016 Australian Census; does not add to 100 because of rounding.

Migrants from the FSU had a much lower median total weekly personal income ($525) than the Australian-born population ($925) (Table 24). Crosstabulation of age, however, indicates that the median incomes of the older age groups were lower compared to the Australian-born population, whereas the youngest age group (25-44 years) had a much higher median weekly income ($1,450) than the Australian-born population ($1,050). The youngest age group from the FSU in 2016 had a higher median income than the Australian-born population compared to 2006. Also in 2016, women from the FSU and those born in Australia earned lower median incomes compared to men. The disparity in dollar terms between the median weekly income of women from the FSU ($475) and of Australian-born women ($725) is substantial, but smaller than between men from the FSU ($700) and Australian-born men ($1,150).

Table 24: Median total weekly personal income of Jews from the FSU by age and gender compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2016

Median weekly income	**Jews from the FSU ($)**			**Australian-born ($)**		
	Men	*Women*	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Total*
25-44 years	1,600	1,125	1,450	1,250	875	1,050
45-64 years	950	700	800	1,275	750	1,000
65 years or over	375	375	375	550	475	475
Total	**700**	**475**	**525**	**1,150**	**725**	**925**

Source: 2016 Australian Census

Conclusion

As part of the conclusion, I first present in Table 25 an overview of the socioeconomic distribution of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne over the past four decades using the best available data.

Table 25: Overview of the socioeconomic distribution of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne in 1978, 1996, 2006, & 2016

Socioeconomic distribution	**1978 (%)**	**1996 (%)**	**2006 (%)**	**2016 (%)**
BA degree or higher	56	41	40	47
Unemployed	16	(40 in 1991)	4	3
Professionals	23	28	33	38
Managers	1	8	14	17
Owner managers	5	-	35	34
Not in labour force	-	-	20	17

Source: 2006 & 2016 Australian Census; Goldlust, 2001, p. 546; Steinkalk, 1982, p. 84

Government documents presented in this chapter indicate that Jewish migrants from the FSU to Australia were less highly skilled than those who went to the United States. Nonetheless, Jewish migrants from the FSU to Melbourne in the 1970s and 1990s were more highly educated compared to the Australian-born population but they did not achieve a higher income than the latter. Even in 2016, the median total weekly income of migrants from the FSU was much lower ($525) than the Australian-born population ($925). Many migrants from the FSU in 2016 aged 45 or over seem to have undergone occupational downgrading, resulting in lower incomes. When first settling in Melbourne, they had high unemployment rates and later high proportions did not participate in the labour force, most probably because they gave up trying to find suitable work. As an alternative to occupational downgrading, many of the middle-aged group (45-64 years) who did participate in the labour force most probably chose to become business owner managers (40%), twice as many compared to the Australian-born population (20%). Yet, the former still had a lower median weekly income ($800) compared to the latter ($1,000).

The younger age group (25-44 years) from the FSU, on the other hand, experienced considerable upward socioeconomic mobility. In 2016, they had a much higher proportion who had a bachelor's degrees or higher (66%) compared to the Australian-born population (38%), much higher proportions employed as managers or professionals (67% and 46%), and a much higher median weekly income ($1,450 and $1,050). The younger age group from the FSU also had twice as many business owner managers (27%) compared to the Australian-born population (13%). Their high proportion of business owner managers, however, is most probably a reflection of their entrepreneurship rather than an alternative to limited work opportunities as employees.

The following chapter addresses the possible reasons why the older age groups of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne experienced occupational downgrading and lower incomes, whereas the younger age group achieved a notable socioeconomic success.

Chapter 3: Factors Contributing to Socioeconomic Adaptation

The previous chapter indicated that although most Jewish immigrants from the FSU to Melbourne were highly educated, they attained a lower socioeconomic distribution compared to the Australian-born population. The younger generation from the FSU, on the other hand, had a considerably higher socioeconomic status compared to the older generation and to the Australian-born population at the time of the 2016 Census. This chapter examines the lower socioeconomic distribution of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne explained by three interrelated general factors:

1. Less favourable selection for labour market success as a humanitarian migration
2. Poor English language proficiency
3. Older age distribution

In addition, four occupation-specific factors possibly contributed to the occupational downgrading of Jewish migrants from the FSU:

1. Labour market conditions
2. Lack of country-specific experience
3. Non-recognition of overseas qualifications
4. Discrimination in the labour market

Migrants from the FSU had many different occupations and it is impractical to cover all of them in this thesis; instead, their two main professional occupations are examined as case studies: engineers and physicians.

To examine factors that contributed to the socioeconomic distribution of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne, I divide this chapter into three sections. First, there is a discussion of general factors that contributed to their socioeconomic adaptation. Second, I analyse difficulties that migrants faced finding employment and use two case studies, engineers and physicians, to describe occupation-specific factors that possibly contributed to their occupational downgrading. Third, I compare how the different policies in Australia and Israel resulted in better utilisation of the human capital of Soviet-trained physicians in Israel. In addition, the factors that contributed to lower occupational attainment for the middle-aged group from the FSU are contrasted with factors that contributed to a higher socioeconomic status for the younger age group.

General factors contributing to socioeconomic adaptation

This section examines three interrelated general factors that contributed to the lower socioeconomic distribution of Jewish immigrants from the FSU in Melbourne. First, Jews from the FSU arrived in Australia mainly as humanitarian migrants, which meant that they were less favourably self-selected and not selected by the government for labour market success in Melbourne, as discussed below. Second, as is often the case with humanitarian migrants, they had poor English language proficiency, which contributed to high unemployment, low labour force participation, occupational downgrading and commensurate lower incomes. Third, a relatively large proportion were over the age of 45, which made it difficult for many to sufficiently improve their English language proficiency even years after settling in Melbourne.

Australia has three main streams that facilitate permanent arrivals of migrants: skilled, family and humanitarian. Those arriving under the skilled stream achieve a much higher

socioeconomic status (highly skilled employment and commensurate higher incomes) compared to the humanitarian stream, as discussed below. Differences in income between the streams do not dissipate, even after more than a decade in Australia.

Migrants arriving to Australia under the skilled stream achieve higher socioeconomic status compared to the family and humanitarian streams because they are favourably self-selected and are selected by the government to fit the needs of the labour market. According to economist Barry Chiswick, economic migrants tend to be 'more able and more highly motivated' compared to compatriots in their home country; this self-selection implies that they have more 'innate ability or motivation' to achieve labour market success than those born in their host country (1978, pp. 900-1). In addition, the Australian government selects economic migrants under the skilled stream for the purpose of improving the productive capacity of the economy and to fill skill shortages in the labour market (DHA, 2019a, p. 1). Humanitarian migrants and those arriving under the family stream, on the other hand, are less favourably self-selected and are not selected by the government for labour market success (Chiswick & Miller, 2007b, p. 9).

The differences in economic success of (self-)selected migrants is indicated by the 2013-14 Personal Income Tax and Migrants Integrated Dataset (PITMID), which is the latest and most reliable data source about incomes of permanent migrants who arrived since 2000 in Australia. The PITMID does not cover the 1970s and 1990s, which is when humanitarian migrants from the FSU settled in Australia, yet it illustrates the notable differences in income between migration streams. The ABS produces the PITMID, which integrates settlement records from the Department of Social Services and Department of Home Affairs with personal income tax records from the Australian Taxation Office (ABS, 2019).

The 2013-14 PITMID shows that about half (49%) of the persons from the skilled stream were employed as managers or professionals (highly skilled employment) compared to about one-third (31%) of the family stream and less than one-fifth (16%) of the humanitarian stream (Table 26). The median annual employee income of humanitarian migrants was lower ($34,004) compared to the family stream ($39,455), and much lower compared to the skilled stream ($55,443).

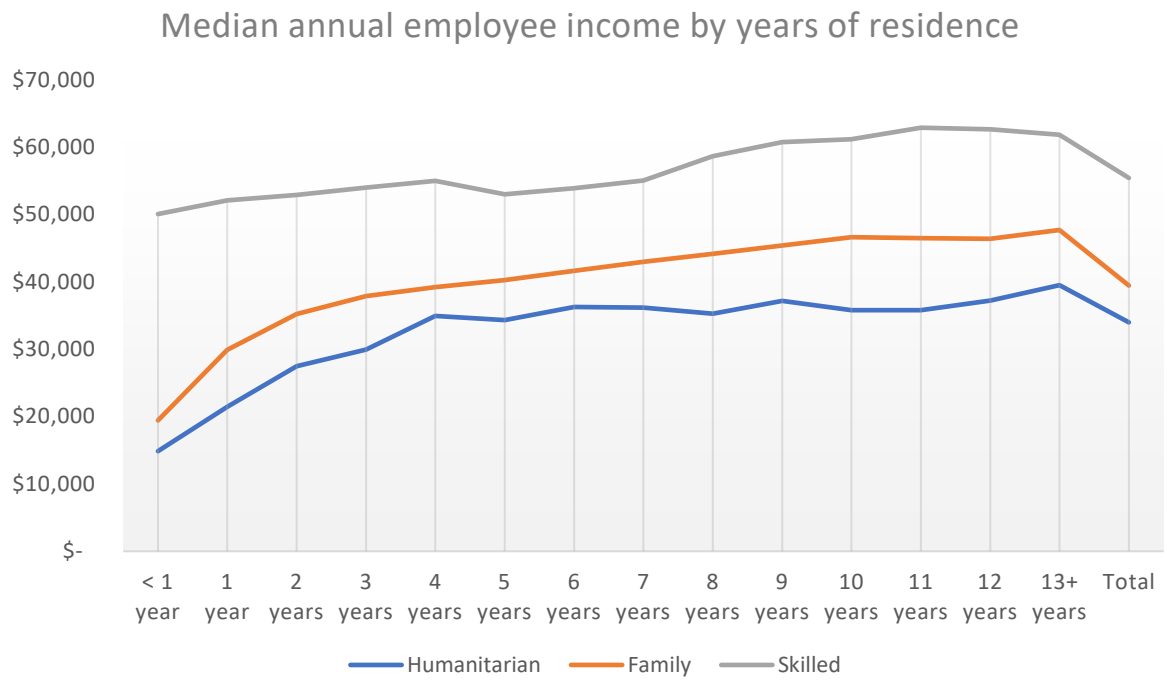
Table 26: Occupation and median annual employee income by migration stream in Australia since 2000; 2013-14 PITMID

Occupation & income	**Humanitarian**		**Family**		**Skilled**	
	%	$	%	$	%	$
Managers	5	41,070	11	54,673	13	67,607
Professionals	11	49,133	20	61,622	36	79,051
Technicians and Trades	11	35,131	9	42,449	13	54,679
Community and Personal	16	35,775	15	29,642	9	35,048
Clerical and Administrative	5	35,014	14	40,466	11	46,677
Sales Workers	7	19,331	8	26,235	6	26,133
Machinery Operators and Drivers	8	40,602	5	43,907	3	48,823
Labourers	33	31,218	15	29,354	7	32,287
Total	**100**	**34,004**	**100**	**39,455**	**100**	**55,443**

Source: PITMID, 2017; does not add to 100 because total includes occupations 'inadequately described'; n=1.252 million.

The median annual employee income of humanitarian migrants after 13 or more years of residence in Australia was still lower ($39,528) compared to the family stream ($47,722), which in turn was lower than the skilled stream ($61,879) (Figure 4). The income of humanitarian migrants increased over the first four years after arrival but then remained largely stable.

Figure 4: Median annual employee income by years of residence by migration stream in Australia since 2000; 2013-14 PITMID



Source: PITMID, 2017; n=1.252 million.

One crucial factor explaining why the skilled stream achieved a much higher socioeconomic status compared to the family and humanitarian streams is English language proficiency. This is a key requirement to be eligible for the skilled stream, but not for the family and humanitarian streams. The effects of the government's English language proficiency requirement is indicated by comparing the different migration streams in Australia. The SDB shows that at the time of applying for a visa between 1991 and 2017, about four-fifths (82%) of those arriving under the skilled stream indicated very good English language proficiency compared to less than half (45%) of the family stream and only one in twenty (5%) of the humanitarian stream (Table 27). In the skilled stream some had poor or no English language proficiency (14%), because it included family members (secondary applicants) for whom there was no language requirement.

Table 27: English language proficiency by different migration streams at time of settling in Australia; 1991-2017 SDB

English proficiency	**Humanitarian**	**Family**	**Skilled**	**Total**
Very Good	5%	45%	82%	**55%**
Good	9%	11%	4%	**8%**
Poor	37%	28%	11%	**22%**
Nil	48%	16%	3%	**15%**
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: DSS, 2017a; does not add to 100 because of rounding; n=1.839 million.

Even across the different migration streams those with better English language proficiency earned higher incomes. Migrants in the skilled and family streams from English-Speaking Background (ESB) countries, for whom English is their native language, earned higher incomes compared to those from Non-English-Speaking Background (NESB) countries (Table 28).

The effect of English language proficiency on income is further indicated by the 2016 Australian Census and Migrants Integrated Dataset (ACMID) of permanent migrants who have arrived since 2000 in Australia. The ABS produces the ACMID, which links the Australian Census with settlement records from the Department of Social Services (ABS, 2018a). My analysis of the 2016 ACMID indicates that about ten times as many migrants from South Korea (24%) and China (19%) who arrived under the skilled stream were not proficient in spoken English compared to those from other NESB countries (1% to 2%) listed in Table 28. The lower levels of English language proficiency of South Korean and Chinese migrants partly explain their lower average income compared to other NESB countries.

Table 28: Median annual employee income of selected ESB & NESB countries by migration stream in Australia since 2000, 2013-14 PITMID

Countries & income	**Humanitarian ($)**	**Family ($)**	**Skilled ($)**	**Total ($)**
	Selected ESB countries			
Ireland	-	-	78,450	**74,350**
United Kingdom	-	56,354	67,633	**64,137**
South Africa	-	51,123	64,159	**61,865**
	Selected NESB countries			
Malaysia	-	-	60,667	**55,578**
India	-	38,218	54,113	**50,687**
Sri Lanka	43,241	-	53,192	**49,441**
Philippines	-	38,384	56,948	**48,460**
China	27,757	29,000	42,805	**37,204**
South Korea	-	-	38,180	**35,000**
Vietnam	-	29,850	-	**32,783**
	Born elsewhere			
	32,393	39,182	56,179	**44,964**
Total	**34,004**	**39,455**	**55,443**	**48,398**

Source: PITMID, 2017; n=1.252 million.

English language competency is regarded as the most crucial factor for humanitarian migrants to be gainfully employed in Australia (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2003; Hebbani & Colic-Peisker, 2012; Hebbani & Preece; Hugo, 2011; Waxman, 2001; Wooden, 1991; 1994a). Poor English language proficiency of humanitarian migrants is correlated with lower labour force participation and unemployment. Based on the 2006 Australian Census, of the humanitarian entrants who spoke English very well/well, about two-thirds (64%) were in the labour force, and about one in ten (9%) were unemployed; comparatively, of those who spoke English not well/not at all, only about one-third (32%) were in the labour force and about one in five (21%) were unemployed (Hugo, 2011, p. 133).

There are differences in labour market success between humanitarian migrant groups, with some groups having much lower unemployment, higher labour force participation and higher incomes. The differences are dependent, among others, on their English language proficiency, age structure, level of education, time from arrival in Australia, experience of

war and disruption, discrimination and prejudice in Australia, and having a preestablished ethnic community assisting them in settling. Sudanese refugees, for example, based on the 2011 ACMID had a much higher employment rate compared to other humanitarian migrants (Smith & Smith, 2014, p. 225). Researchers David Smith and Therese Smith found that their relative younger age structure was a factor working in their favour. The median age of Sudanese refugees in Australia was 20, which means that many would have been socialised and educated in Australia, and therefore would have found it easier to transition to the Australian labour market (Smith & Smith, 2014, p. 226).

Younger Sudanese growing up in Australia are expected to also have higher levels of English language proficiency compared to older migrants. A higher level of education was similarly found to increase the employment-to-population ratio of humanitarian migrants. Based on the 2011 ACMID, more than half (55%) of humanitarian migrants with a degree were employed, compared to only one-quarter (25%) of those without a post-school qualification (Smith & Smith, 2014, p. 226).

Jews from the FSU were not typical humanitarian migrants because many were highly educated and worked in their home country in skilled occupations, and they did not flee war before migrating. Nonetheless, they were not selected by the government for labour market success and many could not transfer their human capital to Australia because of poor English language proficiency, which often could not be overcome because of their old age structure. In addition, Jewish migrants from the FSU to Australia were less favourably self-selected compared to those who went to the United States, as discussed in the previous chapter. The poor English language proficiency interacting with the older age structure of humanitarian migrants from the FSU to Australia emerges when comparing them with the skilled and

family streams. Humanitarian migrants from the FSU represent mainly Jews, with about nine in ten (88%) having indicated their ethnicity as 'Russian Jewish' or their religion as 'Judaism' in the SDB. The skilled and family streams did not have to indicate their ethnicity or religion in the SDB, but as discussed in the first chapter, I estimate the vast majority to be non-Jews.

Of all migrants from the FSU between 1993 and 1997, at time of settling in Australia about two-thirds (69%) of those under the skilled stream indicated very good/good English language proficiency compared to only one-third (33%) of the family stream and one-quarter (25%) of the humanitarian one (Table 29). In all age groups of the skilled stream, higher proportions indicated very good/good English language proficiency compared to the humanitarian stream. In all migration streams, the older age groups had much lower proportions indicating very good/good English language proficiency compared to the younger age groups.

Table 29: English language proficiency very good/good of all migrants from the FSU by age and migration stream at time of settling in Australia; 1993-97 SDB

Age and English proficiency	**Humanitarian**	**Family**	**Skilled**	**Total**
16-17 years	40%	48%	67%	**48%**
18-24 years	50%	53%	66%	**54%**
25-34 years	33%	54%	69%	**60%**
35-44 years	33%	39%	71%	**52%**
45-54 years	25%	22%	64%	**27%**
55-64 years	13%	13%	27%	**13%**
65 years or over	3%	14%	17%	**10%**
Total	**25%**	**33%**	**69%**	**42%**

Source: DSS, 2017a; n=5,604.

As indicated in Table 29, humanitarian migrants' age at arrival in Australia is largely correlated with English language proficiency at time of arrival. The Australian government began in 2013 a longitudinal survey, *The Building a New Life in Australia* (BNLA), to study the adaptation process of humanitarian migrants at the time of their arrival, undertaking five follow-up surveys ('waves') in each subsequent year. The latest published results of the

BNLA survey is from the third wave in 2016. The BNLA survey shows that in 2013 about half (47%) of those aged 15-17 understood spoken English very well/well after being in Australia for three to six months, compared to about one-quarter (23%) of those aged 18-59 and even fewer of those aged 60 or over (15%) (Smart, De Maio, Rioseco, & Edwards, 2017, pp. 2-3). Most importantly, younger migrants did not only have higher English language proficiency when first settling in Australia, but they also improved their English proficiency at a faster rate over three years compared to older age groups. By the third wave (three years later) of the BNLA survey, the DSS found that

> [c]ompared to respondents 18 to 24 years of age, those 25 to 44 years of age are 19 percent points less likely, those 45 to 64 years of age are 33 per cent less likely and those 65 years of age or over are 43 percentage points less likely to understand spoken English well or very well. (2017b, p. 28)

Two reasons can explain why younger migrants show higher levels of language acquisition compared to older migrants. First, language skills are a form of 'human capital' that are acquired at a cost that is measured in invested effort, time and money (Chiswick & Miller, 2007a, p. xx). Younger migrants who will be active longer in the labour market than older migrants have a higher return on their cost of language acquisition, and therefore have more 'economic incentive' to acquire competency in a second language (Chiswick & Miller, 2007b, pp. 9-10). Second, linguistic literature indicates that age-related effects on acquiring a second language result from progressive loss in neural plasticity linked to maturational changes in brain structures (Flege, Yeni-Komshian, & Liu, 1999; Long, 1990).

Steinkalk's 1978 survey indicated that younger Soviet Jewish migrants in Melbourne acquired higher English language proficiency compared to older migrants. The survey found that only about one in twenty (6%) Soviet Jews aged 30-50 spoke English very well/quite

well after being in Melbourne for a median of 18 months, compared to close to half (46%) of those aged 12-20 (Table 30).

Table 30: English language proficiency of Soviet Jews by age in Melbourne in 1978

How well do you …	**Very well**	**Quite well**	**Can get by**	**A little**	**Not at all**	**Total**
	Aged 12-20 years					
Speak English	9%	37%	36%	11%	8%	**100%**
Read in English	11%	37%	37%	8%	8%	**100%**
Write in English	9%	27%	33%	18%	12%	**100%**
	Aged 30-50 years					
Speak English	0%	6%	30%	54%	10%	**100%**
Read in English	1%	8%	34%	47%	9%	**100%**
Write in English	1%	6%	31%	51%	11%	**100%**

Source: Steinkalk, 1982, p. 167; does not add to 100 because of rounding; n=255.

In addition, the Soviet Jewish migration to Melbourne included a significant proportion of older migrants, who most probably had an even lower English language proficiency compared to those aged 30-50. As discussed in the first chapter, the median age of Soviet Jews who settled in Melbourne between 1973 and 1983 was 32, and about one-quarter (26%) were 45 or over (Frenkel, 1987, p. 424).

Jews from the FSU who migrated in the 1990s were older compared to those in the 1970s. As discussed in the first chapter, in the 1990s the median age of Jews from the FSU who settled in Melbourne between 1993-98 was 40, and more than two-fifths (44%) were 45 or over (DSS, 2017a). The English language skills of the 1990s migrants was poor at the time of their visa application, with only about one-quarter (27%) indicating very good/good proficiency; most of them were in the younger age groups (16-44 years) (Table 31). Of those aged 45 or over, only 15% indicated very good/good English language proficiency.

Table 31: English language proficiency of Jews from the FSU by age at time of settling in Melbourne; 1992-98 SDB

English proficiency	**Very good**	**Good**	**Poor**	**Nil**	**Total**
16-17 years	13%	32%	48%	6%	**100%**
18-24 years	14%	36%	41%	9%	**100%**
25-34 years	10%	23%	46%	20%	**100%**
35-44 years	18%	24%	41%	16%	**100%**
45-54 years	7%	17%	43%	33%	**100%**
55-64 years	5%	11%	36%	49%	**100%**
65 years or over	1%	2%	28%	69%	**100%**
Total	**9%**	**18%**	**40%**	**34%**	**100%**

Source: DSS, 2017a; does not add to 100 because of rounding; n=891.

In 1996, based on the that year's census, about half of Jews from the FSU in Australia—including those who arrived in the 1970s—indicated speaking English very well/well (Goldlust, 2001, p. 547). The 2006 Census had two questions about English language proficiency: 'Does the person speak a language other than English *at home*?'; and 'How well does the person speak *English*?' (emphasis in original). Those who indicated speaking only English at home were not asked how well they spoke it. The two questions are used to analyse English language proficiency of Jews from the FSU who settled in Greater Melbourne between 1975 and 1999. About two-thirds (65%) indicated speaking only English at home or speaking it very well/well—higher proportions compared to 1996 (Table 32). Crosstabulation of those who spoke only English at home or spoke it very well in 2006 indicates that about three-quarters (72%) of the youngest age group (25-44 years) did, compared to only about one-quarter (28%) of the middle-aged group (45-64 years) and one in twenty (5%) of the oldest age group (65 years or over).

Table 32: English language proficiency of Jews from the FSU by age in Melbourne in 2006

English proficiency	**English only**	**Very well**	**Well**	**Not well**	**Not at all**	**Total**
25-44 years	11%	61%	25%	3%	0%	**100%**
45-64 years	3%	25%	53%	18%	2%	**100%**
65 years or over	3%	2%	22%	51%	21%	**100%**
Total	**5%**	**26%**	**34%**	**26%**	**8%**	**100%**

Source: 2006 Australian Census

In 2016, about three-quarters (76%) of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne indicated that they spoke only English at home or spoke it very well/well—higher proportions compared to 2006 (65%) (Table 33). Crosstabulation of those who spoke only English at home or spoke it very well in 2016 indicates that about nine in ten (91%) of the youngest age group did, compared to about half (52%) of the middle-aged group and only about one in ten (11%) of the oldest age group.

Table 33: English language proficiency of Jews from the FSU by age in Melbourne in 2016

English proficiency	**English only**	**Very well**	**Well**	**Not well**	**Not at all**	**Total**
25-44 years	17%	74%	8%	0%	0%	**100%**
45-64 years	5%	47%	40%	9%	0%	**100%**
65 years or over	2%	9%	39%	41%	9%	**100%**
Total	**7%**	**37%**	**32%**	**20%**	**4%**	**100%**

Source: 2016 Australian Census

In summary, although most Jewish immigrants from the FSU were highly educated, they were not selected for labour market success in Australia, with high proportions of poor English language proficiency and an old age structure. With lower English skills, many found themselves within the pattern of humanitarian migrants from NESB countries, who for several years after arrival had high unemployment and low labour force participation. Many, especially the middle-aged and older groups, were not able to improve their English language proficiency sufficiently, even after being in Melbourne for two decades. As a result, at the time of the 2016 Census many in the middle-aged group were still experiencing occupational downgrading and were earning lower incomes compared to the Australian-born population.

Occupation-specific factors: engineers and physicians

This section examines difficulties that migrants encounter when finding work in Australia. There are two divergent theories about why some migrant groups achieve labour market success and others do not (Wooden, 1994b, p. 220). One approach focuses on the human capital (a combination of language, educational and occupational skills) of migrant groups to explain their socioeconomic adaptation, whereas the second approach views it as a result of discrimination in the labour market. I use engineers and physicians as two case studies to examine occupation-specific factors that explain their occupational attainment and determine whether institutional discrimination played a role in it.

Many immigrants face hurdles to assimilate in the Australian labour market. Employer sponsored migrants under the skilled stream do not encounter obstacles finding a first job in Australia because they have work arranged before arrival. Migrants arriving on other visa categories have to find their first local job while competing with other migrants and the Australian-born population. Besides English language proficiency discussed in the previous section, some of the difficulties that migrants experience finding a first job in Australia are:

- Lack of Australian work experience/references
- Lack of local contacts/networks
- Skills or qualifications not recognised
- No jobs or vacancies in locality/preferred occupation

In addition, local labour market conditions at the time of arrival often exacerbate the obstacles that migrants face. Jewish immigrants from the FSU, for example, mainly arrived in Australia during the first wave in 1979 and 1980, and the second wave between 1989 and 1994. Both waves coincided with economic recessions in Australia. In 1970, the inflation

rate was 3.5%, which rose to 15.3% in 1974 and remained high until 1983 (10.1%), before decreasing to 3.9% in 1984 (Warby, 1994, p. 7). In the 1980s, there were simultaneously relatively high unemployment rates. From a trend rate of 5.7% in July 1981, unemployment steadily rose to 10.3% in July 1983. It declined to 6% in July 1989, only to develop into the worst Australian economic recession since the 1930s, with a rate that rose to 10.8% in July 1992 and 10.9% in July 1993. Only in January 1995 did unemployment decline to below 9% (ABS, 2018b).

What follows is a discussion of the obstacles that many immigrants need to overcome to find employment in Australia. With the exception of language, recent migrants who mainly spoke English (ESB) and those who mainly spoke a language other than English (NESB) on arrival indicated similar difficulties finding a first job in Australia. The difficulties that recent permanent and temporary migrants encountered is indicated by the 2016 Characteristics of Recent Migrants Survey (CoRMS), which is the latest data source about socioeconomic adaptation in Australia. The CoRMS does not cover the 1970s and 1990s, when Jewish immigrants from the FSU settled in Australia, yet it illustrates obstacles that recent migrants faced to find employment. The Australian government undertakes the CoRMS every three years in November as a supplement to the monthly Labour Force Survey. The 2016 CoRMS was weighted and its findings were estimated to represent the Australian population based on a probability sample of 2,965 participants, who first arrived after 2006 to live for one or more years in Australia, and were aged 15 or over (ABS, 2017b).

My analysis of the 2016 CoRMS indicates that about one-third (30%) of recent migrants experienced difficulties finding a first job (Table 34). Fewer ESB migrants indicated having experienced difficulties (25%) compared to NESB migrants (34%). The difference in

proportions experiencing difficulties can partly be explained because more ESB migrants already had a first job arranged before arrival in Australia (17%) compared to NESB migrants (6%).

Table 34: Difficulty finding first job held in Australia by language of recent migrants in Australia in 2016

Difficulty finding first job held in Australia	**English**	**Other language**	**Total**
Experienced difficulty	25%	34%	**30%**
Did not experience difficulty	58%	60%	**59%**
Already had first job arranged before arrival in Australia	17%	6%	**11%**
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: 2016 CoRMS; n=2,965.

The CoRMS asked recent migrants to indicate all the difficulties they experienced finding a first job in Australia. The main difficulties were lack of Australian work experience/references (64%), lack of local contacts/networks (31%), language difficulties (27%), skills or qualifications not recognised (16%), and no jobs or vacancies in locality/preferred occupation (15%) (Table 35).

Table 35: All difficulties when finding first job held in Australia by language of recent migrants in Australia in 2016

All difficulties when finding first job held in Australia	**English**	**Other language**	**Total**
Lack of Australian work experience/references	61%	65%	**64%**
Lack of local contacts/networks	29%	33%	**31%**
Language difficulties	*5%	40%	**27%**
Skills or qualifications not recognised	17%	15%	**16%**
No jobs or vacancies in locality/preferred occupation	18%	12%	**15%**
Visa type/restrictions	9%	12%	**11%**
Other difficulty	11%	9%	**10%**
Don't know how or where to apply for jobs	*5%	7%	**7%**
Ethnic/cultural/religious barriers	*6%	7%	**6%**
Transport difficulties/no driver's licence	*2%	6%	**4%**

Source: 2016 CoRMS; * estimate has a relative standard error of 25% to 50% and should be used with caution.

Although all immigrants usually face many similar hurdles, migrants from ESB countries under the skilled and family streams attained higher median annual employee incomes compared to NESB migrants, as discussed in the previous section (Table 28). Lower average

incomes can partly be explained because lower proportions of NESB migrants in almost all migration streams (except temporary – student) were in the labour force compared to ESB migrants (Table 36).

Table 36: Not in the labour force by language of recent migrants by type of visa on arrival to live in Australia in 2016

Type of visa on arrival	**English**	**Other language**	**Total**
Permanent - Skilled	16%	25%	**20%**
Permanent - Family	30%	51%	**43%**
Permanent - Humanitarian	—	68%	**68%**
Temporary - Student	37%	32%	**33%**
Temporary - Other/n.f.d.	14%	32%	**22%**
Total	**22%**	**36%**	**30%**

Source: 2016 CoRMS

Moreover, recent NESB migrants in the labour force had searched for a longer period of time before finding paid employment compared to ESB migrants. One-third (34%) of NESB migrants had searched for longer than six months before finding a paid job compared to about one-fifth (21%) of ESB migrants (Table 37).

Table 37: Length of time before finding a paid job after arrival in Australia by language of recent migrants in Australia in 2016

Length of time before finding a paid job	**English**	**Other language**	**Total**
Had job arranged prior to arrival in Australia	17%	6%	**11%**
One month or less	29%	24%	**26%**
Two to three months	21%	21%	**21%**
Four to six months	13%	15%	**14%**
Seven to twelve months	8%	12%	**10%**
More than twelve months	13%	22%	**17%**
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: 2016 CoRMS; does not add to 100 because of rounding.

In addition, many NESB migrants who found work were employed in jobs they were overqualified for and experienced occupational downgrading. About two-fifths (38%) of recent NESB migrants used their highest non-school qualification obtained before arrival in their first job held in Australia, compared to about three-fifths (62%) of ESB migrants. About two-fifths (43%) of NESB migrants who were employed as managers or professionals before

arrival found a similar first job in Australia, compared to two-thirds (66%) of ESB migrants. Furthermore, about one-third (36%) of NESB migrants in the labour force were currently employed in 2016 in the same occupation group (for example, managers, professionals, etc.) as their main job just before arrival in Australia, compared to half (50%) of ESB migrants (Table 38). Not being employed in the same occupation group does not necessarily indicate occupational downgrading. Some might have moved group within the same skill level, or even experienced occupational upgrading. Yet, about two-fifths (43%) of NESB migrants used their highest non-school qualification obtained before arrival in their current job in 2016, compared to about three-fifths (63%) of ESB migrants. It seems that unlike most ESB migrants, the majority of NESB migrants were overqualified for their current job in 2016 because they could not transfer their overseas qualifications and skills to Australia.

Table 38: Occupation of main job just before arrival is the same as current occupation by language of recent migrants in the labour force in Australia in 2016

Premigration and current occupation	**English**	**Other language**	**Total**
Employed in same occupation group	50%	36%	**44%**
Employed in different occupation group	44%	56%	**49%**
Not currently employed	6%	8%	**7%**
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: 2016 CoRMS

The above finding is applicable to Jewish immigrants from the FSU in Melbourne, of whom higher proportions were employed in occupations that they were overqualified for compared to the Australian-born population, based on the 2016 Census. Occupations in the census can be classified based on five skill levels: level 1 is commensurate with a bachelor's degree or higher qualification; level 2 with an associate degree, advanced diploma or diploma; levels 3 and 4 with certificates II to IV; and level 5 with certificate I or lower (ABS, 2005). Skill levels 1 and 2 are considered highly skilled employment, 3 and 4 semi-skilled, and 5 low skilled (DHA, 2018, p. 2).

In 2016, employed Jewish immigrants from the FSU aged 45-64 who had a bachelor's degree or higher and had settled in Greater Melbourne between 1975 and 1999 had lower proportions in highly skilled employment (70%) compared to the Australian-born population (86%) (Table 39). About one-quarter (24%) of Jews from the FSU who had a bachelor's degree or higher were employed in skill levels 4 and 5 compared to about one in ten (11%) of the Australian-born population.

Table 39: Holders of bachelor's degree or higher and skill level employed of Jews from the FSU aged 45-64 compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2016

BA degree or higher & skill level employed	**FSU**	**Australian-born**
Skill level 1	60%	77%
Skill level 2	10%	9%
Skill level 3	7%	3%
Skill level 4	18%	9%
Skill level 5	6%	2%
Total	**100%**	**100%**

Source: 2016 Australian Census; does not add to 100 because of rounding.

English language proficiency is a crucial factor that partly explains being in lower skilled employment, occupational downgrading and disparity in incomes. Yet English language proficiency by itself cannot explain different income levels found between ESB migrant groups. Under the skilled stream, for example, Irish migrants earned much higher incomes ($78,450) compared to ESB South African migrants ($64,159) (Table 28). There are similar differences between NESB migrant groups under the humanitarian stream that cannot be explained only by English language proficiency. Myanmarese refugees, for example, earned higher incomes ($36,628) compared to Chinese refugees ($27,757), although the proportions of those who were not proficient in spoken English were rather similar between the two groups (58% and 62%, respectively) (2016 ACMID; PITMID, 2017).

Lower socioeconomic attainment is explained by the lower human capital of some migrant groups compared to other migrant groups and the Australian-born population. In cases where there is high human capital, its non-transferability to the Australian labour market explains lower socioeconomic attainment. According to economist Mark Wooden, there are two 'divergent bodies of theory' guiding research about immigrant labour market success (1994b, p. 220). First, the theory of human capital, which is a neo-classical application of economics to labour markets, explains the differences in socioeconomic attainments of migrant groups as a reflection of their 'average productive capabilities'. The second explanation is that some migrant groups undergo discrimination that keeps them in a cycle of lower socioeconomic attainment.

In the case of Jewish immigrants from the FSU, for example, the human capital theory would explain their lower socioeconomic attainment in Melbourne because of their language, educational and occupational skills in the Soviet Union not being transferable to Australia, and therefore their productive capabilities being on average lower compared to the Australian-born population. The second approach would argue that their lower socioeconomic attainment is because they were being discriminated against by actors in the local labour market.

For example, economist Robyn Iredale framed her research from 1987 on the recognition process of overseas qualifications in the context of Australian institutions discriminating against NESB immigrants, often by using English language tests that they could not pass. She states that in Australia, up to the '1960s, the express desire of the government was to maintain a predominantly homogenous, Anglo-Saxon society,' and that the overseas qualification 'approach to assessment can be understood within this framework' (1987, p.

38). She maintains that even in the 1980s 'Australia ha[d] one of the most highly regulated labour markets in the world' (1989, p. 93). Yet in 1989, two years after her research, Iredale eventually concludes that the only significant variable explaining whether overseas qualifications were recognised in Australia was the country where those degrees were obtained, that poor English language proficiency did not show consistency in having overseas qualifications not recognised, and that higher proportions of refugees had qualifications recognised compared to other visa categories (p. 90).

Wooden similarly found that 'Iredale's (1987) own case-study work, for example, does not reveal any consistent relationship between English-language ability and recognition' of overseas qualifications (1994b, p. 265). He concludes that 'with the exception of refugees, it may be that the problem [of recognition] has been overstated' (1994b, p. 265). What follows is a discussion of if Jewish immigrants from the FSU in Melbourne, who were humanitarian migrants, were discriminated against in the 1980s and 1990s in having their overseas qualifications recognised, especially through English language tests. It is impractical to address in this thesis all occupations of Jewish immigrants from the FSU. Two case studies that were typical occupations of Soviet Jews, as discussed in the previous chapter, are therefore examined: engineers and physicians.

Engineers

The Australian engineering profession in the 1980s, as categorised by the (Fry) Committee of Inquiry on Recognition of Overseas Qualification in Australia (CIROQA), had six major branches that included: chemical; civil; electrical; mechanical; mining; and other (metallurgic and materials, electronic, industrial, and aeronautical) (1983b, p. 201; 204). It was mostly men who worked in professional engineering, with more than three-quarters

employed in civil, mechanical and electrical engineering in 1982 (CIROQA, 1983b, p. 204). The Australian engineering workforce comprised of a large number of overseas-trained engineers. In the 1976 Census, about one-third (32%) of engineers were foreign-born and in the 1981 Census, among the engineering workforce, one-quarter (25%) were trained overseas (Iredale, 1987, p. 95).

Contrary to Australia, in the Soviet Union engineers were mostly employed in heavy industry government projects that included civil, mining, chemical and metallurgical engineering (Remennick, 2012, p. 77). About two-fifths of the Soviet engineering cadre was comprised of women (Remennick, 2012, p. 77). According to Remennick, an 'engineering diploma promised a stable job and little involvement with the ruling ideology, which made Jewish parents propel their children towards engineering colleges' (2012, p. 77). She states that 'the ex-Soviet engineering corps has been highly stratified including relatively few elite specialists, the middle-class of solid but limited professionals, and the masses of low-grade technical proletariat' (2012, p. 77).

Jews from the FSU arrived in Australia at the same time as high numbers of engineers from other migrant groups, with whom they had to compete for employment in a tightening labour force. In 1979-80, 355 engineers immigrated to Australia and the numbers increased to 1,182 and 1,036 in 1980-81 and 1981-82, respectively. Because of the large increase of immigrating engineers, the Australian government announced that only 150 engineers would be allowed to immigrate under the skilled stream in 1985-86 (Iredale, 1987, p. 95).

In 1990-91, there was an intake of 3,999 overseas-trained engineers (Birrell, Healy, & Smith, 1992, p. 21). At that time approximately 3,500 Australian engineers graduated, which meant that immigrant engineers exceeded Australian ones entering the labour market. This was a

period of very high unemployment rate among Australian engineering graduates: 17% of civil and mechanical engineers were unemployed (Birrell, Healy, & Smith, 1992, p. 21).

In 1991, engineering vacancies declined by 55% compared to 1990 (Hawthorne, 1994a, p. 112). In February-March 1991, only 64 professional positions were advertised in newspapers in Australia. Civil engineering was hit the hardest. Reduced tariff protection meant that employment opportunities for chemical and mechanical engineers also decreased. Staff cuts across State electricity made it difficult for electrical engineers to find employment. Victoria had the highest decline in vacancies in the October 1992 quarter (Hawthorne, 1994a, pp. 112-3).

Soviet engineers were mostly employed in heavy industry government projects supported by a massive state infrastructure, whereas in Australia this sort of employment was limited (Hawthorne, 1994a, p. 68). Furthermore, because of the Australian economic recession, the government employed fewer engineers, and in 1992 only one in ten vacancies were available in the public sector (Hawthorne, 1994a, p. 113). Fewer vacancies in the public sector meant that the steppingstone of many NESB engineers to enter engineering jobs in the 1980s was significantly reduced in the 1990s (Hawthorne, 1994a, p. 153).

In addition, many NESB engineers encountered issues of technological fit in finding engineering employment in Australia. A 1994 study conducted by sociologist Lesleyanne Hawthorne about accredited engineers showed that many NESB immigrant engineers were experts in fields that were not necessarily in demand in Australia, like structural or power transmission engineering (1994a, p. 67). Another example in the study was a vacancy for sewerage and drainage engineering, which showed NESB applicants were not suitable for these sort of work practices in Australia. As for NESB electronic engineers, the study found

that some ‘may have [had] excellent skills [but] with the wrong hardware’ (Hawthorne, 1994a, p. 67).

Engineers from the FSU were often trained on outmoded computer or hardware equipment. In 1991, 13 engineering school deans from the United States visited 30 engineering institutes in the Soviet Union. During that visit, computing was considered the ‘Achilles Heel’ of Soviet science (Balzer, 1993, p. 11). There were not enough computers, and the few that did exist had hardware that was about five years or more behind those used in institutions and universities in the United States. Soviet engineers were often found to be not up to date with the latest findings in their fields (Balzer, 1993, p. 12).

Australian law did not regulate entry to the engineering profession. Individual employers could employ unregistered engineers but often preferred accredited ones. Engineers who wanted to become accredited had to register as graduates or members of the self-regulated Institution of Engineers, Australia (IEA), established in 1919. The IEA dealt with course accreditation, monitoring standards, and recognition of (overseas) qualifications. Alongside the IEA, the Association of Professional Engineers Australia monitored professional salary and status (CIROQA, 1983b, p. 201; Iredale, 1987, p. 89). Obtaining accreditation improved employability chances and guaranteed a higher wage for engineers.

The IEA had two confidential bodies that assessed engineering qualifications: the Foreign Qualifications Committee, which assessed European and some South American countries, and the Secretariat, which assessed all other countries and processed about four-fifths of the applications. Applicants could only appeal the bodies’ decisions through the IEA itself. The Foreign Qualifications Committee consisted of 15 foreign qualified engineers who had knowledge of the languages and courses of the countries they would assess. The Secretariat

consisted of 13 Board of Examiners members who were chosen for their expertise (Iredale, 1987, p. 98). Engineers were registered at the IEA either through a 'paper analysis' or written test by examination, as discussed below.

The IEA allowed registration of overseas-trained engineers who possessed a minimum three-year engineering degree; this was deemed equivalent to an Australian one based solely on paper analysis, which entailed applicants sending transcripts and details of their engineering courses for assessment and comparison with the equivalent Australian engineering study pathway. Applicants who had transcripts similar to the Australian courses of study only had to submit their qualifications to be accepted by the IEA without undergoing an interview. Being approved with paper analysis was mostly the case for engineers from ESB countries, and to a lesser degree for those from NESB European countries. The highest rate of non-accepted applications based solely on paper analysis were from Asia, Africa, some South American countries and the Middle East (Iredale, 1987, p. 98). In 1983, about four-fifths (82%) of ESB applicants were accepted, about three-quarters (73%) of NESB Europeans and only about one-third (31%) from the rest of the world (Iredale, 1987, p. 100).

Applicants were not required to prove a minimum level of English language proficiency; engineers with poor or no English language skills were approved by the IEA (Iredale, 1987, p. 102). Only in 1992 did the DIEA introduce mandatory off-shore English language tests for vocational levels of English (Hawthorne, 1994b, p. 42).

When the Foreign Qualifications Committee or Secretariat did not deem the qualifications sufficient for registration at the IEA they would reject the application. In case of doubt, because these bodies could not readily compare the transcripts or assess the quality of the

university where the studies were undertaken, the applicants were recommended for a written examination. Introduced in 1972, the written exam was administered in English and only in Australia. Allowances were made for applicants for whom English was not their first language (CIROQA, 1983b, p. 212). From 1981, applicants could also sit for the written exam overseas. The exam was equivalent to the third-year level at Australian universities and was marked by Australian academics. The applicants had to choose two subjects from a list of 28 that would demonstrate their knowledge of engineering. Applicants had two attempts at the written exam for a fee of $80 in 1984, equivalent to approximately $250 in 2018 (Iredale, 1987, p. 100; Reserve Bank of Australia, 2019).

Iredale argues that although English language ability was not an obstacle to register at the IEA, applicants who were recommended for the written exam were also de facto tested for their English language ability. She states that the 'examination [wa]s being used as a test of English language ability whereas other applicants who [we]re assessed by the 'paper' method [we]re not tested on their English language ability' (1987, p. 101). Iredale notes that among the European applications that were recommended for test by exam, most were Eastern European applicants 'principally from Bulgaria, Hungary and the USSR' (1987, p. 98).

Iredale's argument that Eastern European engineers, including from the Soviet Union, were often recommended for a written exam is not supported by data and can be verified by analysing the proportions who were accepted by the Foreign Qualifications Committee, as discussed below. Notwithstanding that some applicants were recommended for a written exam, the IEA requirements were considerably more lenient in registering overseas-trained engineers compared to requirements in other countries. In Canada, for example, overseas-trained engineers had to, among other requirements, pass English language tests, have two

years of engineering experience of which one was in Canada, and pass a written exam (Iredale, 1987, p. 107).

That engineers from the FSU were generally accepted based on paper analysis becomes apparent from a 1982 sample of 493 overseas-trained engineers who applied to the Foreign Qualifications Committee. The 1982 sample was published by the above-mentioned Australian Government Fry Committee. In the sample, about four-fifths (83%) of engineers from the FSU who applied for assessment were accepted based on paper analysis, one in ten (10%) were not accepted, and 7% were recommended for test by exam (Table 40). Much higher proportions of engineers from the FSU were accepted with paper analysis (83%) compared to Western and Northern Europeans (49% and 53%). In addition, Eastern European applicants had overall slightly higher acceptance rates (87%) compared to ESB applications (82%) in 1983, as mentioned above.

Table 40: Results of Foreign Qualifications Committee assessments of engineering qualifications, 1982

Origin	**Accepted with**	**Not accepted and**	**Recommended**	**Total number**
FSU	**83**	**10**	**7**	**84**
Non-FSU Eastern Europe	88	11	0	250
Total Eastern Europe	87	11	2	334
Western Europe	49	51	0	99
Northern Europe	53	47	0	19
Southern Europe	95	5	0	19
South America	77	9	14	22
Total	**78**	**20**	**2**	**493**

Source: CIROQA, 1983b, p. 215

The engineering *diplom* (degree) awarded in the Soviet Union was most often accepted solely based on paper analysis because in the Soviet Union a basic engineering *diplom* was awarded after five to six years of study, longer than the four-year course in Australia. In the first two to three years, the Soviet engineering course mainly focused on mathematics and science with the final two to three years concentrating on specialising in a specific engineering

field (Balzer, 1993, p. 3). The lower acceptance rates among Western and Northern Europeans can be explained because the engineering degree in Australia was extended in 1980 from three to four years. The extension 'particularly affected a number of European and British engineers' who often had a three-year engineering degree, which was therefore not recognised as equivalent to the four-year Australian one (CIROQA, 1983a, p. 253).

The higher acceptance rate of countries from Eastern Europe indicates that the Foreign Qualifications Committee was assessing and accepting European engineering qualifications based on their equivalence to Australian degrees and not based on discrimination. The lack of evidence that engineers from European countries were discriminated, however, does not necessarily mean that engineers from the rest of the world were not discriminated. Furthermore, although the process to accreditation may have occurred without any apparent discrimination for engineers from the FSU, this does not necessarily mean that they did not experience prejudice and ethnic stereotyping while accessing the labour market in search of employment. If and to what degree prejudice and ethnic stereotyping existed while accessing the labour market is difficult to establish; yet, in interviews for this research, discrimination was not mentioned as an obstacle to finding employment, as discussed below.

That Jewish engineers from the FSU could become accredited in Australia with poor English language proficiency is supported by participants interviewed for this research. One participant, Leonid, was a mechanical engineer who migrated in his early 30s to Melbourne in 1981. Leonid had a five-year engineering *diplom* and had highly skilled employment in the Soviet Union, but settled in Melbourne with no English language proficiency. He explains that he sent his transcript in 1981 to the Foreign Qualification Committee and was accredited as an engineer within two months, although he did not speak English.

Leonid settled in Melbourne before the high unemployment rates of the early 1980s but amid high inflation rates. Although unemployment was not high in 1981, he soon discovered that being accredited did not guarantee employment. He faced two hurdles in finding highly skilled employment as a mechanical engineer: poor English language proficiency, which was the main obstacle, and a lack of local work experience. Leonid realised that to overcome these two issues he had to undergo occupational downgrading and accepted a semi-skilled job as a fitter and turner—for which he was overqualified—while he learned the English language. After working for five years, his English improved significantly and Leonid attempted again to find highly skilled employment as a mechanical engineer. He explains that the employer who hired him as a mechanical engineer did so because his English was sufficient and because he had gained considerable local work experience. Leonid did not mention experiencing discrimination and did not discuss the high unemployment during the five years that he worked as a fitter and turner. Neither did he mention that when he finally found employment as a mechanical engineer, it was in 1986, after the unemployment rate had decreased.

The above-mentioned Hawthorne (1994a) study corroborates the two major difficulties Leonid experienced finding employment. The study shows that Australian employment agents viewed poor English language proficiency as the major issue to find employment in engineering. The study illustrates the importance of language proficiency in the following quote by an employment agent: 'You do not get your foot in the door if you do not clearly speak English!' (Hawthorne, 1994a, p. 66). The second major difficulty mentioned in the study was local work experience. This issue was intensified by the economic recession, when potential employers gave no allowance for on-the-job training. The study explains that '[n]ew employees [we]re expected to "hit the ground running", bringing with them all

necessary experience, contacts and knowledge of local engineering standards' (Hawthorne, 1994a, p. 67).

Occupational attainment of engineers

The vast majority of Jewish engineers from the FSU with a bachelor's degree or higher who applied to have their qualifications recognised were accepted. Nonetheless, having a degree recognised did not necessarily translate in finding highly skilled employment because of poor English language proficiency, lack of local work experience and technological fit. What follows is an analysis of the occupational attainment of Jewish engineers from the FSU about two decades after settling in Melbourne, based on the 2016 Census.

The census analysis is controlled for six variables that are discussed below:

1. Residential distribution – Greater Melbourne
2. Year of arrival – 1975-99 when almost all Jews from the FSU arrived
3. Educational attainment – Bachelor's degree or higher to exclude lower qualifications
4. Field of study – Engineering and Related Technologies
5. Age group – 45-64 years to exclude those who graduated in Australia
6. Occupational attainment – Skill levels 1 to 5 expressed as highly (1 and 2), semi (3 and 4) and low (5) skilled employment

The analysis only considers engineers who had a bachelor's degree or higher because, considering the minimum required years of study to have a degree recognised, they were the main ones who could become accredited. Furthermore, controlling for a bachelor's degree or higher excludes persons who indicated that they undertook engineering studies, but only had limited qualifications. This was especially the case with engineering, where it is

not unusual for persons with low qualifications to work in jobs classified at a professional level (Birrell & Hawthorne, 1997, p. 8).

The census analysis follows the approach of studies that analysed occupational attainment relative to educational attainment (for example Birrell & Hawthorne, 1997; Smith, 1994; Stromback, Baker, & Inglis, 1986, p. 124). The ideal would be to analyse how many immigrants with a degree in a specialised field worked in that field after migrating, for example immigrants with a civil engineering degree who worked as civil engineers. The number of Jews from the FSU in each of these specialised fields, however, was too small to be reliable for analysis because the ABS randomly adjusts cell values for confidentiality reasons. Instead, the analysis aggregates the findings about persons who studied in the field of Engineering and Related Technologies as defined in the 2016 Census. The aggregated number is reliable because the census is compulsory and comprises the entire population.

Educational attainment can be analysed relative to the attainment of highly, semi and low skilled employment. Previous studies suggested to divide occupations into two categories: managers and professionals, and sub-professionals, which included all other occupations (for example Birrell & Hawthorne, 1997, p. 15). Managers and professional are considered highly skilled occupations, with most being skill level 1 and some skill level 2. Yet this analysis goes a step further than previous studies and analyses occupational attainment based on the five skill levels. By establishing the proportion of Jews from the FSU with a bachelor's degree or higher in Engineering and Related Technologies who were employed in each skill level, their occupational attainment can be compared to other groups: NESB and ESB migrants, and the Australian-born population. Higher proportions in highly skilled employment compared to the Australian-born population indicate that this cohort

experienced occupational upgrading; similar proportions indicate similar occupational attainment, and lower proportions indicate occupational downgrading.

In the 2016 Census there were 146 Jews from the FSU aged 45-64 who had a bachelor's degree or higher in the field of Engineering and Related Technologies. About one-third (31%) of this age group had a degree in Engineering and Related Technologies.

My analysis indicates that Jews from the FSU with a bachelor's degree or higher in Engineering and Related Technologies had much lower proportions in highly skilled employment (57%) compared to ESB immigrants and the Australian-born population (91%), and lower than all NESB immigrants (70%) (Table 41). About one-third (30%) of Jews from the FSU were in skill level 4 and 5 employment, compared to much lower proportions of ESB immigrants and the Australian-born population (6%), and lower proportions of all NESB immigrants (22%).

Table 41: Occupational attainment of Jews from the FSU with a bachelor's degree or higher in Engineering and Related Technologies aged 45-64 by migrant groups in Melbourne in 2016

Skill level employed	**FSU**	**All NESB**	**ESB**	**Australian-born**
Skill level 1	45%	56%	80%	81%
Skill level 2	12%	14%	11%	10%
Skill level 3	12%	8%	3%	3%
Skill level 4	22%	14%	3%	4%
Skill level 5	8%	8%	3%	2%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: 2016 Australian Census; does not add to 100 because of rounding.

Jews from the FSU with a bachelor's degree or higher in Engineering and Related Technologies who were aged 45-64 achieved a much lower occupational attainment compared to ESB immigrants and the Australian-born population. Even after living about two decades in Melbourne, many had semi and low skilled employment, for which they were overqualified and were experiencing occupational downgrading. It seems that although they could have had their degree recognised, they could not overcome their low

level of English language proficiency and lack of local work experience and technological fit. Many engineers from the FSU were trained in heavy industry or on outmoded computer and hardware equipment that was not adequate for the Australian labour market. It seems that their Soviet human capital was not transferable to Melbourne, with no indications that they experienced institutional discrimination accessing the labour force.

Physicians

This subsection examines difficulties that Jewish Overseas-Trained Doctors (OTDs) from the FSU faced to find medical employment in Australia. Although relatively few OTDs from the FSU migrated to Melbourne, their occupation merits discussion for several reasons. First, as presented in the previous chapter, physicians were the second largest skilled occupational category among Jews in the RSFSR in 1989 (6%), overtaken only by engineers (16%). Second, difficulties for OTDs to find medical employment in Australia highlight the structural labour market restrictions and possibly institutional discrimination that highly educated immigrants had to face. Third, Australian restrictions imposed on recognising qualifications of OTDs impacted the Jewish migration from the FSU to Australia, with many physicians choosing to migrate elsewhere where they could find medical employment. Lastly, OTDs from the FSU served a larger social function by providing medical care to other migrants from the FSU in their language and culture; imposing restrictions on a relatively small numbers of OTDs from finding medical employment in Australia impacted large numbers of other immigrants.

Contrary to engineers, OTDs needed to pass three examinations to become registered as doctors in Australia: English language tests, Multiple-Choice Questions (MCQ), and clinical examinations. The main obstacle for OTDs to practice medicine was passing these examinations. Furthermore, unlike for engineers, Australia was more restrictive towards

OTDs than other countries (Shuval & Bernstein, 1997a). Canada, for example, offered OTDs a crucial one-year internship after the equivalent of the Australian MCQ to familiarise with the local medical system before sitting for clinical examinations; this was not the case in Australia (Iredale, 1987, p. 139).

In 1980s, requirements for OTDs became more stringent because the Australian government believed that they were in oversupply in Australia (Rutland, 1983, pp. 65-6). Between 1986 and 1991, every year about 400 OTDs gained employment as physicians. This can be compared to the annual number of about 1,200 local graduates per year for the same period. Besides these 400, the Australian Medical Council (AMC) recorded for 1992 an additional 2,000 OTDs who were seeking registration in Australia (Birrell, 1995, p. 24).

Australia has a long history of OTDs from NESB countries being refused to practise medicine. Historian Egon Kunz in *The Intruders: Refugee Doctors in Australia* shows that in the 1940s and 1950s the organised medical profession barred OTDs who were among the displaced persons from Eastern Europe after the Second World War from sitting examinations to practice medicine in Australia (1975). Many of the refugee doctors were Jewish. According to Rutland, the difficulties Jewish refugee OTDs underwent

> must be understood in the light of more general factors. The general xenophobia of the Australian public, further influenced by anti-Semitism, was particularly strong in the period under discussion. In the years 1933-1954, when most Jewish refugees arrived, Australians had not been exposed to non-British European migration and found it difficult to accept the foreign ways of the Europeans. Added to these general problems was the "proverbial jealousy of the medical profession" and the fear of economic competition. (1987, pp. 256-7)

In the first half of the twentieth century, Australia had reciprocity arrangements with the United Kingdom, Ireland, and New Zealand, which recognised each other's medical graduates, but not OTDs from other countries (Iredale, 1987, p. 138). The latter needed to retrain in Australia for three years to become registered (Iredale, 1987, p. 121). Only in 1963, following the amendment of Section 21C of the Medical Act, OTDs from other countries who underwent a three-year supervised practice and later passed an oral test could become registered without having to retrain for three years. Yet, the administration of the oral test was subjective and not regulated (Iredale, 1987, p. 123).

It does not seem that in the 1970s OTDs from NESB countries were discriminated against in Australia. In the early 1970s, medical graduates with a five-year Bachelor of Medicine or Bachelor of Surgery degrees from several NESB countries were automatically registered in Australia upon application. Every Australian State and Territory recognised different countries. In 1970, in Victoria, for example, medical graduates from some universities in the following countries were automatically registered upon application: Great Britain, New Zealand, Ireland, South Africa, Malta, Hong Kong, India, Malaysia, Singapore, and Sri Lanka. In NSW, OTDs from Burma, Israel, Lebanon, Uganda, Pakistan, Puerto Rico, and Sweden, among others, were automatically registered upon application. These degrees were accepted because the General Medical Council of Britain considered their medical training, including non-British medical schools, of a high professional standard (CIROQA, 1983b, pp. 134-5). By the 1970s, the basis for assessing at least some Asian, African, European, and Middle Eastern medical qualifications, among others, was the professional standard of the medical school that awarded those qualifications and cannot be regarded as a discriminatory process against all OTDs from NESB countries.

By 1983, the list of countries was significantly revised and in Victoria only OTD's from Great Britain, New Zealand, and Ireland were automatically registered upon application (Iredale, 1987, p. 124). The subjective and non-regulated medical oral test, and that applicants from different countries were automatically registered in various States and Territories, created the need for a national medical examination body that would regulate recognition of overseas medical qualifications. The Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications eventually established the Australian Medical Examining Council (AMEC) in 1978 for this purpose (Iredale, 1987, pp. 125-6). In 1985 the AMEC was replaced by the AMC (Smallwood, Frank, & Walters, 2010, p. 566).

The AMEC comprised eleven members: eight representatives from medical boards, two medical educationists nominated by the Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications, and one representative from the Australian Medical Association (Iredale, 1987, p. 126). The AMEC had an examination for OTDs that consisted of two parts. The first part included written English language tests that evaluated the knowledge of English in a medical context and an MCQ paper of medical knowledge; the second part were oral clinical examinations (CIROQA, 1983b, pp. 138-9; Iredale, 1987, p. 127).

Before attempting clinical examinations, a candidate needed to pass the English language tests and the MCQ. Candidates were allowed a maximum of three attempts at the examination. The examination fee was $250 in 1978, equivalent to approximately $1,300 in 2018 (Reserve Bank of Australia, 2019). Failure in any part required the whole examination to be retaken. In 1982, a policy change was introduced that allowed candidates who passed the MCQ but failed the clinical examinations to only retake that part (Iredale, 1987, pp. 127-8).

One of the main obstacles in the medical examination for OTDs from NESB countries was passing the English language tests. A lot of criticism was directed specifically towards the English language tests, with many submissions to the Fry Committee about this issue (Iredale, 1987, p. 128). According to Hawthorne, the English language 'test reportedly required analysis of "passages of purple prose" or "nineteenth century literature criticism", and had an outrageously low pass rate' (1994b, p. 7). According to scholars Lesleyanne Hawthorne and Julie Toth, the English language tests discriminated until the early 1980s against OTDs from NESB countries and were 'primarily designed (according to a number of prominent academics) "to keep the wog doctors out"' (1996, p. 48). Although Australia had English language tests designed to exclude non-Europeans, starting with the infamous White Australia Policy dictation test, it is unclear if discrimination against OTDs from NESB countries with English language tests was also the case in the 1970s, because at the time—as mentioned above—some Asian, African and Middle Eastern OTDs, among others, were automatically registered upon application without having to analyse 'passages of purple prose'.

In 1983, the Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications adopted the recommendations of the Fry Committee and replaced the previous medical English language tests with an external test designed by an Expert Panel in Occupational English (Iredale, 1987, p. 128). Yet, even the revised English language tests lacked three critical points according to Hawthorne and Toth: vocational English language testing is a specialist task; such testing must have validation; and to achieve this, adequate resourcing is necessary (1996, p. 48). The three critical points were eventually recognised by the Council on Overseas Professional Qualifications, which appointed in 1986 a group of experts in English

for Specific Purposes to design a new test, the Occupational English Test (OET) (Hawthorne & Toth, 1996, p. 48).

To pass the OET the level was set at Advanced, which was equivalent to the Australian Second Language Proficiency Rating of 3, and not at the near-native speaker level rating of 4 as requested by the medical profession. The reason for maintaining a level rating of 3 to pass was because candidates often still had several years of study and hospital-based practice before medical employment and in the meantime could develop their English language competency. The OET main task was to assess if candidates were ready to sit for the MCQ paper and not if they were ready for medical employment. According to Hawthorne and Toth, the OET that was in use from 1987 was highly regarded and considered as a standard for English for Specific Purposes tests (1996, p. 49).

The OET made the English language tests much more feasible for OTDs from NESB countries compared to the previous non-validated vocational English language tests. A sample from 1991 to 1995 presented by Hawthorne and Toth, which included 126 medicine candidates from the FSU, shows that high proportions passed the OET (1996, p. 52). Of the FSU candidates, overall three-quarters (75%) passed, and of those who undertook the OET in Australia almost all passed (96%). The average number of attempts to pass the OET was 1.5. Medical candidates from the FSU had higher pass rates compared to the total of NESB countries: two-thirds (67%) of those taking the OET overseas and about four-fifths (81%) of those taking it in Australia (Hawthorne & Toth, 1996, p. 52).

Although high proportions of medical candidates from the FSU passed the OET, far fewer passed the AMC examination. That similar proportions of OTDs from the FSU passed the AMC examination before and after the OET was developed suggests that English language

tests were not the tool used to discriminate against them from practising medicine. The AMC submitted to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Migration (HRSCM) statistics about all candidates who attempted the medical examination from January 1978 to June 2005, according to country of training (HRSCM, 2006). The submission included statistics for eleven of the fifteen newly independent states that emerged following the collapse of the Soviet Union, and an additional row that most probably gave figures for the USSR, covering the period prior to 1992. The additional row for the USSR makes it possible to analyse the different pass rates pre-1992 and post-1992, when the OET was already in use. From the total OTDs from the FSU between 1978 and 2005, 380 candidates commenced the medical examination. Overall, about two-fifths (42%) passed it and became registered physicians in Australia, compared to higher proportions of all medical candidates (55%) and non-FSU Eastern Europeans (52%) (Table 42). Yet the overall pass rate did not change for the total of eleven post-Soviet states between 1992-2005 and for the USSR between 1978-91, indicating that replacing previous English language tests with the OET did not increase the proportions of successful candidates. It seems that English language tests were not the tool used to discriminate against OTDs from the FSU.

Table 42: AMEC and AMC examination pass rates by countries; 1978-2005

Countries	**MCQ**	**Passed**	**% Pass**	**Clinical**	**Passed**	**% Pass**	**Overall**
USSR 1978-1991	**135**	**77**	**57%**	**69**	**57**	**83%**	**42%**
FSU 1992-2005	**245**	**179**	**73%**	**124**	**102**	**82%**	**42%**
	Summary 1978-2005						
Total FSU	**380**	**256**	**67%**	**193**	**159**	**82%**	**42%**
Non-FSU	822	580	71%	492	427	87%	52%
Total FSU and Eastern Europe	*1,176*	*820*	*70%*	*678*	*583*	*86%*	*50%*
ESB countries	1,155	1,043	90%	822	762	93%	66%
Western Europe	286	213	74%	170	147	86%	51%
All AMC	**8,921**	**7,136**	**80%**	**5,723**	**4,888**	**85%**	**55%**

Source: HRSCM, 2006, pp. v-vii

Higher proportions of OTDs from ESB countries passed (66%) compared to Western Europeans (51%) and Eastern Europeans (50%). At first glance it might seem that there was no systemic discrimination against OTDs from NESB countries, because one might expect that systemic discrimination would have more pronounced results—for example, two-thirds of OTDs from ESB countries passing, compared to one-third or fewer of OTDs from NESB countries. Yet, systemic discrimination against OTDs from NESB countries might have indeed been the case in the 1980s, but gradually diminished and eventually disappeared in the 1990s, as discussed below.

Two additional datasets provide statistics of OTDs candidates who passed the medical examination between 1978 and 1982 (CIROQA, 1983a, pp. 190-1; CIROQA, 1983b, pp. 147-9) and between 1983 and 1989 (Blacket, 1990, pp. 127-9). The first dataset was published by the Fry Commission and the second in *The Medical Journal of Australia* by Ralph Blacket, who was formerly Chairman of the Examination Committee of the AMC. There is a wealth of data available in the two datasets; however, in this chapter only a summary is presented which is most relevant to OTDs from the FSU. As would be expected from systemic discrimination, about three-fifths (61%) of OTDs from ESB countries passed the medical examination compared to about one-quarter (26%) of Eastern European ones between 1978-82 and one-third (33%) between 1983-89 (Table 43). Likewise for OTDs from the FSU, about one-fifth (21%) passed between 1978-82 and about two-fifths (42%) pre-1992. If there had been systemic discrimination in the 1980s, it gradually diminished and eventually disappeared, with the pass rates of Eastern European OTDs increasing from about one-quarter to one-third in the 1980s; from the 1990s, the proportions further increased, eventually reaching an average of half (50%) who passed between 1978 and 2005, similar to the pass rate of OTDs from Ireland (52%).

Table 43: Pass rates of OTDs for AMEC and later AMC examination; 1978-82 and 1983-89

Datasets	**MCQ**	**Passed**	**% Pass**	**Clinical**	**Passed**	**% Pass**	**Overall**
				1978-1982			
FSU	*14*	*5*	***36%***	*5*	*3*	*60%*	***21%***
Non-FSU	40	33	**83%**	31	11	35%	**28%**
Total	54	38	**70%**	36	14	39%	**26%**
Total 1978-82	*549*	*455*	***83%***	*438*	*152*	*35%*	***28%***
				1983-1989			
Eastern Europe	156	58	**37%**	58	51	88%	**33%**
ESB countries	157	108	**69%**	105	96	91%	**61%**
Total 1983-89	*1,239*	*572*	***46%***	*571*	*479*	*84%*	***39%***

Source: Blacket, 1990, pp. 127-9; CIROQA, 1983a, pp. 190-1; CIROQA, 1983b, pp. 147-9

In the 1980s, English language tests did not seem to be the tool used to discriminate against OTDs from NESB countries either. As mentioned above, after 1983 the English language tests were no longer included with the MCQ in the first part of the AMEC examination. If the English language tests were indeed the tool used to discriminate, as argued by Hawthorne and Toth (1996, p. 48), then the MCQ pass rates of OTDs candidates from Eastern Europe should have increased after 1983. Yet comparing the pass rates for the MCQ, a much higher proportion of Eastern European OTDs passed in 1978-82, when the English language tests were part of it (70%), compared to 1983-89, when they were not (37%). The same findings apply when comparing totals in 1978-82 (83%) and 1983-89 (46%). Eastern European OTDs in 1978-82 had difficulties passing the clinical examinations—only about two-fifths (39%) passed—but not the MCQ, where about two-thirds (70%) passed. This was most probably because in Australia, unlike in Canada as mentioned above, OTDs were not given a crucial one-year internship after the MCQ to familiarise with the local medical system before sitting for clinical examinations. It seems therefore that English language tests were not the main obstacle for Eastern European OTDs to pass the AMEC and later the AMC examination.

Occupational attainment of physicians

In the previous chapter it was shown that about one in twenty (6%) Soviet Jews who were in the labour force and who migrated to the United States in 1979 indicated their occupation to be in medicine (Green, 1979, p. 6). Of all Soviet Jewish migrants to the United States in 1979, including those not in the labour force, the proportion with a medical qualification was 3.5%. In Israel, between 1989 and 1995, 2.3% of the migrants from the FSU were physicians (Bernstein & Shuval, 1997, p. 50). By taking the more conservative Israeli figure of 2.3%, the expected number of physicians in the Soviet migration to Australia in the 1970s can be inferred. As discussed in the first chapter, between 1975 and 1981, about 5,000 Soviet Jews migrated to Australia. Applying 2.3% to 5,000 means that approximately 115 Soviet physicians should have arrived in Australia between 1975-81. According to Hawthorne and Toth it can be assumed that within a year or two of their arrival in Australia many OTDs from NESB countries would have attempted to pass the OET examination (1996, p. 51). The assumption can equally be applied to OTDs attempting the AMEC examination. Yet, Table 43 shows that only 14 OTDs from the FSU undertook a medical examination between 1978-82, only about one-tenth of the expected 115.

The low number of medical candidates in 1978-82 supports the view that fewer Soviet doctors migrated to Australia, as discussed in the previous chapter, following the AJWRS' discouragement to migrate because of difficulties in having their medical qualifications recognised in Australia. Frenkel similarly found that in

> Australia, loss of status is specially felt by Soviet doctors whose degrees are not recognised, and the standards of re-qualification are very stringent. Fortunately, there were very few of them in the wave of emigration under my study - due to the wise policy of the Jewish Welfare Society of discouraging them from coming. Those who

> came did so, obviously, at their own risk and for reasons other than the hope of resuming their careers in this country. Most were wives of other professionals. All were offered assistance by the Fellowship of Jewish Doctors, but, during the period of my study only two Soviet doctors re-qualified as general practitioners in Sydney and two in Melbourne. (1990, p. 713)

In the following paragraphs the proportion of OTDs from the FSU who migrated to Australia are based on my estimates. Because of the stringent recognition process for medical qualifications in Australia, during the first migration wave in the 1970s an estimated 1% (about 50) of the Soviet migration were physicians. Of the estimated 50, 14 attempted the AMEC examination, while others would have attempted after 1982 and some most probably never attempted. By 1982, within the first years of their arrival to Australia, of those who attempted the AMEC examination only three passed, or about one in five (21%).

By July 1990, 9,699 Soviet migrants settled in Australia, of whom the majority were Jewish (DHA, 2019b). Between 1975 and 1990, the average proportion of physicians had risen to an estimated 2% (about 200), a proportion that was closer to the migration from the FSU to Israel. As indicated in Table 42, 135 Soviet physicians attempted the AMEC and later the AMC examination between January 1978 and 1991. The proportions of those who passed the examination doubled from about one-fifth (21%) by 1982 to about two-fifths (42%) by 1991. In numbers, 57 Soviet physicians could practise medicine in Australia by 1991, including non-Jews—less than one-third of the estimated number of Soviet physicians who migrated.

In the 1990s, during the second wave, the proportion of physicians had remained an estimated 2%. Between July 1975 and June 2004, 34,073 immigrants from the Soviet Union and its successor states settled in Australia; an estimated three-fifths were not Jewish (DHA, 2019b). Table 42 shows that between January 1978 and June 2005, 380 medical candidates

from the FSU attempted the AMEC and later the AMC examination, or 1.1% of the total migration from the FSU. The proportion of Jewish physicians from the FSU is estimated at 2% and not 1.1% because much higher proportions of Jews from the FSU were physicians compared to non-Jews, as discussed in the previous chapter, and because some would not have attempted the examination at all. Of about 13,000 Jews from the FSU who migrated to Australia between 1975 and 2004, an estimated 260 were physicians. Of the 260, because many were older, only an estimated half attempted the examination and about two-fifths (42%) passed, which means that about one-fifth (about 55) could practice medicine in Australia. That an estimated 55 Jewish physicians from the FSU passed the examination does not necessarily mean that they all found work in the medical field.

Jewish OTDs from the Soviet Union were encouraged to pass the AMEC examination with assistance from Jewish communities in Melbourne and Sydney. In 1979, the AJWRS annual report mentioned that a 'medical tutorial group for refugee doctors seeking to qualify for practice in Australia' was established in Melbourne (p. 6). Two years later the AJWRS annual report from 1981 explained how

> highly successful medical tutorial classes for refugee doctors seeking Australian registration [were]. A group of enthusiastic and helpful volunteer doctors gave lectures to the group which is run under the capable supervision of Dr. Peter Greenberg who devotes much of his spare time to the programme. (p. 6)

Medical tutorial classes for Jewish OTDs from the Soviet Union were provided in addition to English language tutorials for professionals, which were offered free of charge and sponsored by a grant. A pamphlet from the Welfare Relief Appeal from 1985 mentioned that six years after the establishment of the medical tutorial group in 1979,

> 25 students attend the weekly advanced English classes which also provide assistance with the procedures for recognition of overseas professional qualifications, particularly in the medical fields. Six doctors were successful in their examination, with the help of this course.

By 1985, only six Jewish OTDs from the Soviet Union who participated in the medical tutorials offered by the Melbourne Jewish community had passed the medical examination. The small number indicates that few Jewish OTDs from the Soviet Union either attempted or were able to pass the examination. This small number is also discernible when analysing the 2016 Census for occupational attainment of Jewish OTDs from the FSU: of those who settled in Greater Melbourne between 1975 and 1999 and had a bachelor's degree or higher, only 36 indicated their occupation as medical practitioners. This number is too small to analyse their educational attainment relative to occupational attainment.

During interviews for this research project, two local Jewish physicians who organised the medical tutorials in Melbourne and Sydney in the early 1980s mention having had about 15 Soviet physicians in each city, not all Jewish, attending their classes. The local Jewish physician in Melbourne was an examiner for AMEC and later AMC clinical examinations in the 1980s. According to him, there was no systemic discrimination against OTDs from NESB countries in the 1980s, and candidates passed if they were able to demonstrate an equivalent medical level to Australian sixth-year medical graduates. In his medical tutorials primarily organised for Soviet physicians there were in addition about 15 Vietnamese participants. His recollection was that Vietnamese physicians were medically better trained compared to Soviet ones and therefore had higher pass rates. The above-mentioned AMC statistics support his recollection, with about half (48%) of physicians from Vietnam passing the examinations compared to about two-fifths (42%) from the FSU (HRSCM, 2006, pp. v-

vii). It is unlikely that Soviet physicians would have been subject to more discrimination than Vietnamese ones; the opposite could rather be expected, and nonetheless about half of Vietnamese candidates passed, suggesting that medical abilities were evaluated and not cultural background.

Many physicians in the FSU did not receive proper training (Bernstein & Shuval, 1994; Moody, 1992; Schecter, 1997; Schultz & Rafferty, 1990; Shuval & Bernstein, 1997a). According to physicians Daniel Schultz and Michael Rafferty, in the 1980s '[t]en percent of 350,000 physicians recently tested were characterized by [Soviet Minister of Health] Chazov as only "provisionally" qualified to take care of patients' (1990, p. 194). According to political scientist Kate Schecter, in the 1980s in the Soviet Union 'medical sterilization techniques [we]re still those of the nineteenth century. Anesthesiology also remains backward and it [wa]s particularly dangerous to be "put under" in an operation' (1997, p. 39). Physicians in the Soviet Union were often paid low salaries, according to scholar Linda Moody: in the 1980s '[p]ublic sector physicians earn[ed] 80% of the average worker's salary of 200 rubles a month and nurses earn[ed] half of that amount' (1992, p. 50). Yet Schultz and Rafferty note that 'Soviet health care [was] not free. Patients treated in the public system [were] often required to pay doctors and nurses under the table in order to assure that medications be administered or that an operation be performed' (1990, p. 193). Schecter explains that '[s]tudents were often accepted to medical school because of their parents' connections or because their parents bribed an admissions official. Merit played little or no role in many admissions' (1997, p. 38). Schecter concludes that although some Soviet physicians migrated to 'Israel, some to Canada, and some to the United States, where policies regarding their professional integration differ[ed] substantially, the professional socialization they brought with them [was] a function of the system within which they grew

up, were trained, and worked' (1997, p. 40). Similarly, in Australia, many Soviet physicians most probably had inadequate medical training and could not pass medical examinations without extensive retraining.

The local Jewish physician in Sydney mentions that fewer than half of Soviet physicians in his medical tutorials, organised by the Fellowship of Jewish Doctors referred to by Frenkel, could pass the AMEC examination. He is also of the opinion that in the 1980s there was no systemic discrimination against OTDs from NESB countries. He mentions that many Soviet physicians needed extensive retraining and therefore could not pass medical examinations. He further notes that many local physicians, including non-Jews, were willing to allow OTDs from NESB countries to join them on ward rounds to practise for future clinical examinations. The local Jewish physician in Melbourne similarly notes that many physicians, including himself, allowed OTDs from NESB countries to join them on ward rounds. Rutland mentions that by

> 1979 there were about 15 Russian Jewish doctors living in Sydney, all facing great problems in resuming medical practice. In August 1979 Dr David Golovsky, a Fellowship committee member, became aware of their difficulties. After communicating with Mrs Chana Lerba, a social worker for the AJWS [Australian Jewish Welfare Society], he established contact with all the Russian doctors and in December 1979 a meeting was held at his home. (1983, p. 66)

Rutland's research found that of 'the 15 doctors present, only eight were under 45 years of age. The majority spoke poor English and it was difficult to see how they could be successfully re-educated' (1983, p. 66). According to Rutland in 1983,

> none of the Russian Jewish doctors have passed the AMEC examination which has about a 10% pass rate. This is partly explained by the fact that, apart from language difficulties, medical practice in Russia is very different to the Western world. The basic

> sciences remain the same, but clinical practice and treatment in Russia is outmoded. There is no general training in internship since specialisation is begun very early and tends to be in different areas. (p. 67)

Rutland concludes that of 'the original 15, only five remained in the training programme. The stresses proved too difficult and most have found employment in other areas, mainly paramedical fields such as laboratory technicians or nursing aides' (1983, p. 67). The difficulties that most OTDs from the FSU experienced in Australia can be summarised with the following quote by Rutland:

> For those involved in the Russian retraining programme, the lack of success has been frustrating and disappointing. Some members of the committee feel that more effort is required to canvass political support for genuine refugee doctors who settle in Australia. In the meantime, Russian Jewish doctors have learnt of the problems in Australia and this professional migration has ceased. (1983, p. 68)

Utilisation of immigrants' human capital

In the previous chapter it was found that Jewish immigrants from the FSU in Melbourne first experienced high unemployment and later 'hidden unemployment', which is non-participation in the labour force without being counted as officially unemployed (Brooks, 1996, p. 8). The main reasons that many experienced unemployment or did not participate in the labour force was because they were not selected for labour market success, resulting in poor English language proficiency that many could not overcome because of the old age structure and the non-transferability of their human capital to the local labour market.

Although eventually the vast majority were employed, the previous sections found that many Jewish immigrants from the FSU in Melbourne were underemployed, which means that they were not making full use of their skills (Brooks, 1996, p. 9). Underemployment is

disadvantageous for the receiving host country and immigrants. Researcher Clive Brooks notes that the 'evidence from Australian studies is that the economic and social benefits of immigration are greatest when all the skills and talents of immigrants are being used fully' (1996, p. 7). He explains that 'having a job may not be a good indicator of success if immigrants are not fully using their skills and abilities (for example, an overseas-trained doctor working as a hospital orderly)' (1996, p. 7). Economist Thomas Liebig states that to ensure labour market success of migrants to Australia, 'an efficient use of the strong human capital intake' is a prerequisite (2007, p. 33). He found that

> highly qualified immigrants from non-OECD [Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development] countries are particularly affected by occupational downgrading in Australia, and this group is growing in numbers. Almost forty per cent of employed highly qualified immigrants from these countries only work in low- and medium skilled jobs. (2007, p. 49)

Australian policies were not efficient in utilising immigrants' human capital that would have benefited both the immigrants and the local economy. The case study in the previous section about Soviet physicians can be contrasted with their economic adaptation in Israel as an example of how human capital can be utilised more efficiently by the receiving host country. Israeli policies made it possible for the majority of Soviet-trained physicians to obtain medical licenses and work as general practitioners who could offer services in their language and culture to over one million migrants from the FSU. OTDs who are part of a larger migration group do not necessarily have to be regarded as competing with local physicians, because they migrate together with a growing pool of patients whom they service.

Sociologists Judith Shuval and Judith Bernstein explain that Israel was able to negotiate the tension between employing a majority of OTDs as physicians and simultaneously retaining

the autonomy of the profession. Israel achieved this by making it relatively accessible for OTDs to enter general practice, which was defined as low in status, but at the same time rigorously controlling specialty practice, which was considered high-status and 'real' medicine (1997b, p. 162). In their words, the

> concern with control and autonomy of the medical profession is no less strong in Israel than in [Canada and the United States]. However, the pro-migration value context has resulted in a different way of defining the boundaries of practice. The Israeli mode of handling thousands of newly arrived immigrant physicians has been to make it possible for the majority of them to obtain licenses for general practice while at the same time carefully controlling their entry into medical specialties. In consideration of the high priority of the pro-migration consensus and the need to provide employment, general practice has been relatively accessible but is defined as low in status. However, entry to high-status specialties is rigorously curtailed. By maintaining the option for immigrants to enter general practice in a social context that defines "real" medicine as specialty practice, Israeli policy serves a dual purpose: it avoids the unacceptable stance of seeking to limit the entry of immigrant doctors while minimizing the threat posed by a large influx of professionals to the basic autonomy of the profession. (1997b, p. 162)

As a result of Israeli policies, Remennick states that what 'happened with the thousands of Russian doctors in Israel is often described as a medical marvel' (2012, p. 82). According to Bernstein and Shuval, in Israel '[d]uring the 1970s, physicians were more successful than most other immigrant occupational groups in maintaining their profession: more than 95 percent of the nearly 2,000 physicians who arrived in that decade found work as doctors' (1997, p. 46). Of the Soviet physicians who settled in Israel in 1972, nine in ten (90%) were employed as physicians within eight months (Bernstein & Shuval, 1997, p. 46).

In the 1980s, Israel was not experiencing an undersupply of physicians and an Israeli government committee on the healthcare system recommended to rationalise services, cut

costs and reduce the number of physicians (Bernstein & Shuval, 1997, p. 51). In the 1990s, however, over 800,000 immigrants from the FSU settled in Israel (Tolts, 2016, p. 24). Soviet-trained physicians who were part of the large migration to Israel could service their compatriots in their language and culture. Between 1989 and 1995, 14,300 physicians settled in Israel, and by 1995, the number of physicians in Israel had more than doubled (Bernstein & Shuval, 1997, p. 50; Remennick, 2012, p. 80). By 1993, three-quarters (75%) of OTDs from the FSU had registered with the Israeli Ministry of Health to initiate medical licensure procedures (Bernstein & Shuval, 1997, p. 51). A longitudinal study by Bernstein and Shuval found that of a sample of 333 Soviet physicians who settled in Israel in 1990, about three-quarters (77%) were employed as physicians five years after arrival (Bernstein & Shuval, 1997, p. 52; 54). About one-third (35%) were general practitioners, about two-fifths (38%) residents and about one in twenty (4%) specialists (Bernstein & Shuval, 1997, p. 54). In addition to the Israeli economy capitalising on the human capital of Soviet-trained physicians, the latter experienced the benefits of career continuity and undertook a larger social role by offering medical services to over one million immigrants from the FSU in their language and culture.

The majority of OTDs could practice medicine in Israel in the 1990s because Israeli policies regarding their registration requirements were far less severe compared to Australia, the United States and Canada (Shuval & Bernstein, 1997b, p. 175). For example, in Israel OTDs could take the eight-hour written exam in clinical medicine in their language of choice (Bernstein & Shuval, 1997, p. 49). In addition, the Israeli Ministry of Immigrant Absorption and Ministry of Health jointly sponsored a free non-compulsory five-month medical course to prepare for the written exam, for the duration of which OTDs received a stipend to cover their family's living expenses (Bernstein & Shuval, 1997, p. 49). OTDs from the FSU with 14-

year work experience were exempt from the written exam and instead were required to work for six months in an accredited hospital under supervision (Bernstein & Shuval, 1997, p. 49). OTDs who wanted to be employed as specialists, however, had to follow the same training and examination procedures required of Israeli medical school graduates (Shuval & Bernstein, 1997b, p. 162).

The differences in integration of OTDs in Israel compared to Australia, the United States and Canada reflect the different immigration policies. In Israel, the Law of Return encourages Jews and their families to make Aliyah (immigration to Israel). Shuval and Bernstein explain that Israel's 'open door policy means that immigrants are admitted with no reference to their occupation and with no regard to the extent of local needs or possible surplus of any occupational group' (1997b, p. 160). In addition, they further explain, in Israel 'policy is structured to provide retraining and employment for immigrants in their former occupations, [… and] it is assumed that immigration benefits the society in terms of long-term economic growth' (1997b, p. 160). In Australia, the United States and Canada, on the other hand, potential immigrants are carefully scrutinised to be an addition to the labour market, and in the case of family and humanitarian streams, no special admissions to professions are made that might upset local interest groups. As Shuval and Bernstein note, in the United States and Canada—like most countries—with regard to immigration 'policy makers are subject to pressures exerted by a variety of interest groups seeking to gain or prevent the admission of specific categories of persons' (1997b, p. 159). Because of these differences in immigration policies, Shuval and Bernstein state, with similar policies applying in Australia, that the

> structure of medical licensing in Canada and the United States highlights a universalistic approach in which immigrants are required to undergo essentially the

> same qualifying procedures as local medical graduates. In the late 1990s these societies were not interested in encouraging foreign medical graduates to practice and therefore made no allowances for their special needs or problems stemming from differences in training and experience, or from difficulties encountered in entering a new cultural setting. In a context of oversupply, it is not surprising that these countries acted in line with the medical profession's traditional stance of exclusion aimed at maintaining its autonomy and power […] In Israel, by way of contrast, the licensure process reflects the high priority of the country's pro-migration policy. (1997b, p. 161)

As a result of Israeli policies in the 1990s, about three-quarters of OTDs from the FSU applied for a medical licence, and about three-quarters of those applicants obtained it and were employed as physicians within five years. Adding up the Israeli proportions, about three-fifths of Soviet-trained physicians were employed as medical practitioners in Israel and experienced career continuity, with the Israeli economy benefiting from their human capital. In Australia, on the other hand, I estimate that about half of Jewish OTDs from the FSU attempted the AMEC and later AMC examination and about two-fifths passed. Adding up the Australian proportions, about one-fifth of Soviet-trained physicians could practice medicine in Australia—about one-third of the rate in Israel, where about three-fifths did. Compared to Australia, Israel rightly experienced a 'medical marvel'.

That immigrants' human capital was not utilised by Australia does not indicate a discriminatory labour market, because in contrast to many Jews from the FSU who arrived with human capital, those who acquired it locally did achieve labour market success. Immigrants from the FSU who undertook their tertiary education in Australia, which would have usually been those who had migrated before 25 years of age, attained a higher socioeconomic status compared to the Australian-born population: they usually developed very good English language proficiency, graduated in subjects relevant to the local labour

market, had local work experience and networks, and their qualifications and skills were recognised as equivalent to those of the Australian-born population and valued by employers. Economists Barry Chiswick, Yew Lee and Paul Miller found that for immigrants 'educational qualifications obtained in Australia have a substantial earnings advantage' and that 'skills acquired abroad on-the-job appear to be of minimal value in the Australian labor market' (2005, p. 491). They conclude that the level of earnings of immigrants 'is greater the higher the level of human capital; that is, the greater the educational attainment, educational qualifications acquired in Australia, Australian work experience and English language proficiency' (2005, p. 502).

The significance of migrating before 25 years of age was found in a study about English language proficiency among migrants in the United States. Scholars Veena Kulkarni and Xiaohan Hu used 'age 24 as the cutoff to possibly account for the difference between those who completed education in their home country and those who acquired education in the U.S.' (2014, p. 771). In their study they found that 'English ability is always higher among the foreign-born persons migrating below age 24 than those migrating above age 24, regardless of length of stay in the U.S.' (2014, p. 775).

The impact of undertaking tertiary education in Australia on higher occupational attainment is indicated by my analysis of the 2016 Census. The vast majority of Jewish immigrants from the FSU who settled in Greater Melbourne between 1975-99 and who were aged 25-44 in 2016 undertook their tertiary education in Australia. The proportions of Jewish immigrants from the FSU aged 25-44 with a bachelor's degree or higher who were in highly skilled employment (levels 1 and 2) (85%) were similar to the Australian-born population (82%) (Table 44). The younger age group had higher proportions in highly skilled employment

compared to Jewish migrants from the FSU aged 45-64 (70%), as shown above in Table 39, indicating upward socioeconomic mobility.

Table 44: Holders of bachelor's degree or higher and skill level employed of Jewish migrants from the FSU aged 25-44 compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2016

BA degree or higher & skill level employed	**FSU**	**Australian-born**
Skill level 1	77%	72%
Skill level 2	8%	10%
Skill level 3	2%	3%
Skill level 4	11%	11%
Skill level 5	3%	3%
Total	**100%**	**100%**

Source: 2016 Australian Census; does not add to 100 because of rounding.

Table 44, however, does not illustrate the full extent of upward socioeconomic mobility that they experienced, because there were much higher proportions of Jewish immigrants from the FSU aged 25-44 with a bachelor's degree or higher (66%) than the Australian-born population (38%). To fully appreciate their labour market success the analysis must thus not be limited to those who had a bachelor's degree or higher. Of Jewish immigrants from the FSU aged 25-44, including those with no tertiary education, much higher proportions (72%) were in highly skilled employment (levels 1 and 2) compared to the Australian-born population (54%) (Table 45). About one-fifth (21%) of the younger age group from the FSU were employed in skill levels 4 and 5 compared to about one-third (32%) of the Australian-born population. The younger age group from the FSU attained a similar occupational attainment compared to all Jews in Melbourne who had similar proportions in highly skilled employment (75%).

Table 45: Skill level employed of Jewish migrants from the FSU compared to all Jews and the Australian-born population aged 25-44 in Melbourne in 2016

BA or higher & skill level employed	**FSU**	**All Jews**	**Australian-born**
Skill level 1	63%	64%	41%
Skill level 2	9%	11%	13%
Skill level 3	6%	6%	15%
Skill level 4	15%	13%	23%
Skill level 5	6%	5%	9%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: 2016 Australian Census; does not add to 100 because of rounding.

That the younger age group from the FSU had relatively high proportions in highly skilled employment is partially explained because in Australia they undertook studies in fields that are relevant to the local labour market, unlike the middle-aged group. About one-third (32%) of the younger age group from the FSU undertook studies in Management and Commerce and few in Engineering and Related Technologies (6%), whereas of the middle-aged group the highest proportion studied Engineering and Related Technologies (31%) (Table 46). Similarly, the highest proportion of the younger age group of the Australian-born population studied Management and Commerce (24%).

Table 46: Field of study of Jewish migrants from the FSU by age compared to the Australian-born population in Melbourne in 2016

Field of study	**FSU aged 25-44**	**FSU aged 45-64**	**Australian-born aged 25-44**
Management and Commerce	32%	15%	24%
Health	20%	11%	10%
Society and Culture	13%	9%	15%
Information Technology	10%	8%	4%
Engineering and Related Technologies	6%	31%	12%

Source: 2016 Australian Census

As mentioned in the introduction, sociologist Steven Gold found that '[w]hile the average income of Russian migrants suggests a generally successful integration into the American middle class, the economic adjustment of this population ranges widely from poverty to significant wealth' (2016, p. 111). Sociologist Robert Brym found that in Canada they

‘experience a higher rate of upward mobility as the years pass. Given that this experience occurs in a high-mobility society, Canadian Jewish immigrants from the FSU must be considered an economic success story in the making’ (2001, p. 40). In Melbourne the economic adjustment of Jews from the FSU can be described as ranging widely from those who experienced significant occupational downgrading and many who lived on low incomes, to those who attained high socioeconomic status. One crucial variable that explains the wide range of occupational attainment is age at migration, with many of those who migrated at 25 or later not being able to transfer their human capital to the local labour market. Those who migrated before 25, on the other hand, could be considered an ‘economic success story’ who experienced considerable upward socioeconomic mobility compared to the Australian-born population and achieved a similar labour market success to local Jews.

PART II: CULTURAL ADAPTATION

Chapter 4: Mutually Broken Expectations

This chapter examines the shifting relationships and expectations between Jewish communities and migrants from the FSU. Their expectations are considered in the context of global actors pursuing their local interests through active involvement in the Soviet Jewry movement; a movement that successfully accomplished a global migration and formation of a new Russian-speaking Jewish diaspora. The ideology underpinning the Soviet Jewry movement was the innovative, early-twentieth-century modern secular notion of Jewish peoplehood, closely related to a nationalist conception of group identity (Pianko, 2015, p. 7). According to historian Noam Pianko, the nationalist secular notion incorporated in '[p]eoplehood justified linking the plight of American Jews with Soviet Jews, whose Jewishness was quite limited after the prohibition of religious observance in the USSR [Union of Soviet Socialist Republics]' (2015, p. 56). Jewish welfare societies in Australia also sought to become global actors and to assist Soviet Jews at the initiative of Walter Lippmann, simultaneously serving local interests by facilitating a large migration to Australia in the 1970s that would rejuvenate the aging Jewish communities. They undertook this grand endeavour while not fully understanding the identities and aspirations of the migrants they welcomed.

For some it seemed incongruous to advocate for Soviet migration to countries other than the Jewish state of Israel and justify this undertaking with a secular notion of Jewish peoplehood, as the modern secular meaning of Jewish peoplehood is linked to Zionism (Pianko, 2015, pp. 6-7). Local Jews who were guided by their sense of Jewish peoplehood as linked to the centrality of Israel, therefore, opposed the Soviet migration to Australia. Most

Jewish leaders in Australia supported the Zionist view that Soviet Jews should migrate to Israel, although Lippmann was an exception who advocated for Soviet Jews' 'freedom of choice' to migrate to Australia (Lipski & Rutland, 2015, pp. 193-4). Many local Jews and Zionists were further preoccupied with Soviet Jews supposedly assimilating in the Diaspora (Lipski & Rutland, 2015, p. 193). For example, Isi Leibler, a religious Zionist, then President of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) and later Chairman of the World Jewish Congress Governing Board, argued that Soviet Jews 'do not only drop out on Israel but also drop out from the Jewish people as a whole' (1988a, p. 18). From Leibler's perspective, assisting Soviet Jews to 'drop out on Israel' contradicts the purpose of the Soviet Jewry movement, which wanted to bolster a Soviet Jewish national revival, rather than supposedly witness their 'drop out from the Jewish people'.

Leibler's assertion that some Soviet Jewish migrants disengage from the Jewish people is not baseless. The Soviet migration included a significant proportion who were considered 'very marginal Jewish' (Zaslavsky & Brym, 1983, p. 52). From the 1970s, it became situationally expedient to be ascribed the 'Jewish' label in the Soviet Union. They could claim what sociologist Larissa Remennick calls the 'Jewish ticket', privileged with a visa (and often a plane ticket) to Australia (2012, p. 19). A significant proportion of those who migrated to Australia from the FSU solely instrumentalised their nominal Jewish identity, similar to what anthropologist Sveta Roberman found with regards to many migrants from the FSU in Germany (2016, pp. 191-4). Many others chose to engage in Jewish cultural and religious practices at their own pace, so the migration from the FSU was heterogenous. Yet, a perception that migrants from the FSU were not meeting the expectations set by local Jews was taking shape.

Some of the mutually broken expectations can be summed up in the following way. Australian Jews expected refugees who wanted to rediscover their Jewish heritage and would rejuvenate local Jewish communities. Migrants from the FSU, however, prioritised providing their children with the best education and achieving economic success. By 1980, there was a perception that this migration might not rejuvenate local Jewish communities.

To explore the mutually broken expectations of the migration from the FSU to Melbourne, I divide this chapter into four sections. First, I discuss the expectations of receiving Jewish communities, both in Australia and the United States, contextualised in a historical trend of Jewish communities receiving migrant groups. This includes addressing the tensions within Jewish communities regarding the Soviet migration. Second, I describe the different expectations of migrants from the FSU. Third, I consider how although some migrants from the FSU instrumentalised their nominal Jewish identity, they were nevertheless accepted by Australian Jewish welfare societies. Finally, I argue that a heterogeneous migration from the FSU was often perceived as a homogeneous group. The perception led to a shift in the attitude of Australian Jews from 1989 discouraging further arrivals to Australia, on the eve of a second, larger wave of migration about to make an 'exodus' from the FSU. Nonetheless, because of previously settled migrants from the FSU in Australia and Lippmann's successful approach to the Australian government, family reunion ensued in the 1990s, which exceeded the first migration wave in the 1970s.

Expectations of receiving Jewish communities

Melbourne has a long history of Jewish migrant groups encountering difficulties integrating into established Jewish communities. Many European Jewish immigrants in the 1920s and 1930s alleged that the established Anglo-Jewry looked down on them as 'foreigners' (Ungar,

2014, p. 659). The newcomers arrived with different languages and cultures that were often ill-received by the English-speaking Jews who mostly reflected the dominant 'Anglo' culture (Benjamin, 1998, p. 9). Representatives of the established Jewish community in Melbourne in the 1920s used to advise newly arrived immigrants 'not to speak Yiddish or Russian in public' (Kolt, 2011, p. 42). Remennick notes that 'Jewish intolerance and prejudice towards their own brethren can at times exceed that shown by Gentiles' (2012, p. 171). According to historian William Rubinstein, in the early twentieth century the Melbourne Jewish Welfare 'Society had a settled policy by which German Jews were generally directed to East St Kilda and Polish Jews to Carlton' (1991, p. 104). In the 1930s, Carlton became an enclave for Polish Jews who had almost no relationship with Anglo and German Jews, who showed disdain for the impoverished new arrivals (Taft & Markus, 2018, p. 6; Ungar, 2014, 661). Jews from the FSU who settled in Melbourne perceived similar disdain from members of established Jewish communities, who seemed to look down on them; some still dismiss 'Russians' as not 'really Jews' (Goldlust, 2016, p. 164).

Local Jews often try to influence the behaviour of new immigrant groups to adapt to their local way of life and established Jewish communities. In the United States, for example, established German Jews tried to Americanise Eastern European Jews who migrated at the turn of the twentieth century because they were perceived as too traditional (Howe, 1976, pp. 278-85). Sociologist Paul Ritterband observed that the descendants of those Eastern European Jews who experienced pressure to Americanise in turn now 'attempted to Judaize the immigrants' from the FSU (1997, p. 333). Descendants of European Jews in Melbourne who were pressured to adapt to the 'Anglo' culture now in turn attempted to make immigrants from the FSU follow Jewish customs and religious rites, with little success (Benjamin, 1998, pp. 9-13).

Yet there is a crucial difference between earlier Jewish migrations to Australia and the United States and the migration from the FSU. Although previous migrations were from different ethnic origins and had different cultures than local Jews, they still shared many Jewish religious and cultural content. The new migrants were not challenged about whether they belonged within the boundary of the Jewish community. Migrants from the FSU, on the other hand, shared little Jewish religious and cultural content with the locals, resulting in them being challenged about whether they belonged in the Jewish boundary. In the 1970s, Jewish communities expected migrants from the FSU to have preserved or to seek to reclaim their Jewish heritage. As Mark Handelman, then Executive Vice-President of the New York Association for New Americans (NYANA), remarks:

> American Jews expected the Russian Jews to fall into two categories; either to be [famous refusenik] Natan Sharansky, or to be their own grandmother from the *shtetl*. Unfortunately, the great majority who arrived were neither Prisoners of Zion or *bubbe* [grandmother] and *zeyde* [grandfather]. These people had to endure under a police state for 70 years, which prevented the observance of Jewish customs and the use of the Hebrew language. But we expected to meet [*Fiddler on the Roof's*] Tevye. (quoted in Ruby, 1995, p. 39; emphasis in original)

The presumption that Jews from the FSU would set as their main priority the reclamation of their Jewish heritage indicates ignorance of the aspirations of these immigrants. In the United States in the 1970s, according to researcher Samuel Kliger, himself a Jewish migrant from the FSU, the large number of Soviet 'newcomers were expected to bring "new blood" to the established American Jewish communities' (2001, p. 152). Yet, as historian Stephen Feinstein remarks, the 'honeymoon between American and Soviet Jews was over by 1980' (1984, p. 99). Jewish communities quickly concluded that Soviet Jews first needed to be 'Judaised' to become part of their communities. Some felt that for this purpose it was

‘absolutely essential to exploit ESL [English as a Second Language] for inculcating Jewish attitudes and values from the very beginning of the ESL acculturation process’ (Schiff, 1980, p. 45; also quoted in Gold, 1985, pp. 190-1). Others found that ‘we have to “create a Jewish need in [Soviet Jews],” just as we would with a child, while at the same time understanding that this is *no* child, being certainly not *tabula rasa*’ (Goldberg, 1980, p. 161; emphasis in original; also quoted in Gold, 1985, p. 190). Some Soviet Jews appreciated this effort, while many others rejected those activities by Jewish resettlement workers (Gold, 1987, p. 125).

In Australia there were also expectations that a Soviet Jewish migration would rejuvenate the aging Jewish community. Lippmann, then President of the Australian Jewish Welfare and Relief Society (AJWRS), lobbied the Australian government to allow Soviet Jews to immigrate to Australia in the 1970s in part because of his pessimistic outlook about Australian Jewry (Markus & Taft, 2016, pp. 17-8). In his interpretation of the 1971 Census, Lippmann concluded that ‘Australian Jewry has passed its peak. Failing a new revitalisation through migration of communally involved Jews, the pattern of [Jewish decline in] the 1920s may well repeat itself’ (1974, p. 9). Aging of the Jewish population, decrease of fertility, and increase in intermarriages and assimilation of Australian Jews led Lippmann to fear a communal decline that some associated with that earlier era, which many historians characterised as supposedly having had a high rate of intermarriage (Benjamin, 1998, p. 18).

For Lippmann, a Soviet Jewish migration might save Australian Jewish communities, infusing them with communally involved, young immigrants. For example, in 1971, following a conversation with a Soviet family who recently settled in Melbourne, Lippmann wrote to Leonard Seidenman of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) in Geneva that this Soviet family mentioned that in Kiev, ‘around the Jewish holiday period, hundreds of people

congregate all around the Synagogue and its surrounding area, thus indicating a very strong [Jewish] identification'. In 1979, Lippmann further made the case at the annual conference of the ECAJ, on behalf of the Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare Societies (FAJWS), that the 'migration of Jews from the Soviet Union will bring to Australian Jewry a very welcome influx of younger members thus helping to balance the overaged nature of the Australian Jewish Community' (1979b).

By 1981, however, it seems that the honeymoon between Australian Jewish communities and Soviet Jews was over (Lipski & Rutland, 2015, pp. 193-4). Many local Jews started questioning the benefit of a Soviet migration to Australia. In 1981, for example, the *Australian Jewish Times* (AJT) reported that the 'Sydney Jewish community on Sunday showed its complete indifference to the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union when only 60 people attended what was to have been a meeting showing solidarity with Soviet Jewry' ("Soviet Jewry Rally", 1981, p. 1). Robert Goot, then President of the New South Wales (NSW) Jewish Board of Deputies, was quoted saying that the Sydney community demonstrated a 'reckless and callous indifference to the plight of Soviet Jews', comparing the poor attendance and indifference to the presence of 3,000 people in the first Sydney rally of the Soviet Jewry movement in 1970 ("Soviet Jewry Rally", 1981, p. 1).

Some of the criticism about migrants from the FSU were directed to the AJWRS, which had made this migration possible. According to Rodney Benjamin, later Vice-President of the Federation of Australian Jewish Community Services, by 1980 the AJWRS 'was facing strident and persistent criticism from within the Australian Jewish community' (1998, p. 289). The criticism started in 1976 when Rabbi Yehoshua Kemelman, then head of Beth Din of Australia and New Zealand and Rabbi of the Sydney Central Synagogue, 'warned from

synagogue pulpits and in Anglo-Jewish press articles in Australia and the United States that the dropping out [of Soviet Jews from migrating to Israel] is at once an immoral and anti-national phenomenon' (2009, p. 28). Kemelman asserted that at the time the

> US HIAS vice-President [Jacobson] and Australian vice-President of the Federation of Aid Societies [Lippmann] verbally attacked the author [Kemelman], festively declaring that all would end well. To our great dismay, it is now obvious and evident to all that all ended very badly. (2009, p. 29)

According to Kemelman, it 'all ended very badly' because migrants from the FSU in Australia supposedly were 'in an advanced stage of assimilation' (Alhadeff & Kleerekoper, 1988, p. 3). Historian Suzanne Rutland also states that in Australia 'it is clear that many [Russian-speaking Jews] are lost to the community' (2005, p. 140). Kemelman increased his public criticism on HIAS in 1979, and without providing evidence, accused it in the *AJT* of diverting Soviet Jews in Vienna from migrating to Israel (p. 2). He further mentioned that the FAJWS 'rushed an official to the Viennese transit camp to influence Russian Jews to immigrate to Australia, thus staking a claim to the human wares' (2009, p. 23). HIAS and the FAJWS denied these accusations. HIAS responded by saying that together with the Jewish Agency for Israel and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), they tried to convince Soviet Jews in Vienna to immigrate to Israel (Benjamin, 1998, p. 289). According to Benjamin, the 'AJWRS had never in its 40-year existence sought to encourage migration to Australia. The liberty to choose where to live was the right of the individual' (1998, p. 291). Regardless of its denials, further criticism by Zionist organisations in Australia were levelled against the AJWRS, as discussed below.

Based on documents from the archival holdings of Jewish Care Victoria Archives (JCVA), HIAS, JDC and National Archives of Australia (NAA), it seems that the FAJWS, with Lippmann

as Executive Vice-President, was seeking to become a global actor and facilitate a large migration of Soviet Jews to Australia in 1979. Lippmann seemed to have had a rather negative view of some of the leadership at AJWRS, whom he supposedly described in 1974 as 'inflexible old timers' (Feder, 1974). Already from the 1960s, he became disenchanted with the Melbourne Jewish leadership and was often at 'loggerheads' with some of them (Markus & Taft, 2016, p. 13; 17). In addition to being President of the AJWRS in the 1960s and 1970s (1960-77), Lippmann was also Chairman of the Migrant Welfare Committee of the Australian Council of Social Service. In this role he began advocating for wider migration issues in Australia, rather than restricting himself to Jewish causes (Lopez, 2000; Markus & Taft, 2016, pp. 18-9). Leo Fink, previous President of the AJWRS, for example, sent letters in 1972 to Lippmann criticising him for supposedly 'forgetting' his place as current President of the AJWRS by getting involved in wider Australian migration issues instead of remembering that his 'first loyalty' should be to the Melbourne Jewish community.

As to the Soviet migration, Lippmann sought to facilitate an enlarged migration program, although many local Jews opposed to this. In 1974, Nathan Fink, Executive Member of the AJWRS, visited Rome to report back to Melbourne on Soviet migrants there (Fink, 1974, p. 3). In 1975, Lippmann wrote to Gaynor Jacobson, then Director of HIAS, that Fink, after his last year's visit to Rome, had become 'very active in helping us to see what can be done to enable as many (Soviet Jews) as possible to settle here' (1975a). Lippmann further wrote that the 'Melbourne community is particularly anxious to do what we can to settle them [Soviet Jews] here.' It seems that Kemelman was basing some of his accusations against the AJWRS on facts. Yet, it seems that the Melbourne community was not that anxious to receive Soviet migrants, because Lippmann was asking Jacobson to send a HIAS worker who could acquaint the 'community more fully with the problems involved [… and who] would

be of immense help in raising our community's support for our efforts' (1975a). Furthermore, Lippmann thought that by having the HIAS worker visit Australia, they would 'gain a feeling of being part of the international family of Jewish welfare agencies' (1975b). It seems that by 1975 Lippmann already wished to become a global player in the Soviet migration as part of the 'international family of Jewish welfare agencies', and 'to enable as many as possible to settle here'. He succeeded by 1979. In 1980, Ian Lindenmayer, First Assistant Secretary in charge of Intake at the then Australian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIEA), wrote the following to Ian Macphee, Minister of the DIEA:

> At the request of the Federation of Australian Jewish Welfare Societies and having in mind the increasing numbers of Soviet Jews being allowed to leave the USSR, it was decided to increase the numbers coming here under this program from 400 cases (1200 persons) in 1978/79 to 800 cases (2400 persons) in 1979/ 80.

The FAJWS, mainly through Lippmann's efforts, successfully approached in 1979 the Australian government to double the intake of Soviet migrants from the previous financial year, despite the criticism being levelled against it from Jewish communities. Lindenmayer further brought the following to the attention of the Minister of the DIEA:

> Finally, you should be aware that Australia's program does not have the support of all members of the Australian Jewish community. Some see the Australian action (and that of USA and Canada) as detrimental to Israel's security and economic growth in drawing off people already accepted for settlement in Israel. Also, some see the program at its present level as representing too great a strain on the established Jewish community and structures. (Lindenmayer, 1980)

Lippmann had an ambiguous relationship with Israel: on the one hand he supported Israel, on the other he expressed criticism about the Zionist movement and its leadership (Markus & Taft, 2016, p. 12). He mentioned several times that he did not 'want to interfere with the

flow of those who wished to go to Israel' (FAJWS, 1979). At the same time, he was lobbying the Australian government and offering resettlement assistance that proved to be successful in diverting part of the Soviet migration to Australia. Political scientist Fred Lazin notes, based on the mass migration in the 1990s to Israel, that if Jewish communities had not offered assistance to Soviet Jews in the 1970s, they would have preferred to migrate to Israel rather than stay in the Soviet Union (2005b, pp. 277-8).

Lippmann was aware that the Soviet migration was creating a strain on the established Jewish community. He wrote in 1979 to Jacobson that 'the resources of our community and those which the community is prepared to put into the Russian absorption program, are limited' (1979c). Lack of resources in Australia, however, did not deter Lippmann. He further reassured Jacobson in the same letter that the 'Melbourne community is geared for the numbers. I have assurances both from Perth and Adelaide that they are interested in absorbing additional numbers'. But he acknowledged that

> Sydney has distinct reservations about increasing their intake, and their resources do seem to be limited because of the set-up in the community there: the financial backing of the Welfare Society there is much more limited than what we have developed in Melbourne.

Yet Lippmann, seeking to facilitate a larger Soviet migration to Australia, further explained that he 'plan[s] to spend a few days in Sydney, to try and persuade our colleagues there of the necessity to take a much more positive approach to this whole program'. He even considered accepting a 'crash program' proposed by the Australian government for 'special aircraft airlifting, say 170 or so people [Soviet migrants] at the one time' (FAJWS, 1979). A telegram in 1979 from Seidenman stated that Lippmann called asking him to relay the following message to Jacobson:

> Australia is prepared to take 2500 Russians in addition to currently authorized during their financial year 1979 – June 1980. Walter [Lippmann] said Australians are preparing to mount a cash [*sic*] program to move them as rapidly as possible. One part end of August to Oct. and the second part Jan.-Feb. 1980. (1979a)

The telegram ends by affirming that the Australian 'Jewish community is expected to finance resettlement of the Jews that are admitted'. Having spent over half a million dollars by 1979 on the Soviet migration program, together with Benjamin—then Chairman of the Immigration Committee of the Melbourne Society—they calculated needing US$200,000 from JDC to finance this grand undertaking (FAJWS, 1979). Lippmann eventually asked US$350,000 assistance from JDC, not as a loan, which was rejected. Jacobson stated in a memo in 1979 that the 'feeling among JDC board leaders is there are enough wealthy Australian Jews to take care of Lippmann $350,000 request'. It seems that JDC misread the situation, and that 'wealthy Australian Jews' were not willing 'to take care of Lippmann'. Seidenman sent in 1979 a telegram to Harry Friedman, Financial Vice-President of HIAS, stating that Lippmann phoned him to advice that the FAJWS was

> planning to discontinue taking new cases from Rome as their plan of sponsorship was tied to getting a financial contribution from JDC and they have been turned down. They have not even succeeded with their proposition for help with a loan fund. (1979b)

Lippmann ended up receiving in 1979 a US$175,000 loan from JDC that the Australian Jewish Welfare Society (AJWS) was still paying back in the 1990s (Schneider, 1990). In financial year 1979-80, 1,777 Soviet Jews migrated to Australia (Refugees and Special Programs Branch, 1980). Lippmann noted that because of maintenance guarantees imposed by the Australian government for elderly Soviet migrants, the AJWRS could not fill the 2,500 places allocated for Soviet Jews in the financial year 1979-80 (Migus, 1979). The Soviet migration to Australia in 1978-79 seems to have included many who were elderly;

Seidenman's 1979 telegram quoted Lippmann as saying that 'twenty percent are over sixty years of age' (1979b).

Lippmann, as the driving force, substantially increased the number of Soviet migrants in Australia by 1980. Then came the immense task of assisting them with settlement and for them to become part of Jewish communities. By 1980, the Zionist Federation of Australia (ZFA) and the State Zionist Council of Victoria (SZCV) argued that more efforts were required to 'Judaise' Soviet Jews who settled in Australia. The ZFA suggested that 'assistance given to family groups should be conditional upon the children undertaking some form of Jewish education' (quoted in Benjamin, 1998, p. 290). The SZCV called upon the AJWRS to ensure that 'adequate Jewish education forms an essential part of the Welfare Society's role in resettling Russian Jewish migrants to this country' and that at the very least the AJWRS should pay subsidies for the Jewish school tuition of Soviet Jews (quoted in Benjamin, 1998, p. 290). Mark Leibler, President of the SZCV, felt compelled to explain in a letter to Geoff Green, President of the AJWRS, why the SZCV was making this demand; his reasoning was that the 'essential aims of Zionism today is the conservation of the identity of the Jewish people through the fostering of Jewish and Hebrew education and of spiritual and cultural values' (quoted in Benjamin, 1998, pp. 290-1). By 1980, the ZFA and the SZCV made it clear that assisting Soviet Jews to migrate to Australia was not acceptable unless their children attended Jewish schools and thereby increased the chances that they would become part of Jewish communities. This amounted to an attempt to 'Judaise' Soviet migrants by using financial assistance as leverage. Whereas there was a realisation that adult Soviet Jews would be difficult to draw into communal practice, it was possible to achieve the goal of 'Judaisation' through their children, who represented the future.

It seems that Lippman was not concerned about Jewish education, having sent his two daughters to the Church of England girls grammar school in Glen Iris where they lived.[13] He did not identify as religious but as an ethnic Jew and he used to say that in Hamburg, before the war, his family 'identified firstly as Germans and only secondarily as Jews.'[14] Yet after further pressure applied by the ZFA and the SZCV, and after lengthy discussions with various Jewish organisations in Melbourne, an agreement was reached to hold together a 'Jewish Identity Appeal' in 1981 for the purpose of providing children of Soviet migrants a Jewish education (Benjamin, 1998, p. 292). According to Benjamin, the Jewish Identity Appeal 'failed to capture the imagination of the local community and raised only $15 000. As a basis for comparison the AJWRS annual appeal in that year raised $350 000' (Benjamin, 1998, p. 292). By 1981, Australian local Jews seemed to be uninterested in donating for the cause of 'Judaising' the children of the Soviet migration or to attend rallies for the Soviet Jewry movement, as mentioned above.

Many Soviet Jews in the 1970s did send their children to Jewish schools thanks to generous scholarships from them. In 1979, data presented by Green shows that about two-fifths (39%) of Soviet children attended Jewish schools; the largest proportions went to Mount Scopus (17%), Beth Rivka (11%) and Yeshiva (7%) (p. 7). In later years, when the subsidies decreased, many parents could no longer send their children to these schools (Rutland, 2005, p. 142). By the 2000s it seems that the attendance was back at the 1979 level: the 2004 Australian survey of Jews in the Diaspora found a similar proportion—two-fifths (40%)—of children of migrants from the FSU were attending Jewish schools in Australia (Rutland & Gariano, 2005, p. 49). The 2017 Gen17 Australian Jewish community survey

[13] Email from his daughter Lenora Lippmann forwarded to me by her son Max Kaiser, 8 April 2019.
[14] Email from Lenora Lippmann forwarded by Kaiser, 8 April 2019.

indicates that about two-thirds (68%) of Jews from the FSU in Australia who migrated before 16 years of age attend(ed) at some point a local Jewish day school.[15]

Although local Jewish schools provided Soviet Jews with generous scholarships, the relationship between Soviet Jews and Jewish local communities was ambivalent. Psychologist Elka Steinkalk found in 1982 that

> the general climate of the local community was initially ambivalent towards this particular group of Jewish immigrants, because their exit visas from the Soviet Union were issued only for migration to Israel and because Israel was anxious to receive them. Therefore, the initial response of the local community was generally less enthusiastic and less spontaneous than possibly would have applied to any other Jewish refugee group. (pp. 221-2)

By 1985, even Lippmann had expressed a seemingly ambivalent view about Soviet Jews in Melbourne, describing the situation, 'from the viewpoint of Victorian Jewry', as 'deplorable'. Anthropologist Anna Frenkel wrote the following about her interview of Lippmann in 1985:

> According to Mr. Lippmann, the participation of Soviet Jews in Jewish communal activities in Victoria had been minimal, with only a few adult men being involved with the orthodox groups. The rest were either on the periphery of Jewish life altogether, or were active only in supporting their own club "Shalom" and the Russian-language fortnightly bearing the same name. He referred to this situation as deplorable from the viewpoint of Victorian Jewry because, given their average age, Soviet Jews represented a potential pool for the recruitment of new Jewish communal workers. (1987, pp. 422-3)

There is still a perception that Jews from the FSU are not, or even refuse to be, part of Jewish communities. Sociologist John Goldlust, for example, notes that migrants from the

[15] Based on my primary analysis of the 2017 Gen17 Australian Jewish community survey dataset provided by Andrew Markus. The Gen17 survey is further discussed in the following chapter.

FSU 'have remained very much a "community within a community"' (2001, p. 545). In addition, Jews from the FSU are often accused of exploiting the goodwill of Jewish communities only to disappear later. These are perceptions about Jews from the FSU that in private have been mentioned to me several times, including by prominent community leaders and members. Jews from the FSU are often perceived as 'free-riders', which is always a problem for communities that share benefits with other members who do not contribute their fair share in due course (Wood, 2018). Kemelman expressed in 2009 this sentiment about Jews from the FSU in one paragraph:

> As is known, Jews from states of the former Soviet Union who dropped out to Australia approached offices of the Jewish community only in the initial period of their arrival, when they sought aid and assistance. Indeed, after they exploited the benefits granted them, they exited the Jewish cycle. They are neither seen nor found in the Jewish environment. They belong to no Jewish community or organization and attend no synagogue even on High Holy Days, nor have they any interest in learning a thing about their religion and culture. Australian and New Zealand rabbis exerted themselves to the full extent of their ability and energy to attract former Soviet Union Jews — 20,000 of whom immigrated to Australia — to bring them into the mainstream of local communities and activities and to instruct them in the ways of Judaism. Nevertheless, following considerable efforts and unending disappointments, they were forced to give up on them completely. (p. 27)

The language used here hints at the bitter feelings that some hold towards Jews from the FSU. These migrants are seen as somehow having taken advantage of the community without giving anything back. Even some immigrants from the FSU level such accusations against their own peers. One such example is Inna Zaitseva, herself a migrant from the FSU to Melbourne, who states that 'Russians are the least Jewish Jews […] only a small minority of Russian Jews have Jewish interests or a strong Jewish identity. Moreover, for a host of

reasons they do not relate to existing Jewish institutions except to seek help' (2006, p. 63). These sorts of accusations often resulted in Jewish welfare officials and migrants from the FSU feeling that they were unworthy of receiving assistance (Markowitz, 1993, p. 229). This only reinforced their disappointment in the unmet expectations they had from local Jewish communities, as discussed in the following section.

Expectations of migrants from the FSU

Jews from the FSU were mostly highly educated and professional, secular and proud of their rich Russian culture. They mainly immigrated to Western countries because of socioeconomic discrimination they experienced as Jews in the Soviet Union, and not necessarily to undergo a process of 'Judaisation' in their new country. In the United States, sociologist Steven Gold found that while some Soviet migrants appreciated religious activities offered by Jewish resettlement workers, many others were not interested (1987, p. 119). Soviet Jews who chose to immigrate to a country other than Israel did so precisely to have the freedom to determine their own lives and avoid living in a country where Judaism would possibly be indoctrinated by the government (Gold, 1987, pp. 119-20).

Most of the migrants from the FSU came to Australia in the hope of a better future for their children and themselves. About half (52%) of four hundred Jews interviewed in Russia in the 1990s indicated that their chief motive to emigrate would be concern for their children's future in the FSU (Ryvkina, 1998, p. 64). The Gen17 survey shows similar findings, with about half (46%) of Jews from the FSU indicating that they emigrated because of poor future for their children in the FSU. About two-fifths (42%) of Jews from the FSU indicate that they chose Australia because it offered a better future for their children and about one-quarter (28%) better economic prospects. In contrast, only about one in ten (9%) indicate that they

came to live in Australia because of its Jewish community. The proportions indicate that for many Jews from the FSU the main priority was to provide their children with the best education and to prosper in economic terms. Participating in religious activities was for most of secondary importance, if it was considered at all.

Migrants from the FSU were demanding better jobs from Jewish welfare societies because they could not understand why they, being highly educated and professional, were often offered unskilled work. For migrants from the FSU, who viewed their socioeconomic achievements and status as an important aspect of their identity, being offered unskilled work was often translated into a sign of being patronised by local Jews. The feeling of having been demeaned by local Jews was at times aired in public by Jews from the FSU, as recently as the 2000s as well as in the 1980s. Zaitseva, for example, wrote in a book chapter that the 'only assistance most Jewish families were ready to offer Russian Jews was work as babysitters, cleaning ladies or housekeepers' (2006, p. 69). She further argues that offering her peers domestic work 'reflects the profound ignorance of the Australian Jewish community' about Russian-speaking Jews, because they 'were doctors, teachers and engineers!' (2006, p. 69). That her compatriots were offered domestic work indicated to Zaitseva that local Jews disrespected them. She therefore concludes that the pay for domestic work 'was usually given with a misplaced disrespect and unjustified snobbery. And without a genuine sense of communal responsibility and goodwill' (2006, p. 69). Trying to prove her point that local Jews rejected Russian-speaking Jews, she then asks: 'When was the last time you invited a Russian Jew, perhaps your tertiary-educated cleaning lady, to your Shabbat table?' (2006, p. 69).

Following the publishing of Zaitseva's book chapter, migrants from the FSU voiced their feeling of not being accepted and included in local Jewish communities in the *Australian Jewish News* (AJN) in 2006. One immigrant from the FSU explained that '[w]e had big expectations that the Jewish community would be very warm with us,' instead he found that they 'didn't accept us, they didn't invite us to their homes for Shabbat … the Jewish community is very snobbish' (Franklin, 2006, p. 1). Another migrant from the FSU 'recalls that the local community was "not friendly" and "disrespectful" upon her arrival' (Franklin, 2006, p. 1). Mark Franklin, then reporter for the *AJN*, found that '[e]very Russian Jewish immigrant whom the *AJN* contacted this week supported her [Zaitseva's] opinion' (2006, p. 1). Zaitseva expressed a feeling that her compatriots often shared: an expectation to receive more assistance from Jewish communities instead of feeling disrespected and rejected—and because they expected more, they demanded more. A similar opinion was also articulated in the *AJN* in the 1980s:

> But many Russian Jews said Welfare officials were not as helpful as they had expected and were at times patronising, to the point of being downright offensive. Just as many Eastern European immigrants claimed they were treated with hostility and contempt by the established and highly assimilated Australian Jews before and after the Second World War, the Soviet Jews said they too were treated badly by the rest of the community. (Gettler, 1988, p. 24)

Jews from the FSU felt entitled to demand assistance from Jewish communities that had had the privilege to live in a free society where they had been able to flourish and thrive. After all, migrants from the FSU reasoned, Western Jews were active for decades campaigning to 'Let my people go', and saw this as an expectation of how much the latter would be willing to assist them when they finally arrived. Steinkalk similarly states that because of Soviet Jews' 'perceptions of themselves as refugees and "rescued Jews," they had high and

unwarranted expectations about their reception by the Jewish community' (1982, p. 222). Jews from the FSU emigrated to pursue social and economic mobility and emulate the success of local Jews, not to return to Jewish religion and lifestyle. They felt that they had the right to demand from local Jewish communities to help them in this pursuit. They further felt that they should not be questioned about their Jewishness or undergo attempts to be 'Judaised' (Remennick, 2012, p. 172). Remennick summarised the anticipations of Jews from the FSU from Jewish communities in the following way:

> What did ex-Soviet Jews expect from the hosting countries and local established Jews? To be accepted on their own terms, for who they are—hard-working, educated, ambitious people whose efforts at social and economic mobility had been curbed by the anti-Semitic state in the Slavic countries where they had never felt at home. They left the FSU in search of self-actualization, higher living standards, and better futures for their children rather than return to the Jewish religion and lifestyle, which their forefathers had left behind in the shtetls of Russia and Ukraine many decades ago. They assert that no one has a right to teach them how to be Jews: they had experienced the full measure of humiliation and grief due to their "ethnic disability" in the FSU, lost family members in the Holocaust and Stalin's purges, and moved to the West simply to be free and pursue their life goals unhampered. (2012, pp. 371-2)

Jewish communal agencies did not anticipate having to deal with Jewish refugees who were highly educated and professional and dared to ask for well-paying jobs, good housing and good schooling for their children (Markowitz, 1993, p. 228). In the United States this demanding attitude of Jews from the FSU further contributed to them being perceived as 'opportunists' (Markowitz, 1993, pp. 228-9). In Australia, the *AJN* also found that because of their insisting attitude, '[m]embers of the wider Jewish community — including some associated with welfare — have privately criticised the Russian Jews, branding them as

pushy, difficult and selfish' (Gettler, 1988, p. 24). This is a perception about Jews from the FSU that still privately circulates to this day.

Yet, local Jewish communities often do not understand why Jews from the FSU did not establish their own self-help organisations to assist with pursuing these goals (Markowitz, 1993, p. 229). If Jews from the FSU are mainly interested in 'self-actualization, higher living standards, and better futures for their children rather than return to the Jewish religion and lifestyle', local Jews then sometimes think that maybe indeed they are unworthy to receive assistance from local Jewish agencies. But as Markowitz succinctly put it: 'On the one hand, then, the American Jewish community offers continuing resettlement services to Soviet émigrés, while, on the other, it expresses indignation that these immigrants make use of the proffered assistance' (1993, p. 229).

In summary, the FAJWS, directed by Lippmann, expected that Jews from the FSU would rejuvenate the aging communities. He achieved a large Soviet in-migration by 1980, despite facing harsh criticism from other Jewish, especially Zionist, organisations. When arriving Soviet Jews did not meet the expectations of local Jews; the latter resolved to 'Judaise' them, with little success. Local Jews then began to perceive migrants from the FSU as 'free-riders' that exploited the provided assistance but would not contribute their fair share. Most migrants from the FSU, on the other hand, did not want to be 'Judaised' and prioritised their children's education and economic prosperity. They expected that local Jews would offer them assistance and a fast-track to independent economic success, and that they would not question their Jewishness. In these mutually broken expectations, the truth lies, as often is the case, somewhere in the middle. The FAJWS assumed a grandiose task without fully understanding the different identities of Soviet emigrants that they would welcome.

Migrants from the FSU could not have imagined how vibrant Western Jewish communities were and how much more 'Jewish' they were expected to become. In the following section a discussion follows of the heterogeneity of identities of migrants from the FSU.

Heterogeneity of identities from the FSU

It is indeed possible that a significant proportion of Jews from the FSU did not contribute their fair share in due time—especially because many migrants would have 'instrumentalised' their Jewish identity and made it salient only in a situation that could benefit them, and used this to their advantage to approach Jewish welfare societies for assistance (Gitelman, 2012, p. 109). Roberman found that many migrants from the FSU in Germany presented their Jewishness 'through the trope of instrumentalization, which means that people turn Jewishness into a tool for profitmaking […], just as the "instrumental" concept of ethnicity would predict' (2016, p. 191). Many Jews in the Soviet Union had to instrumentalise their Jewish identity in the first place to be granted exit permits from the Soviet Union and later visas to immigrate to Western countries. Once they settled in host countries and received what they could from Jewish organisations, many were not interested in maintaining any further contact with Jewish communities. Yet the instrumentalisation of their Jewish identity was made possible precisely because their Jewish identity in the Soviet Union was mostly experienced as a 'primordial' identity, as discussed in the introduction. Their Jewishness was experienced as primordial because it was a 'given' and inherited at birth as their official nationality registered in their Soviet internal passports, not as an identity they chose or necessarily were eager to maintain. A similar official identity for Jews could be found in Israel, where until 2005 they were registered on their identity cards as 'Jew' by *le'om* (nationality or ethnicity in Hebrew) as

opposed to, among others, 'Arab', 'Druze' or 'unregistered' (Lustick, 1999, p. 430; Merza, 2012, p. 4).

A significant proportion of Jews in the Soviet Union were acculturated but could not assimilate; their Jewish nationality, or being nominally Jewish, was mostly a liability they wanted to get rid of, if only they could (Gitelman, 2012, pp. 8-16; Remennick, 1998, p. 242; Vinogradov, 2010, p. 62). Not only Soviet Jews wanted to assimilate; many Western Jews assimilated. The difference was that Westerners could simply choose to become part of the nation where they lived without further being identified as Jewish, whereas for Jews in the Soviet Union this was usually not an option. Even those who no longer had Jewish nationality registered on their internal passports—because they inherited the nationality of their non-Jewish parent or were able to bribe a Soviet official to have their nationality changed—were often identified as nominally Jewish. Scholars Larisa Fialkova and Maria Yelenevskaya found that 'Soviet social realities triggered the emergence of the concepts of "half" and "quarter" with respect to ethnicity. In addition, the expression "Jew on her mother's/father's side" was often used in earnest' (2007, p. 60).[16] 'Half' Jews were often still nominally Jewish, especially if their father was Jewish and their children then had a Jewish family name or patronymic.

According to *halacha* (Jewish religious law), however, the decisive lineage to be considered Jewish is matrilineal. This created the peculiarity that a person with a Jewish father was considered more of a Jew in Soviet terms than those with a Jewish mother (Fialkova & Yelenevskaya, 2007, p. 59). A person named Rabinowitz (prototypical Jewish last name in

[16] In the Soviet Union, children of mixed marriages with one Jewish spouse were not the only ones to be identified as belonging to two ethnic groups; this was sometimes also the case for other ethnic groups (Gorenburg, 2006).

the FSU) would be identified as Jewish, although their mother was not Jewish. A person with a Jewish mother, which would make them Jewish according to halacha, but with a typical Russian last name like Ivanov, would still be viewed as 'Jewish on their mother's side', by Jews and non-Jews, but be considered a 'hilarious absurdity' (Fialkova & Yelenevskaya, 2007, p. 59). In the Soviet Union 'half' Jews would therefore often be ascribed the label Jewish, although some may have been wanting to assimilate and were also not Jewish according to halacha. Precisely because many of those who wanted to assimilate or 'half' Jews were still ascribed the label Jewish, they were in a position to instrumentalise their Jewish identity.

Jewish welfare societies in the 1970s could not, or would not, differentiate between those who identified themselves in line with their primordial Jewish identity, and those who were solely instrumentalising their nominally Jewish identity but were seeking to assimilate. These two groups seemed as one especially because they were practically all acculturated, and their language, culture and behaviour were 'Russian' and similar in the eyes of 'outsiders'. Kemelman and Leibler, on the other hand, viewed the vast majority of Soviet Jews as already having assimilated, and therefore needing to be 'rescued', which was primarily possible in Israel. They did not differentiate between those who were mainly instrumentalising their Soviet Jewish identity and those who identified as Jewish and would do so in countries other than Israel. The *AJT* in 1987 reported that 'Rabbi Kemelman quoted Eli Wiesel, who recently said of Soviet emigres: "It is shocking that those who were Jews in Moscow and Leningrad cease to be Jews in New York and Los Angeles"' ("Sydney Rabbi," p. 9). The distinction that Kemelman and Wiesel failed to make, if the quote attributed to Wiesel is accurate, is that some of these migrants wanted to cease being Jewish in the

Soviet Union but remained officially or nominally Jewish. It could be expected that at least some would shed their nominal identification as Jews when given the opportunity.

An underlying assumption often governing the discourse about Jews from the FSU is that they are perceived as victims of their circumstances who outside the Soviet Union would have maintained a 'thick' Jewish culture. This may have been true for some Soviet Jews, but a significant proportion simply chose to acculturate and would have assimilated if possible, as some Western Jews have. Assuming that acculturated Jews from the FSU were victims is the reason that some describe them as 'children' who need re-education, a language that is usually not used about assimilating Jews in the West. This language of victimhood constructs them as children abducted by the Soviet regime and suffering from the 'Stockholm syndrome', or in this case, the 'Soviet syndrome'.[17] It is further a language that attempts to infantilise them and thereby wrests control from them as adults who deserve to determine their own future, giving instead community leaders authority to decide what is best for those they 'rescued'. Even some of their own peers view them in similar terms and state that 'Russian Jewish Australians must stop crying for the fleshpots of their former identity,' alluding to the fleshpots in biblical Egypt from where Hebrews had to be 'rescued' from slavery (Zaitseva, 2006, p. 74). This language could be used about Jews from the FSU because they remained at least nominally Jewish and were therefore identified by others as such. Westerners, on the other hand, could shed even their nominal Jewish label and assimilate into the general population, therefore becoming no longer identifiable as Jews. It becomes impossible to use such a language directed at a group that cannot be identified.

[17] 'Stockholm syndrome [is a] psychological response wherein a captive begins to identify closely with his or her captors, as well as with their agenda and demands' (Lambert, 2018).

Jewish surveys often do not include data about Westerners who no longer identify as Jews, which further contributes to keeping them indistinguishable from the general population. A prerequisite for participating in a Jewish survey (including the Gen17 survey) is usually that a person needs to at least identify as Jewish; this excludes all those who do not consider themselves nominally Jewish. An example is the Pew survey from 2013, *A Portrait of Jewish Americans*. The Pew report was focused on a sample of the Jewish population termed 'Net Jewish' (n=3,475), which included Jews by religion and Jews of no religion and excluded those who did not identify as Jewish or had a religion other than Judaism. The latter were nonetheless analysed in a separate chapter of the Pew report, as discussed below (2013, p. 16; 18). The survey conducted more than 70,000 screening interviews to achieve a nationally representative sample of American Jews and therefore was able to also identify many 'people who have a Jewish parent or were raised Jewish but who, today, either have another religion (most are Christian) or say they do *not* consider themselves Jewish;' these are then called '*Non-Jewish people of Jewish background*' (n=1,190) (2013, p. 16; 18; emphasis in original). These supposedly 'non-Jewish people of Jewish background' in the United States are not an insignificant number, estimated to be 2.4 million compared to 5.3 million 'net Jewish', or about one-third (31%) of the sum of these groups (Pew, 2013, p. 23). Of 'non-Jewish people of Jewish background', about half (48%) had a Jewish mother and would, at least according to halacha, often be recognised as Jewish by other Jews based on their matrilineal descent, and a further about one-third (36%) had a Jewish father (Pew, 2013, p. 109). One-fifth (20%) grew up with the Jewish religion and about one in ten (12%) with no religion (Pew, 2013, p. 109). In the West, people with these characteristics are then considered 'non-Jewish' because they do not identify as such (not nominally) or have a religion other than Judaism.

Jews from the FSU, on the other hand, with the above characteristics of 'non-Jewish people of Jewish background', would usually still nominally be Jewish. So when Jews in the West undertook statistics about intermarriages based on the Soviet Census, for example, all Jews who registered as Jewish by nationality in the census were included in the analysis, with no consideration for those who might not identify as Jewish in private or who may have had a religion other than Judaism, information that was not available in the Soviet Census.[18] In the United States, the intermarriage rate (with non-Jews who had no Jewish background) of those that the 2013 Pew report termed 'Jewish background' was about nine in ten (92%), yet their intermarriage rate was not included in that of the so-called American 'Net Jewish', which was about two-fifths (43%) (Pew, 2013, p. 111). If the intermarriage rates of the two groups were to be combined, it would have been about three-fifths (58%). Yet because surveys about Western Jews usually exclude those who no longer identify as Jewish or who have a religion other than Judaism, no data is made available about the proportions that assimilated, and their data is omitted when analysing Jewish statistics.[19]

When Jews emigrated from the FSU, their migration included most probably a significant proportion of those who wanted to assimilate and would be considered in Western Jewish statistics 'non-Jewish people of Jewish background', except that many migrants were still instrumentalising their nominal Jewish identity. The proportion of migrants from the FSU who wanted to assimilate when given the opportunity could be similar to the proportion of those classified by the Pew survey as '*Non-Jewish people of Jewish background*' in the

[18] For a discussion of people indicating in the Soviet Census their registered nationality or the nationality they identified with, including a discussion about whether people identified in line with their registered nationalities, see Brym with Ryvkina (1994, pp. 19-22), Gorenburg (2006, pp. 159-60), and Tolts (2007, pp. 283-4).
[19] See further sociologist Steven Cohen who reanalysed the 1991 *National Jewish population survey* and revised the intermarriage rate from 52% to 41% by removing the weights, because he disagreed with the prior analysis wherein 'people who were raised as gentiles, provided they had one Jewish parent, are counted as Jews and their marriage to (another) gentile is counted as a Jewish-gentile intermarriage' (1994, pp. 54; 56-7; 89; 95).

United States (31%) (2013, p. 23). In Israel in 2014, about one-third (32%) of immigrants from the FSU from 1990 were considered not halachically Jewish and were not registered as Jews (Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS], 2016, p. 2). A survey in 1976-77 found that of those migrating from the FSU to countries other than Israel a significant proportion wanted to stop identifying with their Jewish nationality (Leshem, 1980, p. 15). The 1976-77 survey further reported that 12% of Soviet Jews who did not immigrate to Israel had a non-Jewish spouse, compared to 1% of those who immigrated to Israel (Gitelman, 1989, pp. 172-3; 245; Leshem, 1980, p. 60). A 1981 survey of Soviet migrants who settled in the United States in 1977-81 noted that about one-third (30%) were not registered as Jewish on their Soviet internal passports (Gitelman, 1981, p. 7). The 1981 survey found that '12 per cent of the Jews have spouses who, in the USSR, were not officially registered as Jews' (Gitelman, 1981, pp. 17-8). In addition, the 1981 survey asked how they would like to be identified: about one-quarter (24%) of Soviet Jews replied as 'Americans', not as 'Jews' or 'American-Jews' (Gitelman, 1981, p. 16). According to sociologists Victor Zaslavsky and Robert Brym, in the 1970s

> about a fifth of the dropouts [from migrating to Israel] in Vienna have Israeli visas but are very marginally Jewish or non-Jewish in at least one of three senses: they have no Jewish ancestors, or they have some nationality other than Jewish entered in their internal passports, or they have converted to the Russian Orthodox religion. (1983, p. 52)

Scholars Robert Brym with Rozalina Ryvkina estimate that in the early 1990s '15 per cent of all emigrants [from the FSU] who declared themselves Jewish were in fact not Jewish according to their internal passports' (1994, p. 21). They further state that in the 1990s '[s]ome children of mixed marriages who were registered as non-Jews at the age of sixteen are now declaring that they are Jews' (1994, p. 21).

Jewish communities accepted a heterogenous migration

Jewish welfare societies could not, or would not, differentiate among the Soviet migration between what in the West often are considered 'non-Jewish people of Jewish background' and 'Jewish', because both were at least nominally Jewish. In this sense it could also be understood that the ZFA and the SZCV wanted to somewhat regulate which migrants could request assistance. Especially if this migration was supposed to rejuvenate aging Jewish communities in Australia, from this point of view it would be counterproductive to assist in the migration of families that would not become part of a Jewish community.

Following increased criticism of the FAJWS facilitating the Soviet migration, Lippmann felt compelled to acknowledge in 1979 in the *Melbourne Chronicle* that problems existed with their integration in Jewish communities. He conceded that some Soviet Jews were intermarried 'and we have accepted a number of them in Melbourne' (1979a, p. 6). This was a significant admission on the part of Lippmann, because it seemed counterproductive to 'import' more intermarried couples into a community that according to him had 'passed its peak' and struggled with assimilation while using the resources of Jewish welfare societies for this purpose. The 1991 Melbourne Jewish community survey found that one in ten Soviet Jews who arrived between 1976 and 1985 had a non-Jewish spouse, but this probably is an underrepresentation, as discussed below (Goldlust, 1993b, p. 38). Yet Lippmann did not address the intermarriage issue further and instead qualified that some of the problems with integration in Jewish communities arose because 'their Jewish background is primarily that of secular identification with little previous experience or knowledge of Jewish religious life, traditions or practices' (1979a, p. 6). Nonetheless, he concluded that the 'overwhelming number of Russian Jews have settled well in our community, and will represent valuable

additions to it' (1979a, p. 6). Lippmann's positive assessment of the integration of Soviet Jews in Melbourne differed from the increasing criticism that they were disengaged from Jewish communities and wanted them, at the very least, to send their children to Jewish school.

Australian Jewish welfare societies seem to have been at odds with the ZFA and the SZCV about regulating which Jews should receive assistance. Jewish welfare societies were willing to accept applicants from the FSU although they were married to non-Jewish spouses, even if this might interfere with them becoming part of a Jewish community. This included those who had non-Jewish wives and whose children would usually not be considered Jewish in the West, but were considered 'half' Jewish in the Soviet Union. Jewish welfare societies accepted these cases knowing that they may not be recognised as Jewish in the West. As is discussed in detail in Chapter Six, *Jewish Ethnic Belonging*, about one-quarter of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne aged 55 or over have a non-Jewish partner/spouse. The proportion of intermixed couples is most probably an underrepresentation, as those who are intermarried are not inclined to participate in Jewish surveys, especially in a non-probability convenience sample like the Gen17 survey.

One 1976 case of an intermarried family illustrates that the Jewish welfare society in Melbourne admitted intermarried couples although there was an understanding that they would most probably not be able to become part of a Jewish community. The case can also exemplify how some Soviets perceived being Jewish differently to Western Jews, or perhaps were instrumentalising their Jewish label. The family included a Jewish father, a non-Jewish mother, and their 'half' Jewish daughter. According to halacha the daughter was not Jewish, but she and her parents thought otherwise. HIAS Rome had to determine their eligibility for

assistance. In the 1970s, HIAS assisted only those Soviet migrants who were registered as Jewish on their Soviet internal passports, with two exceptions: those registered as Jewish, but who converted to a religion other than Judaism were not assisted, and some of those related to migrants registered as Jews were assisted (Zaslavsky & Brym, 1983, pp. 52-4). Migrants from the FSU who were ineligible for HIAS assistance had other options available to them. Those who had at least one Jewish grandfather could still migrate to Israel with any non-Jewish relatives, as long as the Jewish migrants did not have a religion other than Judaism. Those who were ineligible for Israel or who wanted to migrate to a country other than Israel could receive assistance from the Tolstoy Foundation, the International Rescue Committee, and other organisations like Caritas (Zaslavsky & Brym, 1983, p. 54).

Suzy Mitrici, caseworker at HIAS Rome, wrote in 1976 to the AJWRS that she decided to submit the above-mentioned case to the Australian Embassy instead of transferring it to another organisation. She explained that

> the daughter, [first name], started to cry and she said that she considered herself Jewish, that all her girlfriends in the USA were already going to Jewish schools and why should she be different from others. We were rather moved by this attitude and we had a long talk with Mrs. [last name], who told us that also in the USSR her daughter always vaunted her Jewishness, although it brought her only trouble.

This was a case of a Soviet girl who was considered not Jewish according to halacha, but who in the Soviet Union was purportedly ascribed the Jewish label, especially because she inherited from her father a recognisable Jewish last name. Yet, it is likely that when the daughter would have reached 16 years of age, she would not have had her father's Jewish nationality registered on her Soviet internal passport but rather her mother's nationality. Her non-Jewish mother supported her daughter's Jewishness that she supposedly always

‘vaunted’, ‘although it brought her only trouble.’ Workers at HIAS Rome accepted it as sincere and not as an instrumentalised Jewish identity. The mother might have been sincere, but in order to receive assistance she might have also been ‘speaking Bolshevik’ and acting ‘as if’ to the ‘public official’ from HIAS (Kotkin, 1995, pp. 198-237; Yurchak, 2006, pp. 16-7). To ‘speak Bolshevik’ in the Soviet Union was to know how to ‘play the game’ required for the situation, something many often did (Kotkin, 1995, p. 222). Acting ‘as if’ in authoritarian regimes is when people wear a ‘mask’ when facing the ‘official public’, while acting differently in the ‘hidden intimate’ (Fitzpatrick, 2005; Yurchak, 2006, p. 17).

It is not possible to know if the mother was sincere or speaking Bolshevik and acting as if, but the result would have been the same regardless. Mitrici concluded in her letter that based on the emotional plea of the daughter and her mother, ‘we think that the family will certainly be able to become a part of the Jewish community’ (1976). The conclusion that this family would ‘certainly’ be able to become part of a Jewish community was not shared by the AJWRS in Melbourne. In response to this letter, H. Fischer, Secretary of the AJWRS, wrote in 1976 to Evi Eller, Director of HIAS Rome:

> Whilst we think that the non-Jewishness of Mrs. [last name] would not cause trouble within the community, her daughter [first name], would not of course be recognised under the Rabbinical Laws as being of the Jewish Faith, and might later on have difficulties in the case of marriage to a Jewish boy.

Fischer knew that the daughter, unless she were to convert, would not be recognised in Melbourne as being of the ‘Jewish Faith’; because of this she may have difficulties marrying someone Jewish, and the family would therefore not be able to become part of a Jewish community. Yet this was not the grounds that elicited concerns from the AJWRS to accept them. Instead, Fischer raised that an ‘important objection to this family coming to Australia

would be the profession of Mr. [last name] who is an Economist'. Fischer concluded, however, that if the family would be willing to accept unskilled work in Melbourne, 'we would have no hesitation in accepting them'. It seems that what mattered for the AJWRS to admit this case was not whether the family would be recognised as being of the 'Jewish Faith' and their ability to become part of a Jewish community, but rather whether they would be capable of finding employment. As an alternative, Fischer could have replied to HIAS that they should transfer this case to one of the other resettlement organisations in Rome, as HIAS intended to do before the daughter started to cry. The justification for accepting a family that was less likely to become part of a Jewish community was most probably the modern secular notion of Jewish peoplehood as linked to an ethnic conception of group identity but detached from Israel. This was at odds with the Melbourne Jewish community, who mostly linked Jewish peoplehood with a nationalistic conception of group identity as linked to Israel, or to Jewish faith.

Similarly, in Sydney in 1976, a memo from HIAS in Rome for an application of an intermarried couple with children stated that the '[f]amily was told about Sydney Community not accepting mixed marriages'. Yet in Sydney this was not a sufficient reason to reject the application. As early as 1976, Jewish welfare societies were accepting intermarried families into communities that were 'not accepting mixed marriages', where their children would not be recognised as Jewish and might have difficulties marrying someone Jewish. This was at odds with the ZFA and the SZCV, who insisted that those who were being assisted by the Jewish welfare societies should be immigrants who could and would become part of a Jewish community.

Several of the interview participants in this research support the view that intermarried couples were accepted to come to Australia. Having a non-Jewish spouse, however, does not necessarily mean that a household will not become part of a Jewish community. Three of the interviewed women immigrated with non-Jewish husbands and two of them sent their children to Jewish schools. This indicates that some intermarried couples did become part of Jewish communities. One enrolled her daughter only for two years at Sholem Aleichem College while the second, Anna, sent her daughters to Jewish schools until their graduation. Anna first sent her oldest daughter to Beth Rivkah College immediately after she arrived in Melbourne in the early 1990s. Beth Rivkah, although a strictly Orthodox Chabad school, accepted Anna's daughter, despite her having a non-Jewish father, but they would not have done so had the mother not been Jewish. She soon realised, however, that Beth Rivkah was too religious for her household. She decided to enrol her daughter instead in Sholem Aleichem College, which is a secular and inclusive Jewish school that teaches Yiddish language and culture. When her second daughter was of kindergarten age, she enrolled both her daughters at King David School, which is a progressive Jewish school. Anna first received generous subsidies to help her afford the school tuition, but after finding better paying work she had to contribute half her income to pay for school tuition.

The interview participant Rami, mentioned in the introduction, who later married a non-Jewish, non-Russian-speaking woman in Melbourne, on the other hand, did not send his three sons to a Jewish school and did not raise them as Jews. He says that his three sons are not considered Jewish by other Jews because their mother is non-Jewish, although, as described in the introduction, Rami sees his sons as having Jewish 'blood'. By contrast, his oldest daughter, from his first marriage in Israel to a Russian-speaking Jewish woman who

identifies as secular, grew up Jewish and became strictly Orthodox and part of the Hasidic group Breslov.

The interview participants indicate that intermarried Jewish women have a higher likelihood of establishing a Jewish household compared to intermarried Jewish men; this is supported by statistics. The gender of the Jewish spouse in intermarried couples is an important predictor of whether or not the child will be raised Jewish. Customised tables from the 2016 Australian Census showed that when both parents were Jewish almost all (96%) couples indicated their youngest child's religion as Jewish; for intermarried couples where the mother was Jewish this fell to less than half (44%), whereas when only the father was Jewish the proportion further decreased to 13% (Graham with Narunsky, 2019, p. 48). These different proportions are, as mentioned, because for Jewish communities the matrilineal descent is often decisive for the religious status of children. The proportions indicate that children of intermarried couples with non-Jewish mothers are often not raised Jewish and will often not become part of a Jewish community.

In summary, there was a heterogeneity of identities among those who emigrated from the FSU that local Jews at first did not fully appreciate. A significant proportion of migrants who were acculturated but could not assimilate in the Soviet Union and those who were 'half' Jewish, up to possibly one-third, instrumentalised their nominal Jewish identity solely to be eligible for visas to the West and assistance from Jewish welfare societies. A second group identified as Jews in alignment with their primordial Jewish identity in the FSU. Jewish welfare societies could not, or would not, distinguish between these two groups. Many of the Soviet migrants who were seeking to assimilate possibly never intended to be part of a Jewish community. The vast majority of migrants from the FSU were often still considered

‘Jewish’, because they were at least still nominally Jewish and instrumentalised this identity. Similar assimilated Westerners, however, who often do not identify even nominally as Jewish, are usually viewed and classified in Jewish statistics as ‘non-Jewish people of Jewish background’. The ZFA and the SZCV disagreed with the Jewish welfare societies and wanted to somewhat regulate which migrants received assistance to avoid ‘free-riders’ and ensure that they would become part of a Jewish community. With the realisation that a future large migration from the FSU may include many of those who only instrumentalised their identity, there was a shift in attitude by Jewish communities, including Jewish welfare societies. This shift in attitude is discussed in the following section.

Discouraging Soviet Jewish migration to Australia

With a renewed surge of Jews allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev (1985-91), Jews in Australia and the United States changed their positions about receiving large numbers of migrants. According to sociologists Tanya Basok and Robert Brym, ‘at the beginning of the 1990s most Western countries have become less interested in promoting the basic human right to freedom of movement than in finding out how they can *prevent* a massive influx of Soviet citizens into their territories’ (1991, p. xii; emphasis in original). In the 1980s, the Israelis increasingly tried to influence the United States government not to grant refugee visas to Soviet immigrants. According to Lazin, however, Israeli ‘Prime Minister Shamir’s request for the United States not to consider Soviet Jews as refugees fell on deaf ears both in Washington and among the American Jewish community’, but it was rather because of a lack of refugee places and funding that the United Stated and American Jews changed their positions (2006, p. 404). According to Rutland, however, besides the financial pressures, the ‘reversal was due to an ideological change in the attitudes of the

American Jewish leadership towards a more Zionist, pro-Israel orientation' (2017, p. 236). Rutland attributed an important role to Australia on this issue, particularly to Isi Leibler who in the late 1980s 'played a part in the changing United States Jewish politics' (2017, p. 223).

In Australia there was also a change in attitude towards a potential large Soviet migration. During a discussion in 1989 with Ron Brown, then Secretary of the Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, Lippmann 'emphasized that we are supporting only those who are being sponsored by relatives and that we are not engaged in an active program of encouraging Soviet Jews to come to Australia'. This was partly because of an ideological change in Australia, as in the United States, towards a more Zionist, pro-Israel orientation. But this ideological change was justified based on the often-accepted claim that Soviet Jews did not become part of Jewish communities. As Leibler wrote in the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1988,

> the Soviet Jewry movement is not a travel agency and the transfer of one diaspora to another, even from a Communist society to a democracy, is not a pressing national Jewish objective. This is especially true if the overwhelming majority of Jews wanting to leave — currently over 90 per cent — do not want to go to Israel, do not particularly care about their Jewish identity, and have doubtful prospects of even remaining Jews once they end up in the West. (1988a, p. 32)

In 1989, Leibler further stated that 'Soviet immigrants "drop out" of the community', and used this allegation to justify a policy to 'discourage Soviet Jews wanting to migrate to Australia' ("Soviet Jews in Rome," 1989, p. 7).

In the second migration wave from the FSU in the 1990s, a higher proportion of households from the FSU emigrated where one of the spouses was non-Jewish, and even where both were halachically not Jewish. This included those who had only one Jewish grandfather and

no further connection to Jewishness but were still eligible for Aliyah (immigration to Israel and acquiring automatically citizenship) based on the 1970 Israeli Law of Return (Gavison, 2010, pp. 66-7; Lustick, 1999, p, 422). About three-fifths (59%) of those migrating from the FSU to Israel in 2002 were not halachically Jewish (Sternberg, 2002). In 2014 in Israel there were 243,000 halachically non-Jews from the FSU of whom only about 25,000 (10%) converted to Judaism (CBS, 2016, p. 2; Fisher, 2015, p. 11). Many of those who had a non-Jewish spouse or only a Jewish grandfather preferred to immigrate to countries other than Israel (Gitelman, 1989, p. 244). Even those in this cohort who went to Israel would most probably have chosen another destination if they could, as neither they nor their children would be recognised as Jews. In Israel until 2005, the *le'om* on the identity cards of many of these halachically non-Jewish immigrants stated 'unregistered' as opposed to 'Jew', while some of them were registered as Jewish by nationality on their former Soviet internal passports (Lustick, 1999, p. 430).

According to Goldlust, 'Jewish Community Services workers in Australia speculated that up to half of the spouses of recent Soviet immigrants would not be considered as meeting the traditional religious criteria of Jewishness (a person born of a Jewish mother)' (2001, p. 544). That half of the spouses in Australia from the second migration wave in the 1990s were not Jewish may be an exaggeration, but in Israel the proportion of halachically non-Jews was about one-third (32%) (CBS, 2016, p. 2). The 1991 Melbourne Jewish community survey found that one-fifth of migrants from the FSU who arrived between 1986 and 1991 had a non-Jewish spouse, compared to one in ten of those who arrived between 1976 and 1985 (Goldlust, 1993b, p. 38).

From this point of view, it can be understood why the ZFA and the SZCV preferred to discourage large numbers from the FSU to immigrate to Australia. If the motivation to provide assistance to immigrants from the FSU was to revitalise Jewish communities in Australia that were supposedly on the decline because of high intermarriage rates, then it is hardly justifiable to assist a migration that would include up to one-third of non-Jewish spouses. Furthermore, until 1989, HIAS in Rome assessed to some degree whether immigrants from the FSU were recognised as Jewish and processed their application accordingly, but from 1989-90 immigrants travelled directly from the FSU to their new host countries, thereby bypassing HIAS' evaluation of their Jewishness. As Basok and Brym note, in the United States it

> was one thing to promote the right of Soviet Jews and some non-Jews to emigrate when their numbers were measured in the hundreds of thousands and stretched over a decade or two. It was quite another to ponder the absorption of over one million Soviet Jews and many more non-Jews in a relatively brief period of time. (1991, p. xii)

Only countries like Israel and Germany were willing and capable, each for their local interests, to accept large numbers of migrants from the FSU in a relatively brief period of time, at least if they had the 'appropriate ethnic credentials' (Basok & Brym, 1991, p. xii). That close to one-third of the migration from the FSU were halachically non-Jews was still in the interest of Israel, which wanted the Arab population in Israel, including those living across the green line, to remain a minority (Aronson, 1990, p. 37; Landy, 2003, p. 8; Yonah, 2004).[20] Israel was struggling from the 1970s with a 'demographic time bomb' (Aronson, 1990, p. 37; Landy, 2003, p. 8; Yonah, 2004). Arabs in Israel, including those living across the

[20] Territories that Israel captured during the 1967 Six-Day War are beyond the green line, or armistice lines, which is the demarcation line after the 1948 Israeli War of Independence.

green line, were projected to become the majority in Israel because of high fertility rates, thereby challenging Israel's claim based on a democratic majority to remain a Jewish state (Aronson, 1990, p. 37). Israel had an advantage in welcoming a large 'non-Arab', albeit halachically non-Jewish, migration, because this would contribute to maintaining 'Israel as a non-Arab state' (Landy, 2003; Lustick, 1999; Yonah, 2004, pp. 195-6). Shamir stated that the 'Arabs around us are in a state of disarray and panic ... They are shrouded by a feeling of defeat, because they see that the intifada doesn't help — they cannot stop the natural streaming of the Jewish people [from the FSU] to their homeland' ("Shamir," 1990, p. 1). Shamir called it a stream of Jewish people, but it turned out that about one-third were halachically non-Jewish (CBS, 2016, p. 2). Migrants from the FSU, including halachically non-Jews, were assisted by the Israeli government to settle in communities across the green line (Aronson, 1990). For Jews in Australia and Northern America, on the other hand, especially in the era of Gorbachev who implemented significant reforms in the Soviet Union (*glasnost* and *perestroika*), it became difficult to justify facilitating a large migration that would include a high proportion of halachically non-Jews and of people who only instrumentalised their Jewish identities at a time when Jewish communities themselves were increasingly struggling with rising intermarriage rates. In the words of Leibler, it became difficult to justify 'a Jewish obligation to transfer one Diaspora Jewish community to another' ("Soviet Jews in Rome," 1989, p. 7).

Previously settled migrants from the FSU in Australia, however, wished for their relatives from the FSU to join them. They contacted Lippmann to approach the Australian government to devise special visas for minorities from the FSU for the purpose of family reunion, which he successfully did (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 353). According to the Melbourne-based Russian-speaking Jewish Shalom Association, the 'Special Assistance Category

program, which was known as the Jewish Welfare program, was successful in giving the opportunity for more than 5,000 Jews to leave USSR and arrive in Australia' (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 354). Despite trying to discourage a new migration from the FSU in the 1990s, this second wave of migration was larger than the first one in the 1970s. The 1990s migration wave to Australia, however, was driven by family reunion because of previously settled migrants from the FSU, not by local Jewish organisations. The second wave was also older than the first one and had higher proportions of intermarried couples. It seems that Lippmann's desire to rejuvenate aging Jewish communities in Australia, which according to him were in decline because of supposedly high intermarriage rates, did not eventuate with the migration from the FSU. Yet, Lippmann did become a global actor, and the driving force in forming a Russian-speaking Jewish diaspora reaching as far as 'Down Under' in Australia.

In conclusion, there were different expectations by local Jews and migrants from the FSU in Australia. Local Jews expected more from migrants from the FSU to consider them to belong within the Jewish boundary. They wanted migrants from the FSU to demonstrate their Jewishness by becoming part of Jewish communities, and by sending their children to Jewish schools to be raised as Jews in the social context of Melbourne. When this did not happen to the satisfaction of local Jews, by 1981, they often started perceiving migrants from the FSU as belonging outside the Jewish boundary. They became 'Russians', and not 'really Jews' (Goldlust, 2016, p. 164).

Migrants from the FSU did not expect to have their Jewish identity challenged. They wanted to benefit from the Jewish ethnic 'club membership' without having to do anything, because they understood that they were invited by Jewish welfare societies as 'rescued Jews' who did not need to demonstrate their Jewishness. Migrants from the FSU aspired to provide

their children the best education they could and experience rapid economic success. To their surprise, however, achieving economic success was harder than they expected, and local Jews challenged their Jewish membership.

Jewish welfare societies undertook the grand endeavour of settling migrants from the FSU in their communities without fully understanding the identities of those migrants. They accepted them without considering that a significant proportion might find themselves outside of the Jewish boundary. Lippmann, having escaped from Germany to Australia before the Second World War and considering himself an ethnic Jew, perhaps regarded it unnecessary to understand their identities. He seems to have been interested in participating in wider Australian migration issues and became a global actor who successfully participated in forming a Russian-speaking Jewish diaspora (Lopez, 2000, Markus & Taft, 2016, 18-22). The migration he lobbied for, however, ended up being older and with higher proportions of intermarried couples than he most probably had hoped. The Soviet migration did not align with his aspirations to rejuvenate aging and increasingly intermarrying Jewish communities.

Unlike Lippmann's escape from Germany before the establishment of the Jewish state, migrants from the FSU were not fleeing a Holocaust and they did have the State of Israel as possible destination. The Jewish state had furthermore a similar social context as the Soviet Union; both countries officially recognised Jews by nationality as registered on their identity cards or internal passports, respectively. The Jewish state eventually claimed the migration from the FSU in the 1990s, with overall over one million settling there. For Israel this migration was considered of national interest and did not require halachic Jews to defuse the 'demographic time bomb', which means that Arabs might have become the majority

(Altshuler, 2005, p. 12; Aronson, 1990, p. 37). Jewish welfare societies could not compete with Israel's increasing pressure towards the 1990s and the financial ramifications it would have had for them (Altshuler, 2005, p. 149). Towards the 1990s, with perestroika in the Soviet Union, and after migrants from the FSU could fly directly to their new home countries bypassing HIAS and its evaluation of who was and was not deemed Jewish, it became difficult for Jewish welfare societies to justify assisting a migration that would include a significant proportion of halachically non-Jews, who were still valuable for Israel. Only through the requests of previously settled migrants from the FSU in Australia did family reunion ensue: a second wave of migration to Australia from the FSU that was larger, older and included more intermarried couples than the first.

The following three chapters address in which ways did Jews from the FSU adapt culturally within the Melbourne Jewish community. In Chapter Five I examine their religious identity and in Chapter Six their Jewish ethnic belonging. In Chapter Seven, I explore the communities they built and their participation in local Jewish communities.

Chapter 5: Religious Identity

This chapter examines how Jews from the FSU adapted their religious identity in Melbourne. This is undertaken by analysing their religious identity comparatively in three ways: vertically, in relation to their upbringing; horizontally, to their local Jewish communities; and globally, to their peers in other countries. By comparing Jews from the FSU in these ways, I argue that their religious identity is influenced first by their distinctive Soviet secular identity, followed by influences from local Jewish communities.

The analysis of Jews from the FSU is undertaken using numerous surveys from around the world. Some of the surveys made their datasets available online, while others were made available upon request. I undertook a primary analysis of those surveys, placing the necessary controls to more closely compare findings about Jews from the FSU and those born in various countries. I then compare these findings to my primary analysis of the Gen17 Australian Jewish community survey in which migrants from the FSU are further compared to other Jewish groups.[21] Many of the surveys used probability samples while others used non-probability convenience samples. The survey findings should be viewed as indicating patterns and not as accurate, to the level of a few percentage points.[22] The Gen17 survey sample is further discussed in the subsequent section *Comparing 'like with like'*.

[21] The Gen17 Australian Jewish community survey was undertaken in Australia in 2017 to assist with Jewish communal planning and had a non-probability convenience sample of 8,621 participants (Graham & Markus, 2018). In Victoria there were a total of 4,109 participants. The following analysis controls for persons living in Victoria and who arrived after 1970. The subsamples are: 195 from the FSU, 201 Israelis, 392 South Africans and 2,532 Australian-born. The Gen17 survey is weighted to the 2016 Australian Census for gender and ten-year age groups. All the data unless otherwise stated are based on my primary analysis of the Gen17 Australian Jewish community survey dataset provided by Andrew Markus.

[22] Probability samples usually have a margin of error of ±3% and the margin of error can increase for subsamples.

Growing up in the Soviet Union with a distinctive secular identity, it could be expected that decades later migrants from the FSU would still have different religious identification patterns than other Jewish groups, with relatively high proportions who self-identify as non-religious. About half of migrants from the FSU in Melbourne identify as non-religious (no denomination – just Jewish and non-practising [secular/cultural]). Yet what distinguishes Melbourne from other communities is that, like the local Jews, a significant minority of the migrants self-identify as traditional. Jews who identify as traditional in Melbourne are on a spectrum of religious observance and do not self-identify with a Jewish denomination (for example, Orthodox, Reform or Conservative), although many are affiliated with these streams. The religious observance of traditional Jews lies between Orthodox and non-Orthodox denominations (Graham & Markus, 2018, pp. 20-1). Because of their different composition compared to other Jewish groups, I argue that the analysis of Jews from the FSU needs to be controlled for religious identification by comparing 'like with like'. A crude measure of their religious identity and observance of Jewish traditions suggests weaker Jewish continuity compared to other Jewish groups. Yet when going beyond this and applying controls for religious identification, the religious identity of Jews from the FSU converges towards that of other Jewish groups in Melbourne. It remains to be seen, however, whether this trend will continue for the younger generation from the FSU or if a divergence should be expected. I further argue that Jews from the FSU have a weaker religious identity compared to other Jewish groups not because of their religious commitment and faith, but because of their unfamiliarity with observing familial and communal Jewish traditions.

To explore the religious identity of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne, I divide this chapter into five parts. First, I offer an overview of their religious identification at the time of arrival

in Melbourne. Then I compare their religious identification and observance of Jewish traditions to that of their peers in other countries and of local Jewish groups. Third, I analyse their current observance of religious traditions and how this has changed compared to their upbringing. After having discussed what is distinctive about the religious identification of Jews from the FSU, I compare 'like with like' by controlling for religious identification. Finally, I develop a religiosity scale to measure two constructs that compare age groups and age at arrival. The two constructs measure religious commitment and faith, and observing familial and communal Jewish traditions. I supplement the discussion with accounts of interview participants that add further meaning to the findings.

Religious identification compared globally and horizontally

In this section, I first provide an overview of the religious identification of Jews from the FSU when arriving in Melbourne followed by a comparison to their peers in other countries. Then I undertake a horizontal analysis, comparing their current religious identification to that of other Jewish groups in Melbourne.

Previous surveys indicate that migrants from the FSU were mostly non-religious when arriving in their new home country. The first survey about the adaptation patterns of Soviet Jews in Melbourne was conducted in 1978 (Steinkalk, 1982).[23] The survey included a sample of Soviet parents and their adolescent children and indicates that a majority of Soviet Jews

[23] The survey was conducted in 1978 by Elka Steinkalk for her PhD thesis at Monash University and included 154 Soviet Jewish parents with a median age of 44 years who had at least one adolescent child aged between 12 and 20 (Taft & Steinkalk, 1985, p. 19). The survey further included 101 of their children and a comparison group of 94 Australian-born Jewish adolescents who were also aged 12 to 20. The Soviet survey participants lived in Melbourne for a median period of 18 months (Taft & Steinkalk, 1985, p. 19). The sample represented about 90% of Soviet Jews in Melbourne who had a child aged 12 to 20 (Steinkalk, 1982, p. 79). By 31 October 1978, 972 Soviet Jews had settled in Melbourne, which means that the survey sample included about one-quarter (26%) of all Soviet Jews in Melbourne at the time (Green, 1979, p. 8).

who settled in Melbourne in the 1970s were non-religious shortly after their arrival, compared to a minority of Australian-born Jews (hereafter referred to as Australian-born).[24] To the question of how important the observance of Jewish religion was to them, more than half (56%) of parents and about two-thirds (68%) of Soviet adolescents responded 'Not very important/Not at all', compared to an Australian-born adolescent group of which only about one-quarter (28%) did (Steinkalk, 1982, pp. 134-6).

Similarly, in the United Stated and Israel, the vast majority of recently migrated Soviet Jews were non-religious. In 1980-81, a survey was undertaken using a non-probability convenience sample of 1,061 Jews who left the Soviet Union between 1977 and 1980 and settled in Israel (n=590) and the United States (n=471) (Gitelman, 1989, p. 169). In Israel, 8% of Soviet Jews identified as religious, and in the United States supposedly 14% did (Gitelman, 1989, p. 173). The proportion reported in 1989 for the United States appears rather high; it seems more likely that the proportion was 8% as previously reported for the same survey in 1981, similar to Israel (Gitelman, 1981, p. 17).

A decade later, the 1991 Melbourne Jewish community survey further indicates that Jews from the FSU were mostly non-religious (Goldlust, 1993b).[25] In the 1991 survey, about two-thirds (70%) of Jews from the FSU described their identity as 'Jewish but not religious' compared to about half that proportion (39%) of Australian-born.[26]

More than a decade later, Australian surveys undertaken in 2004 and 2008-09 affirm the pattern identified in previous surveys (Markus, Jacobs, & Aronov, 2009; Rutland & Gariano,

[24] As discussed in the beginning of the thesis under *Notes on terminology*.
[25] The 1991 Jewish community survey was undertaken to better understand the needs of the Jewish community in Melbourne and included a probability sample of 640 respondents (Goldlust, 1993b, pp. 1-2). The sample included 75 Jews from the FSU who arrived between 1974 and 1991.
[26] Based on my primary analysis of the 1991 Jewish community survey dataset provided by John Goldlust.

2005).[27] The 2004 survey of Jews in the Diaspora in Australia asked respondents to describe their level of religiosity on a scale from 1 to 10, 1 being 'Secular' and 10 'Extremely religious'. Jews from the FSU indicated being almost entirely secular (2), similar to Israelis (3), and both South Africans and Australian-born indicated being at the mid-point between secular and extremely religious (5).[28] The Australian Gen08 Jewish population survey from 2008-09 indicates that about half of Jews from the FSU who arrived in Australia after 1970 were non-religious (47%) compared to similar proportions of Israelis (51%), but with much lower proportions of South Africans (10%) and Australian-born (19%). The findings of previous Australian surveys indicate a pattern: most Jews from the FSU who settled in Australia between the 1970s and 2000s were non-religious and more secular than other Jewish groups in Australia, with the exception of Israelis.

More recent surveys in Israel and the United States indicate that a higher proportion of Jews from the FSU identified as non-religious compared to local Jews. The 2009 *A portrait of Israeli Jews* survey found that about four-fifths (79%) of those who made Aliyah after 1988 from the FSU identified as *Hilonim* (secular) compared to about two-fifths (43%) of other Israelis (Arian & Keissar-Sugarmen, 2012, p. 99).[29] A similar pattern emerged in the Pew

[27] The 2004 survey of Jews in the Diaspora in Australia was commissioned by the Jewish Agency for Israel in conjunction with the Zionist Federation of Australia to study the profile and needs of the three main recent Jewish migrations to Australia: Jews from the FSU, Israelis and South Africans (Rutland & Gariano, 2005, p. vi; 2). The survey had a non-probability convenience sample of 602 respondents including 217 from the FSU (Rutland & Gariano, 2005, p. vi; 7).
The Gen08 Jewish population survey was the predecessor of the Gen17 survey and had a non-probability convenience sample of 5,840 participants; among them 346 were Jews from the FSU who arrived in Australia after 1970. In Victoria there were 3,000 participants, of whom 240 were Jews from the FSU who arrived after 1970. The Gen08 survey is weighted to the 2006 Australian Census for state, age, gender, highest level of education attained, and country of birth. All the data unless otherwise stated are based on my analysis of the Gen08 Jewish population survey dataset provided by Andrew Markus.
[28] Based on my primary analysis of the 2004 Jews in the Diaspora survey dataset provided by Suzanne Rutland.
[29] The 2009 *A portrait of Israeli Jews* survey had a probability sample of 2,803 Jews, who were surveyed to measure their beliefs, observance and values (Arian & Keissar-Sugarmen, 2012, p. 11). The sample included 323 participants who migrated from the FSU after 1988.

2013 *A portrait of Jewish Americans* survey, with about half (51%) of Jews from the FSU who arrived after 1970 indicating that religion was not too important/not at all important in their life, compared to lower proportions of native-born (44%).[30]

High proportions of Jews from the FSU do not identify as religious, while relatively low proportions in New York, Israel and Melbourne identify as Orthodox. A 2011 Jewish community study of New York indicates that 7% of Jews from the FSU who arrived in the United States after 1969 identified as Orthodox, compared to one in five (20%) native-born.[31] The Pew 2014-15 *Israel's religiously divided society* survey indicates that 7% of Jews from the FSU were Orthodox compared to one-quarter (25%) of Israelis.[32] By contrast, the Pew 2013 survey indicates that one in ten (10%) Jews from the FSU in the United States were Orthodox, which is similar to the proportion of native-born (9%). The lower proportion is because about half of Jews from the FSU in the United States live in New York (Kliger, 2004, p. 1), where higher proportions identify as Orthodox, whereas outside of New York, fewer native-born identify as Orthodox. The 1990 national Jewish population survey found that only 6% of Jews in the United States were Orthodox (Goldstein, 1992, p. 129; Wertheimer, 1996, p. 32). In Melbourne, the Gen17 survey indicates that about one in ten

[30] The 2013 Pew survey *A portrait of Jewish Americans* had a probability sample of 3,475 Jews and stated that it sought 'to promote a deeper understanding of issues at the intersection of religion and public affairs' (2013, p. 3; 119). The sample included 324 Jews from the FSU who arrived after 1970. All the data unless otherwise stated are based on my primary analysis of the Pew 2013 *A portrait of Jewish Americans* survey dataset.
[31] The 2011 Jewish community study of New York had a probability sample of 5,993 interviews; the survey is undertaken every ten years to better understand the local Jewish community (Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012, p. 5). The sample included 689 Jews from the FSU who arrived after 1969. All the data unless otherwise stated are based on my primary analysis of the 2011 Jewish community study of New York survey dataset.
[32] The 2014-15 Pew survey *Israel's religiously divided society* had a probability sample of 3,789 Jews and stated that it investigated 'Israelis' religious identification, beliefs and practices; views on democracy and religion's role in public life; moral values and life goals; perceptions about discrimination; views on intermarriage; and attitudes toward politics and the peace process' (2016, p. 10; 229). The sample included 463 Jews from the FSU. All the data unless otherwise stated are based on my primary analysis of the Pew 2014-15 *Israel's religiously divided society* survey dataset.

(8%) Jews from the FSU identify as Orthodox compared to much higher proportions of Australian-born (34%) and South Africans (41%), and twice as many Israelis (16%) (Table 47).

Table 47: Religious identification by country of birth in Melbourne in 2017

Religious identification	**FSU (%)**	**Israel (%)**	**South Africa (%)**	**Aust born (%)**
Orthodox	**8**	16	41	34
Non-Orthodox denominations	**5**	9	8	16
Traditional	**36**	35	44	29
Non-religious	**51**	40	7	21
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. Orthodox includes Hareidi, Strictly, Modern and Chabad; Non-Orthodox denominations includes Masorti, Conservative, Progressive and Reform; Non-religious includes No denomination – just Jewish, Non-practising (secular/cultural), Atheist, Mixed religion, and Humanist. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data for proportions of Orthodox and non-religious Jews.

Whether the proportion of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne who identify as Orthodox should be considered relatively high or low depends on who they are compared to. Jews from the FSU can be compared globally to their peers in other countries or horizontally to other local Jewish groups. Compared globally to their peers, Jews from the FSU seem to have similar proportions that identify as Orthodox, approximately 7%-10%, in Melbourne, New York, Israel and the United States. Compared horizontally to other local Jewish groups, however, whether the proportions are relatively high or low depends on where they migrated. Of the entire Jewish population in the United States, one in ten (10%) is Orthodox; in New York the rate is one in five (20%), like in Israel and in Australia (22%) (Arian & Keissar-Sugarmen, 2012, p. 30; Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012, p. 120; Graham & Markus, 2018, p. 13; Pew, 2013, p. 10; 2016, p. 7).[33] Compared horizontally to local Jews, those from

[33] The proportion of Orthodox Jews in Victoria would be 26% when using the weight developed by David Graham that was used to estimate the proportion of Orthodox Jews in Australia (22%). This means that there is a higher proportion of those identifying as Orthodox Jews in Victoria compared to Israel. This weight is however not used in this thesis because it lacks internal validity as it adjusts something else than its intended purpose: synagogue membership, not religious identification. The weight is based on approximate data of synagogue membership (Orthodox, non-Orthodox and non-affiliated) and does not correspond with religious identification. In Melbourne a large proportion of members of Orthodox synagogues do not self-identify as Orthodox; instead they often identify as traditional. One way to demonstrate the lack of internal validity of the weight is by cross tabulating Orthodox membership with the proportion of those eating non-kosher meat.

the FSU have a lower proportion identifying as Orthodox, with the exception of the United States, based on the Pew 2013 survey. The religious identification of Jews from the FSU can also be compared vertically to their upbringing, an analysis which is undertaken in the following section.

In Melbourne, however, Jews from the FSU have a distinctive identification that is not shared by their peers in other countries. About half of Jews from the FSU identify as non-religious (51%) (no denomination – just Jewish and non-practising [secular/cultural]), yet a significant minority identify as traditional (36%) (Table 47). The proportion is similar for Israelis living in Melbourne (35%), higher than Australian-born (29%) but lower than South Africans (44%). In Israel in 2014-15, 12% of Russian speakers identified as *Masortim* (traditional, not to be confused with Masorti, meaning the Conservative stream) compared to about one-third (30%) of native-born. Traditional seems to no longer be a term in use in the United States.[34] In the United States, identifying as traditional is almost non-existent, with very few Jews from the FSU doing so in 2013 (2%) and less than 1% of native-born.

Many Jews from the FSU in Melbourne identify as traditional, but conversely relatively few identify with a non-Orthodox denomination (for example Reform or Conservative). In Melbourne, one in twenty (5%) migrants from the FSU identify with a non-Orthodox

About half (53%) of those who indicate Orthodox membership eat non-kosher meat, whereas among those self-identifying as Orthodox about one-third (32%) do. Furthermore, the weight is not established for Victoria separately and does not consider all countries of birth; this further distorts proportions of religious identification for different subgroups. Although there is no weight for religious identification used in this thesis, the data for Jews from the FSU seems not to be skewed towards those more religious, with only 8% identifying as Orthodox and the proportion identifying as no denomination or secular being similar to previous surveys in Australia and in other countries. Furthermore, the data is usually compared between groups being controlled by their religious identification, so the comparison is between 'like with like', as is explained in a subsequent section *Comparing 'like with like'*.

[34] According to sociologist Sylvia Fishman, 'American Jews at the end of the twentieth century have established at least five commonly recognized official branches of Judaism: Orthodox, Traditional, Conservative, Reconstructionist, and Reform' (2000, p. 4; see also Wertheimer, 1993).

denomination, lower compared to Australian-born (16%), but similar to Israelis (9%) and South Africans (8%) (Table 47). In contrast, in the United States in 2013 about two-fifths (41%) of migrants from the FSU identified with a non-Orthodox denomination compared to about three-fifths (58%) of native-born. In Israel, non-Orthodox denominations are uncommon with only one in twenty (5%) of all Israelis identifying as such in 2014-15 (Pew, 2016, p. 49).

The different composition of religious identification of local Jews in Melbourne and Israel compared to the United States—in the former two relatively few identify with a non-Orthodox denomination, whereas in the latter approximately half do—explains why fewer Jews from the FSU identify with a denomination than their peers in the United States. In Melbourne, 13% of Jews from the FSU identify with a denomination (non-Orthodox and Orthodox), about double the proportion compared to Israel (7%), but much lower than in the United States (51%) where many identify with non-Orthodox denominations. To better understand the implications of Jews from the FSU identifying with (non-)Orthodox denominations, or as traditional and non-religious, their patterns of observance of Jewish traditions need to be clarified, which is the subject of the following section.

Observance of Jewish traditions compared globally and vertically

Most Jews from the FSU observe religious traditions to some extent, although half or more of them in Melbourne, the United States and Israel identify as non-religious. This pattern was found in Israel, where about one-quarter (26%) of migrants from the FSU indicated not observing religious traditions at all, yet more than half (57%) observed to some extent, some to a great extent (15%), and very few observed meticulously (3%) (Arian & Keissar-Sugarmen, 2012, p. 99). Similarly, in Melbourne, a minority of Jews from the FSU identify as

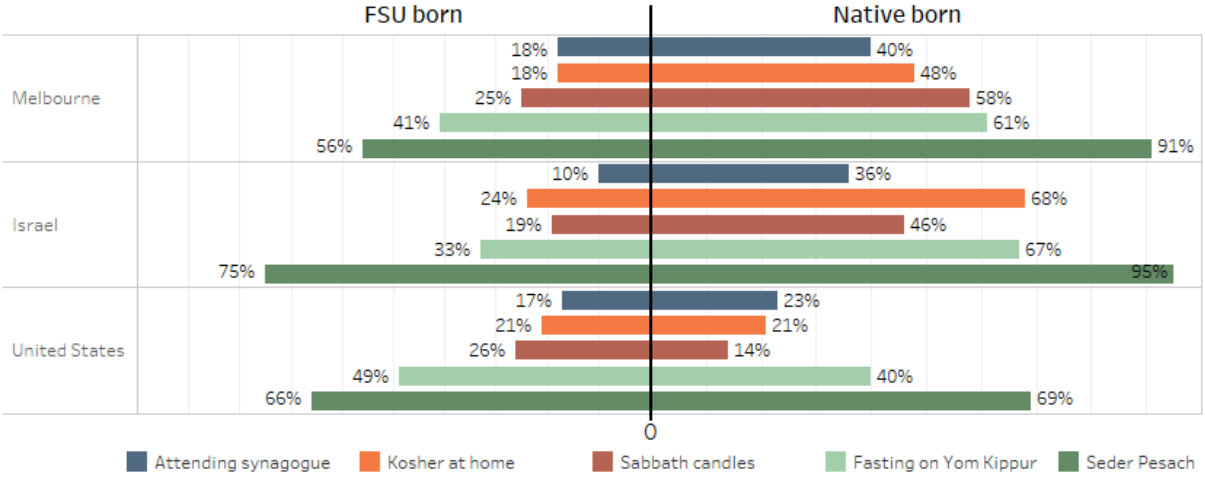
not religiously observant (29%). Jews from the FSU indicate a globally comparable pattern of observing Jewish traditions in Melbourne, Israel and the United States for items such as keeping kosher at home, lighting Sabbath candles, and fasting on Yom Kippur (Figure 5).

Dissimilarities are found for items that concern attending synagogue about once a month or more and attending a seder (meal for) Pesach (Passover) (Figure 5). In Israel, fewer migrants from the FSU attend a synagogue compared to their peers in Melbourne and the United States. The lower proportion is most probably because of the local influence of Jews in Israel where the majority (60%) of all Hilonim never attend synagogue (Pew, 2016, p. 89). In Melbourne, fewer migrants from the FSU attend seder Pesach compared to their peers in the United States and Israel. The dissimilarity is most probably because of the differently formulated questions in the surveys and which response options are compared; in Melbourne the question is how often they attend seder, and the response option analysed is 'always'; in Israel and the United States the question is whether they attended seder 'last Passover', and the response option analysed is 'yes'. The higher proportion attending seder in Israel compared to the United States is most probably because in Israel Pesach is celebrated as a national holiday and is a day off from work. The 2009 *A portrait of Israeli Jews* survey, for example, clustered attending seder Pesach in Israel as part of 'civil-religious practices and customs', like circumcision and Bar/Bat Mitzvah, and not as part of 'traditional practices', like keeping kosher and lighting Sabbath candles (Arian & Keissar-Sugarmen, 2012, pp. 45-6).

Although Jews from the FSU identify differently in terms of religion in Melbourne, the United States and Israel, globally they share a similar pattern of observance of Jewish traditions. Yet when comparing them horizontally to local Jews they indicate a lower observance of Jewish traditions, with the exception of the United States, based on the Pew

2013 survey (Figure 5). As was the case with religious identification, the observance of Jewish traditions depends on where Jews from the FSU migrated to and who they are compared to, because native Jews in different countries have different patterns of observance.

Figure 5: Observance of Jewish traditions among Jews from the FSU and those born in Melbourne in 2017, compared to the United States in 2013 and Israel in 2014-15; Gen17 survey, Pew 2013 survey & Pew 2014-15 survey



Gen17 survey: In the last 12 months, how often did you attend any type of synagogue or organised Jewish religious service? – About once a month or more; What kind of meat, if any, is bought for your home? – Only kosher meat; How often, if at all, are candles lit at home on Friday night Sabbath (Shabbat)? – Always; How often, if at all, do you fast on Yom Kippur? – Always; How often, if at all, do you attend a seder meal at Passover (Pesach)? – Always. Pew 2013/2014-15 surveys: Aside from special occasions like weddings, funerals and bar mitzvahs, how often do you attend Jewish religious services at a synagogue, temple, minyan or Havurah? – Once a month or more; Do you keep kosher in your home, or not? – Yes; How often, if at all, does anyone in your household light Sabbath candles? – Always; During the last Yom Kippur, did you fast all day, part of the day or did you not fast? – All day; Last Passover, did you hold or attend a seder, or not? – Yes.

A better way to measure adaptation of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne is to compare them vertically, examining their current observance of Jewish traditions relative to their upbringing. When comparing Jews from the FSU vertically, a clear pattern of significant adaptation showing an increase in their observance of Jewish traditions emerges. Most Jews from the FSU in Melbourne grew up never lighting Sabbath candles (70%) or attending

Sabbath dinner (59%), never fasting on Yom Kippur (58%), and buying non-kosher meat including pork products for their home (66%) (Table 48).

The only religious tradition in the Gen17 survey that a majority of Jews from the FSU—about three-fifths (63%)—indicate having sometimes experienced growing up is seder Pesach. It should be taken into account that for migrants from the FSU celebrating Pesach in the FSU usually means having eaten matzah at some point during the eight-day holiday, not attending a traditional seder (Gitelman, 2012, p. 144). To illustrate this point, in 2014-15 in Israel about one-quarter (23%) of Russian speakers attended a traditional seder Pesach but twice as many (47%) attended a non-traditional seder (Pew, 2016, p. 111). Interview participants mentioned that in the Soviet Union their grandparents would purchase matzah at the local synagogue. They would often eat the matzah during a non-traditional meal, with some remembering further consuming it with wine and horseradish as *maror* (bitter herbs eaten during the seder).

Currently, the proportion of Jews from the FSU who never observe Jewish traditions has decreased compared to when they were growing up. When comparing Jews from the FSU vertically, only approximately half of those who never observed Jewish traditions growing up continue to not do so in Melbourne. Likewise, the proportions of migrants from the FSU who always observe Jewish traditions has significantly increased from their upbringing. The proportion of migrants from the FSU that always (22%) attend Sabbath dinner has approximately quadrupled from when they were growing up, similarly for those fasting on Yom Kippur (41%) and buying only kosher meat for their home (18%) (Table 48 and Figure 6).

The adaptation from not observing almost any Jewish traditions in the Soviet Union and becoming relatively more observant in Melbourne is also mentioned several times during the interviews. Informant Ariella complains that Jews from the FSU feel the need to 'manifest' their Jewishness in Melbourne because, in her view, they are trying to become part of the Jewish community. She explains, for example, that in Melbourne Jews from the FSU do not want to eat pork, whilst in the Soviet Union they did not have issues with it. The Gen17 survey indeed indicates that whilst growing up two-thirds (66%) of Jews from the FSU ate pork products at home, while currently in Melbourne about one-third (31%) do.

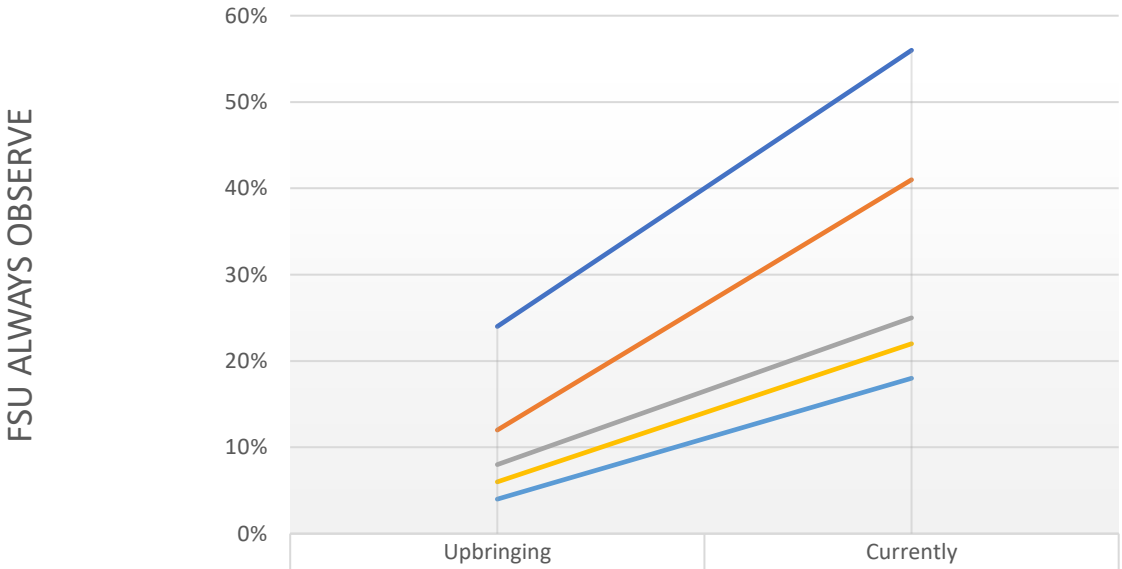
Ariella seems to struggle with the adaptation in observing Jewish traditions that many of her peers are experiencing. For her, it is as if they are playing a game set by the rules of the Jewish community in Melbourne. Yet even Ariella appears to have undergone changes in her observance. In Melbourne she attends Sabbath meals hosted by Russian-speaking Orthodox friends where her non-Jewish husband wears a skullcap. She in turn invites these friends to kosher restaurants because they cannot eat food served from her non-kosher kitchen. She further mentions lighting Sabbath candles and going to shul on Yom Kippur.

Table 48: Observing Jewish tradition currently and at home during upbringing by country of birth in Melbourne in 2017

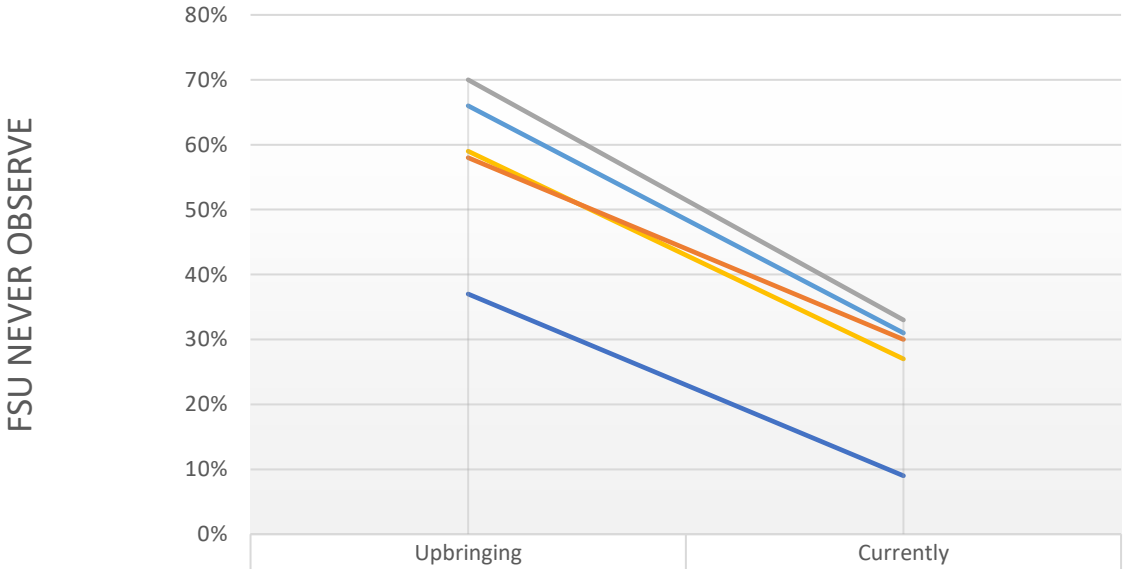
Religious tradition	**FSU (%)**		**Israel (%)**		**South Africa (%)**		**Aust born (%)**	
	Current	**Home**	**Current**	**Home**	**Current**	**Home**	**Current**	**Home**
Sabbath dinner ***(Always)***	**22**	**6**	48	53	66	65	58	60
Sabbath dinner ***(Never)***	**27**	**59**	12	12	4	5	7	10
Sabbath candles ***(Always)***	**25**	**8**	45	45	69	72	58	62
Sabbath candles ***(Never)***	**33**	**70**	19	21	5	5	11	12
Seder meal ***(Always)***	**56**	**24**	87	92	96	93	91	90
Seder meal ***(Never)***	**9**	**37**	2	3	0	1	1	3
Fast Yom Kippur ***(Always)***	**41**	**12**	40	36	84	85	61	61
Fast Yom Kippur ***(Never)***	**30**	**58**	36	30	7	2	20	13
Meat at home ***(Only kosher)***	**18**	**4**	26	44	55	44	48	46
Non-kosher meat ***(Inc pork product)***	**31**	**66**	31	27	4	5	16	19

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU.

Figure 6: Always/never observing Jewish tradition currently and at home during upbringing for Jews from the FSU in Melbourne in 2017



	Upbringing	Currently
Seder meal	24%	56%
Fast Yom Kippur	12%	41%
Sabbath candles	8%	25%
Sabbath dinner	6%	22%
Kosher meat at home	4%	18%



	Upbringing	Currently
Sabbath candles	70%	33%
Inc pork products	66%	31%
Sabbath dinner	59%	27%
Fast Yom Kippur	58%	30%
Seder meal	37%	9%

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted.

Figure 6 indicates a significant increase in the current observance of Jewish traditions of migrants from the FSU in Melbourne relative to their upbringing. Yet compared to other Jewish groups, migrants from the FSU have a lower degree of observance (Table 48); this correlates negatively with Jewish continuity (Markus, 2011). The relatively lower observance of Jewish traditions of migrants from the FSU suggests weaker continuity, which is further discussed in the following section.

Correspondingly, the current religious identification of Jews from the FSU has also adapted relative to their upbringing. About one-fifth (18%) fewer Jews from the FSU identify as non-religious currently compared to their upbringing. Although about half (51%) of Jews from the FSU still describe their current identity as non-religious, more identify as traditional (36%) currently compared to when they were growing up (24%) (Table 49). In addition, more identify as Orthodox (8%) currently than when growing up (2%). The Pew 2013 survey indicates similar results in the United States, with one in ten (10%) Jews from the FSU currently identifying as Orthodox compared to fewer when they were growing up in Orthodox homes (2%).

Table 49: Religious identification currently and at home during upbringing by country of birth in Melbourne in 2017

Religious Identification	**FSU (%)**		**Israel (%)**		**South Africa (%)**		**Aust born (%)**	
	Current	**Home**	**Current**	**Home**	**Current**	**Home**	**Current**	**Home**
Orthodox	**8**	**2**	16	19	41	30	34	33
Non-Orthodox	5	5	9	10	8	10	16	13
Traditional	**36**	**24**	35	28	44	54	29	38
Non-religious	**51**	**69**	40	43	7	6	21	16
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. Orthodox includes Hareidi, Strictly, Modern and Chabad; Non-Orthodox denominations includes Masorti, Conservative, Progressive and Reform; Non-religious includes No denomination – just Jewish, Non-practising (secular/cultural), Atheist, Mixed religion, Not Jewish and Humanist. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU.

Interview participant Haim illustrates adaptation of religious identity. He grew up secular in the Soviet Union, but in Melbourne currently identifies as an Orthodox Chabad Hassid. Haim, who was born soon after the Second World War, had some Jewish traditional experiences in the Soviet Union. He was circumcised and his parents spoke Yiddish. Haim further explains that as a child in Moldova he would sometimes attend shul with his grandfather on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur and hear the recital of *Kaddish* (Jewish prayer). He also remembers that there was matzah available to purchase in shul for Pesach.

Yet Haim asserts that he grew up secular in the Soviet Union and knew almost nothing about Jewish religion or culture. Only after immigrating to Australia in the early 1980s was he exposed anew to religious experiences through his daughter, who was born in the Soviet Union and attended Chabad Beth Rivkah Ladies College in Melbourne. Haim explains that he felt they had to keep at home the observances his daughter learned at school. The Chabad Russian-speaking synagogue in Melbourne became his regular shul; there he learned about Judaism and eventually decided to become Orthodox. He considers himself to be continuing his grandfather's way of life.

His daughter, however, is no longer Orthodox. She was first married to a Chabad man, but later divorced. She remarried a man who does not wear a skullcap, but whom Haim describes as religious. Haim is concerned about his grandson remaining religious. There is a sense of irony in Haim's story. He became Orthodox because of his daughter and despite Soviet oppression of Jewish religion, whilst his daughter and grandson, growing up in a vibrant Orthodox setting in Melbourne, seem to no longer want to identify as Orthodox. The last section and in the following two chapters I further discuss how younger migrants from the FSU appear to have a weaker Jewish identity compared to the older generation.

In Table 49 it was shown that far more Jews from the FSU currently do not identify as religious (51%) compared to other Jewish groups (Australian-born 21%, South Africans 7%, and Israelis 40%). The different patterns of current religious identification of Jewish groups are primarily because of the differences in their upbringing. One-third (33%) of Australian-born, about one-third (30%) of South Africans, and about one-fifth (19%) of Israelis grew up in Orthodox homes, compared to only one in fifty (2%) Jews from the FSU. The differences in observance of Jewish traditions between these groups, as shown in Table 48, therefore, mostly express a comparison between persons who had a religious upbringing and those who did not, and between currently religious and non-religious persons. A comparison between religious and non-religious persons among Australian-born, for example, would result in similar differences as that between Australian-born and those from the FSU. When comparing the identity of Jewish groups in Melbourne, it is to be expected that Jews from the FSU are very different and that it is not comparing 'like with like'.

Comparing 'like with like'

Jews from the FSU are usually compared to other Jewish groups without controlling for religious identification (for example in Australia Rutland & Gariano, 2005; Steinkalk, 1982). A rare exception is the 2011 Jewish community study of New York, which controlled for 'non-Orthodox non-Russian-speaking' respondents (Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012, pp. 234-9). The reason that many researchers do not control for religious identification when comparing Jewish groups is most probably because they implicitly analyse Jewish continuity. For those researchers it does not matter whether the reason that Jews from the FSU have a lower 'score' for Jewish identity is because they are not religious; what matters most is their Jewish continuity compared to other groups.

Jewish continuity is a sum of religious and ethnic markers that measure the likelihood of transmitting Jewish values to the next generation (Markus, 2011). Researchers of Jewish identity often view continuity as the main purpose to research religious and ethnic identity of Jews. When exploring the adaptation of the identity of Jewish migrants from the FSU, however, it is best not to narrow it down to continuity alone. A study limited to measuring continuity blurs otherwise intricate adaptations of identity. I argue that in research where Jewish continuity does not drive the analysis of Jewish identity, as in this thesis, groups need to be controlled for differences that skew the results.

To compare like with like, there needs to be a control for religious identification. Non-religious and traditional Jews from the FSU in Melbourne should be compared to non-religious and traditional cohorts in other Jewish groups. For the purpose of this thesis I further refer to the non-religious and traditional group as 'secular/traditional'. Further analysis of the Gen17 survey data in this and the following chapter only includes those who identify as secular/traditional, unless otherwise specified. By controlling for this group, the number of persons in the sample from the Gen17 survey includes 166 from the FSU, 146 Israelis, 200 South Africans, and 1,211 Australian-born. Even when limiting the analysis to secular/traditional Jews, in the controlled sample there is still a much higher proportion of non-religious respondents among migrants from the FSU (59%) compared to South Africans (15%) and Australian-born (42%), and to a lesser extent Israelis (54%).

Although on the one hand this sample excludes Jews from the FSU identifying with a denomination (13%), on the other hand, those who are the most unaffiliated with Jewish communities most probably do not tend to participate in Jewish community surveys, and can be assumed to be underrepresented in non-probability convenience surveys (European

Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013, p. 74; Graham, Staetsky, & Boyd, 2014, p. 42; Phillips, 2007, p. 211). There is further statistical evidence in the United States that especially Jewish migrants from the FSU tend to be underrepresented in population estimates (Tobin & Groeneman, 2003, p. 74). The Gen17 survey was a non-probability convenience survey and did not randomly contact people; survey participants needed to be exposed to the survey and then proactively go online to complete it. It seems unlikely that those most unaffiliated with Jewish communities, especially those from the FSU, would proactively participate in Jewish convenience surveys. The secular/traditional sample therefore most probably represents the (75%) middle range of Jews from the FSU who mostly identify as non-religious, with a significant minority identifying as traditional.

Analysing only those who identify as secular/traditional shows very different results when comparing between Jewish groups in Melbourne. There is a convergence between Jews from the FSU and those born in Israel and Australia in the degree of observance of Jewish traditions. This has consistently increased for secular/traditional Jews from the FSU, whereas for other Jewish groups it has decreased on several items (Table 50; decreases indicated in red). The proportion of Jews from the FSU who currently always attend Sabbath dinner (17%) or always light Friday evening Sabbath candles (19%) has trebled (6%) relative to their upbringing; in contrast, for Australian-born the proportions of those observing these traditions have decreased (44% and 41%) compared to their upbringing (55%). Similar proportions of Jews from the FSU (12%) and Israelis (10%) currently buy only kosher meat for their home, whereas about one-third (35%) of Israelis had only kosher meat at home during their upbringing compared to very few among Jews from the FSU (3%). The significant decrease for Israelis is most probably because in Israel meat in most supermarkets is usually kosher, whereas this is not the case in Melbourne. Similarly, among

Australian-born the proportion of those who currently only buy kosher meat for their home has decreased (27%) relative to their upbringing (36%).

Table 50: Observing Jewish tradition currently and at home during upbringing by country of birth among secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Jewish tradition	**FSU (%)**		**Israel (%)**		**South Africa (%)**		**Aust born (%)**	
	Current	**Home**	**Current**	**Home**	**Current**	**Home**	**Current**	**Home**
Sabbath dinner ***(Always)***	**17**	**6**	36	44	57	63	44	55
Sabbath dinner ***(Never)***	**29**	**58**	16	14	7	5	11	9
Sabbath candles ***(Always)***	**19**	**6**	31	35	59	68	41	55
Sabbath candles ***(Never)***	**37**	**70**	24	24	7	5	19	13
Seder meal ***(Always)***	**52**	**24**	82	90	94	94	87	90
Seder meal ***(Never)***	**9**	**35**	3	4	0	1	2	2
Fast Yom Kippur ***(Always)***	**37**	**12**	28	28	78	82	44	51
Fast Yom Kippur ***(Never)***	**31**	**58**	43	36	10	1	32	16
Meat at home ***(Only kosher)***	**12**	**3**	10	35	41	35	27	36
Meat outside ***(Only kosher)***	**7**	**2**	6	18	18	12	10	14

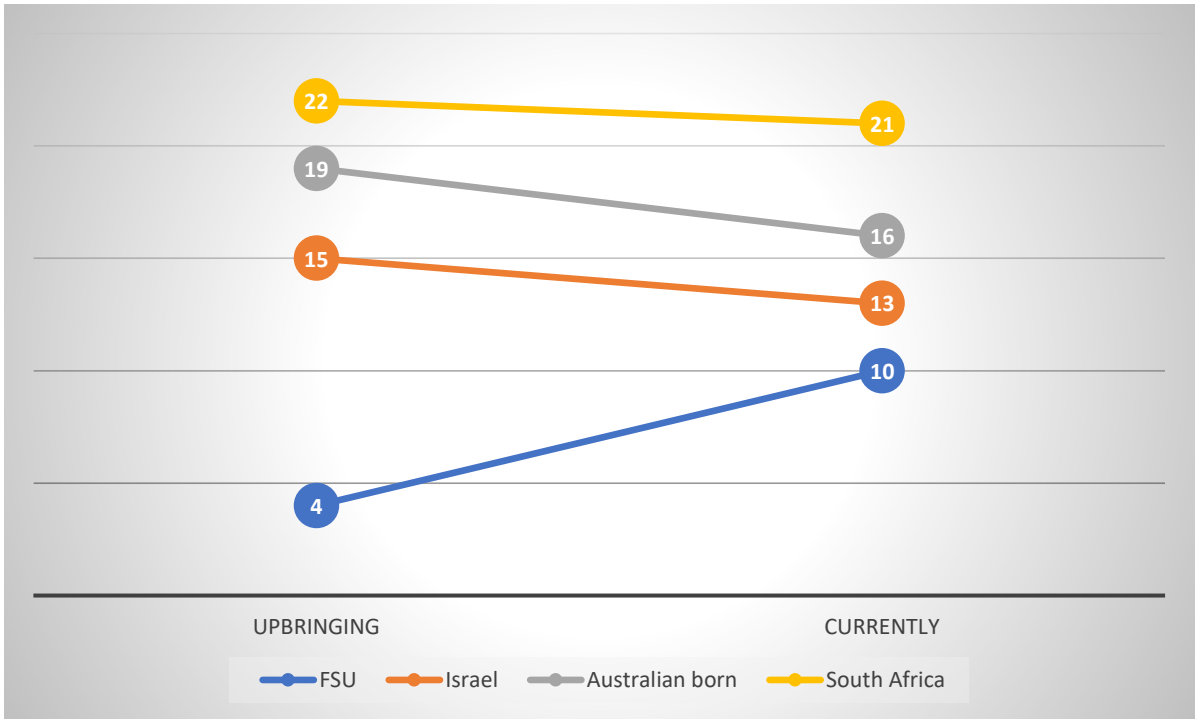
Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and the red font indicates decreases in observance of Jewish traditions.

Figure 7 illustrates the convergence in observing Jewish traditions between secular/traditional Jews from the FSU and other Jewish groups in Melbourne. The increase or decrease of the current level of observance of Jewish traditions for Jewish groups compared to their upbringing can be presented as the median of the sum of the six items (each scored 0 to 5) discussed in Table 50, ranging from 0 to 30.

The current median level of observing Jewish traditions for secular/traditional Jews from the FSU has more than doubled (from 4 to 10), but is still lower than other groups (Figure 7). The current median level of observance of Jewish traditions for Israelis and Australian-born,

on the other hand, has decreased (2 and 3 points, respectively). This indicates a convergence in the observance of Jewish traditions between secular/traditional Jews from the FSU and from Australia, and especially Israelis.

Figure 7: Convergence in the observance of Jewish tradition between secular/traditional Jews from the FSU towards Australian-born and Israelis in Melbourne in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. Range from 0 to 30. Six items were scored per the following: Always, Only kosher meat 5; Usually 3; N/A (I do not fast due to health reasons), N/A (vegetarian or vegan) 2; Sometimes, Ordinary (non-kosher) meat but not pork products, Prefer not to say 1; and Never, Ordinary (non-kosher) meat including pork products 0.

The convergence trend is further confirmed when considering the question about being more or less religiously observant relative to five years ago and comparing the results between Jewish groups (Table 51). Secular/traditional Jews from the FSU indicate being slightly more religiously observant relative to five years ago (+2%), compared to decreases (indicated in red) for Israelis (-5%), South Africans (-17%) and Australian-born (-9%).

Table 51: Would you say you are more religiously observant or less religiously observant than you were five years ago, or are you about the same level of observance? By country of birth of secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Religiously observant	**FSU (%)**		**Israel (%)**		**South Africa (%)**		**Aust born (%)**	
	More	**Less**	**More**	**Less**	**More**	**Less**	**More**	**Less**
Compared to five years ago	**13**	**11**	8	13	9	26	8	19
Difference	**+2**		**-5**		**-17**		**-9**	

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and the red font indicates decreases in religious observance.

Although there is a convergence in the observance of Jewish traditions, a disparity remains between secular/traditional Jews from the FSU and other Jewish groups. It remains to be seen whether this trend will continue for the younger generation from the FSU or if a divergence should be expected. This is addressed in the following section where a religiosity scale (explained below) is analysed by age groups and age at arrival in Melbourne. The religiosity scale also makes it possible to better understand for which construct of the religiosity scale Jews from the FSU differ most from other Jewish groups.

Religiosity scale measuring two constructs

In the previous sections the religious identification and observance of Jews from the FSU were compared horizontally, globally and vertically. Although both religious identification and observance are related to religious commitment and faith, they do not necessarily intertwine. Jewish holidays and festivals, including Friday night Sabbath dinner, are rooted in religious traditions and are usually celebrated in family and communal (functioning as an enlarged family) circles. Keeping familial and communal Jewish traditions is not necessarily driven by theological convictions or religious commitment and faith. Although many Jews worldwide do not identify as religious, they often continue to observe Jewish holidays as their heritage and culture (Pew, 2016, p. 48; 51).

A survey of British Jews found that religious observance was more related to ethnic identity than to religious identity, stating that for 'most Jews, religious observance is a means of identifying with the Jewish community, rather than an expression of religious faith' (Miller, Schmool, & Lerman, 1996, p. 3). For those who do not identify as Orthodox, observance of Jewish holidays is often related to their experiences growing up when they first celebrated Jewish holidays in familial and communal circles. For them, the observance of Jewish holidays is often devoid of theological convictions and commitment, but a continuation of traditions passed down in their personal family and wider community. This is similar to many countries where non-Jews often celebrate Easter or Christmas devoid of their religious significance or theological convictions.

A comparison of items in the Gen17 survey shows that those not identifying as Orthodox often observe familial and communal religious traditions while having low religious commitment and faith. The dimension reduction technique Principal Component Analysis (PCA) makes it possible to identify which items measure the same construct and to develop a religiosity scale. Scales, such as Jewish identity scales, usually measure several dimensions using items or indices as indicators grouped into constructs. This section follows sociologist Steven Cohen who proposed to construct three scales measuring religiosity and two ethnic dimensions separately: religious involvement, and ethnic familism and ethnic communalism. Religious involvement consists of three factors: religious commitment, faith in God, and ritual observance (Cohen, 2001, p. 107). The religiosity scale in this section, however, measures two constructs: religious commitment and faith, and familial and communal observance of Jewish traditions.

The PCA shows that 13 items from the Gen17 survey related to religiosity load on two principal components (Table 52). The first component (construct) includes seven items that measure religious commitment and faith. The second component includes six items that measure familial and communal observance of religious traditions. The religiosity scale and constructs are standardised to score from 0 to 100.

Table 52: Pattern matrix showing two principal components using 13 religiosity items from the Gen17 survey

Pattern Matrix	**PC1**	**PC2**
Religious commitment and faith construct		
How important or unimportant is prayer to your own sense of Jewish identity?	.901	
How important or unimportant is observing halacha (Jewish law) to your own sense of Jewish identity?	.876	
How important or unimportant is studying Jewish religious texts to your own sense of Jewish identity?	.822	
Do you eat non-kosher meat outside your own home? (e.g. in restaurants or private homes)	.730	
How important or unimportant is believing in God to your own sense of Jewish identity?	.725	
In the last 12 months, how often did you attend any type of synagogue or organised Jewish religious service?	.635	
What kind of meat, if any, is bought for your home?	.598	
Familial and communal observance of religious traditions construct		
How often, if at all, do you attend a seder meal at Passover (Pesach)?		.769
How often, if at all, are candles lit at home on Friday night Sabbath (Shabbat)?		.714
How often, if at all, do you attend a Friday night Sabbath (Shabbat) meal with your family/close friends?		.710
How important or unimportant is sharing Jewish festivals with your family to your own sense of Jewish identity?		.589
How often, if at all, do you fast on Yom Kippur?		.429
Are you currently a member of a synagogue?		.366
Cronbach's Alpha	***.911***	***.779***

Source: Gen17 survey. PC is Principal Component. Extraction method is Principal Axis Factoring and rotation method is Oblimin. The Cronbach's Alpha for PC2 can be only slightly improved to .780 if deleting the item measuring synagogue membership. This slight improvement does not justify removing the item and is retained. PCA analysis shows that the 13 items load on two principal components. The first component (construct) includes seven items that measure religious commitment and faith. The second component includes six items that measure familial and communal observance of religious traditions.

The scale shows a large difference between Orthodox Jews, who score very high (89), and those not identifying as Orthodox scoring about half as high (46) (Table 53). The religious commitment and faith construct further shows an even larger disparity in score for those identifying as Orthodox (86) compared to those who do not (23). Whereas the difference between Orthodox (93) and those who do not identify as Orthodox (70) is smaller for the familial and communal observance construct. As mentioned, the disparity in scores for the

two constructs is because of the disconnect between observing familial and communal Jewish traditions, and religious commitment and faith for those who do not identify as Orthodox.

Table 53: Religiosity scale and its two constructs for Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Scale and constructs	**Religiosity scale**	**Religious commitment**	**Familial and communal**
Orthodox	89	86	93
Non-Orthodox	46	23	70

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. Non-Orthodox includes: Non-Orthodox denominations, Traditional, and Non-religious.

As discussed above and in the introduction, Jews from the FSU, unlike Jewish communities in other countries, for the most part did not grow up experiencing the observance of Jewish traditions in their family and community. It may be more difficult for them, therefore, to show identification with Jewish communities through the observance of familial and communal traditions that often feel unfamiliar. Observing Jewish traditions in a social context requires a certain amount of knowledge to feel sufficiently comfortable to participate, let alone to possess the confidence to organise their celebration. Many Jews from the FSU do not attempt to share for them unfamiliar Jewish festivals with their families or friends. The question 'How important or unimportant is sharing Jewish festivals with your family to your own sense of Jewish identity?' further illustrates this point. Less than half (41%) of secular/traditional Jews from the FSU sense it is very important for their Jewish identity to share Jewish festivals with their families or friends, compared to about two-thirds of Israelis (68%) and Australian-born (65%), and higher proportions of South Africans (79%).

The difference in observing Jewish traditions between Jews from the FSU and other Jewish groups is tied to how their secularisation process occurred. Jews worldwide underwent a secularisation process and today many do not identify as religious (Pew, 2016, p. 48). In the Soviet Union, however, the regime forced a secularisation process on Jews, already

underway prior to the rise of Soviet power, which resulted in their distinctive secular identity (Shternshis, 2006, p. xiv). Part of the forced secularisation process in the Soviet Union was that familial and communal Jewish traditions became a rarity, so that over time they became unfamiliar and even strange. Although the Soviet forced secularisation was most effective in disrupting Jewish traditions in their 'outer' world, this does not mean that it necessarily was also as successful in penetrating their 'inner' world where personal faith in God survived. As a result, secular/traditional Jews from the FSU did not end up with less faith in God compared to other Jewish groups. Rather, they tend to show more faith in God compared to other Jewish groups in Melbourne.

A relatively high proportion of secular/traditional Jews from the FSU maintained faith; this is indicated by the finding that one-quarter (25%) sense that believing in God is very important for their Jewish identity, as compared to about half that proportion of Israelis (14%) and Australian-born (13%), but higher proportions of South Africans (33%). There are similar findings in two surveys undertaken in 1992-93 and in 1997-98 in the Russian Federation and Ukraine.[35] In the 1992-93 and 1997-98 surveys for both the Russian Federation and Ukraine, approximately one-quarter (18% to 31%) indicated believing in God (Gitelman, 2012, p. 106). Including those who were inclined to belief in God, the proportions increased to about half of Jews in the Russian Federation and Ukraine. Although about half of Jews in the FSU maintained faith, few observed religion in the Russian Federation and Ukraine, as Gitelman found: 'A deity is present in the "inner life" of a surprising number of post-Soviet Jews, but religion is not' (2012, p. 106).

[35] For each survey a snowball sample (of different people) comprising of about 3,300 Jews (in total 6,664) with demographics resembling the 1989 Russian and Ukrainian Census were interviewed face-to-face about their Jewish identity (Gitelman, 2012, pp. 4; 349-53).

The religiosity scale measuring two constructs supports that secular/traditional Jews from the FSU have a weaker religious identity mainly because they observe fewer familial and communal Jewish traditions compared to other Jewish groups (Table 54). On the religiosity scale, secular/traditional Jews from the FSU score (34), similar to Israelis (35) but lower than Australian-born (45) and South Africans (58). Yet when comparing the religious commitment and faith construct, Jews from the FSU score higher (24) than Israelis (17), slightly higher than Australian-born (20), but lower than South Africans (34). It is on the construct of familial and communal observance of Jewish traditions that Jews from the FSU score lower (43) than Israelis (57), Australian-born (70) and South Africans (83). When further controlling only for those identifying as traditional, Jews from the FSU indicate even higher religious commitment and faith (37) compared to Australian-born (29) and Israelis (29), and similar to the religious commitment of South Africans (40). It is on familial and communal observance of Jewish traditions that traditional Jews from the FSU score lower (65) than other Jewish groups.

Table 54: Religiosity scale measuring two constructs by country of birth of secular/traditional and of traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Secular/traditional	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
Religiosity scale (0-100)	**34**	35	58	45
Commitment/Faith construct	**24**	17	34	20
Familial/Communal construct	**43**	57	83	70
Only those identifying as traditional				
Religiosity scale (0-100)	**48**	47	60	54
Commitment/Faith construct	**37**	29	40	29
Familial/Communal construct	**65**	73	87	80

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and the gold highlights data for religious commitment and faith that are similar or lower than FSU.

The findings indicate that, compared to other Jewish groups, secular/traditional Jews from the FSU score lower on religious identity because of their lesser manifestation of identification with Jewish communities through familial and communal observance of

Jewish traditions, not because of weaker religious commitment and faith. It is their distinctive secular identity shaped in the Soviet Union and during their upbringing that often creates difficulties for them to celebrate Jewish festivals with families and friends, although it does not necessarily require theological convictions and religious commitment.

Although socialisation in the Soviet Union had a great impact on their religious identity, counterintuitively, this does not translate into the younger age group or those who migrated at a younger age having a stronger religious identity. Those who migrated at a younger age and were partially or wholly socialised in Melbourne indicate a similar religious identity compared to those who migrated at an older age. This can partly be explained because being older positively correlates with a stronger religious identity (except for Australian-born) (Table 55). Those who were socialised in Melbourne tend to be younger (and in the younger age group), whereas those who were not tend to be older (and in the older age group).

In other Jewish groups, however, those who were partially or wholly socialised in Melbourne indicate an adaptation of their religious identity and became more similar to Australian-born compared to those who were not. For Israelis, those who were socialised in Melbourne indicate a stronger religious identity relative to those who were not (Table 55). Israelis indicate a strengthening of their religious identity regardless that being older is correlated with a stronger religious identity. South Africans who were socialised in Melbourne, on the other hand, indicate a weakening of their religious identity and became more similar to Australian-born than those who were not. In contrast, it seems that the socialisation process in Melbourne did not have the same impact on the religious identity of Jews from the FSU to become more similar to those born in Australia: the opposite is found,

younger migrants are less similar to Australian-born relative to the older generation. This can possibly be explained because of the negative experiences Jews from the FSU had with Jewish schooling and communities growing up in Melbourne, as is further discussed in Chapter Seven, *Community Building*.

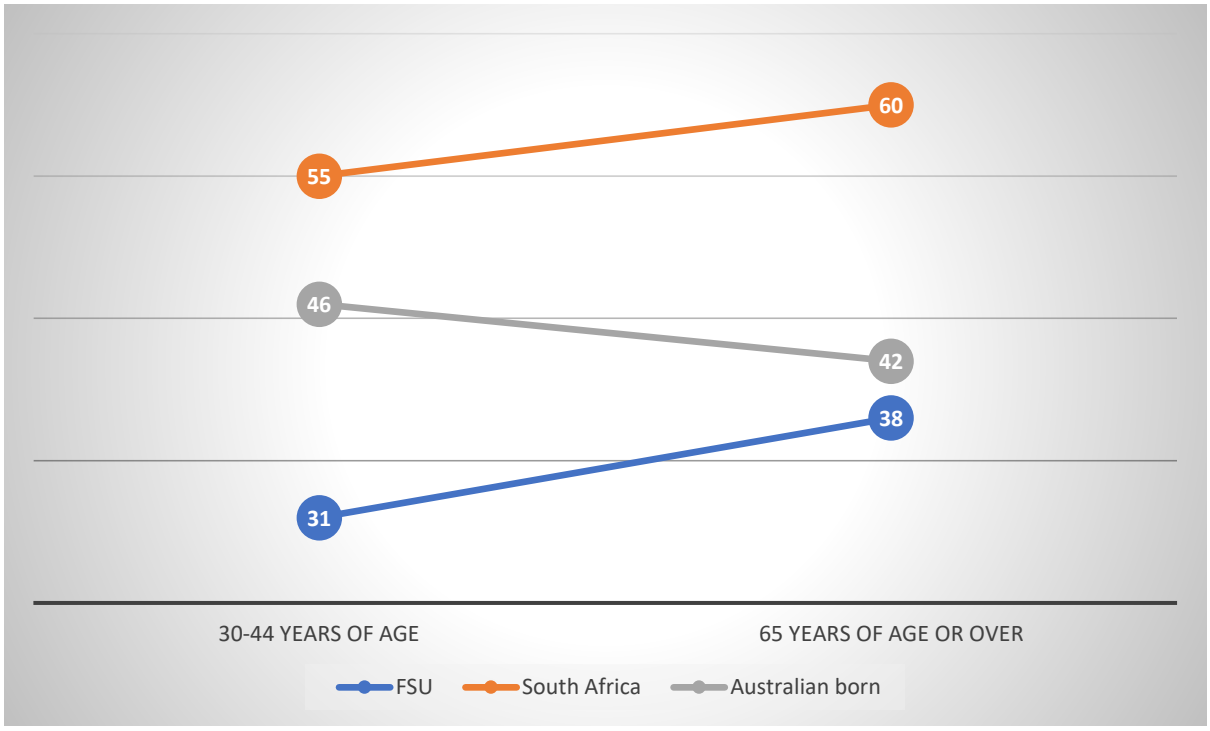
Table 55: Religiosity scale measuring two constructs by country of birth, age groups and age at arrival of secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Age groups	**FSU**		**Israel**		**South Africa**		**Aust born**	
Age group	*30-44*	*65+*	*30-44*	-	*30-44*	*65+*	*30-44*	*65+*
Religiosity scale (0-100)	**31**	**38**	33	-	55	60	46	42
Commitment/Faith construct	**25**	**31**	14	-	32	42	20	23
Familial/Communal construct	**40**	**48**	54	-	83	87	73	63
	Age at arrival in Melbourne							
Age at arrival	*0-15*	*30+*	*0-15*	*30+*	*0-15*	*30+*	-	-
Religiosity scale (0-100)	**32**	**35**	40	29	49	63	-	-
Commitment/Faith construct	**23**	**29**	20	13	24	43	-	-
Familial/Communal construct	**44**	**43**	67	49	77	87	-	-

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. n for those from Israel aged 65 or over is too small and not included. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that are discussed in text above.

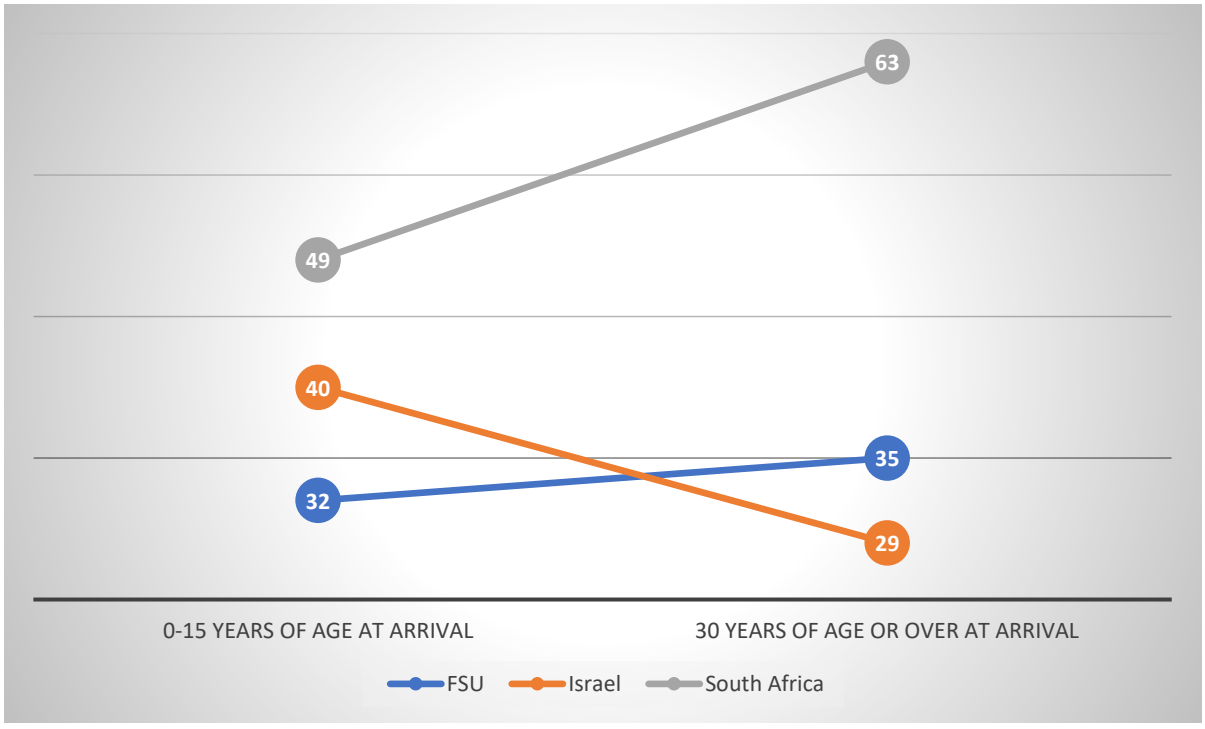
These findings indicate that although there is a convergence in religious identity between Jews from the FSU towards Israelis and Australian-born, it is mainly because of the older generation (Figure 8). It remains to be seen if the younger generation will follow in the footsteps of the older generation and continue to converge towards other Jewish groups. In the meantime, however, there are indications that the religious identity of Jews from the FSU who were wholly or partially socialised in Melbourne tends to diverge from other Jewish groups (Figure 9).

Figure 8: Divergence in religious identity score by age groups of younger secular/traditional Jews from the FSU compared to Australian-born in Melbourne in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey, weighted.

Figure 9: Divergence in religious identity score by age at arrival of younger secular/traditional Jews from the FSU compared to Israelis in Melbourne in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey, weighted.

In summary, this chapter described how Jews from the FSU adapted their religious identity in Melbourne over time. Jews from the FSU were compared vertically, to their upbringing; horizontally, to their local Jewish communities; and globally, to their peers in other countries. I argue that Jews from the FSU are first influenced by their distinctive Soviet secular identity followed by local influences from Jewish communities. Compared to their peers in Israel and the United States, Jews from the FSU in Melbourne have approximately similar patterns of observance of Jewish traditions. The current religious identification of migrants from the FSU in Melbourne relative to their upbringing indicates an adaptation in how they self-identify. Although about half of migrants from the FSU do not identify as religious, more identify as Orthodox (8%) currently compared to when they were growing up (2%); and distinctive for Melbourne, more identify as traditional (36%) currently than when they were growing up (24%).

Jews from the FSU were first compared to local Jews using a crude measure not controlling for religious identification. The crude measure is often used by researchers of Jewish identity when the analysis is implicitly driven to measure Jewish continuity. The lower observance of Jewish traditions among migrants from the FSU suggests weaker continuity relative to other Jewish groups. I argue that to analyse beyond a crude measure, a control for religious identification needs to be applied. In the controlled sample, only those identifying as secular/traditional were included. The controlled analysis indicates a convergence in the observance of Jewish traditions between Jews from the FSU and Australian-born and especially Israelis. I further argue that Jews from the FSU have a weaker religious identity compared to other Jewish groups because of their unfamiliarity with observing familial and communal Jewish traditions, not because of their religious commitment and faith. By controlling for age groups and age at arrival, counterintuitively, it

is the older generation from the FSU who was not socialised in Melbourne that converges towards other Jewish groups. The younger generation from the FSU who was partially or wholly socialised in Melbourne, however, seems to diverge in their observance of Jewish traditions from other Jewish groups. The possible reasons for this counterintuitive finding are further discussed in Chapter Seven, *Community Building*.

The following chapter examines the Jewish ethnic belonging of migrants from the FSU as compared to other Jewish groups.

Chapter 6: Jewish Ethnic Belonging

This chapter examines the Jewish ethnic belonging of migrants from the FSU as compared to other Jewish groups. The previous chapter found that migrants from the FSU have a weaker religious identity than other Jewish groups in Melbourne, with the exception of Israelis. Growing up in the Soviet Union where public Jewish religion and culture was almost non-existent, it is no wonder that this is the case. As Jews in the Soviet Union mainly identified as Jewish by ethnicity, did their Jewish ethnic belonging remain strong relative to other local Jewish groups?

To assess Jewish ethnic belonging, I adapt the work of Cohen, who proposes eight constructs to measure ethnicity: Jewish peoplehood, tribalism, marginality, commitment to endogamy, attachment to Israel, attachment and affiliation with Jewish institutions, and Judaism relating to social justice (2001, p. 106). I follow Cohen's approach with slight adjustments, measuring Jewish ethnic belonging using five constructs that are further elaborated below. The constructs are supported by a PCA of 33 items from the Gen17 survey (see Appendix 1):

1. Jewish peoplehood: sense of belonging to the Jewish people, feeling responsibility to take care of Jews in need around the world, importance of belonging to a Jewish community, and valence and salience of being Jewish
2. Commitment to endogamy: opposition to intermarriage, importance of providing Jewish education for children, and having Jewish friends
3. Connectedness with Israel: visiting Israel, feeling responsibility for the Jewish State, and identifying as a Zionist
4. Perception of antisemitism: perception of antisemitism in Australia

5. Jewish communal life: feeling connected to and participating in Jewish communal life

As mentioned in Chapter Four, the modern notion of Jewish peoplehood underpinned the successful Soviet Jewry movement by linking their plight to that of Jews around the world. According to Pianko, the modern meaning of Jewish peoplehood is an American innovation from the early twentieth century that is related to early expressions of Zionism. He explains that peoplehood is closely related to a nationalist conception of group identity (2015, pp. 6-7). By the 1950s, Jewish peoplehood became an essential element of Jewish identity that was further strengthened in the 1960s during the Soviet Jewry movement (2015, p. 56). Many Jewish migrants from the FSU have fond memories relating to the Soviet Jewry movement that made their migration possible before the collapse of the Soviet Union, and most probably internalised a strong sense of Jewish peoplehood in the course of their life-changing experience of emigration (Pinkus, 1985, pp. 14-5).

Commitment to endogamy is often considered crucial for maintaining the boundary of the Jewish people. Intermarriages of Jews with non-Jews are widely viewed as diminishing the Jewish people. Studies about intermarried couples have found that only about one-fifth of non-Jewish spouses felt a sense of belonging to the Jewish people and that fewer than half of children in mixed marriages were raised Jewish (DellaPergola, 1989, p. 168). The Gen08 survey argues that '[i]ncreased intermarriage poses major challenges for the future of Jewish communities' (Markus, 2011, p. 48). The Gen17 survey notes that by 'almost all attitudinal measures, intermarried Jews exhibit weaker levels of Jewish identification than their in-married counterparts', including their sense of belonging to a Jewish community (Graham & Markus, 2018, p. 28).

Jewish migrants from the FSU are often perceived as having higher intermarriage rates compared to other Jewish groups. One example of this perception is Goldlust's report that workers at Jewish Community Services in Australia, the predecessors of today's Jewish Cares', speculated that about half of the spouses of Jews from the FSU who had arrived after the 1970s were not Jewish (2001, pp. 544-5). Historian Hilary Rubinstein remarks that 'demographers believe that any increase [in intermarriage rate] can be largely explained by the recent immigration of Russian Jews, who have a higher intermarriage rate than Australian Jews' (1995, p. 352).

Historian Jonathan Sarna found that in the United States caring about Israel and remembering the Holocaust are central elements of Jewish identity (2004, p. 333). He explains that the 'themes of Israel and the Holocaust developed together in the consciousness of American Jews; they were, in many ways, fraternal twins' (2004, p. 333). The Jewish migration from the Soviet Union was linked to the State of Israel by several factors. First, those who emigrated before the 1990s could usually only do so after receiving Israeli *vyzovy* (letters of invitation, in Russian) to apply for Soviet exit visas. The active support of the State of Israel alleviated for many their sense of isolation, even for those who did not emigrate before the 1990s, contributing to their Jewish national revival in the 1970s (Pinkus, 1985, pp. 5-6; 14-5; 1988, p. 309). Second, the Israeli victory of the 1967 Six-Day War functioned as a catalyst for many Soviet Jews to express Jewish national pride and to become ideologically and organisationally active (Freedman, 1989, p. 71; Pinkus, 1985, p. 8; 1988, p. 316). After the Six-Day War, Soviet Jews started to demand from the authorities to emigrate to their 'national homeland' Israel (Gitelman, 2012, p. 94). Many Jews from the FSU, however, when given the opportunity, opted to immigrate to the United States, Germany, Canada and Australia.

Political scientist Zvi Gitelman notes that for Jews in the FSU ‘anti-Semitism was the single most influential factor in evoking consciousness of being Jewish’ (2012, p. 221). Jewish identity that is mainly in reaction to antisemitism and the Holocaust is often associated with negative feelings, and mostly based on a negative Jewish consciousness rather than on positive cultural content (Gitelman, 2012, p. 214). Gitelman found during surveys in the Russian Federation and Ukraine in 1992-93 and 1997-98 that because of antisemitism most Jews in the FSU mentioned that becoming aware of their Jewish identity was associated with negative feelings (2012, p. 216). Historian Esther Benbassa states that the Holocaust has established itself as a ‘new secular religion’ centred on negative feelings of victimhood and suffering that has replaced a Judaism based on positive traditions and practice (2010, p. 177).

Feeling connected to and participating in Jewish communal life is often viewed as a manifestation of Jewish identity and identification with Jews (Gitelman, 1998, p. 117). Gitelman states that in the Diaspora the ‘extent and degree of one's manifest Jewish identity is visible through the number of organizations joined, the intensity of activity within them, and the number and magnitude of donations to Jewish causes’ (1998, p. 117; 2012, p. 338). Steinkalk found that Soviet ‘parents and adolescents demonstrated a low degree of identification with the Jewish community’ in Melbourne (1982, p. 234).

The five constructs measuring Jewish ethnic belonging are aggregated under the ethnicity scale. Combining the ethnicity and religiosity scales from the previous chapter provides an overarching Jewish identity scale. Although the weaker religious identity of Jews from the FSU suggests weaker Jewish continuity, as discussed in the previous chapter, their Jewish ethnic belonging might suggest a stronger continuity (Markus, 2011, pp. 9-10). The 2011

Jewish community study of New York found that 'Russian speakers exhibit very high levels of ethnic belonging' compared to non-Orthodox non-Russian-speaking Jews (Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012, p. 238). Combining religious and ethnic dimensions provides a more comprehensive understanding of their Jewish identity.

To explore the Jewish ethnic belonging of migrants from the FSU in Melbourne, I divide this chapter into two sections. First, results of the five constructs, followed by ethnicity scale and Jewish identity scale are presented. The second section is further divided in three subsections. Initially I provide overall findings and further discuss Jewish peoplehood and commitment to endogamy. Then I address connectedness with Israel and perception of antisemitism in Australia, elaborating with a discussion of views about Israeli politics and importance of remembering the Holocaust. In the last subsection I address Jewish communal life including community experiences growing up and participation in activities.

Results

Jewish peoplehood

The PCA shows that eight items from the Gen17 survey related to Jewish peoplehood load on one principal component (construct) (see Appendix 1 PC1). Items are scored from 0 to 5 and constructs are standardised to score from 0 to 100. Secular/traditional Jews from the FSU have a slightly higher score for Jewish peoplehood (80) compared to Israelis (75), similar to Australian-born (82), but lower than South Africans (87) (Table 56). The younger and older generation of Jews from the FSU have similar scores for Jewish peoplehood.

Table 56: Jewish peoplehood construct by country of birth of secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Secular/traditional	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
Jewish peoplehood (0-100)	**80**	75	87	82

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that are similar or lower than FSU.

Commitment to endogamy

Six items related to commitment to endogamy load on one principal component (see Appendix 1 PC2). Secular/traditional Jews from the FSU score higher on commitment to endogamy (67) compared to Israelis (53), similar to Australian-born (67), but slightly lower than South Africans (73) (Table 57).

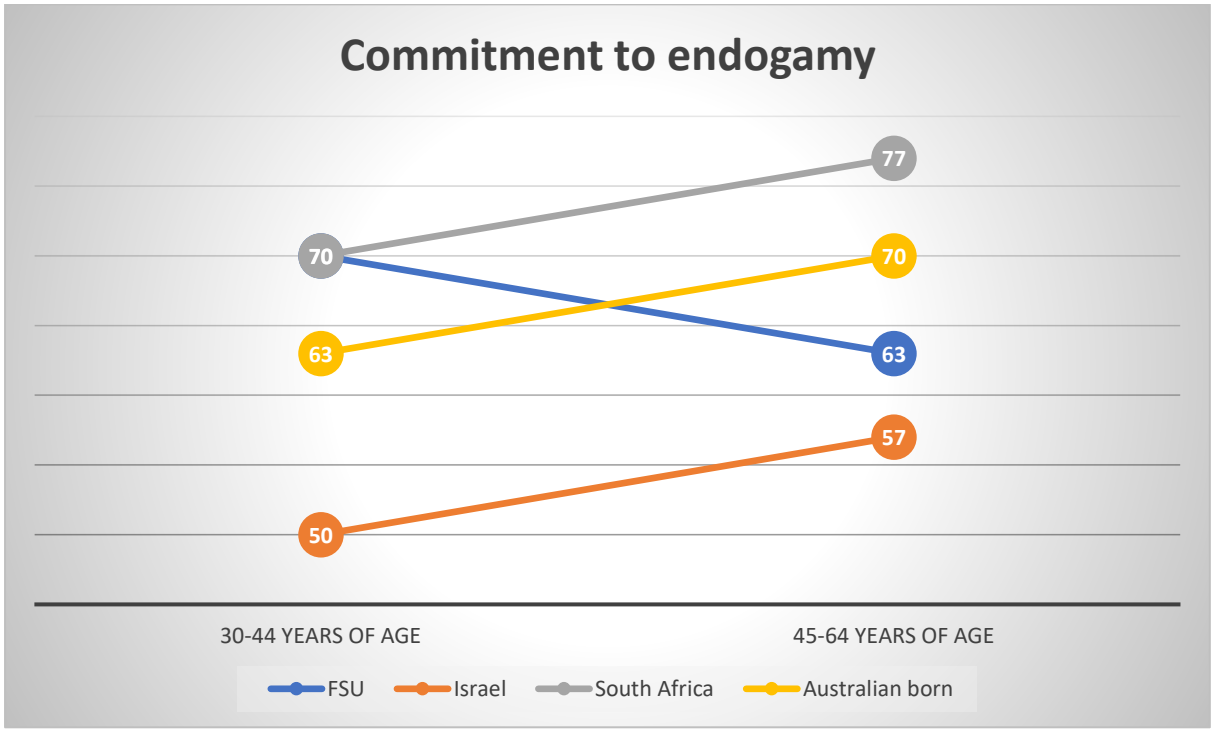
Table 57: Commitment to endogamy construct by country of birth of secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Secular/traditional	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
Commitment to endogamy (0-100)	**67**	53	73	67

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that are similar or lower than FSU.

Commitment to endogamy is positively correlated with older age. Distinctive for Jews from the FSU, however, is that the younger age group (30-44 years) indicate a stronger commitment to endogamy compared to the middle-aged group (45-64 years). The younger group of Jews from the FSU increased their commitment to endogamy (70) compared to the middle-aged group (63), surpassing the score of Australian-born (63) and reaching a similar score to South Africans (70), while Israelis score much lower (50) (Figure 10).

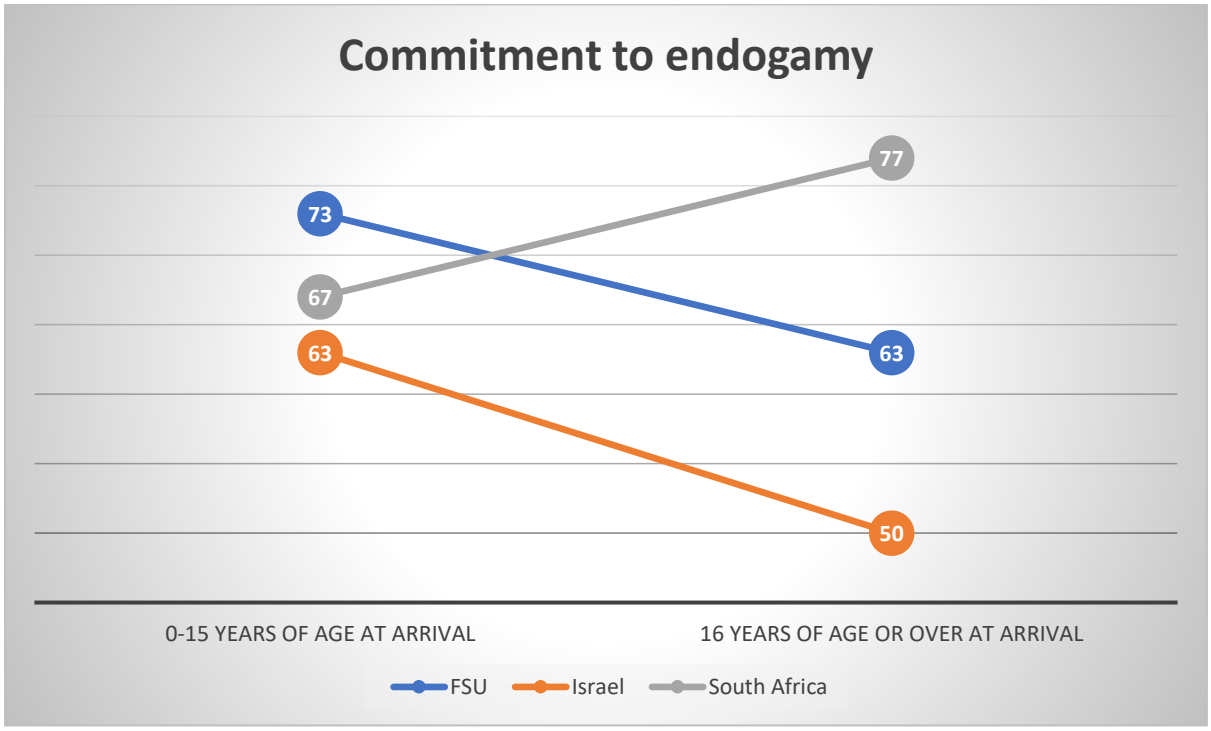
Figure 10: Younger age group of secular/traditional Jews from the FSU surpass Australian-born in commitment to endogamy, reaching a similar score to South Africans in Melbourne in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey; weighted.

Jews from the FSU and Israel who migrated before 16 years of age and were partially or wholly socialised in Melbourne indicate a higher score of commitment to endogamy compared to those who migrated at an older age. Those who were socialised in Melbourne tend to be in the younger age group, while those who were not, tend to be older. Migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne even surpassed their score on commitment to endogamy (73) compared to South Africans (67) (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Socialisation in Melbourne of secular/traditional Jews from the FSU increases commitment to endogamy surpassing South Africans in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey; weighted.

Connectedness with Israel

Seven items related to connectedness with Israel load on one principal component (see Appendix 1 PC3). Secular/traditional Jews from the FSU have a similar score for connectedness with Israel (66) compared to South Africans (66) and Australian-born (66), but slightly lower than Israelis (71) (Table 58).

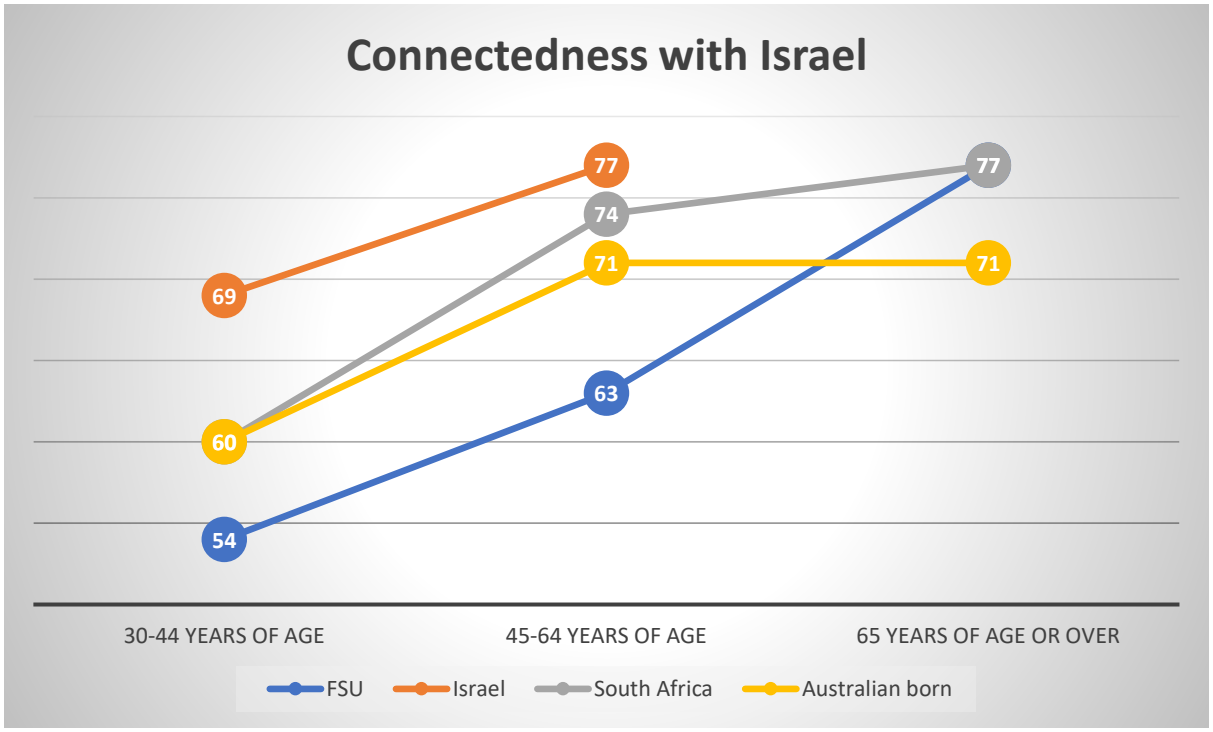
Table 58: Connectedness with Israel construct by country of birth of secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Secular/traditional	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
Connectedness with Israel (0-100)	**66**	71	66	66

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that are similar to FSU.

Connectedness with Israel is positively correlated with older age. The older age group (65 years or over) of Jews from the FSU have a similar connectedness with Israel (77) compared to South Africans (77), and higher than Australian-born (71) (Figure 12). The younger and middle-aged groups (30-64 years) of Jews from the FSU, however, score lower compared to other Jewish groups.

Figure 12: Connectedness with Israel decreasing for younger secular/traditional Jews from the FSU compared to other Jewish groups in Melbourne in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. n for those from Israel aged 65 or over is too small and not included.

Perception of antisemitism

Six items related to antisemitism in Australia load on one principal component (see Appendix 1 PC4). Secular/traditional Jews from the FSU have a similar score for perception of antisemitism in Australia (37) compared to Australian-born (40), higher than Israelis (33), but lower than South Africans (47) (Table 59).

Table 59: Perception of antisemitism construct by country of birth and age at arrival of secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Secular/traditional	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
Perception of antisemitism (0-100)	**37**	33	47	40
Age at arrival				
0-15 years	**40**	40	46	-
16 years or over	**34**	30	48	-

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that are discussed in the text below.

Migrants from the FSU and Israel who were socialised in Melbourne have a higher perception of antisemitism in Australia (40) compared to those who were not (34 and 30, respectively). For South Africans and Australian-born, however, both younger and older age groups indicate a similar perception of antisemitism in Australia.

Jewish communal life

Six items related to Jewish communal life load on one principal component (see Appendix 1 PC5). Secular/traditional Jews from the FSU have a weaker feeling of connection to and participation in Jewish communal life (17) compared to Israelis (27), South Africans (30) and Australian-born (33) (Table 60).

Table 60: Jewish communal life construct by country of birth, age groups and age at arrival for secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Secular/traditional	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
Jewish communal life (0-100)	**17**	27	30	33
Age groups				
30-44 years	**17**	20	23	23
45-64 years	**17**	27	30	33
65 years or over	**33**	-	32	37
Age at arrival				
0-15 years	**17**	27	27	-
16 years or over	**20**	27	33	-

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. n for those from Israel aged 65 or over is too small and not included. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that are discussed in the text below.

Feeling of connection to and participation in Jewish communal life is correlated with older age. The older generation (65 years or over) of Jews from the FSU indicates a feeling of

connection to and participation in Jewish communal life (33) similar to South Africans (32) and Australian-born (37). Migrants from the younger and middle-aged groups (30-64 years) (17), however, score lower compared to Israelis (20 and 27), South Africans (23 and 30) and Australian-born (23 and 33).

Ethnicity and Jewish identity scale

The ethnicity scale composed of the five constructs discussed in this section indicates that secular/traditional Jews from the FSU in Melbourne score on Jewish ethnic belonging (54) similar to Israelis (53) and Australian-born (58), but weaker than South Africans (63) (Table 61).[36] Compared to the average score of secular/traditional of the four groups in Melbourne (58), Jews from the FSU exhibit relatively high levels of Jewish ethnic belonging (54). Further comparing to the average of Orthodox of the four groups in Melbourne (72), secular/traditional Jews from the FSU score significantly lower on Jewish ethnic belonging (54).

Table 61: Ethnicity scale and its five constructs measuring Jewish ethnic belonging of secular/traditional Jews from the FSU compared to Israelis, South Africans and Australian-born, and to Orthodox in Melbourne in 2017

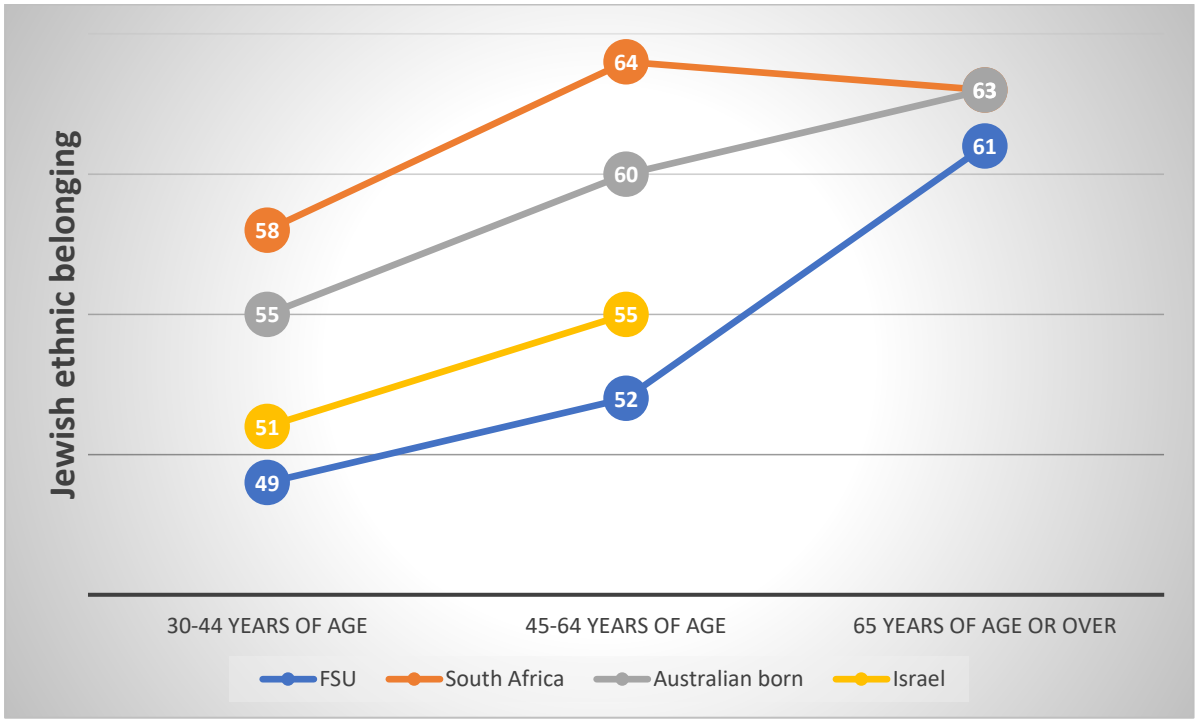
Secular/ traditional	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**	**Orthodox**
Ethnicity scale (0-100)	**54**	53	63	58	72
Jewish peoplehood	**80**	75	87	82	95
Commitment to endogamy	**67**	53	73	67	90
Connectedness with Israel	**66**	71	66	66	77
Perception of antisemitism	**37**	33	47	40	47
Jewish communal life	**17**	27	30	33	51

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. Scale and constructs standardised from 0 to 100. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data for Australian-born.

[36] The ethnicity scale is standardised from 0 to 100 by adding the five constructs and dividing it by five.

Jewish ethnic belonging is positively correlated with older age. Closer examination indicates that the older age group (65 years or over) of Jews from the FSU scores similarly in Jewish ethnic belonging (61) to other Jewish groups (63), whereas the younger and middle-aged groups (30-64 years) score lower than other Jewish groups and seem to be diverging from them, with the exception of Israelis (Figure 13).

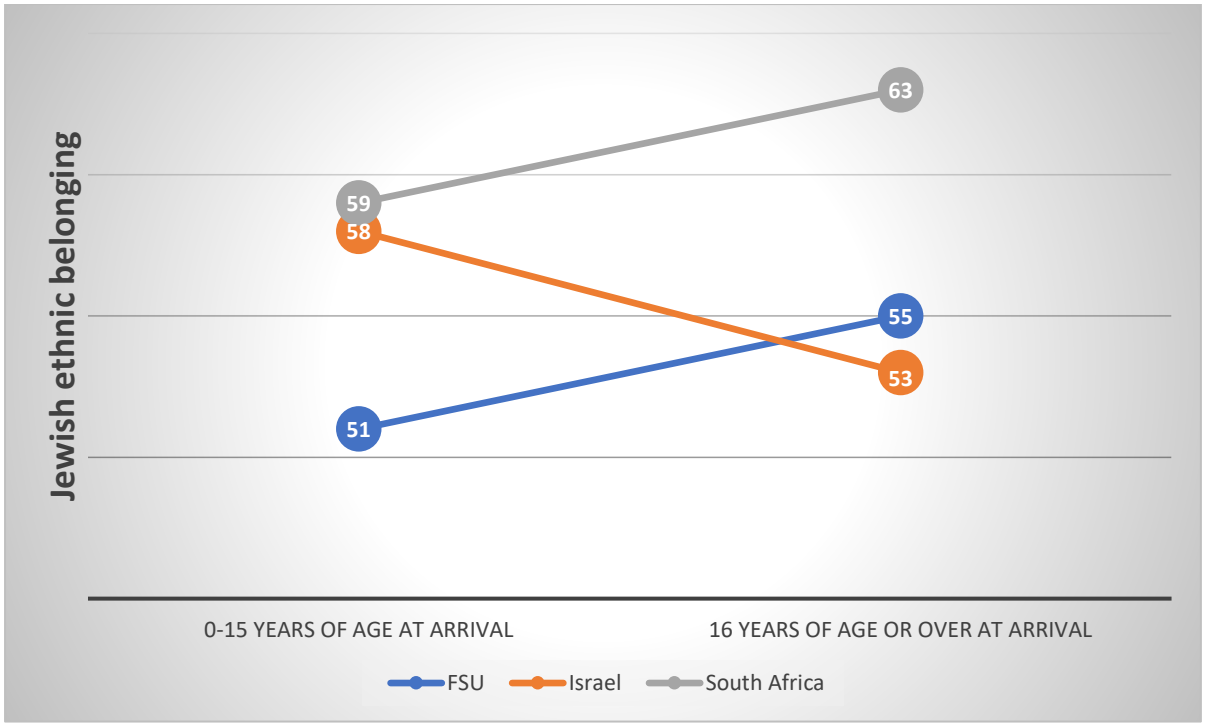
Figure 13: Divergence in Jewish ethnic belonging of younger secular/traditional Jews from the FSU compared to other Jewish groups in Melbourne in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. n for those from Israel aged 65 or over is too small and not included.

Those who migrated from the FSU (51) and South Africa (59) before 16 years of age and were partially or wholly socialised in Melbourne score slightly lower on the ethnicity scale compared to those who migrated at an older age (55 and 63, respectively) (Figure 14). Israelis who were socialised in Melbourne, however, indicate a slightly higher score for Jewish ethnic belonging (58) compared to those who were not (53).

Figure 14: Jewish ethnic belonging by country of birth and age at arrival of secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

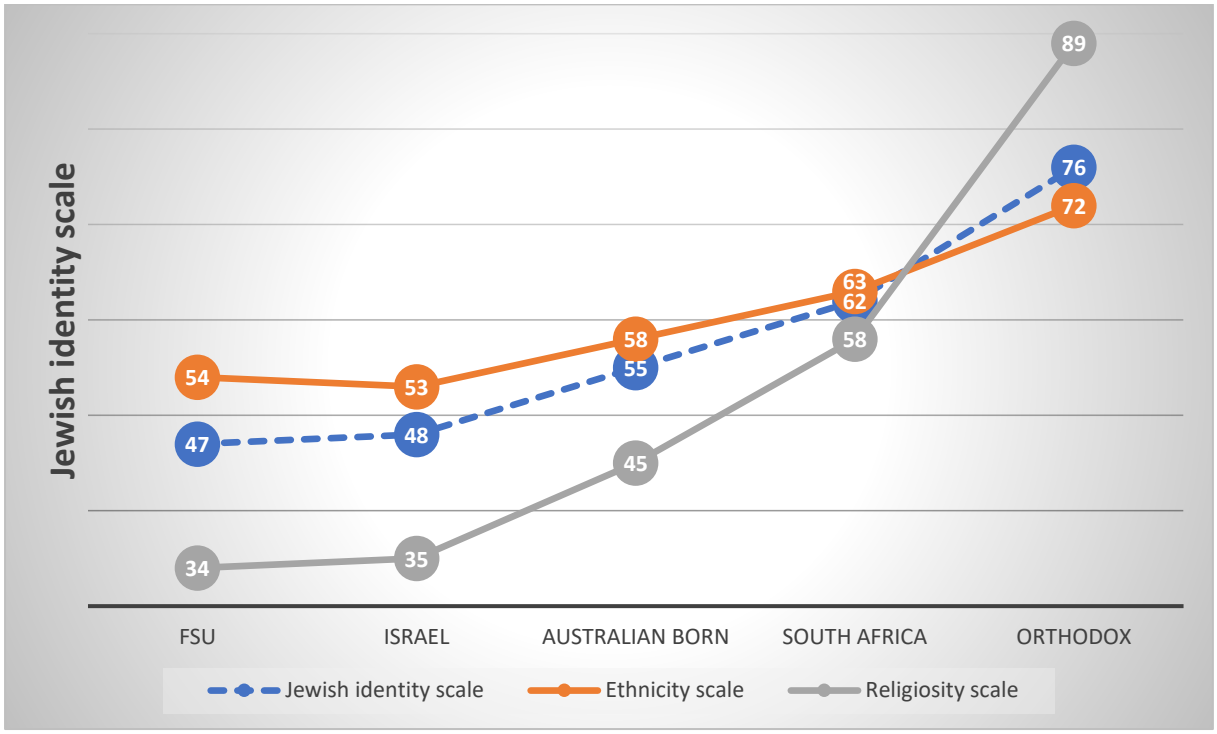


Source: Gen17 survey; weighted.

Combining the ethnicity scale and the religiosity scale from the previous chapter makes it possible to construct a Jewish identity scale.[37] The Jewish identity scale indicates that the score of secular/traditional Jews from the FSU (47) is similar to Israelis (48), but lower than Australian-born (55) and South Africans (62) (Figure 15). The disparity in Jewish identity score between Jews from the FSU and other Jewish groups increases because of their low score on religious identity, with the exception of Israelis (Figure 16).

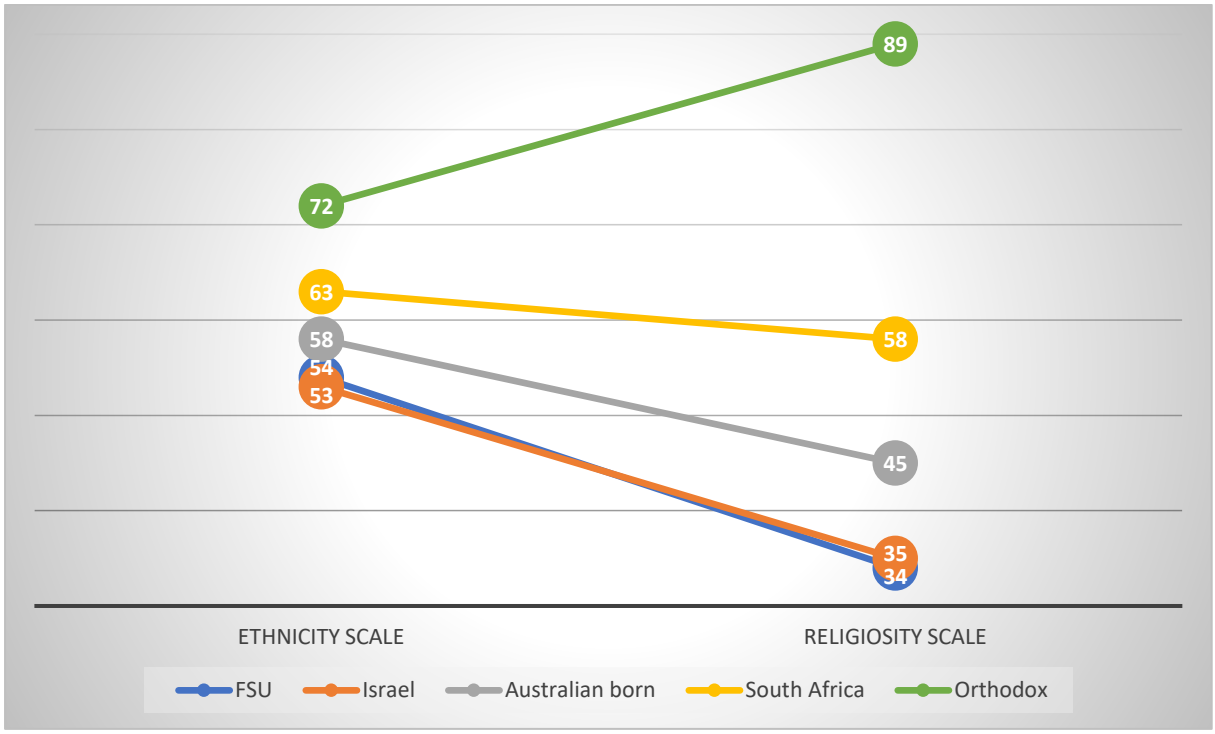
[37] The Jewish identity scale is standardised from 0 to 100 by adding the five ethnicity constructs and the two religiosity constructs from the previous chapter and dividing it by seven.

Figure 15: Jewish identity scale and its two scales ethnicity and religiosity for secular/traditional Jews from the FSU compared to other Jewish groups, and to Orthodox in Melbourne in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey; weighted.

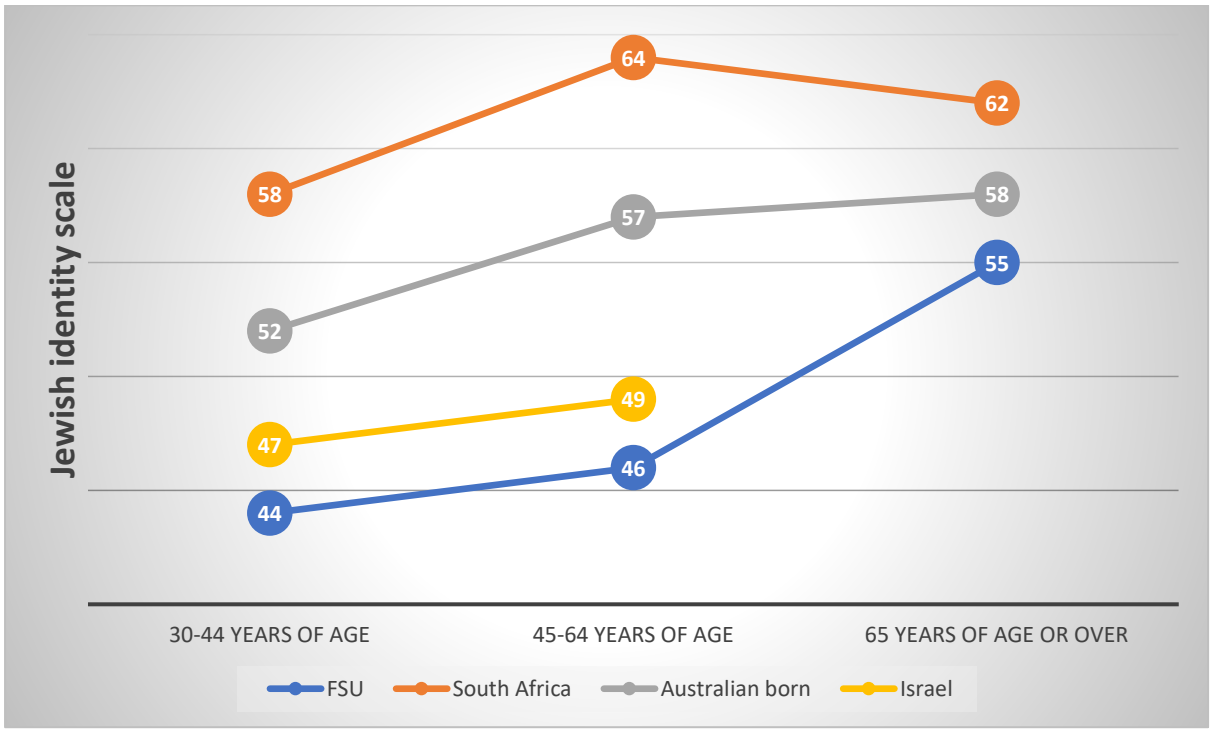
Figure 16: Disparity of ethnicity and religiosity scales for secular/traditional Jews from the FSU compared to other Jewish groups, and to Orthodox in Melbourne in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey; weighted.

Jewish identity is positively correlated with older age. Closer examination indicates that the older group of migrants from the FSU has a more similar score on Jewish identity (55) compared to other Jewish groups (58 to 62), whereas the younger and middle-aged groups score lower and seem to be diverging from them, with the exception of Israelis (Figure 17).

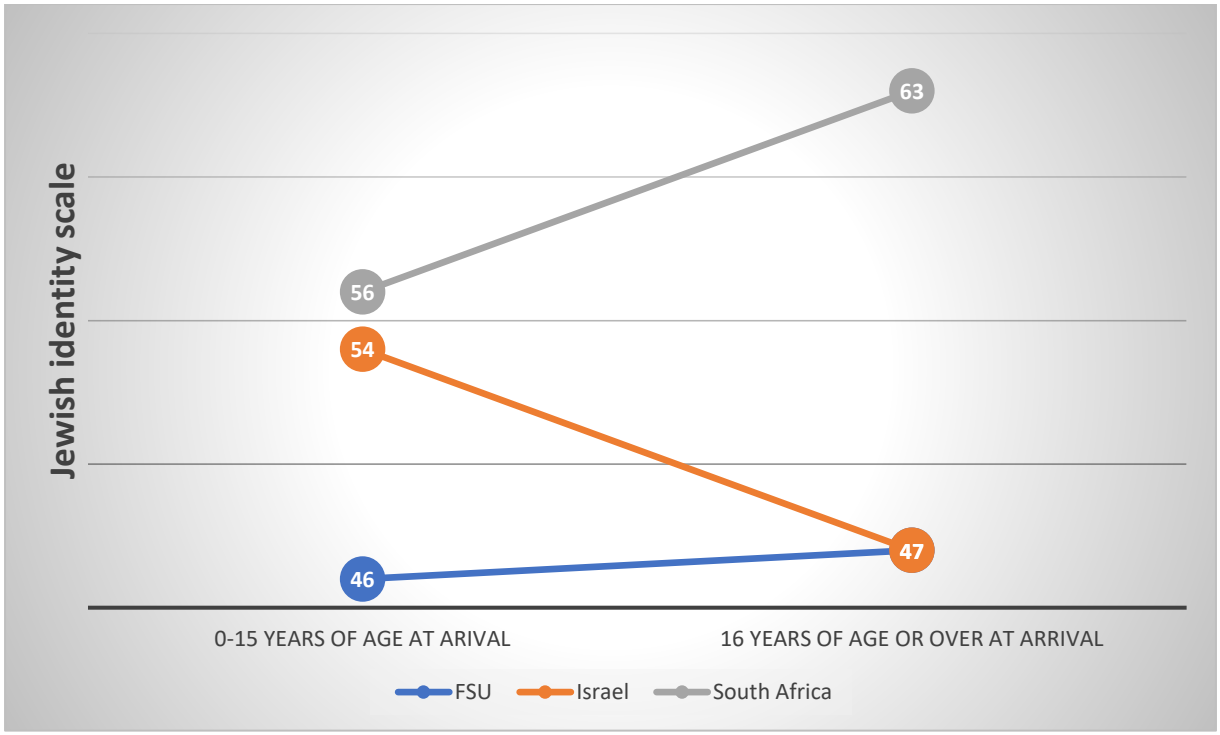
Figure 17: Divergence in Jewish identity score of younger secular/traditional Jews from the FSU by age groups compared to other Jewish groups in Melbourne in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. n for those from Israel aged 65 or over is too small and not included.

Similar to the ethnicity scale, South Africans who were partly or wholly socialised in Melbourne score lower on the Jewish identity scale (56) compared to those who were not (63) (Figure 18). Migrants from the FSU have similar scores regardless of whether they were socialised in Melbourne or not (46 and 47). In contrast, Israelis who were socialised in Melbourne indicate a higher score for Jewish identity (54) compared to those who were not (47).

Figure 18: Jewish identity scale by country of birth and age at arrival for secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey; weighted.

Discussion

Secular/traditional Jews from the FSU have a similar score on the Jewish identity scale (47) to Israelis (48) (Figure 15). Both migration groups score lower on Jewish identity compared to South Africans (62) and Australian-born (55). Yet there is a crucial difference between migrants from the FSU and Israel. Migrants from the FSU who were partly or wholly socialised in Melbourne do not show a convergence towards Australian-born, instead, it seems that the younger migrants from the FSU are diverging (44) from them (52) (Figure 17). On the other hand, younger Israelis are converging towards Australian-born. Israelis who were socialised in Melbourne indicate a higher score on Jewish identity (54) relative to those who were not (47) (Figure 18).

The differences between younger migrants from the FSU and those from Israel are better understood by contrasting them with South Africans. Jews in South Africa were often raised in a separated Jewish environment, especially under the apartheid system, resulting in a stronger Jewish identity compared to Jews in Melbourne (Frankental & Rothgiesser, 2009; Raijman, 2015; Sokolsky, 1980). Consequentially, secular/traditional Jews from South Africa often indicate a weakening of their Jewish identity after migrating, especially those who were socialised in Melbourne.

On the other hand, secular/traditional Jews in the FSU and in Israel were often raised with a weaker Jewish identity compared to their peers in Melbourne; it could then be expected that those socialised in Melbourne would indicate a strengthening of their Jewish identity. Israelis who were socialised in Melbourne indeed indicate a higher score on the Jewish identity scale. Yet, migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne do not. It seems that the socialisation of migrants from the FSU in Melbourne did not have the same outcome as it did for Israelis. Possible reasons for this are further discussed in the following chapter.

Migrants from the FSU and those from Israel further have a similar score on the ethnicity scale, indicating a similar sense of Jewish ethnic belonging (54 and 53, respectively) (Table 61). Both migration groups score lower on Jewish ethnic belonging compared to South Africans (63), but similar to Australian-born (58). Although migrants from the FSU and those from Israel score similar to Australian-born for Jewish ethnic belonging, they score lower on the Jewish identity scale. An explanation for this finding is that migrants from the FSU and those from Israel score lower on the religiosity scale (34 and 35, respectively) compared to

Australian-born (45) (Figure 15). The Jewish ethnic belonging of migrants from the FSU and those from Israel is relatively strong, but they score weaker on religious identity.

It is not always the case that migrants from the FSU have a similar sense of Jewish ethnic belonging and weaker religious identity compared to native-born, but it depends on where they migrated. In various countries around the world, migrants from the FSU have a similar sense of Jewish ethnic belonging, and one that is often stronger than those of local Jews, as discussed below. That migrants from the FSU in Melbourne score similarly to local Jews on Jewish ethnic belonging perhaps says more about the peculiarities of the Melbourne community than it does about migrants from the FSU.

In New York, for example, Russian-speaking Jews in 2011 scored higher on indicators of Jewish ethnic belonging compared to local Jews. The 2011 Jewish community study of New York found that '[r]elative to non-Orthodox non-Russian speakers, RSJs [Russian-speaking Jews] more frequently claim that their feelings of belonging to the Jewish people are "very strong." They also place more importance on being part of a Jewish community' (Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012, p. 238). More than half (56%) of Russian-speaking Jews in New York indicated having a very strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people and about half (47%) indicated that it is very important to be part of a Jewish community (Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012, p. 238). In comparison, the proportions of non-Orthodox non-Russian-speaking Jews in New York for those two items were lower (40% and 32%, respectively). The 2011 Jewish community study of New York concludes that 'Russian speakers score high on indicators of Jewish ethnic belonging' (Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012, p. 238).

Jewish peoplehood and commitment to endogamy

On average, secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne score high on Jewish peoplehood (82). The results align with Pianko, who states that the secular notion of Jewish peoplehood is closely related to a nationalist conception of group identity that became an essential element of Jewish identity (2015, p. 7; 56). For secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne, Jewish peoplehood is conceptually and statistically moderately correlated to connectedness with Israel (r = .581, n = 1,640, p < .001). Peoplehood further seems to be an essential element of Jewish identity because it is the only construct on which secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne score high, on average (82). In addition, it is one of the few constructs on which the younger generation also scores high (80), thus not being negatively correlated with younger age (Table 61).

It is expected that migrants from the FSU score high on Jewish peoplehood because they mainly identify as Jewish by nationality, which is a collective identity that implies being part of a Jewish people or nation. Steinkalk similarly found in 1982 that 86% of Soviet parents in Melbourne and 73% of their children indicated feeling ties with and concern for the Jewish people as either extremely or very important aspects of their Jewish identification (p. 237). High scores on Jewish peoplehood and not on other constructs of Jewish identity, however, can indicate a sense of Jewish ethnic belonging that is expressed in a rather abstract way with a 'thin' cultural content, or expressed solely as attitudes with few behaviours, and one that can become a 'symbolic ethnicity', much like Anglo-Celtic Australians or Polish Americans (Gans, 1979; Gitelman, 2012, p. 23). It is unclear which behaviours persons undertake who claim a strong sense of Jewish peoplehood but score low on other ethnicity

constructs. This can perhaps better be understood with items measuring valence and salience of being Jewish, which are included under Jewish peoplehood (see Appendix 1 PC1).

In the Soviet Union, Jews often tried to hide their Jewishness as it was considered a liability. During interviews, it was common for informants to mention that because of antisemitism in the Soviet Union they felt ashamed to be Jewish and that the discovery of their Jewishness was associated with negative feelings (Gitelman, 2012, p. 216). In Melbourne, however, Jews from the FSU indicate a relatively positive valence of being Jewish. About three-quarters (74%) of Jews from the FSU completely agree that they are proud to be a Jew and about two-thirds (63%) completely agree that they have a clear sense of what being Jewish means to them (Table 62). Jews from the FSU indicate a similar positive valence compared to Israelis and Australian-born, but lower than South Africans. Similarly, in Israel, about four-fifths (81%) of Russian speakers indicated that they are proud to be Jewish (Pew, 2016, p. 79).

Table 62: Valence of being Jewish by country of birth of secular/traditional Jews from the FSU in Melbourne in 2017

Completely agree	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
I am proud to be a Jew	**74%**	71%	88%	79%
I have a clear sense of what being Jewish means to me	**63%**	66%	68%	67%

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that are similar to FSU.

Although most migrants from the FSU in Melbourne indicate a positive valence of being Jewish, it is less salient for them compared to other Jewish groups. A higher score on Jewish peoplehood and valence but a lower one on salience indicates that migrants from the FSU experience their Jewishness as a more abstract notion based on feelings, rather than necessarily behaving and viewing the world through a Jewish 'prism'. Jews from the FSU often describe their Jewishness based on feeling that does not involve praxis (Gitelman, 2012, pp. 109-10). Only one in ten (10%) migrants from the FSU indicate being Jewish as a

central element of their life; this is less compared to Israelis (20%), Australian-born (24%) and South Africans (27%) (Table 63). For about half (53%) of Jews from the FSU, being Jewish is however a significant element in their life. Adding up these two groups, Jews from the FSU have similar proportions (63%) to Israelis (66%), but significantly lower than South Africans (88%) and Australian-born (83%).

Table 63: Salience of being Jewish by country of birth of secular/traditional Jews from the FSU in Melbourne in 2017

Being Jewish is…	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
a central element of my life	**10%**	20%	27%	24%
a significant element of my life	**53%**	46%	61%	59%
Total central/significant element of	**63%**	66%	88%	83%

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that is similar to FSU.

Although scoring high on a secular notion of Jewish peoplehood is rather abstract, nonetheless it most probably reinforces other Jewish ethnic belonging constructs that do imply measurable behaviours; for example, commitment to endogamy. More so than a moderate correlation between Jewish peoplehood and connection with Israel, as mentioned above, peoplehood is conceptually and statistically strongly correlated to commitment to endogamy for secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne (r = .654, n = 1,640, p < .001). Migrants from the FSU score relatively high on commitment to endogamy (67), and, as the results indicate, they show the distinctive feature that their younger age group indicates a stronger commitment to endogamy compared to the older one (Figure 10). It seems that the only construct of Jewish ethnic belonging that socialisation in Melbourne did strengthen for migrants from the FSU is commitment to endogamy: those who were socialised in Melbourne have a higher score on commitment to endogamy (73) than Israelis (63), and even surpass South Africans (67) (Figure 11).

It is possible, however, that the increase in score of younger migrants from the FSU for commitment to endogamy is only measuring their attitudes and not their behaviours. As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, there is a perception that Jews from the FSU often form intermixed couples; how does this perception align with the higher score for commitment to endogamy?

Intermixed couples globally and horizontally compared

This section examines the proportions of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne who formed intermixed couples. First, I provide a broader overview by presenting survey data from North America that compares the proportions of Jewish immigrants from the FSU who formed intermixed couples and of local Jews. Then I compare migrants from the FSU in Melbourne to other Jewish groups based on the Australian Census and survey data, and third, I compare these to their peers in North America. It should be taken into account that census and survey data often underrepresent the proportions of intermixed couples. Census analysis based on those who indicate their religion as Judaism might understate the number of Jews who have non-Jewish partners/spouses, because those in intermixed couples might not be inclined to indicate their religion as Judaism in the census. As for Jewish surveys, many intermarried Jews tend to be less affiliated to Jewish communities and are less inclined to participate in those surveys, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Less affiliated Jews especially often do not participate in non-probability conveyance surveys, as most Jewish ones in Australia are. Australian data from the 2000s seems to especially underrepresent the proportions of intermixed couples among migrants from the FSU and those from Israel. With all its limitations, however, this is the best available data about intermixed couples.

Survey data from North America do not support the perception that Jewish immigrants from the FSU have higher proportions of intermixed couples than local Jews. The 2011 Jewish community study of New York found that Russian-speaking households had about half the proportion of intermarried couples (13%) compared to all other Jewish households (24%) (Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012, p. 237). Compared to data from Canada and New York presented below, the New York study shows relative low proportions of intermarried couples because it only analysed married, not all partnered couples. In Canada, an analysis of the 2011 National Household Survey found that fewer migrants from the FSU (22%) had a non-Jewish partner/spouse than native-born (27%) (Shahar & Schnoor, 2015, p. 40).[38] In the United States, the 2013 Pew survey indicates that about one-third (36%) of migrants from the FSU had a non-Jewish partner/spouse, much lower than native-born (44%).[39]

In Australia, data from the 2000s indicate that migrants from the FSU had similar proportions of intermixed couples compared to other Jewish migrant groups, but lower than Australian-born. There are four datasets from the 2000s: the 2001 and 2006 Census, the 2004 survey of Jews in the Diaspora, and the 2008-09 Gen08 survey. The data indicates that approximately one in ten (9% to 13%) Jews from the FSU had a non-Jewish partner or spouse, similar to Israelis (8% to 14%), slightly higher than South Africans (5% to 12%), but lower than Australian-born (13% to 28%).[40] As mentioned above, however, Australian data from the 2000s seems to especially underrepresent the proportions of intermixed couples of migrants from the FSU and those from Israel.

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[38] The National Household Survey is undertaken by the Canadian government and distributed to a third of households in Canada (Shahar & Schnoor, 2015, p. 49).
[39] Based on my primary analysis of the 2013 Pew *A portrait of Jewish Americans* survey dataset.
[40] 2006 Australian Census is based on my primary analysis of customised data files provided by John Goldlust, and 2008-09 Gen08 Australian Jewish population survey on my primary analysis of the dataset provided by Andrew Markus. The 2001 Australian Census and 2004 Australian survey of Jews in the Diaspora were analysed by scholars Suzanne Rutland and Antonio Gariano (2005, pp. 30-1).

The Gen17 survey indicates higher proportions of intermixed couples of migrants from the FSU and those from Israel as found in data from the 2000s. This suggests that the Gen17 survey had a more widespread participation of less affiliated Jews compared to surveys from the 2000s. The Gen17 survey indicates that the proportion of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne (not controlled for religious identification) who live with a non-Jewish partner/spouse (24%) is similar to Israelis (24%), but higher than South Africans (6%) and Australian-born (17%).[41]

Comparing horizontally to local Jews in Melbourne, migrants from the FSU have higher proportions of intermixed couples, with the exception of Israelis. Comparing globally, migrants from the FSU in Melbourne have similar proportions of non-Jewish partners/spouses to their peers in Canada, and lower than those in the United States. Whether migrants from the FSU in Melbourne have a high or low proportion of intermixed couples depends on who they are compared to, because local Jews in different countries have different proportions of intermixed couples. Victoria (19%), New York (22%), Australia (23%) and Canada (25%) have lower proportions of intermixed couples than the United States (44%) (Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012, p. 136; Graham & Markus, 2018, p. 25; Pew, 2013, p. 9; Shahar & Schnoor, 2015, p. 40).

When controlling for religious identification, however, different proportions of intermixed couples are found when comparing migrants from the FSU with other Jewish groups in Melbourne. From here onwards, the analysis is again controlled for secular/traditional identification to compare 'like with like'. Secular/traditional Jews from the FSU (28%) have

[41] Based on customised tables from the 2016 Census, in Australia 'over a quarter (25.5%) of all Jews living in a couple had a partner who did not report Jewish by religion or by ancestry' (Graham with Narunsky, 2019, p. 44). Of them, 'just over one in ten (11.6%) had a partner who reported No religion and one in seven (13.9%) had a partner who reported Other religion (mainly Christian)' (Graham with Narunsky, 2019, p. 44).

similar proportions of intermixed couples to Australian-born (25%) and Israelis (30%), but higher than South Africans (11%) (Table 64). Further controlling only for secular identification, migrants from the FSU (33%) have lower proportions of intermixed couples than Australian-born (51%).

Table 64: Non-Jewish partner/spouse living with secular/traditional and secular only Jews by country of birth in Melbourne in 2017

	Secular/traditional		**Secular only**	
Non-Jewish	No.	%	No.	%
FSU	60	**28%**	43	**33%**
Israel	57	**30%**	-	**-**
South Africa	66	11%	-	**-**
Australian-born	412	**25%**	163	**51%**
Total	596	**24%**	240	**47%**

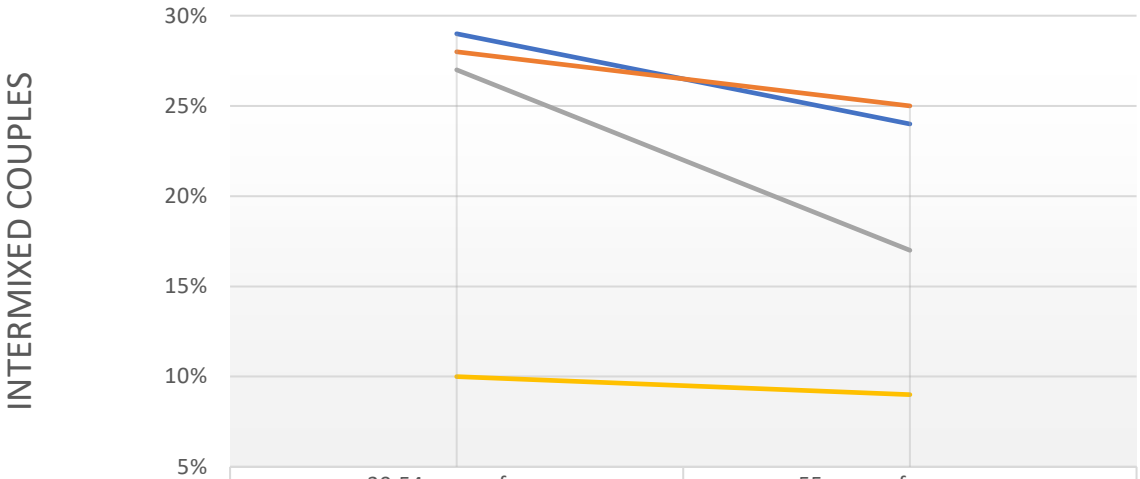
Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that are similar or higher than FSU. Only secular Israelis and South Africans have a small n and are not included. Expecting higher proportions of intermixed couples for all of Australia, a similar analysis of Australia with n for secular=535, indicates for FSU 35%, Israel 38%, South Africa 33%, Australian-born 57%, and total average 48%.

The data indicates that secular/traditional Jewish immigrants from the FSU do not have higher proportions of intermixed couples than local Jews. So why is there a perception that they do? One explanation is that because lower proportions of migrants from the FSU are religious or engaged in Jewish communities; the entire group is therefore often perceived to be assimilated. For example, an article in the AJN reported the 'claim by Sydney's Rabbi Dr. Yehoshuah Kemelman that Soviet Jews living here are "in an advanced stage of assimilation"' (Alhadeff & Kleerekoper, 1988, p. 3). Another example is Leibler, then President of the ECAJ, who stated that Jews from the FSU who migrated to countries other than Israel 'do not only drop out on Israel but also drop out from the Jewish people as a whole' (1988b, p. 18). Their identification with Russian culture often further adds to the perception among local Jews that they are 'Russians' and not 'really Jews' (Goldlust, 2016, p. 164). This perception of being viewed as 'Israelis' and not 'really Jews' does not seem to exist about those born in Israel, although they have a similar score on Jewish identity as

Jews from the FSU. Local Jews who perceive migrants from the FSU as assimilated easily jump to the conclusion that they must be intermarrying in very high proportions, which is not supported by data.

Migrants who were partially or wholly socialised in Melbourne have higher proportions of intermixed couples compared to those who were not. This can partly be explained because those socialised in Melbourne tend to be younger, and intermarriage is positively correlated with younger age (Markus, 2011, p. 13). The Gen08 survey states that in Australia it 'has been estimated that in marriages involving non-Orthodox persons aged 25-34, more than 50% of partners are not Jewish' (Markus, 2011, p. 13). The Gen17 survey further found that in Australia the 'intermarriage rate has been increasing steadily over time. It has doubled over the last 20 years' (Graham & Markus, 2018, p. 26). Although the proportion of Australian-born in intermixed couples has increased over the last 20 years, it seems that for migrants from the FSU and those from Israel the proportions were higher at first but remained stable. Among Jews from the FSU aged 55 or over, the proportions of those living with a non-Jewish partner/spouse (24%) are similar to Israelis (25%) but higher than Australian-born (17%) (Figure 19). Among the younger generation aged between 30 and 54, however, the disparity of intermixed couples between Jewish groups dissipates, with Australian-born (27%) converging towards migrants from the FSU (29%) and Israelis (28%).

Figure 19: Convergence by age groups of secular/traditional Australian-born living with a non-Jewish partner/spouse towards Jews from the FSU and Israelis in Melbourne in 2017

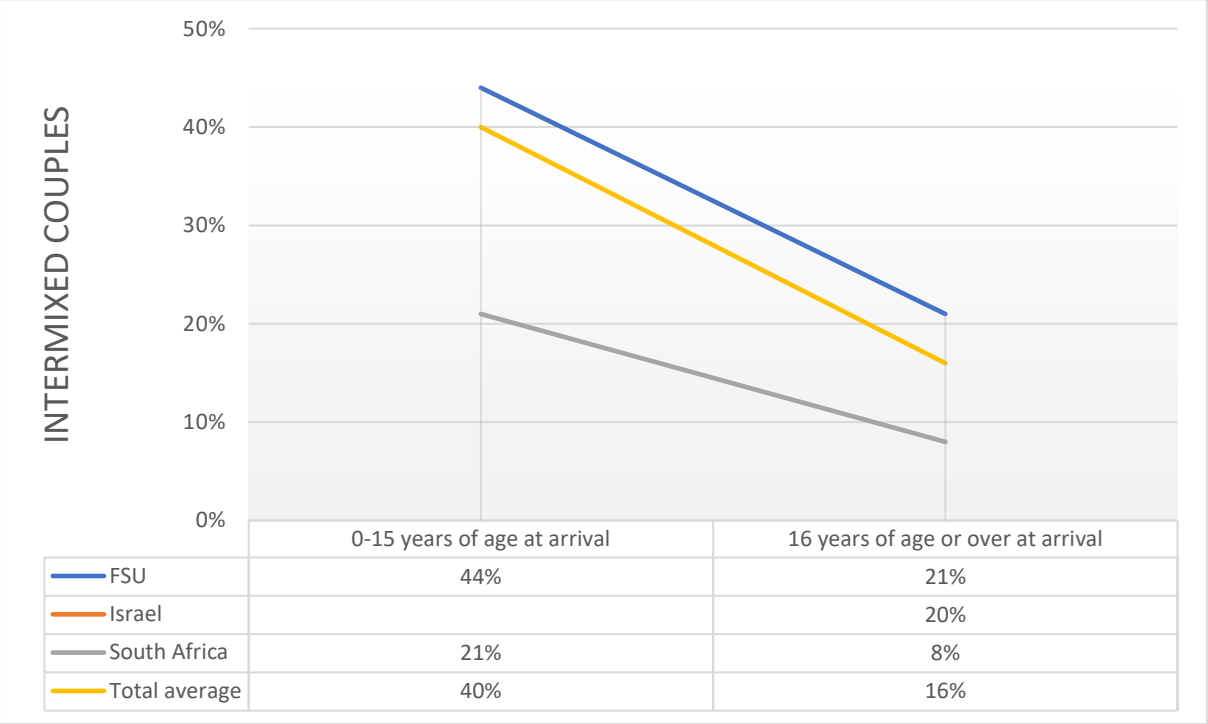


	30-54 years of age	55 years of age or over
FSU	29%	24%
Israel	28%	25%
Australian born	27%	17%
South Africa	10%	9%
Total average	27%	17%

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. n: 30-54 years=318, 55 years or over=238. Expecting higher proportions intermixed couples for all of Australia, a similar analysis with n: 30-54 years=702, 55 years or over=540, indicates for FSU 34% and 18%, Israel 31% and 17%, Australian-born 34% and 23%, South Africa 12% and 5%, and total average 29% and 17%.

Yet migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne, like those born in Australia, have higher proportions of intermixed couples than those who were not. Migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne had about twice as many intermixed couples (44%) compared to those who were not (21%), similar to South Africans (8% to 21%) (Figure 20).

Figure 20: Non-Jewish partner/spouse living with secular/traditional Jews by migrant groups and age at arrival in Melbourne in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. n: 0-15 years=50, 16 years or over=136. Because of small n for Israelis who arrived at a younger age they are not included. Expecting higher proportions intermixed couples for all of Australia, a similar analysis with n: 0-15 years=120, 16 years or over=422, indicates for FSU 54% and 18%, Israel 52% and 24%, South Africa 28% and 6%, and total average 42% and 13%.

It might seem counterintuitive that more migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne have a non-Jewish partner/spouse than those who were socialised in the Soviet Union. What possibly explains this discrepancy is that research participants who arrived at an older age in Melbourne often mentioned during interviews that their preference was to find a Russian-speaking Jewish partner. For the younger ones, who were partially or wholly socialised in Melbourne, however, the preference to marry within the Russian-speaking culture seems to be diminishing.

The story of informant Svetlana illustrates how many Russian-speaking Jews choose their partners. She explains that because of her Jewish upbringing, although she identifies as non-religious, it is important for her to marry someone Jewish but that she would have

difficulties marrying someone from a culture other than Russian. Before emigrating from the FSU, she was in a relationship but did not want to marry her partner because he was not Jewish. Following her parents' decision to emigrate in the early 1990s, she broke off the relationship when she was in her early 20s. In Melbourne she married a Russian-speaking Jew whom she knew from Moscow, but who, to her surprise, she met on a street in Melbourne without knowing that he had also migrated. After divorcing him, she entered a de facto, live-in relationship with another Russian-speaking Jew. Svetlana explains that she

> didn't look anywhere outside of the Russian culture for marriages. Because of the language, because of the language, because of the culture, because of many other things. No, I, I, I never felt comfortable to be with someone who's not from Russia.

When asked who she would prefer if she had to choose between marrying someone Russian and non-Jewish, or Jewish and Australian-born, Svetlana responded resolutely: 'Russian. No doubt, no doubt, no doubt.' Yet she also makes it clear that her preference is to partner with a Russian-speaking Jew, which is also her preference as a partner for her adolescent daughter in the future. She recognises, however, that her daughter could marry an Australian-born Jew because, according to Svetlana, her 'daughter will be different of course, and uhh, for her it will be no [issue], no, because her upbringing will be here.' Svetlana further explains:

> But, but myself, myself I can't, I was trying to see guys from non-Russia, and [in Melbourne] back then I just couldn't. They are very different. For them it's, look, I, I am what I am, they are what they are. We, we don't, we don't, we, we may have Jewish in a sense, but I couldn't make my own jokes, I couldn't make my own, my own, even with my husband he came here when he was 17, and if I would meet him straight away I don't think that we would match. Because I was very very Russian. Even now I have Russian TV which I love and he doesn't watch with me, except it was

> very very special concert or something that he may like. He's different, yes of course he's different, but with him I can manage [laughs].

Svetlana's story suggests, as do stories from other informants and my participant observations, that many Jews from the FSU who were partially or wholly socialised in Melbourne are not as immersed in the Russian culture as those who migrated at a later age. They often do not share the preference of the older generation to marry within the Russian culture, which usually meant marrying a Russian-speaking Jew. Instead, they prefer to marry within the Australian multicultural fabric. Similarly, in the United States, Gitelman indicates that high proportions of first-generation Russian-speaking Jews married their peers, whereas later generations increasingly marry across ethnic lines (2016, p. 15). That a significant proportion of the younger generation from the FSU chooses a non-Jewish partner from the Australian multicultural society instead of an Australian-born Jewish partner is in keeping with the recent trend of non-Orthodox younger local Jews, more than half of whom were estimated to have non-Jewish partners (Markus, 2011, p. 13).

Yet, as discussed above, the higher proportion of intermixed couples does not align with the increase in the score for commitment to endogamy of migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne. It seems that openness to exogamous relationships does not necessarily translate in rejecting commitment to endogamy. Although on average secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne, especially the younger generation, have relatively high proportions of intermixed couples, they indicate a relatively strong commitment to endogamy (67). The contradictory results of both an increase in proportions of intermixed couples and their score on commitment to endogamy, however, suggests that there is a discrepancy between the attitudes and behaviours of younger migrants from the FSU. One possible explanation is that they prefer to form couples with a Jewish partner/spouse, but

the relatively small and old age structure of their community in Melbourne means there is a rather limited number of potential Russian-speaking Jewish partners, resulting in a behaviour that does not align with their attitudinal preference. Another possible explanation is that younger migrants from the FSU in Melbourne indicate a higher score on attitudinal items but not on behavioural items. Their sense of Jewishness is then often based on feeling that does not involve praxis (Gitelman, 2012, pp. 109-10). Thin Jewish culture based on feeling and attitudes but with few performed behaviours, and when not living in Israel, might eventually lead to a 'symbolic ethnicity' (Gans, 1979; Gitelman, 2012, p. 23).

Connectedness with Israel and perception of antisemitism

As mentioned, Sarna found that in the United States caring about Israel and remembering the Holocaust are central elements of Jewish identity (2004, p. 333). Yet, it seems that non-Orthodox Jews in New York do not feel very attached to Israel. The 2011 Jewish community study of New York found that only one-third (34%) of non-Orthodox non-Russian-speaking Jews felt very attached to Israel, compared to about two-thirds (59%) of Russian-speaking Jews (Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012, p. 238).

Unlike in New York, local Jews in Melbourne indicate a high level of connectedness with Israel (Graham & Markus, 2018, p. 60; 76). This can possibly partly be explained because most Jews in Melbourne have close family living there. Yet the causal direction is unclear as it is possible that more Melbournians made Aliyah because they felt a high level of connectedness with Israel (Taft & Markus, 2018). Three-quarters (75%) of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne have close family living in Israel, much lower proportions compared to Israelis (98%), but higher than Australian-born (62%) and South Africans (69%).

The combination of having high proportions of close family living in Israel and a strong sense of Jewish peoplehood is most probably being expressed in a relatively strong connectedness with Israel (67). Connectedness with Israel, however, is negatively correlated with younger age. Younger migrants from the FSU (30-44 years) indicate a lower connectedness (54) than older aged migrants (65 years or over) (77) (Figure 12).

For Jews from the FSU, connectedness with Israel goes hand in hand with both more positive and right-wing (nationalist and hawkish) views about Israeli politics compared to other Jewish groups. About half (53%) of Jews from the FSU strongly agree that democracy in Israel is alive and well, and that Israeli control of the West Bank is vital for Israel's security (Table 65). This does not mean that Jews from the FSU in Melbourne view everything in Israel positively. Asked if they agree or disagree with the statement that there is too much corruption in Israel's political system, only about one in twenty (6%) Jews from the FSU strongly disagree. Asked if they agree or disagree with the statement that Orthodox Judaism has too much influence in Israel's society, about one-third (35%) strongly agree.

Table 65: Views about Israeli politics by country of birth of secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Strongly agree/disagree	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
	Strongly agree			
Democracy in Israel is alive and well	**53%**	31%	30%	28%
Orthodox Judaism has too much influence in Israel's society	**35%**	57%	23%	39%
Israeli control of the West Bank is vital for Israel's security	**53%**	20%	29%	18%
I feel a sense of responsibility to ensure that the State of Israel continues to exist	**64%**	58%	59%	52%
	Strongly disagree			
There is too much corruption in Israel's political system	**6%**	5%	1%	2%
In Israel, non-Jewish groups suffer from discrimination	**38%**	14%	10%	10%
Israel should give up territory in exchange for guarantees of peace with the Palestinians	**60%**	29%	11%	21%
The government of Israel should negotiate with Hamas in its efforts to achieve peace	**50%**	20%	29%	26%

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that are similar to FSU.

Similarly, in Israel, Russian speakers were found to have more right-wing views about Israeli politics. About two-thirds (64%) of Russian-speaking Jews who migrated in the 1990s to Israel opposed evacuating Israeli settlements for a final peace agreement, compared to about half (48%) of the Israeli Jewish population (Arian, Philippov, & Knafelman, 2009, p. 85). Furthermore, two-thirds (66%) of Russian-speaking Jews in Israel indicated that a person cannot be Jewish if they support the Palestinians' right of return, compared to less than half of Hebrew-speaking Jews (47%) (Pew, 2016, p. 84). The right-wing views of Jews from the FSU do not necessarily stem from a Zionist or national-religious ideology (Gitelman, 2012, pp. 238-9; Lerner, 2011, p. 31). Instead, the political views of Russian-speaking Jews often align with a post-Soviet political reality that preferences a strong leader

and government that is prepared to take an aggressive stance against its perceived enemies (Lerner, 2011, p. 31; Philippov, 2010, p. 11).

Jews from the FSU who were not socialised in Melbourne are sensitive to perceived threats and prefer a government to take a firm stance to counter internal and external perceived threats. Antisemitism is one such perceived threat against the Jewish people. Gitelman found that for Jews in the FSU 'anti-Semitism was the single most influential factor in evoking consciousness of being Jewish' (2012, p. 221). Conversely, he further found that 'anti-Semitism plays the smallest role in forming the ethnic consciousness of the youngest age group' (2012, p. 222).

With the much more favourable political climate in Australia compared to the FSU, it can be expected that migrants from the FSU would not indicate a high score on perception of antisemitism in Australia. The results show that migrants from the FSU indicate a similar score on perception of antisemitism (37) as Israelis (33) and Australian-born (40), but lower than South Africans (47) (Table 59). Migrants from the FSU and those from Israel who were socialised in Melbourne indicate a higher perception of antisemitism in Australia (40) than those who were not (34 and 30, respectively). The higher score is most probably because they encounter it online more often than the older generation (Graham & Markus, 2018, p. 70).

A comparison of surveys in Melbourne found that the perception of antisemitism in Australia for all local Jews has declined over the past three decades. In Melbourne in 1991, about three-fifths (63%) indicated antisemitism to be a very serious/quite serious problem, whereas in 2008-09 and 2017 the proportion declined to about two-fifths (42%) (Graham &

Markus, 2018, p. 73). It was further found that more recently antisemitism is often encountered online (Graham & Markus, 2018, p. 67).

Despite a relatively low proportion indicating a perception of antisemitism in Australia, remembering the Holocaust (77%) and combatting antisemitism (69%) are very important to the sense of Jewish identity of migrants from the FSU (Table 66). The proportions are similar for South Africans, but higher than for Israelis and Australian-born. Similarly in the United States, the Pew 2013 survey indicates that about four-fifths (82%) of Jews from the FSU sensed that for them remembering the Holocaust is essential to being Jewish, compared to fewer native-born (72%).[42] Remembering the Holocaust seems to be a central element of Jewish identity, as found by Sarna (2004).

Table 66: How important or unimportant is remembering the Holocaust and combatting antisemitism to your own sense of Jewish identity? By country of birth for secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Very important	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
Remembering the Holocaust	**77%**	67%	80%	70%
Combatting antisemitism	**69%**	46%	66%	60%

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that are lower than FSU.

Remembering the Holocaust is very important for most Jews from the FSU. Yet, if not supplemented with positive cultural content, this indicates that their Jewish identity is expressed in a negative way rather than based on positive traditions and practice, as discussed in the introduction of this chapter (Benbassa, 2010). It seems that far fewer migrants from the FSU base their Jewishness on positive traditions and practice, as discussed in the previous chapter, than the proportions who indicate that remembering the Holocaust and combatting antisemitism are very important for their sense of Jewish identity. Other Jewish groups also indicate in high proportions that remembering the

[42] Based on my primary analysis of the Pew 2013 *A portrait of Jewish Americans* survey dataset.

Holocaust and combatting antisemitism are very important for their Jewish identity, but they balance it more often with positive traditions and practice. Other Jewish groups, for example, score higher on feeling connected to and participating in Jewish communal life compared to migrants from the FSU.

Jewish communal life

Survey findings often indicate that migrants from the FSU do not participate in Jewish communal life. The 2011 Jewish community study of New York found that Russian-speaking Jews did not score high on belonging to formal Jewish associations, while they often claimed that being part of a Jewish community is very important (Cohen, Ukeles, & Miller, 2012, p. 239). The 2004 Australian survey of Jews in the Diaspora found that those born in the FSU were least involved with the Jewish community compared to Israelis and South Africans (Rutland & Gariano, 2005, p. 37). The 2004 Australian survey indicates that a similar relatively low proportion of migrants from the FSU strongly agreed with feeling part of the Jewish community (32%), like Israelis (31%), but much lower than the proportion of South Africans (62%) and Australian-born (60%).[43]

The results indicate that migrants from the FSU score much lower on feeling connected to and participating in Jewish communal life (17) compared to Israelis (27), South Africans (30) and Australian-born (33) (Table 60). Although Jewish peoplehood is conceptually and statistically moderately correlated to feeling connected to and participating in Jewish communal life ($r = .428$, $n = 1{,}640$, $p < .001$), Jews from the FSU scored high on the former and low on the latter. They score low on feeling connected to and participating in Jewish

[43] Based on my primary analysis of the 2004 Australian survey of Jews in the Diaspora dataset provided by Suzanne Rutland.

communal life, while indicating that it is important to belong to a Jewish community, which is one item that loads on the Jewish peoplehood construct (see Appendix 1 PC1). There appears to be again a degree of discrepancy between the indicated attitudes and behaviours among migrants from the FSU. It seems that feeling connected to and participating in Jewish communal life is the weakest indicator of Jewish ethnic belonging for secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne, with migrants from the FSU scoring the lowest.

One possible reason why Jews from the FSU have less feeling of connection to and participation in Jewish communal life is that they had much fewer Jewish communal experiences growing up (7) compared to other Jewish groups (19 to 32) (Table 67). Migrants from the FSU who were partially or wholly socialised in Melbourne had more Jewish communal experiences growing up (15) relative to those who were not (5), but they also had much fewer Jewish communal experiences growing up than Israelis and South Africans (35).

Table 67: Jewish communal experiences growing up by country of birth and age at arrival of secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Secular/traditional	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
Jewish communal experiences	**7**	19	29	32
0-15 years of age at arrival	**15**	35	35	-
16 years of age or over at arrival	**5**	13	26	-

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. Each of the 12 Jewish communal experiences is scored 0 or 1 and standardised from 0 to 100. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that are discussed in the text above.

On the other hand, many migrants from the FSU attend Jewish community activities like public Hanukah or Purim events and Jewish or Israeli film festivals. Migrants from the FSU attend a similar number of Jewish activities (19) compared to Australian-born (20), but slightly lower than South Africans (23) and Israelis (24) (Table 68). The older generation from

the FSU attends more Jewish activities (26) relative to the younger generation (16) and Australian-born (19), but similar to South Africans (24).

Table 68: Attending Jewish community activities by country of birth and age groups of secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Secular/traditional	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
Attending Jewish community	**19**	24	23	20
30-44 years	**16**	21	17	16
65 years or over	**26**	-	24	19

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. Each of the 15 Jewish community activities is scored 0 or 1 and standardised from 0 to 100. n for those from Israel aged 65 or over is too small and not included. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that is lower than FSU.

Migrants from the FSU do not only participate less in Jewish communal life, but they also feel less connected to it. It is unclear if they feel less connected and therefore do not participate, or if they do not participate and therefore feel less connected. Only 15% of migrants from the FSU feel very connected to Jewish communal life, similar to Israelis (19%), but much lower than South Africans (26%) and Australian-born (29%) (Table 69). An additional about two-fifths (37%) of migrants from the FSU feel somewhat connected. Combined, only about half (52%) of migrants from the FSU feel very/somewhat connected to Jewish communal life, compared to higher proportions of Israelis (61%), South Africans (73%) and Australian-born (73%). On the other hand, about one-quarter (23%) of Jews from the FSU feel very/somewhat unconnected to Jewish communal life; this is similar to Israelis (25%), but much higher than South Africans (8%) and Australian-born (13%).

Table 69: How connected do you feel to Jewish communal life? Do you feel…; By country of birth of secular/traditional Jews in Melbourne in 2017

Secular/traditional	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Aust born**
very connected	**15%**	19%	26%	29%
somewhat connected	**37%**	42%	47%	44%
Total connected	**52%**	61%	73%	73%
neither connected nor unconnected	**21%**	13%	19%	13%
somewhat unconnected	**11%**	8%	6%	7%
very unconnected	**12%**	17%	2%	6%
Total unconnected	**23%**	25%	8%	13%
Don't know/Prefer not to say	**4%**	1%	0%	1%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. The yellow theme colour highlights data for FSU and gold highlights data that are discussed in the text above.

Conclusion

Compared to secular/traditional local Jews, migrants from the FSU in Melbourne have similar proportions of intermixed couples and have a relatively strong sense of Jewish ethnic belonging. Migrants from the FSU are often perceived to intermarry in higher proportions compared to local Jews; this perception is not supported by data. Comparing data in the United States, New York and Canada indicates that migrants from the FSU intermarry in lower proportions compared to local Jews. In Melbourne, secular/traditional migrants from the FSU have similar proportions of intermixed couples (28%) compared to Israelis (30%) and Australian-born (25%), but higher than South Africans (11%).

Contrary to their religious identity (34), secular/traditional migrants from the FSU in Melbourne score relatively high on Jewish ethnic belonging (54), similar to Israelis (53) and Australian-born (58), but lower than South Africans (63). On the five constructs measuring Jewish ethnic belonging, migrants from the FSU score highest on Jewish peoplehood (80), followed by commitment to endogamy (67) and connectedness with Israel (66), but lower on perception of antisemitism in Australia (37), and weakest on feeling connected to and participating in Jewish communal life (17). As found for their religious identity, younger

migrants from the FSU are diverging (49) from Australian-born (55) in their Jewish ethnic belonging, but have a similar score compared to Israelis (51).

Overall, for the Jewish identity scale, Jews from the FSU in Melbourne score (47) similar to Israelis (48), but lower than Australian-born (55) and South Africans (62). This might suggest a weaker Jewish continuity for migrants from the FSU compared to local Jews, with the exception of Israelis. The weaker continuity is further expressed with the younger migrants from the FSU diverging on the Jewish identity scale from local Jews, with the exception of Israelis. The score of younger migrants from the FSU on the Jewish identity scale (44) is similar to Israelis (47), but lower than Australian-born (52) and South Africans (58).

Although younger migrants from the FSU diverge on the score for Jewish identity scale, they do not seem to be forming more intermixed couples (29%) than Israelis (28%) and Australian-born (27%). Younger Australian-born are converging towards migrants from the FSU and those from Israel in proportions of intermixed couples. Yet there seems to be a discrepancy between attitudinal items and behaviours of migrants from the FSU. The discrepancy suggests that migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne might increasingly experience their Jewishness as a 'symbolic ethnicity'.

The following chapter examines the communities Jews from the FSU have built in Melbourne and their participation in existing Jewish communities.

Chapter 7: Community Building

This chapter examines the communities Jews from the FSU have built in Melbourne and their participation in existing Jewish communities. Previous chapters indicate that migrants from the FSU arrived in Melbourne with an identity that was mostly separated from Jewish religion. They were thoroughly acculturated to 'Russianness' and had a 'thin' Jewish culture. Analysing the Gen17 survey further indicates that migrants from the FSU score low on familial and communal observance of religious traditions, and on feeling connected to and participating in Jewish communal life. The younger generation of migrants from the FSU in particular seems to diverge from local Jews, indicating a lower score on religious identity and on participation in Jewish communal life. It is to be expected that the communities they have built in Melbourne are an expression of their distinct Soviet secular identity summarised above. It is unsurprising, therefore, that they did not built institutions and formal organisations that would serve the needs of the Jewish religion or 'thick' Jewish culture.

Instead of establishing Jewish religious or cultural institutions, migrants from the FSU in Melbourne built a community with organisations and groups where they come together and participate in Russian cultural events and activities with limited Jewish themes, especially the older generation. These groups usually cater for mostly Jewish members and function as a place where they can gather together as people who are culturally Russian but ethnically Jewish, who share a distinct past in the FSU and a common fate of having migrated to Melbourne. One interview participant fondly refers to the community they have created in Melbourne as their 'own bubble', while realising that it is rather small, diminishing and non-accessible to outsiders. This is a similar development to what Anthropologist Fran Markowitz

found in her study about Soviet Jews in New York. As mentioned in the introduction, in *A Community in Spite of Itself* she states that 'Soviet Jewish émigrés constitute a community without organizations but within which they conduct mutual assistance and social activities on an informal basis according to individual needs or desires and groupwide understandings' (1993, p. 236).

Based on findings in previous chapters, I argue that migrants from the FSU in Melbourne mostly maintained a rather thin Jewish culture that does not seem to have sufficient content to function as an incentive to build Jewish cultural organisations, with few exceptions, as discussed in this chapter. To establish new Jewish institutions an exigency has to be determined and a clear goal needs to be presented that can rally sufficient grassroot members to join. It is unclear what that goal could be for migrants from the FSU, especially considering that a plethora of local Jewish organisations already fulfil most of the Jewish exigencies. As discussed in previous chapters, most migrants from the FSU regard being Jewish as something they are in their 'blood' and based on feeling; they do not consider it necessary to perform their Jewishness, especially when it relates to familial and communal observance of religious traditions or participating in Jewish communal life. Being Jewish then becomes rather a matter that is supposedly transmitted through 'genes' by individuals, families or communities viewed as an enlarged family, not through social interaction organised by Jewish institutions. Formal organisations create the basis for members to do something that an individual cannot easily do in isolation (Nisbet, 1969, p. xvi); but if nothing is needed to manifest one's Jewishness, especially as a group, it follows that migrants from the FSU do not view establishing Jewish organisations as necessary.

Jews from the FSU are a subgroup of a larger migration from the FSU in Victoria, of whom they constitute about one-third. Jews from the FSU often participate in or organise Russian cultural events that cater for the larger Russian-speaking migration group. In addition, based on analysis of the Gen17 survey and a representative survey from 1978, approximately one-quarter (21% to 24%) of migrants from the FSU re-migrated to Melbourne after having first immigrated to Israel (Steinkalk, 1982, p. 82). Some of those who re-migrated from Israel have absorbed the Israeli culture and participate in Israeli cultural events and activities in Melbourne.

Migrants from the FSU can choose to participate in several communities: the local Jewish one, the larger Russian-speaking one, the Israeli one, and the wider Australian communities, as well as their Russian-speaking Jewish 'bubble'. They seem to be participating in a range of those available to them, although they participate less in Jewish communities compared to other Jewish migrant groups.

In Chapter Four, *Mutually Broken Expectations*, it was discussed that in Australia migrants from the FSU are often perceived as not being part and not contributing to Jewish communities. That migrants from the FSU do not tend to affiliate, attend Jewish community activities, volunteer or donate is an often-voiced presumption. Jewish communities in the United States also often viewed Russian-speaking Jews as staying in touch with their organisations only as long as they needed them for their resettlement process. Once these immigrants were expected to contribute, many allegedly did not offer to pay fees, donate or volunteer for Jewish community organisations (Remennick, 2012, p. 172).

In this chapter I acknowledge that there is a degree of separation between migrants from the FSU and other Jewish groups, but I challenge the dominant narrative that they do not

attend Jewish community activities, volunteer and donate, although they contribute in these ways to a lesser degree compared to other Jewish groups. I further argue that age on arrival in Melbourne is an important predictor of engagement and involvement with Jewish communities. Contrary to what might be expected, those immigrating at a younger age and who experienced more Jewish activities growing up, are less engaged and involved with Jewish communities.

Scholars find that '[v]olunteering reflects direct engagement in community life' and that 'by far the most consistent predictor of giving time and money is involvement in community life' (Jones, 2006, p. 250; Putnam, 2000, p. 126). As mentioned in the previous chapter, Gitelman remarks that in the Diaspora the 'extent and degree of one's manifest Jewish identity is visible through the number of organizations joined, the intensity of activity within them, and the number and magnitude of donations to Jewish causes' (1998, p. 117). Affiliating, attending Jewish community events, volunteering and donating are therefore good indicators to better understand how Jews from the FSU are engaged and involved in local Jewish communities and are examined in this chapter. Unlike previous chapters, the analysis here does not control for religious identification when comparing between Jewish groups. The non-controlled comparison provides a better indication of the communities that migrants from the FSU built as a group that includes Orthodox Jews.

The discussion in this chapter is based on several data sources: my three-year participant observation, 14 life story interviews, key informants who are leaders of Russian-speaking or local Jewish organisations and/or Russian-speaking and local activists, discussions and posts on Russian language Facebook groups, community websites, three Jewish surveys in

Australia, the 2016 Census, archival documents, Jewish newspapers, scholarly literature, and the 2011 Russian-English book *For the Benefit of Australia* published by Shalom Association.

To explore the community migrants from the FSU have built and their participation in local Jewish communities, I divide this chapter into three sections. First, I offer an overview of the Russian-speaking Jewish 'bubble'. Then I examine their patterns of affiliation, attending Jewish community activities, volunteering and donating compared to other Jewish groups. Lastly, I discuss why migrants from the FSU, especially the younger generation, are disinclined to establish formal organisations or to participate in existing local Jewish ones.

Russian-speaking Jewish 'bubble'

This section presents a conceptual classification of the exigencies—meaning needs and demands—that migrants from the FSU in Melbourne have, and which organisations address them. The classification presented in Table 70 is not an exhaustive representation but rather serves as a means to construct a working conceptual overview. Some organisations address several exigencies but for clarity they are classified under one category. The exigencies can be divided into five categories:

1. Cultural and social – Russian/Jewish cultural events and activities, social clubs
2. Education – Russian Sunday schools, Jewish day schools
3. Religion – synagogue attendance, Bar/Bat Mitzvahs, and other religious services
4. Israel – Israeli cultural events and activities, Israeli charities
5. Welfare assistance – age care, loans, and other financial needs

The organisations addressing the five exigencies can be divided into five categories. The first four categories are organised by Russian speakers for migrants from the FSU, the fifth is

organised by non-Russian speakers. Organisations can also be divided into those that were established ‘bottom-up’ or ‘top-down’. Bottom-up organisations are self-generated membership associations wherein the committee is elected by its members, thereby indirectly deciding on the goals and key activities of the organisation. When presidents of bottom-up organisations cease being active, they are usually replaced by other members and the association continues functioning. Top-down organisations are established by activists who are not elected and who decide on the goals and key activities, and actively recruit volunteers to participate in their activities. When activists of top-down organisation cease being active, the association usually dissolves or becomes dormant because it is not driven bottom-up by members. The five categories of organisations are:

1. Membership associations – bottom-up, usually by older migrants from the FSU for their own consumption, mostly grassroot associations based on volunteers; purposes include Russian cultural events and activities, social clubs, Russian Sunday schools, and Israeli cultural events and activities
2. Organisations by Russian-speaking activists – top-down with no or limited membership base, usually organised by younger and middle-aged Russian-speaking Jewish activists, many of whom are religious, for migrants from the FSU, usually with the main goal of strengthening their Jewish identity; purposes include religious events and activities, Jewish cultural events, and social clubs
3. Commercial Russian culture – Russian culture usually organised for commercial profit where people can meet informally and are not communal organisations. It includes restaurants, professional performances, and stores. Many younger and middle-aged migrants from the FSU are consumers of commercial Russian culture but tend not to be part of Russian-speaking membership associations

4. Russian language media – combination of top-down and bottom-up that include radio, television, magazines and newspapers in Russian
5. Local Jewish communities – unlike category 2, not organised by migrants from the FSU; top-down services provided by existing local organisations as part of the wider Jewish community, or externally organised specifically for migrants from the FSU, often with the main goal of strengthening their Jewish identity; purposes include religious events and activities, Jewish education, Jewish cultural events, social clubs, Israeli cultural events, and welfare assistance

Table 70: Exigencies of Jews from the FSU and which organisations address them in Melbourne

Exigencies	**Membership Associations (Bottom-up)**	**Organisations by Russian-speaking activists (Top-down)**	**Commercial Russian culture (Top-down)**	**Russian language Media (Top-down & bottom-up)**	**Local Jewish communities (Top-down)**
Cultural / Social	Shalom Hope Vigor WWII Veterans WWII Victims Discussion Club Lukomorie Bard Yachad Senior Citizens Club Facebook groups	Subbotnik Forum	Russian restaurants Commercial Russian cultural events Stores	Radio Shalom Radio Forum Sputnik TV Menorah Magazine SBS Radio Russian	Kangarusski Golden Age Clubs
Education	Lider Pushkin				Jewish day schools
Religion		Russian-speaking synagogues			Chabad Local synagogues
Israel	Russian-speaking Israelis				Israeli events
Welfare assistance					Jewish Care

As indicated in Table 70, Jews from the FSU self-generated several Russian cultural associations and social clubs, a Russian Sunday school and a Russian-speaking Israeli group, but not religious institutions and welfare assistance. Russian-speaking synagogues were established top-down specifically for the consumption of migrants from the FSU. Welfare assistance is externally provided by Jewish Care Victoria that caters for the wider Jewish community. Russian-speaking activists and local Jewish communities established additional top-down organisations that offer mainly Jewish culture in the Russian language. Furthermore, some migrants from the FSU enrol their children in Jewish day schools, attend non-Russian-speaking synagogues, attend Jewish community activities, and participate in Israeli cultural events, which cater for the wider Jewish community and not specifically for Russian speakers.

What follows is an overview of organisations that specifically cater for migrants from the FSU. First, some membership associations are discussed, followed by top-down organisations. Third, commercial enterprises that cater Russian culture are described, followed by the available Russian language media.

Shalom Association was the first Russian-speaking Jewish formal membership association established in Melbourne in 1980. Shalom is a grassroot association that is based on volunteers and that emphasises its Jewish dimension, as is already evident by its name alone. When Shalom was established it resonated with Russian-speaking Jewish migrants who attended in large numbers for the first meeting of their new association. The first meeting was organised in Kadimah's club main hall with 400 people in attendance, from a total of about 2,500 Russian-speaking migrants in Melbourne at the time (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 351; Steinkalk, 1982, p. 32). Considering that about two-thirds of the 2,500

immigrants were aged 25 or over, it seems that about one-quarter of adults attended the first meeting (Green, 1979, p. 8).

In the early 1980s, activities at Shalom were often focused on Russian culture and needs, sometimes combining the two. It also held some Jewish cultural events. It offered music and Russian language classes, which also made it possible to offer some income to the relatively large numbers of teachers and musicians among them who had difficulties finding employment in Melbourne. It further organised an orchestra that would perform concerts, an activity that is much appreciated by Russian-speaking Jews. The most pressing need for Russian-speaking migrants was to improve their English language proficiency. There were also many engineers who needed a better understanding of the Australian labour market, as 15% of the immigrants in the labour force were engineers (Green, 1979, p. 6). In Sydney, at about the same time, the Association of Jewish Engineers was established (Frenkel, 1990, p. 714; Rutland, 2005, p. 143). Many migrants further needed financial assistance acquiring daily items. Shalom Association addressed these issues by offering English classes, special classes for engineers about Australian standards, and collecting household items (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 352).

By 1984, few new immigrants from the Soviet Union settled in Australia and Shalom almost ceased its operations. The need for Shalom Association decreased as the Russian-speaking migrants were mostly settled by then and their community remained relatively small, with 2,500 people in total living in Melbourne. Towards the end of 1980s, with a resurgence of emigration from the Soviet Union and its successor states, there was an exigency for Shalom to become functional again. This was made possible by collaborating with the 'Jewish Welfare organisation and Jewish businessmen in Melbourne', and especially with 'a lot of

help' from Lippmann, then Deputy Chairman of the AJWS (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 353). As the 2011 Russian-English book *For the Benefit of Australia* published by Shalom states:

> Special Assistance Category program, which was known as the Jewish Welfare program, was successful in giving the opportunity for more than 5,000 Jews to leave USSR and arrive in Australia. This is a very valuable achievement of Shalom and we always should remember with gratitude, those who helped us in those difficult years. (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 354)

In the 1990s, Shalom established itself as a lynchpin in the second migration wave. The new migrants who arrived in the 1990s received resettlement assistance through Shalom, which worked closely with Jewish Care (Rutland, 2005, p. 143). This activity reinforced the association and bolstered its members to include about 500 families. Shalom described its activities in 2010 to include about 50 volunteers in eight groups who organised funds for Israel through the United Israel Appeal; cultural activities; an editorial; lectures; tours and excursions; social assistance; anti-defamation; and *Menorah* magazine (Kievski et al., 2011, pp. 355-6). In 2012 there was a breakaway group from Shalom which formed the Australian Forum of Russian Speaking Jewry (AFRJ), as discussed below. Shalom has since organised fewer Jewish cultural events and activities. Few younger people are joining Shalom, and its members are on average over 70 years of age.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Jews from the FSU established other formal Russian cultural organisations that rarely include Jewish themes, even though the vast majority of its members are Jewish. In 1982, Soviet Jews established the Victorian Association of Second World War Veterans from the FSU (its current name), which in the mid-1990s had a membership of 561 people, and published a Russian-English book, *My Most Unforgettable Day of the War* (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 373). In 1995, the Association for Victims of Nazism

from the FSU was established with a membership of about 150 people. It published two books with memoirs of their members, *Oblivion won't Happen* in 2003 and *No One is Forgotten, Nothing is Forgotten* in 2008 (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 370).

After the second migration wave from the FSU starting in the late 1980s, there was an increased need for Russian-speaking associations that could provide a range of social and cultural activities. Like Shalom, these social clubs usually comprise of older migrants from the FSU who are members of several associations. These organisations mostly offer Russian culture and rarely include Jewish themes, and are open to non-Jewish members, although these are the minority. Associations would for example organise a Russian cultural event in honour of a Jewish holiday and incorporate several melodies in Yiddish, or Russian songs but that were composed by Soviet Jews. Other clubs organised trips on Jewish holidays. For example, club Nadezhda (hope in Russian) was established in 1998 mainly by Jews from the FSU, but Kievski et al. mention that at the founding meeting 'it was decided that the club was to be international and open to all', including non-Jews (2011, p. 378). The club offers sporting activities, a choir, English language classes, literary evenings, tours and excursions, and in the early 2000s had over 300 members (Kievski et al., 2011, pp. 379-80). Established in 2003, club Vigor, also called Healthy Tourism Senior Citizens club, had, as of 2010, a membership of 300 people, but is also not limited to Jewish members. Vigor offers its members excursions, a Community Language Russian school, discussions about health, musical and literary evenings, and leisure activities for the elderly. Vigor also has a branch in Hampton that was established in 2005 and in 2010 had 95 members (Kievski et al., 2011, pp. 382-6).

Other Russian-speaking clubs are the Melbourne Russian literary creative association Lukomorie (a fictional land in Russian folklore) and Bard song club, which were established in the early 2000s with the majority of the members being Jewish and middle-aged. These clubs have no Jewish themes and are focused on Russian culture. The occasional poetry readings attract about 100 people, and by 2010 Lukomorie had published five collections of poetry. The last publication was 300 pages long and included poems from about 30 authors including some from overseas (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 389). The Bard song club is a group of singer-songwriters who perform Russian songs accompanied by a guitar. Bard used to organise trips to regional Victoria and elsewhere in Australia where they would attract audiences of 200-300 (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 392).

The Russian-speaking Jewish community is diverse and not all Jews from the FSU felt welcome at the above-mentioned clubs. One interview participant from Uzbekistan mentioned that she felt discriminated as a Bukharan when attending one of the Russian-speaking, mostly Ashkenazi clubs, and therefore decided to open her own named Yachad (together in Hebrew) in 2013; it has about 60 members, mainly older, but it also has several younger families with children who attend. Yachad organises events and activities that offer a mix of Russian and Bukharan culture, with a limited number of Jewish cultural themes. There is also a Russian-speaking Israeli club that organises Israeli cultural events that are often based on Jewish themes. They tend to be young families and organise activities for their children with about 100 people attending.

Some parents from the FSU want to transmit their Russian heritage and provide their children a formal education in Russian language and culture. A Jewish migrant from the FSU, who is the principal, established in 2007 the Lider Sunday school, which holds classes at

Caulfield Junior College. Lider mainly teaches Russian language and culture and rarely incorporates Jewish themes. The school caters for the larger migration from the FSU. Lider states that its 'goal is to ensure that the graduates of our schools have been able to incorporate elements of three cultures: Russian, Australian and Jewish and pass it on to their children' (Lider School, 2019). Almost none of the teachers are Jewish and the Jewish culture provided is rather limited. Incorporating Russian and Jewish culture is done, for example, by painting eggs for Easter and baking matzos (unleavened flatbread) for Passover the following week, which are compulsory for all students to attend. Because the curriculum has some Jewish themes, some students from that background transferred from other Russian schools to Lider, which has around 130 students about two-thirds of whom are Jewish. About three-quarters of the students are aged 4 to 8, with most of the older students and their parents choosing not to continue attending a Russian Sunday school. Students from Lider sometimes perform at Russian cultural events in the above-mentioned clubs.

There are several other Russian Sunday schools in Melbourne that cater for the larger migration from the FSU, but do not include Jewish themes. Three Russian schools—in Brunswick, Dandenong and Malvern—are linked to Russian churches and serve several dozen students each. During the second migration wave from the FSU in the 1990s, some parents wanted an independent Russian school not linked to any church. The Russian language Sunday school Pushkin Lyceum opened in 1994 in Elwood, with its nearby Jewish community, to cater for this need (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 237; Pushkin Lyceum, 2019). Pushkin Lyceum has several dozen students, including Jews, and mainly teaches Russian language and culture. Lider's principal and some of its teachers used to teach at Pushkin Lyceum.

Online there are several social media groups in Russian in Australia. Websites often provide selected information about local activities and news, whereas through social media groups Russian-speaking migrants can easily communicate with each other and with their peers worldwide. Through social media groups migrants often become online part of a Russian-speaking transnational 'virtual community' that transcends their own country. This allows for a rapid exchange of information and introduction to a new community and its activities. On Facebook there are several Russian language groups that share a constant flow of information and activities in Australia, some of which are for Jews from the FSU. The largest Facebook group, 'Russians in Australia', had more than 13,000 members in 2019, but is not targeted to Jews from the FSU, although many are members of the group. There are also several expressly Jewish Russian language Facebook groups that in total have more than 3,500 members. These groups often discuss the latest topic or proffer advice to new migrants. In addition, these groups are used to promote events and activities within the Russian-speaking community.

The goal of the above-mentioned bottom-up membership associations is to offer Russian cultural events and activities, with some incorporating a limited number of Jewish themes and one club focusing on Israeli cultural events. Some organisations are established top-down by local Jewish organisations or by Russian-speaking Jewish activists specifically to cater for migrants from the FSU but have a reverse function: their goal is to offer Jewish themes but in a Russian cultural setting. Non-membership associations established for migrants from the FSU share the belief that it is their task to strengthen the Jewish identity of the community they target. Some in the Russian-speaking Jewish community appreciate attempts to cater to them, but many others do not participate. Events and activities organised by activists have varying success and often do not last over a prolonged period.

An overview of some top-down organisations established by local Jewish communities and Russian-speaking activists follows.

One top-down organisation for Jews from the FSU is Kangarusski – Russian-Speaking Jewish Community, which was externally established in 2012 as a department of the ZFA. Kangarusski states that it offers 'a wide range of social and educational events and activities. Kangarusski is involved in family events, kids day camps, young adult leadership programs and events, RSJ [Russian-speaking Jewish] Moishe-house, Limmud FSU and Birthright - Trip to Israel' (Kangarusski, 2019). According to the ZFA, 'Kangarusski activities are generously supported by Zionist Federation of Australia, Jewish Agency for Israel, World Zionist Organization, Triguboff Foundation, Genesis Philanthropy Group, Pratt Foundation and Victoria Multicultural Commission' (ZFA, 2019).

Kangarusski events and activities were organised by two consecutive Kangarusski Russian-speaking emissaries sent from Israel by the Jewish Agency for Israel from 2013 to 2017. From 2018, there are no more Russian-speaking emissaries in Australia because of budget restraints. In Sydney, The ZFA has employed one local Russian speaker part-time from 2015, who is still active and organises Kangarusski events and activities there.

The Russian-speaking Kangarusski emissaries were young and not religious; they were active and well received in the community. Kangarusski organised in 2013 a Taglit-Birthright trip (a ten-day educational Israel experience) for around twenty Russian speakers aged 18 to 26. This is similar but separately organised to the Taglit-Birthright trip for local Australian Jews. There have been several Taglit-Birthright trips since, with the last one undertaken in 2018.

Kangarusski organised the first Limmud FSU in Melbourne in 2014, which was attended by several hundred people. Limmud FSU operates globally and is separate from Limmud.

Limmud states that one of its missions is 'to create individual, collective and communal experiences, through which we strengthen and develop our Jewish identity' (Limmud, 2019). Limmud FSU describes itself as 'a dynamic and pluralistic Festival of Russian-Jewish learning, culture and creativity' (Limmud FSU, 2018). There were three Limmuds FSU in Australia with the last one held in 2018; the last two were held in Sydney and had an attendance of several hundred people. Based on my participant observation, most of those attending were middle-aged, but there were some younger families. Most presenters were Russian speakers, and many came from overseas to present. For the 2016 Limmud FSU, Member of the Knesset Zeev Elkin came as guest speaker, himself an immigrant from the FSU and in 2016 the Israeli Minister of Immigrant Absorption (Zlatkis, 2016).

Kangarusski Russian-speaking Moishe House was established in Melbourne in 2016. Moishe Houses exist globally, and most are non-Russian speaking. Moishe House states that it is 'a place where young adults in their 20s come together and create vibrant Jewish communities' (Moishe House, 2019a). As is typical, Kangarusski Moishe House started out with three residents, all of whom spoke Russian in this case. They explain its events as follows:

> This is the first RSJ Moishe House in Australia! We're so excited to host unique and fun events for the young Russian Jewish community. We will host a variety of social and cultural events each month, some of which will be emphasised toward the Russian speaking Jewish community, so please join us for Shabbat dinners, Sunday Zumba fitness, BBQ's, Jewish educational events, etc. Get a taste of how Russians party! If you have any ideas for events, let us know! (Moishe House, 2019b)

There were plans to also open a Kangarusski Moishe House in Sydney, but there were not enough interested residents. Kangarusski Moishe House in Melbourne is struggling to attract young Russian speakers to its events. Although several dozen Russian speakers went on a Taglit-Birthright trip, not enough of them are interested in participating in Moishe

House events. One former resident left and could not find a Russian-speaking replacement. Instead, she was replaced with someone from South Africa who organises events for mainly non-Russian speakers. This fits a larger trend with Russian-speaking Jewish organisations in Melbourne which are not able to retain young Russian-speaking Jews over time.

There is a top-down Russian-speaking synagogue in Melbourne that was established in 1980 by a Chabad rabbi who is an immigrant from the FSU himself. Chabad's mission is to undertake outreach to non-religious Jews to strengthen their Jewish religious identity. Chabad on Carlisle in Balaclava describes itself as a Jewish Russian Centre and is colloquially known as the Russian synagogue. The rabbi remained a Chabad Hasid in the Soviet Union and first migrated in the 1970s to Crown Heights, Brooklyn, which is where the headquarters of Chabad are situated. He re-migrated to Melbourne as a Chabad emissary to establish a Russian-speaking synagogue for migrants from the FSU. The Russian-speaking shul mainly offers Jewish religious services, but in the Russian language, to make them accessible to migrants from the FSU. The rabbi was heavily involved in welcoming and assisting Jews from the FSU who arrived in Melbourne in the 1980s and 1990s. The strictly Orthodox character of the synagogue made it often unsuitable for many Jews from the FSU, who are mostly non-religious. The rabbi suffered a stroke in 2016 and was succeeded by his son-in-law, who does not speak Russian. Based on my participant observation, on an average Sabbath the synagogue has about 50 people in attendance, mostly middle-aged, and about 350 on the High Holidays who on average are older. The shul also organises festive meals on other Jewish holidays and activities for families with children that have over 100 people who attend. In Sydney, an immigrant from the FSU re-migrated to Crown Heights, Brooklyn, only to return as a Chabad emissary to establish a Russian-speaking

synagogue for migrants from the FSU. The synagogue is called Chabad of Bondi, or Lubavitch Russian Centre, and was established in 1986 (Rutland, 1997, p. 366).

The Russian-speaking Chabad shul in Melbourne was able to attract a few dozen migrants who became mostly middle-aged *Chabadniks*. Some younger migrants became Chabadniks in the FSU, Israel and the United States, where Chabad emissaries are active, and later (re)migrated to Melbourne. These Chabad migrants are often activists among the Russian-speaking Jewish community in Melbourne. One top-down organisation established in 2015 by Chabad activists is Subbotnik (term refers to Soviet-era form of 'volunteerism' usually held on Saturdays), which has the goal to strengthen the Jewish religious identity of Russian-speaking Jews but is more embedded in Russian culture. Subbotnik states that its organisation is '[w]here Russian culture meets Jewish tradition' (2019). In 2018, it opened a voluntary 'Souper Kitchen' that caters for elderly Russian-speaking people in need. Assisting the elderly resonates with Russian speakers and around 50 middle-aged volunteers, many with children, attend a bimonthly 'cook-off'. Subbotnik organises Russian literary events where the founding activist presents her published 'mischievous poems and prose' to about 100 people (2019). Although Subbotnik has relatively many volunteers, it is not a bottom-up membership association and is primarily driven by one Chabad activist, without whom it would likely fold.

There is one religious Bukharan activist who re-migrated from Israel to Melbourne who organises a weekly religious study group for Bukharan Jews. He also organises festive meals to celebrate several Jewish holidays with a couple of dozen in attendance. He mentions having plans to build a small Bukharan synagogue for their community of about 200 people.

There are Russian-speaking activists that are not religious and who established top-down organisations. One such organisation is the above-mentioned AFRJ (Forum) that formed in 2014 as a breakaway from Shalom Association (Zlatkis, 2014). Most of the breakaway group, less than a dozen, were previous presidents or committee members of Shalom who are non-religious Russian-speaking activists. One of the AFRJ committee member is the principal of the Lider school. They are on average middle-aged and younger than those who remained at Shalom and have good relationships with other non-Russian-speaking Jewish organisations in Melbourne. AFRJ has a weekly radio broadcast, 'Forum', as discussed below, to which the founding activist of Subbotnik regularly contributes. The President of AFRJ states that the 'organisation's most important mission is to promote the development of Jewish identity among Russian-speaking Jews in Australia' (Zlatkis, 2014). This mission statement does not seem to resonate with most Russian-speaking Jews who do not necessarily think that their Jewish identity needs developing. AFRJ organises few events and seems to have a limited membership. Its founding activist is less active and the organisation has become dormant.

Beyond communal organisations that cater specifically migrants from the FSU, there are commercial enterprises that offer Russian cultural events and activities for profit. Commercial enterprises are not communal organisations but serve the larger migrant group from the FSU. They offer a space for them to informally meet and socialise, and to consume Russian culture. These events rarely include Jewish themes. The commercial events include concerts, shows, comedies and movies in Russian. Organisers of many of these events are Jewish migrants from Melbourne, with the founder activist of AFRJ especially active in organising many of them. Based on my participant observation and seeing the promotions for the events on Russian language Facebook groups, the almost-monthly events often include celebrities flown in from the Russian Federation who perform in Melbourne and

Sydney. These performances are well received and sell out months in advance, attracting several hundred of younger and middle-aged migrants who often pay about $200 per ticket. Russian movies are projected during the Russian Resurrection Film Festival, which first started in 2003 in Australia, and are sometimes accompanied by acclaimed Russian directors to introduce the showing; for example, director Karen Shakhnazarov in 2017 for his movie *Anna Karenina: Vronsky's Story* (Russian Resurrection, 2018).

Several Russian nightclubs-restaurants in Melbourne, like Rasputin, Matrioshka, and St Petersburg, offer Russian food in combination with a live band performing traditional Russian music and a dancefloor. Most of these restaurants are operated by Jewish owners, but only offer Jewish entertainment upon request. They do not serve kosher food. Some of these restaurants are popular with younger and middle-aged migrants from the FSU who attend them regularly, often celebrating special occasions with family and friends there, for example their children's Bar Mitzvah (boys turning 13) or Bat Mitzvah (girls turning 12).

There are several Russian food stores in Melbourne, like Dlish Delights, Kazachok, and Russian Tidbits, that offer typical Russian goods. They also sell Russian newspapers and magazines as discussed below. Many of the interview participants mentioned going to Russian stores occasionally.

In addition to commercial enterprises, there is also Russian language media available for the consumption of Russian speakers. Most of the media outlets are for the larger migrant group from the FSU in Australia. Migrants from the FSU are avid consumers of media in the Russian language, especially elderly migrants. The 2004 Australian Survey of Jews in the Diaspora found that about three-quarters (77%) of Jews from the FSU in Australia read in Russian and a further about three-quarters (76%) keep informed about events back home;

this can be compared to lower proportions of Israelis (62%) who read in Hebrew (Rutland & Gariano, 2005, p. 39). To cater for these high proportions, a range of Russian language media is available, including printed sources, broadcasts, and online platforms. The Russian Jewish bimonthly *Menorah* magazine started publishing in 1992 in Melbourne and includes Jewish themes and news about Israel (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 332). Other newspapers target the larger migrant group from the FSU in Australia. *Edinenie* is a weekly newspaper in Russian that first saw publication in Australia in 1950 (Unification, 2019). In 1996, *Australian Panorama* was established, which is a free circulating monthly newspaper in Russian (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 340). At the end of 1990s, the weekly newspaper *Horizon* in Russian started publication in Sydney (Horizon News, 2019).

There are several Russian broadcasts in Melbourne. Broadcasts cater to an even higher proportion of those who speak Russian at home (88%) compared to those who read it (77%) (Rutland & Gariano, 2005, p. 39). There are two Russian Jewish radio programs and one short television program in Melbourne that regularly feature Jewish themes and news about Israel. 'Radio Shalom', also known as the Voice of Shalom Association, first aired in 1998 on Southern FM on Fridays (Kievski et al., 2011, p. 337; Southern FM, 2019). The breakaway AFRJ, as mentioned above, have their own program from 2014 called 'Radio Forum', which broadcasts in Russian on J-AIR on Mondays (J-AIR, 2018). There is also a short television program called 'One World Sputnik' that first telecasted in 1995 and which from 1998 gained a regular spot on Channel 31 on Thursdays (Channel 31, 2018; Kievski et al., 2011, pp. 343-4). Other Russian radio broadcasts target the larger migrant group from the FSU in Australia and do not include Jewish themes. From the 1990s, SBS Russian radio broadcasts three times a week catering to more than 50,000 people who speak Russian at home in Australia (ABS, 2016; Special Broadcasting Service, 2019).

In summary, there are a number of bottom-up and top-down organisations that cater specifically for Jews from the FSU and offer them Russian or Jewish cultural events and activities. Bottom-up membership associations usually comprise of older members who organise Russian cultural events with limited Jewish themes. Top-down organisations seek to offer mainly Jewish events and activities but in a Russian cultural setting; these are usually organised externally by local Jewish organisations or religious Russian-speaking activists. The top-down organised Jewish events usually seek to strengthen the Jewish identity of the community and often target the younger and middle-aged. Jewish events have varying success, being appreciated by some Jews from the FSU, but with many others not participating. In addition, there are Russian commercial events and activities that are organised for the larger migrant group from the FSU, which younger and middle-aged Jews from the FSU often consume.

It seems that migrants from the FSU usually do not self-generate Jewish cultural events and activities, and that the vast majority do not participate in Jewish events specifically organised for them top-down. The extent to which migrants from the FSU participate in Jewish cultural events and activities in the wider Jewish community is discussed in the following section.

Participation in wider Jewish communities

This section examines the participation of migrants from the FSU in wider Jewish communities in Melbourne. This is measured by affiliating with and attending synagogues, attending Jewish community activities, volunteering, and donating, which are discussed below in this order.

Most Jews from the FSU are not affiliated with a synagogue and do not attend one on a regular basis. About three-quarters (72%) of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne are not members of a synagogue, compared to slightly fewer Israelis (65%), but much fewer South Africans (22%) and Australian-born (30%) (Table 71). Controlling for age indicates that higher proportions of younger migrants from the FSU (30-44 years) are not members of a synagogue (77%) compared to middle-aged (72%) and older (67%) groups.

About one-fifth (19%) of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne attended a synagogue about once a month or more in the last 12 months, compared to slightly higher proportions of Israelis (26%), but many more South Africans (52%) and Australian-born (41%) (Table 71). About one-fifth (19%) of Jews from the FSU do not attend a synagogue at all, compared to about one-quarter (24%) of Israelis but very few South Africans (3%) and Australian-born (6%). Most Jews from the FSU go to synagogue only on special occasions, like Bar Mitzvahs or weddings (24%), on High Holidays (20%), or on special occasions and High Holidays (18%). It is to be expected that migrants from the FSU tend not to be affiliated or attend regularly synagogue, as they are mostly not religious and did not experience attending synagogue growing up in the Soviet Union.

Table 71: Are you currently a member of a synagogue?; and, In the last 12 months, how often did you attend any type of synagogue or organised Jewish religious service?; By country of birth and age groups in Melbourne in 2017

Are you currently a member of a	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Austr born**
Non-member	**72%**	65%	22%	30%
Member of Orthodox synagogue	**19%**	27%	68%	53%
Member of non-Orthodox	**9%**	8%	10%	17%
Not a member of a synagogue by age groups				
30-44 years	**77%**	66%	28%	32%
45-64 years	**72%**	61%	14%	27%
65 years or over	**67%**	-	17%	23%
In the last 12 months, how often did you attend any type of synagogue or organised Jewish religious				
On special occasions	**24%**	18%	8%	11%
On High Holidays	**20%**	8%	9%	12%
On special occasions and on High Holidays	**18%**	24%	28%	30%
About once a month or more	**19%**	26%	52%	41%
Did not attend at all	**19%**	24%	3%	6%

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. n: FSU=176, Israel=190, South Africa=370 and Australian-born=2,358. Data for Israelis aged 65 or over is not presented because of their low number participating in the survey.

Many migrants from the FSU attend Jewish community activities that are not religiously themed. They seem to particularly prefer to attend Purim (47%) and public Hanukkah (45%) events, the Jewish film festival (36%), and the Israeli film festival (31%) (Table 72). Middle-aged and older migrants from the FSU attend the above-mentioned four activities in relatively high proportions (34% to 51%), whereas the younger age group attends much more Purim (57%) and public Hanukkah (48%) events than Israeli (13%) and Jewish (23%) film festivals, most probably because the former two are events to which they can bring their younger children. About one-fifth (17%) of migrants from the FSU never attend any of the listed Jewish activities in the Gen17 survey, a proportion similar to Israelis (13%), but slightly higher than South Africans (10%) and Australian-born (11%).

Table 72: Over the past 12 months, which of the following Jewish community activities have you attended, if any?; By country of birth in Melbourne in 2017

Jewish community activities	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Austr born**
Purim event	**47%**	48%	46%	45%
Public Hanukkah event	**45%**	32%	30%	26%
Jewish film festival	**36%**	35%	42%	41%
Israeli film festival	**31%**	37%	28%	27%
Holocaust/Jewish Museum exhibition, talk or event	**20%**	17%	25%	28%
Shabbat Project	**20%**	25%	40%	27%
Israel Independence Day (Yom Ha'atzmaut) event	**19%**	37%	23%	22%
Public lecture(s) on Jewish issues	**19%**	24%	32%	34%
Shiurim (Torah lesson or lecture)	**19%**	22%	39%	34%
Holocaust Remembrance Day (Yom Hashoah) commemoration	**18%**	22%	21%	23%
Communal tefilah (prayer) service	**17%**	26%	39%	36%
Israel Remembrance Day (Yom Hazikaron) event	**14%**	32%	19%	17%
Public lecture(s) on Israel	**13%**	22%	21%	23%
Limmud Oz	**9%**	9%	10%	11%
None of these	**17%**	13%	10%	11%

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. n: FSU=186, Israel=193, South Africa=376 and Australian-born=2,420.

The 2016 Australian Census indicates that Jews from the FSU are less inclined to formally volunteer compared to other Jewish groups. Only one in ten (10%) Jews from the FSU in Victoria indicated in the 2016 Census that in the last twelve months they had done voluntary work through an organisation or group, compared to much higher proportions of Jews born in Israel (23%), South Africa (32%) and Australia (38%) (Table 73). Higher proportions of younger migrants from the FSU volunteer (17%) compared to middle-aged (9%) and older (6%) groups.

Table 73: In the last twelve months did the person spend any time doing voluntary work through an organisation or group?; Jews by country of birth and age groups in Victoria in 2016

2016 Australian Census	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Austr born**
Voluntary work	**10%**	23%	32%	38%
30-44 years	**17%**	23%	34%	35%
45-64 years	**9%**	22%	35%	41%
65 years or over	**6%**	18%	20%	35%

Source: 2016 Australian Census

The census only provides a snapshot regarding the proportions of those that do volunteer work, not where they volunteer; this information is provided by the Gen17 survey. About one-third (31%) of migrants from the FSU indicate to have done voluntary work in the last 12 months for a Jewish organisation, compared to lower proportions who volunteered for non-Jewish ones (16%) (Table 74). Other Jewish groups volunteer for a Jewish organisation in higher proportions. Of those who volunteer for a Jewish organisation, about half (49%) of migrants from the FSU do at least once a month, relative to slightly higher proportions of Israelis (56%), and more South Africans (60%) and Australian-born (68%). Controlling for age indicates that it is the older age group (65 years or over) of migrants from the FSU that volunteers in much higher proportions for a Jewish organisation (47%) than a non-Jewish one (12%), whereas the middle-aged and younger groups volunteer only slightly more in a Jewish organisation than a non-Jewish one.

Table 74: In the last 12 months, have you done any unpaid voluntary work to support an organisation(s)?; By country of birth and age groups in Melbourne in 2017

Voluntary work	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Austr born**
Jewish organisation(s)	**31%**	45%	50%	57%
30-44 years	**27%**	37%	51%	50%
45-64 years	**19%**	39%	48%	58%
65 years or over	**47%**	-	36%	54%
Non-Jewish organisation(s)	**16%**	19%	18%	28%
30-44 years	**21%**	18%	17%	25%
45-64 years	**11%**	18%	16%	27%
65 years or over	**12%**	-	17%	32%

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. n: FSU=159, Israel=193, South Africa=376, Australian-born=2,419. Data for Israelis aged 65 or over is not presented because of their low number participating in the survey.

About one-quarter (23%) of migrants from the FSU who volunteer for Jewish organisations indicate doing so for a Russian-speaking organisation, not including the Russian-speaking synagogue (Table 75). The Russian-speaking organisations mentioned in the Gen17 survey are Shalom Association, Subbotnik, AFRJ, Yachad, and Limmud FSU. Yet, perhaps surprisingly, the highest proportion of migrants from the FSU who volunteer for Jewish organisations indicate doing so for a synagogue (39%), similar to Australian-born (39%), and compared to lower proportions of Israelis (27%) and higher proportions of South Africans (47%). Most probably many of those volunteers do so in the Russian-speaking shul. Of those who volunteer for Jewish organisations, migrants from the FSU volunteer for Jewish Care in higher proportions (21%) than Israelis (9%), South Africans (12%) and Australian-born (10%), but in lower proportions for a Jewish school (12%) than those groups (21%, 25% and 24%, respectively).

Table 75: Which JEWISH organisation(s) have you volunteered your time to support in the last 12 months?; By country of birth in Melbourne in 2017

Voluntary work	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Austr born**
A synagogue	**39%**	27%	39%	47%
Russian-speaking organisation	**23%**	-	-	-
Jewish Care	**21%**	9%	12%	10%
A Jewish school	**12%**	21%	25%	24%
Jewish National Fund	**12%**	9%	3%	5%
United Israel Appeal	**11%**	5%	6%	4%

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. n: FSU=159, Israel=193, South Africa=376, Australian-born=2,419.

Analysis of the Gen17 survey indicates that more migrants from the FSU tend to donate to Jewish charities compared to Israelis, whereas the inverse is true for volunteering (Table 74 and Table 76). Migrants from the FSU indicate that their highest priority for donations is Jewish charities in Australia (37%) and Israeli charities (33%), followed by general charities in Australia (18%). They donate most to a synagogue (42%), Jewish Care (33%), Magen David Adom (Israel's medical emergency service) (33%), United Israel Appeal (30%), the Jewish

National Fund (28%), and to a Jewish school (20%) (Table 76). Yet, one-quarter (25%) of younger migrants from the FSU indicate making no donations to Jewish charities, which is a slightly higher proportion than those who report making no donations to any charities (19%).

Table 76: How much in total have you or your household given to Jewish and/or general charities IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS? If you are unsure, please estimate. Please exclude synagogue membership and Jewish school fees.; and, Approximately what proportion of these charitable donations you or your household gave over the past 12 months went to Jewish charities? If you are unsure, please estimate.; and, Have you or anyone in your household given money to any of these Jewish charities in the past 12 months?; By country of birth in Melbourne in 2017

Donated in the last 12 months	**FSU**	**Israel**	**South Africa**	**Austr born**
Nothing to any charities	**12%**	17%	2%	5%
30-44 years	**19%**	16%	2%	6%
45-64 years	**11%**	15%	0%	4%
65 years or over	**7%**	-	2%	2%
Nothing to Jewish charities	**14%**	25%	3%	8%
30-44 years	**25%**	28%	4%	11%
45-64 years	**11%**	23%	1%	6%
65 years or over	**7%**	-	5%	3%
Have you or anyone in your household given money to any of these Jewish charities in the past 12 months?				
A synagogue	**42%**	33%	67%	57%
Jewish Care	**33%**	21%	53%	47%
Magen David Adom	**33%**	20%	41%	35%
United Israel Appeal	**30%**	11%	36%	37%
Jewish National Fund	**28%**	21%	46%	41%
A Jewish school	**20%**	22%	32%	39%

Source: Gen17 survey; weighted. n: FSU=159, Israel=193, South Africa=376, Australian-born=2,419. Data for Israelis aged 65 or over is not presented because of their low number participating in the survey.

The median donation for migrants from the FSU is $101-$250, similar to Israelis, but lower than South Africans ($251-$500) and Australian-born ($501-$2,000). The Gen17 survey further makes it possible to analyse what proportion of these donations went to Jewish charities. Half (50%) of migrants from the FSU, and more South Africans (68%) and Australian-born (58%), gave more than half or all of their donations to Jewish charities, compared to fewer Israelis (38%). It seems that more migrants from the FSU donate a bigger proportion of their small donations to Jewish charities compared to Israelis, but less compared to South Africans and Australian-born.

Jewish communities do not thrive on many small donations. As historian Jack Wertheimer states, 'today's Jewish philanthropy is primarily about the largesse of big donors' (2018, p. 1). Most institutions that seek donations apply the rule of 80/20 or even 90/10, meaning that 80% to 90% of their donations come from a few big donors (Wertheimer, 2018, p. 1). A few individuals from the Russian-speaking Jewish community in Melbourne have the potential of becoming big donors for Jewish causes. In Melbourne, there are two Jews from the FSU who rose to wealth and were ranked in the top two hundred rich list in 2018: Larry Kestelman and Ruslan Kogan (Australian Financial Review, 2019). Yet they seem not to be big donors to any charities. Only one migrant from the FSU in the Gen17 survey indicated having donated in the range of $25,000-$50,000 to Jewish and/or general charities in the last 12 months. The Gen17 survey indicates that one in twenty (5%) migrants from the FSU donated $5,000 or more to Jewish and/or general charities in the last 12 months, compared to a similar proportion of Israelis (7%), slightly more South Africans (10%), and many more Australian-born (22%).

In 2019, the Russian-speaking shul in Melbourne held a 24-hour Charidy.com fundraising during which every dollar donated was tripled by pledged matching donations. It reached its goal of $100,000 donations in 24 hours, which was matched to equal a total of $400,000. Only about one-third of the smaller donations were from migrants from the FSU, with few of the relatively bigger donors being from there. The main donor for the Russian-speaking shul in Melbourne is Albert Dadon AM. The shul has been dedicated and renamed after his father, The Yehudah Dadon Synagogue. Dadon was born in Morocco but grew up in Israel and France before migrating to Melbourne. The only exception where a few migrants from the FSU in Australia seem to be big donors is for the Russian-speaking shul in Sydney.

In summary, migrants from the FSU participate less in wider Jewish communities compared to other Jewish groups, although only slightly less than Israelis. Similar to Israelis, migrants from the FSU tend not to be members of synagogues or attend them regularly, although most attend synagogues on special occasions and/or High Holidays. Many migrants from the FSU attend Jewish community activities that are not religiously themed. They volunteer less for Jewish organisations than other Jewish groups, with the highest proportion volunteering for a synagogue. Migrants from the FSU donate less to Jewish charities compared to other Jewish groups, with the exception of Israelis. Migrants from the FSU do not seem to have big donors, either. Younger migrants (30-44 years) from the FSU especially, and middle-aged (45-64 years) migrants to a lesser degree, seem to participate less in wider Jewish communities than other Jewish groups and the older age group (65 years or over). This aligns with the findings in the previous chapters indicating that the younger migrants from the FSU are diverging from other Jewish groups. The possible reasons for their reduced participation are discussed in the following section.

Fewer organisations and lesser participation in Jewish organisations

This section describes four possible reasons why migrants from the FSU are less inclined to establish organisations or join existing Jewish organisations. The first reason is that in the Soviet Union there were no Jewish communal structures. Second, Soviet citizens were often forced to join organisations, and after migration they became resistant to creating or joining them. Third, they migrated as refugees with government benefits, which often is a disincentive for migrants to form self-help groups. This reluctance is especially evident where existing Jewish organisations supplement government assistance, as it was the case in Australia. Fourth, although they received assistance from Jewish welfare organisations,

they often felt discriminated against by local Jews because of their strong attachment to the Russian culture. A sense of discrimination and cultural alienation of migrants from the FSU creates a barrier for them to join existing Jewish organisations.

Jewish migrants often established similar communal structures in their host country to what they had in their native country (Howe, 1976). Pre-war Eastern European Jews were used to extensive Jewish communal structures in their home countries, and those who settled in Australia between the 1920s and 1950s recreated traditional communal structures that included synagogues, Jewish culture, Jewish schooling, Zionism, and combatting antisemitism (H. L. Rubinstein, 1991, p. 39). The generation of Jews born in the Soviet Union post-war was not used to any Jewish communal structures. It is little wonder that they did not seek to establish Jewish institutions and organisations in Australia and are reluctant to join them.

Immigrants are usually disposed to form voluntary associations or to join pre-existing organisations established by their ethnic group (Moya, 2005, p. 833). Yet in the United States scholars often found that Soviet Jews had a 'resistance to organisations'; they were reluctant to join pre-existing communal organisations or to 'form voluntary associations of their own' (Gold, 1985, p. 126; Markowitz, 1993, p. 225). Their reluctance is attributed in part to the 'involuntary collective nature of Soviet life', which left Soviet Jews wanting independence from such organisations (Gold, 1985, p. 126). Sociologist Steven Gold quotes one Soviet migrant as saying that 'Russian Jewish for generations were under the pressure of communism and they are tired of the different organizations. […] Here Russian Jewish, they want to be free from actual everything' (1985, p. 126). Gold states that 'as refugees from a society lacking in a tradition of volunteerism, Russian-speaking Jews are highly individualistic and tend to avoid participating in communal organizations—a major feature

of the collective lives of American Jews' (2016, p. 116). Similarly, Markowitz found that 'Soviet-born Jews view social activists, especially those from within their own group, with a jaundiced eye' (1993, p. 227). She explains that her informants used to mention that in the Soviet Union they often had to do the 'so-called volunteer work […] "whether we wanted to or not"' and therefore they resisted joining or volunteering in American organisations (1993, p. 230).

In Australia more recently, Grahame Leonard, in his capacity as President of the ECAJ, also attributed the resistance of Jews from the FSU to organisations to growing up in a communist state. Leonard states that '[a] lot of the Russian Jews came to Australia without the sense of community that Australian Jews have; they grew up in a society where the state provided everything' (Franklin, 2006, p. 11). Leonard concludes that 'as is often the case with new immigrant groups, it takes at least a generation to gain effective integration into the society in which they are now living and understanding of the values of that society' (Franklin, 2006, p. 11). For Leonard, the 'reasons for their separation from the rest of the community are cultural' (Franklin, 2006, p. 11).

The communist cultural society from which Soviet Jews emigrated only partially explains a reluctance to establish organisations and participate in existing Jewish organisations. Their arrival with refugee status proved a powerful disincentive in both the United States and Australia, where they were eligible for welfare payments and services to assist their resettlement. Gold states that for Soviet Jews 'resettlement services offer a disincentive to group formation' (1992, p. 227). Social scientist Michael Hechter notes that '[i]f the state provides many such goods (education, unemployment benefits, health insurance and social security), then this also diminishes the motive to form many kinds of groups' (1987, p. 177;

also quoted in Gold, 1992, p. 227). Hechter adds to this, however, that groups have an incentive to form if they can assist migrants to receive the many provided government entitlements (1987, p. 177). Yet existing Jewish welfare societies were also helping Jews from the FSU to receive government entitlements and providing their own financial assistance, further reducing the need for them to establish their own groups (Markowitz, 1993, p. 230).

Migrants often have an incentive to establish institutions and organisations to address exigencies. Rutland notes that Jewish migrants in Melbourne between 1920 and 1950 had an incentive to establish new communal associations because they 'were disillusioned by the lack of support they received from the establishment in their struggle for a review of their legal status', and because there were relatively few institutions and organisations at the time (Rutland, 2001, p. 535). Jews from the FSU did not have a similar incentive to establish more Jewish institutions because the established Jewish community in Melbourne was offering sufficient assistance and achieved in the 1970s an expansive network of social organisations (Cox & Martin, 1975, pp. 127-8). A study from 1975 that compared Greeks, Italians, Yugoslavs, Turks, Poles, Ukrainians, Dutch, Jews, Chinese and Ceylonese, found that the 'nearest to institutional completeness in the groups studied is the Jewish network in Melbourne' (Cox & Martin, p. 128).

Migrants from the FSU did not join existing Jewish organisations either, perhaps because many felt alienated by local Jewish communities, as touched upon in Chapter Four, *Mutually Broken Expectations*. Some indications for their sense of alienation from Jewish communities is found in the Gen17 survey. About half (47%) of migrants from the FSU in Melbourne indicate having experienced difficulties meeting and making friends in the

Jewish community when they first arrived in Australia, compared to lower proportions of Israelis (35%) and South Africans (24%). About one-quarter (29%) of Jews from the FSU further indicate having experienced discrimination from Jewish people/the Jewish community when they first arrived in Australia; this is similar to discrimination they report experiencing when mixing with Australians (28%), which is comparable to similar proportions of Israelis (24%), but lower proportions of South Africans (13%). Having a sense of cultural alienation and discrimination going back from when they first arrived in Australia most probably creates a further barrier for them to join existing Jewish organisations.

Furthermore, as mentioned in the previous chapter (but controlled for secular/traditional), fewer Jews from the FSU indicate feeling very connected to Jewish communal life in Melbourne (19%) than Israelis (30%), South Africans (41%) and Australian-born (43%). About one in ten (11%) Jews from the FSU indicate feeling very unconnected, similarly to Israelis (13%), but more than South Africans (1%) and Australian-born (4%). Overall, slightly more than half (55%) of the migrants from the FSU feel very/somewhat connected to Jewish communal life, about one-fifth (21%) very/somewhat unconnected, and one-fifth (20%) neither connected nor unconnected (the remaining 4% do not know or prefer not to say). Those who indicate feeling very/somewhat unconnected or neither connected nor unconnected to Jewish communal life were asked to indicate the three most important reasons leading them to feel this way. These are their secular outlook/lifestyle (55%), feeling they do not fit in (41%), and that they are not interested in Jewish communal life (29%). It is unclear if those who indicate not fitting in do so because they are not interested in Jewish communal life or vice versa. Yet, close to half more indicate they do not fit in than those reporting not being interested in Jewish communal life, which means that at least for some the latter is not a reason for the former.

In Canada, the proportion of migrants from the FSU who indicated feeling very connected to Jewish life in the city they live was similar to those in Melbourne, but less than all Canadian Jews. A Canadian survey from 2018 found that about one-fifth (21%) of Jews from the FSU felt very connected to Jewish communal life compared to about two-fifths (37%) of all Jews (Brym, Neuman, & Lenton, 2019, p. 74). About one in seven (14%) migrants from the FSU in Canada felt not at all connected to Jewish communal life, more than the proportion of all Jews (7%) (Brym, Neuman, & Lenton, 2019, p. 74).

Based on my participant observation and interviews for this research, it emerged that many migrants from the FSU in Melbourne view local communities as a rather monolithic 'established Jewish community', which some still perceive as a predominantly religious community. They therefore often do not feel very connected to it as it seems foreign to them, while at the same time they live in close proximity, and often even send or have sent their children to Jewish schools. Analysis of the Gen17 survey indicates that about two-thirds (68%) of Jews from the FSU in Australia who migrated before 16 years of age attend(ed) at some point a local Jewish day school. Nonetheless, although approximately two-thirds of parents who migrated with children under 16 years of age enrolled them in an Australian Jewish day school, only about one-fifth (19%) feel very connected to Jewish communal life, and about one-third (36%) somewhat connected.

Subgroups of migrants from the FSU had different experiences when settling in Melbourne. One such subgroup is those who migrated at a younger age. Age at arrival in Australia is an important predictor for the Jewish communal experiences migrants from the FSU had growing up, as discussed in the previous chapter. Because Jewish communal activities and youth groups were rarely available in the FSU, those who migrated at a later age usually did

not experience them growing up. On the other hand, migrants from the FSU who arrived in Melbourne at a younger age often experienced growing up some involvement in Jewish activities and youth groups. About two-thirds (71%) of migrants from the FSU who arrived in Melbourne before 16 years of age experienced growing up at least one of the 12 youth activities listed in the Gen17 survey. This compares to about one-quarter (28%) of those who arrived in Australia aged 16 or over.

Age at arrival in Australia is similarly an important predictor for having attended Jewish day school. About four-fifths (79%) of migrants from the FSU who arrived in Melbourne before 16 years of age attend(ed) a Jewish day school in Australia or overseas at any stage. This compares to one in ten (10%) of those who arrived in Australia aged 16 or over.

Nonetheless, those who migrated before 16 years of age and were partially or wholly socialised in Melbourne do not indicate feeling more connected to Jewish communal life than those who migrated at an older age. To the contrary, more of those who were socialised in Melbourne feel unconnected to Jewish communal life. Half (50%) of migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne indicate feeling very/somewhat connected to Jewish communal life, relative to higher proportions of Israelis (74%) and South Africans (83%) (Figure 21). More migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne indicate feeling very/somewhat unconnected to Jewish communal life (27%), compared to lower proportions of Israelis (16%) and South Africans (8%) (Figure 22). It seems that among migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne, fewer feel connected and more feel unconnected to Jewish communal life, whereas this is not the case for other Jewish groups, especially for Israelis.

Figure 21: Feeling very/somewhat connected to Jewish communal life by country of birth and age at arrival in Melbourne in 2017

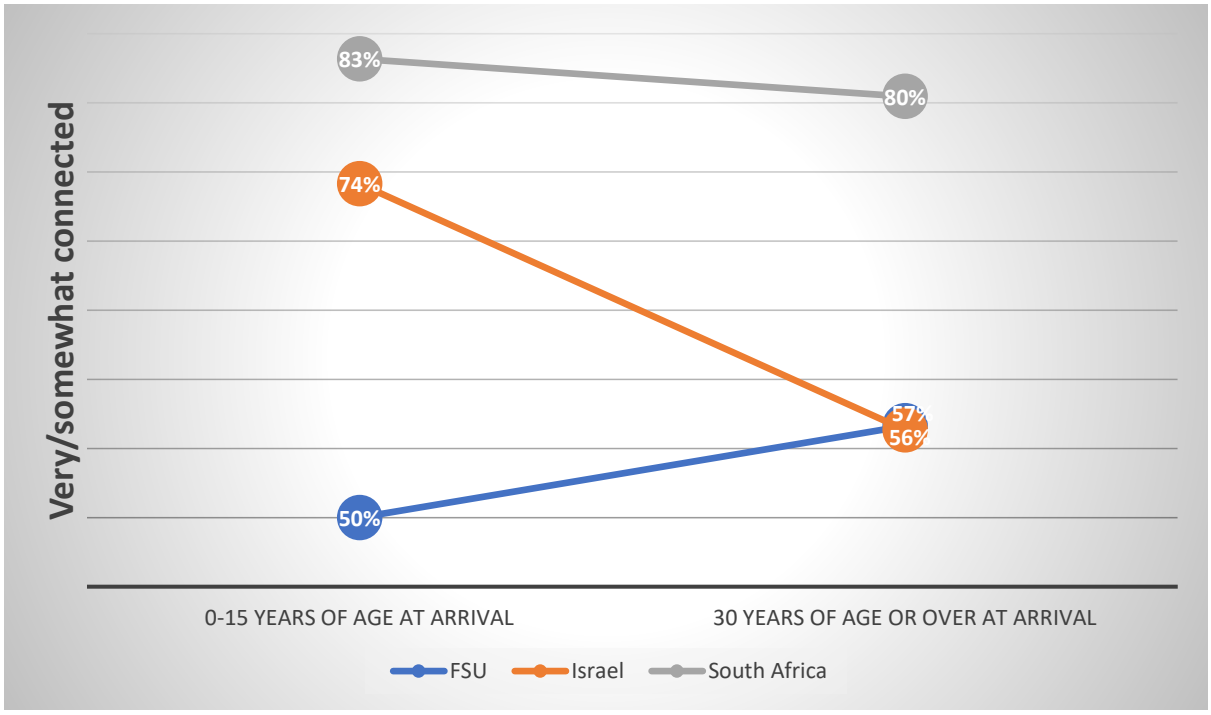
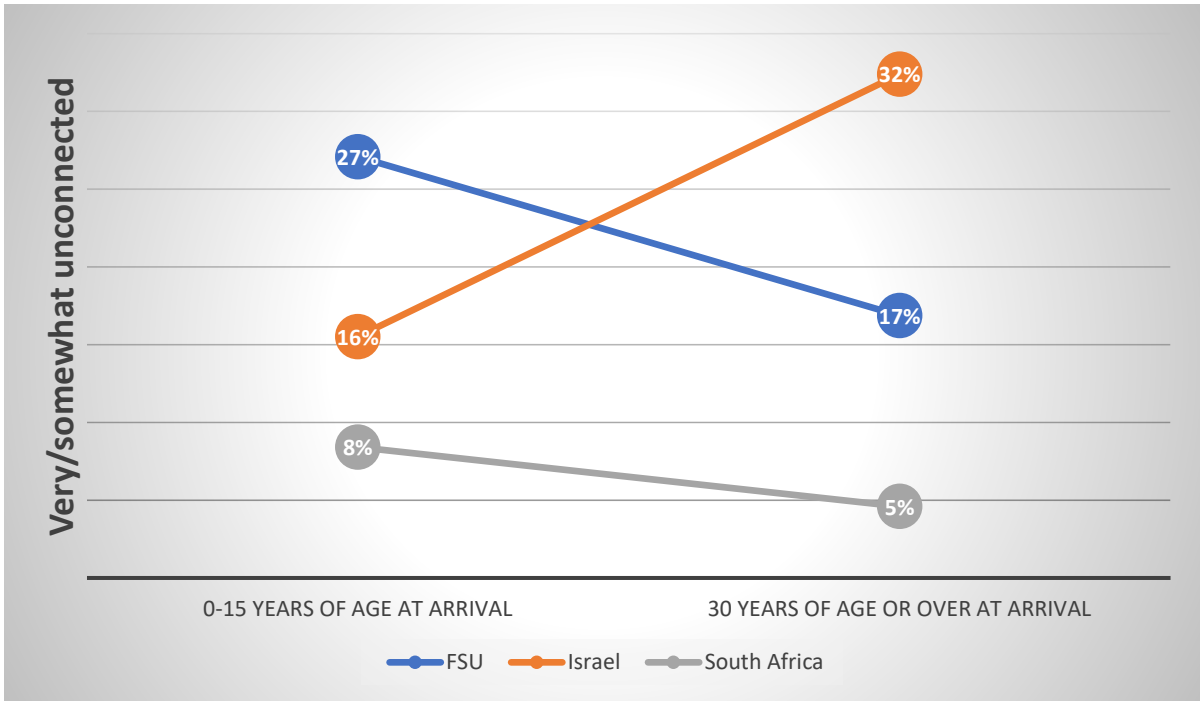


Figure 22: Feeling very/somewhat unconnected to Jewish communal life by country of birth and age at arrival in Melbourne in 2017



Source: Gen17 survey; weighted.

That a lower proportion of migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne indicate feeling connected and more feeling unconnected to Jewish communal life suggests that some had negative experiences with Jewish communities growing up, as discussed below. It seems that it was not only the parents who experienced discrimination and cultural alienation when first settling in Melbourne: some of their children also felt discriminated and culturally alienated growing up. According to Steinkalk,

> [i]t is interesting to note that the issue of prejudice was of little concern to most of the [Soviet] parents, but was worrying their adolescent children to a much greater extent. A possible explanation lies in the different type of contacts to whom the two were exposed. The parents' contacts are adults, with whom there is little social interaction, because they are work companions only, and who possibly conceal any prejudices; whereas the children to whom the adolescents are exposed at school reveal their prejudices more openly. (1982, pp. 257-8)

The sense of alienation that younger migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne seem to have also aligns with findings in previous chapters indicating that they are diverging in their religious identity and Jewish ethnic belonging from local Jews, whereas those from Israel are converging with them. It is unclear to what extent a sense of cultural alienation accounts for them diverging, and to what extent they feel alienated because they are diverging. The rather thin Jewish culture growing up at their home in Melbourne most probably contributed to them being conflicted between two cultures and ways of being Jewish that they had difficulties reconciling, as the story of Sasha below indicates.

There are some indications that children of migrants from the FSU felt discriminated growing up in Melbourne. An *AJN* article that interviewed several young migrants from the FSU in 1995 reported that 'Russian children attending Melbourne's Jewish day schools have accused the community of discrimination' (Kleerekoper, 1999, p. 5). The article describes

how Russian-speaking students felt alienated from their peers in Jewish day schools with quotes like: ‘At Scopus and Yavneh the parents of the local kids have money and therefore they look down on us’, and ‘by the time we reached Grade 2 we were treated as outcasts or worse’ (Kleerekoper, 1999, p. 5). Zaitseva mentions that some students underwent ‘cruelty’ and that ‘when a Russian child goes to a Jewish school and is called a ‘goy’ by other Jewish children, who can blame him or her for turning elsewhere?’ (2006, p. 68).

In her 2014 PhD study about students from the FSU in Jewish schools in Melbourne, educationist Fruma Rosenfeld found that ‘[t]his group of students have often been viewed as “Russian cliques” who frequently fail to participate in religious/cultural school events beyond normal school hours’ (p. 6). It is unclear if those ‘who frequently fail to participate’ were considered part of ‘Russian cliques’ or if the reverse is true. Yet what matters is that although many experienced Jewish day schools and activities, they were already often viewed as Russian cliques who did not fully participate in Jewish communal life. This most probably resulted in many of the local school children not befriending migrants from the FSU. Steinkalk states that it

> is significant that the comparison group [Australian-born Jewish adolescents] neither possesses nor prefers Soviet Jewish friends. This can hardly be attributed to lack of knowledge and possible contact with Soviet Jewish immigrant adolescents. Indeed such a contact is not sought. The responses of the comparison group reflect the acceptance of the local Jewish community's negative stereotype of the Soviet Jews. (1982, p. 242)

Rosenfeld further found that ‘there has also been a perceived sense of frustration among teachers who have often seemed to view these students as uninterested, uninvolved and disruptive during Jewish studies classes’ (2014, p. 6). Some interview participants for this research describe how they were ‘teased’ or ‘bullied’ in Jewish day schools by local students,

but that at times it was also ‘frustrated’ teachers who would treat them in a disrespectful manner and even shout offensive names in Russian at them. Steinkalk notes that

> Russian children are sometimes ignored, but they are also frequently called derogatory names, sneered at, and belittled, (This information was gathered from informal interviews with teachers of two high schools (1980) mentioned above. Remarks from several Russian students: “In the Soviet Union we were called Jews (Zyd), here we are called “the Ruskies” …) This unfriendly treatment was also displayed by teachers who differ from the parent contacts in that their exposure to the adolescents was more interactive. In addition, although generally a teacher's role includes understanding of pupils, teachers seemed to have difficulty in understanding, or lack of motivation to understand, the “mental baggage” of this group of adolescents socialized with very different values and norms of behaviour. (1982, p. 258)

Further indication of a sense of alienation of some migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne is the relatively low proportion who indicate having Australian-born close friends, or who sense it is very important to have a Jewish circle of friends. When asked what proportion of their close friends are Australian-born, about three-fifths (59%) of migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne indicate having less than half or no close friends who are Australian-born, compared to much lower proportions of Israelis (16%) and South Africans (22%). Analysing the Gen08 survey also indicates that among migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne only about one-fifth (19%) indicated that it is very important to have a Jewish circle of friends, compared to much higher proportions of Israelis (44%) and South Africans (71%). Their proportion is also lower than those from the FSU who migrated at 30 years of age or over, who indicated that it is very important to have a Jewish circle of friends (40%).

It seems that most of the friends of those who were socialised in Melbourne are also Russian speakers, although they most often speak English to each other. Analysis of the

Gen08 survey indicates that three-fifths (60%) of migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne indicated speaking Russian also to most of their friends, although only about one in ten (12%) ranked Russian as the first language they used in these circumstances. The Gen08 survey further indicates that they seem to have higher proportions of non-Jewish friends than other Jewish groups. Only about one-fifth (22%) of migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne had only or almost only Jewish friends, compared to higher proportions of Israelis (42%) and South Africans (66%).

On the other hand, it seems that there is also a significant proportion of migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne and feel more at ease with Australian rather than Russian culture. About one-quarter (29%) of migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne indicate feeling more at ease with Australian-born people than those from their country of origin, one in ten (10%) feel more at ease with people from their country of origin, and the majority feel equally at ease with Australian-born as they do with people from their country of origin (58%).

Interview participant Sasha conveys the experience of an immigrant from the FSU who was socialised in Melbourne and feels more at ease in the Australian than the Russian culture. Sasha arrived in the late 1970s at a very young age, and says that 'I don't like being Russian'. He would not go to the Russian-speaking shul, although he goes to several other shuls in Melbourne at least weekly. The reason he gives for rejecting his Russian background is because as a child his parents sent him to the Jewish Mt Scopus College where, according to him, he was not 'seriously bullied' but rather 'teased' by other children for being 'Russian'. As a result, Sasha 'wanted to fit in as much as possible' in school; at home he would only speak English to his parents, of whom he was embarrassed because they were Russian. He

blamed his isolation in school on his lack of 'Jewishness' because his parents were Russian, with supposedly no knowledge of how to be Jewish. In high school Sasha rebelled against his parents and became religious against their wishes, what he calls 'a good rebellion'. He is very active in a range of Jewish groups but not in the Russian-speaking Jewish 'bubble'.

Sasha's story helps shed light on several aspects of the experiences that migrants from the FSU had growing up in Melbourne. First, that some children of migrants from the FSU were teased or bullied in Jewish schools for being 'Russian', including those who 'wanted to fit in as much as possible', not only those who supposedly were part of Russian cliques. Second, that some had difficulties reconciling the rather thin Jewish culture at home with the thick Jewishness they were experiencing at Jewish schools or youth groups. Third, that some internalised the teasing at Jewish schools and rejected their Russian identity while adapting to an Australian multidimensional Jewish identity that includes religion and being very active in local Jewish organisations. It seems that many others did not react like Sasha by internalising the teasing at Jewish schools; rather, they formed Russian cliques and rejected some aspects of the Australian multidimensional Jewish identity. They seem to have resolved the conflict between home and school by choosing to preserve parts of their heritage and by diverging from local Jews.

Although many migrants from the FSU who were socialised in Melbourne seem to have retained parts of their Russian heritage and are consumers of Russian cultural events, this does not translate into them participating in the Russian-speaking Jewish 'bubble', as discussed below. At the same time, for those who were teased or bullied or often viewed as Russian cliques, it would most probably have added to a sense of not fully belonging and not

feeling connected to Jewish communal life, resulting in a lower participation compared to other Jewish groups.

Already in the 1980s, Shalom Association had difficulties attracting younger migrants from the FSU. In the early 1980s, younger immigrants participated in a youth club under Shalom. More than 100 people aged 15-24 attended the youth club at the time. The youth club would usually meet at Kadimah and the main activities were concerts, discos, excursions and competitions like 'Miss Shalom' (Kievski et al., 2011, pp. 352-3). Yet by 1984, Shalom Association mainly comprised of middle-aged and older members, according to Kievski et al., because the 'Russian youth focused on adapting into the English speaking and Australian environment' (2011, p. 353). In 1999, there was again an attempt to establish the Youth of Shalom Association. One of the founders of the Youth of Shalom Association explained that the reason for establishing it was because young migrants from the FSU 'want a sense of belonging to one community and one religion' (Kleerekoper, 1999, p. 5). The plan was 'to hold functions where youth from all sections of the community can meet and mingle', by holding events like a fashion parade and dancing parties (Kleerekoper, 1999, p. 5). Yet the Youth of Shalom Association also soon ceased being operational, a recurring issue with clubs for younger migrants from the FSU that seem unable to retain members for long.

Younger migrants from the FSU seem interested in being occasional consumers of Russian cultural events, like attending shows by popular artists and Russian nightclub-restaurants, but not to become members of associations where they have to make an active and continuous effort to create Russian cultural events. The older generation both creates and consumes Russian culture, whereas the younger generation has mainly become a consumer

of Russian culture. Nor has the younger generation become more involved in local Jewish communities than the older generation; on the contrary, they seem to be less involved.

Shalom Association recognised that besides the younger generation not participating in Russian-speaking Jewish organisations, they often do not participate in local Jewish communities either, although they seem to blame local Jewish communities for this. The then President of Shalom Association, Vladimir Tsivlin, addressed the Jewish Community Council of Victoria (JCCV) in 1997 about the integration of Russian-speaking Jews in Melbourne. In his speech, Tsivlin mentioned that at Shalom Association they

> are very concerned about the large number of migrant families who send their children to non-Jewish schools and remain distant from all things Jewish. We are equally concerned about the younger generation of migrants who emigrate having finished their schooling in their country of origin and have little or no avenues for entry into Jewish life. This especially poses a significant threat to the continuity of the Jewish people outside of the mainstream community.

He further stated that 'the subsequent fate of these people does not seem relevant to the Jewish community as a whole', and that '[s]hould this continue for another 10 or 15 years, Jews from the former USSR will never truly be part of the Australian Jewish community, and the responsibility will rest with all Australian Jewry.' It is unclear why Tsivlin seemed convinced that the responsibility lies with 'all Australian Jewry' and why younger migrants from the FSU would not bear an equal responsibility to become part of Jewish communities.

Representatives of local Jewish communities had a different perspective than Tsivlin. They were often eager for migrants from the FSU to become part of local Jewish communities. The JCCV, with the participation of Bnai Brith, Jewish Community Services, Shalom Association, and National Council of Jewish Women of Australia – Victoria, established in 1996 an Integration Task Force to assist migrants from the FSU to integrate in Jewish

communal life in Melbourne. The then Chairperson of the JCCV Integration Task Force, Miriam Suss, wrote the following in a memorandum for an integration workshop in 2001:

> Over the years, there has been a concerted effort to encourage community participation and involvement amongst Russian Jews. The JCCV Integration Task Force was established in 1996, and has had an ongoing role in this endeavour since then. Many initiatives have been undertaken and encouraged by that task force including Jewish Studies courses, parenting courses, social activities for isolated elderly, activities for youth, the planning for a Jewish Museum exhibition on Russian Jews etc. However there remains a concern that only a small proportion of the 12,000-strong target group identifies with and participates in the Victorian Jewish community. Those of us within this community who fought so hard for their visas, and assisted in their resettlement see this fact as tragic. So do those active FSU Jews who migrated to Australia to provide their children and grandchildren with the opportunity to express their Judaism, and to be part of Jewish continuity.

Local Jewish communities and Russian-speaking activists seem concerned about Jewish continuity and are eager for the Russian-speaking community to integrate into Jewish communal life. Yet most migrants from the FSU seem to have retained a rather thin Jewish culture and a Jewish identity that is often based on 'blood' and feeling, and not on establishing their own Jewish cultural organisations or participating in wider local Jewish communities. Instead, they have established Russian cultural organisations for Jewish members, which they consider their 'own bubble'. This 'bubble' seems to be shrinking and unlikely to expand with the next generation. Younger migrants from the FSU especially, whose sense of Jewish identity based on 'blood' and feeling is not as strong as it is for the older generation, appear to have mostly been left with a thin Jewish culture that seems to be lived more as a symbolic ethnicity than a lived identity which guides their behaviour and values, and which does not contain sufficient cultural content to create their 'own bubble' and to actively participate in wider Jewish communities.

Conclusion

This thesis examines the socioeconomic and cultural adaptation of Jews from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) who settled in Melbourne between 1975 and 1999. Two research questions are addressed:

1. In which ways did Jews from the FSU adapt socioeconomically in Melbourne?
2. In which ways did Jews from the FSU adapt culturally within the Melbourne Jewish community?

Research findings were derived using triangulation of the following quantitative and qualitative sources: Australian Census; Department of Home Affairs; Estimated Resident Population; four international archival holdings; Gen17 Australian Jewish community survey; government documents; international newspaper articles; Settlement Database of the Department of Social Services; six international Jewish surveys; scholarly literature; three-year participant observation; and 14 life story interviews.

Before addressing the research questions, I first present estimates of the number of Jews from the FSU in Australia, then provide an overview of their demographics and the visas under which they migrated. The analysis in the thesis indicates that an estimated 12,000-13,000 Jews and their relatives emigrated from the FSU to Australia between 1975 and 1999, of whom 7,000 settled in Melbourne and 5,000 in Sydney, with a few hundred in other cities. These numbers are lower than estimates proposed by several researchers and claims by community leaders. Jews from the FSU migrated in two waves: about 5,000 arrived in the 1970s, and 7,000-8,000 in the 1990s. In 2016, an estimated 10,000-11,000 Jews from the FSU lived in Australia, of whom 6,500 in Melbourne and 3,500 in Sydney, with

a few hundred in other cities. In 2016, close to one in ten Jews in Australia, with a slightly higher proportion in Melbourne, were born in the FSU. They lived mostly in the same suburbs, or in proximity, to local Jews.

Those who settled in Melbourne in the 1970s had a median age of 32; about one-quarter (23%) were under 15, and about another quarter (26%) were 45 or over. Those who arrived in the 1990s had a considerable older age structure. Their median age was 40; about one-fifth (18%) were 15 or under, and more than two-fifths (44%) were 45 or over. As there was very little migration after 2000, by 2016 their median age was 60, compared to 42 for the total Jewish population and 36 for the total Australian population in Melbourne. Only about one in twenty (4%) Jews from the FSU were aged 29 or under, and more than one-quarter (29%) were 70 or over.

About three-quarters of Jews and their relatives from the FSU in Australia migrated under the various humanitarian visas devised specifically for Jewish migrants from the FSU; about 5,000 did so in the 1970s and about 4,000 in the 1990s. In addition, in the 1980s and 1990s an estimated 2,000 arrived under the family migration stream and about 1,000 under the skilled stream.

The primary motives of Jews from the FSU for migrating to Melbourne were to achieve socioeconomic success and to provide their children with a better future; freedom to practice Jewish religion and culture was of secondary importance, if it was considered at all. This thesis considers whether Jews from the FSU realised their primary objective of achieving socioeconomic success and providing their children with a better future.

Soviet Jews who settled in Melbourne in the 1970s were highly educated; more than half (56%) had some form of higher education. Yet, many experienced occupational

downgrading and in 1978 about one-quarter (23%) had managerial or professional employment in Melbourne. Of those migrating in the 1990s to Melbourne, about three-fifths (61%) had some form of higher education. In 1996, about one-third (36%) of Jews from the FSU in Australia were employed as managers or professionals, slightly increasing to two-fifths (40%) in Melbourne in 2006. In 2016, close to half (47%) of Jews from the FSU in Melbourne held a bachelor's degree or higher, a much higher proportion compared to the Australian-born population (30%). More than half (55%) of the migrants had managerial or professional employment, higher than the Australian-born population (47%).

Jewish immigrants from the FSU were much more highly educated than the Australian-born population, yet it seems that the more highly skilled ones preferred to migrate to the United States instead of to Australia, where they perceived that there would be more opportunities. Documents from the National Archives of Australia (NAA) indicate that in the 1970s the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) was referring the more highly skilled migrants from the Soviet Union to the United States rather than to Australia or Canada. Documents from the Jewish Care Victoria Archives (JCVA) further indicate that the Australian Jewish Welfare and Relief Society (AJWRS) forewarned Soviet physicians who were enquiring about migrating to Australia that they would face difficulties in having their medical qualifications recognised. As a result, I estimate that in the 1970s only 1% of Soviet migrants to Australia were physicians, compared to about 3% of those who went to the United States. The most prevalent professional occupation of Soviet migrants in Melbourne and the United States was engineering (about 15%).

It is to the benefit of both immigrants and receiving country that those settling experience career continuity, in which their human capital (education and skills) is fully utilised and

contributes to society. In Australia, however, many migrants who arrived under the humanitarian stream, usually from non-English-speaking background (NESB) countries, often experienced occupational downgrading, which meant that their human capital was not fully utilised. Researchers adopt two different theories to explain this negative migration outcome: one approach focuses on the non-transferability of immigrants' human capital to the Australian labour market; the other views it as the result of discrimination in the labour market against NESB immigrants, as discussed below.

Age at migration was an important factor that contributed to the extent to which Jews from the FSU were able to attain labour market success. Those who migrated to Melbourne after having completed their tertiary education in the FSU were less able to achieve socioeconomic success relative to the Australian-born population. In 2016, even two decades or more after having settled in Melbourne, the median total weekly personal income of Jews from the FSU aged 45-64 was lower ($800) compared to the Australian-born population ($1,000), similarly for those aged 65 or over ($375 and $475, respectively). Having to deal with downward mobility was especially challenging for many who were highly educated and had prominent positions prior to their migration from the FSU. They viewed socioeconomic achievements as one essential component of their adaptation process; failure in this aspect often impacted their self-esteem, which tainted their overall migration experience.

On the other hand, those from the FSU who migrated under 25 years of age experienced considerable socioeconomic upward mobility. They usually undertook local tertiary studies, which translate to very good English language proficiency, local work experience and local networking, as well as education relevant to the local labour market and qualifications valued by employers. Younger migrants (25-44 years) were able to achieve socioeconomic

status similar to local Jews in Melbourne. In 2016, about three-quarters (72%) of younger migrants from the FSU had highly skilled employment (managers or professionals), a proportion similar to that of all Jews (75%) but considerably higher than the Australian-born population (54%). They also had a substantially higher median total weekly personal income ($1,450) than the Australian-born population ($1,050). The notable socioeconomic status of the younger migrants, which over one generation reached the levels of local Jews, can be considered a showcase of the (underutilised) high human capital of their parents, and is most probably a key factor for many of the migrants from the FSU to evaluate their overall settlement as a success.

What explains the lower socioeconomic attainment of Jews from the FSU aged 45 or over? Their lower income fits within a broader pattern of differences in income between humanitarian and skilled streams not dissipating even after living in Australia for more than a decade. In contrast to those who arrived under the skilled migration stream, about nine in ten Jews from the FSU arrived under the humanitarian (75%) or family (15%) streams, and were therefore not selected by the Australian government for labour market success. Most had poor English language proficiency, a factor that was heightened among those who were older and which many could not overcome. In addition, although a much higher proportion were more highly educated than the Australian-born population, many could not transfer their Soviet human capital to the Australian labour market. Their Soviet education and skills were often unsuitable, without the proper retraining to enable them to find employment in Melbourne. Furthermore, both migration waves coincided with economic recessions and high unemployment. As a result, during the first years after their migration many experienced long bouts of unemployment while retraining or 'hidden unemployment', meaning that they withdrew altogether from the labour force and remained perpetually

reliant on welfare payments—usually older migrants and especially women. Most of those who remained in the labour force had to accept underemployment and occupational downgrading with commensurate lower incomes.

Analysis for this thesis did not find evidence that Jews from the FSU experienced discrimination when entering the Australian labour market. The two main professional occupations of Jews from the FSU were used as case studies to examine possible discrimination: engineers and physicians. Most Soviet engineers who submitted their qualifications to the Institution of Engineers, Australia had them recognised regardless of their English language abilities, yet this often did not guarantee highly skilled employment. Lack of English language proficiency, local work experience, and technological fit between Soviet and Australian engineering standards were often the main obstacles to finding highly skilled employment, resulting in their occupational downgrading.

Most Soviet-trained physicians experienced difficulties passing the Australian Medical Council examination. About two-fifths (42%) of those who attempted passed, but many more (I estimate about half) did not even attempt the examination. This fits within a broader pattern of many NESB Overseas-Trained Doctors (OTDs) not gaining accreditation in Australia. It does not seem that OTDs from the FSU experienced discrimination; rather, it was most probably their poor English language proficiency, combined with lower and different medical standards in the Soviet Union compared to Australia, that contributed to their low pass rates and low numbers attempting the exam.

This thesis further considers the ways in which Jews from the FSU culturally adapted within the Melbourne Jewish community. The Soviet state undermined Jewish identity, and forcefully transformed it from its traditional multidimensionality that encompassed religion

and culture into a distinctive, mainly unidimensional, secular ethnic identity. Jews from the FSU were mainly Jewish by 'nationality', which was registered under the nationality category on the infamous fifth line of internal Soviet passports. They often perceived their nationality as a 'primordial' ethnic identity, which means that it was experienced as biologically inherited, based on 'blood' and feeling. Being Jewish was therefore often experienced as an intrinsic attribute and not as something one was required to demonstrate. As a consequence, after the Second World War they had a 'thin' Jewish culture, which was mostly based on their mobility, urbanism and education, which became their Jewish markers and cultural content (Gitelman, 2012, p. 330).

The cultural adaptation of migrants from the FSU indicates that the identity of many was affected by the local Melbourne context, but that their distinct Soviet secular upbringing remained the primary influence. The primary influence of their upbringing is noticeable when taking a global approach to migrants from the FSU. Comparing those in Melbourne to their peers in the United States and Israel indicates that they have similar patterns of observance of Jewish traditions. For example, they show a globally comparable pattern for customs such as keeping kosher at home, lighting Sabbath candles, and fasting on Yom Kippur. At the same time, local contexts also have an influence on their Jewish identity, resulting, for example, in lower proportions of intermixed couples in Melbourne (24%) than in the United States (36%).

The local context in Melbourne had a noticeable influence on the Jewish identification of many migrants from the FSU. One-third (34%) of Australian-born Jews self-identify as Orthodox, fewer than one-fifth (16%) with non-Orthodox streams, more than one-quarter (29%) as traditional, and about one-fifth (21%) as non-religious. Jews who identify as

traditional in Melbourne are on a spectrum of religious observance and do not self-identify with a Jewish denomination, although many are affiliated with these streams. The religious observance of traditional Jews lies between Orthodox and non-Orthodox denominations.

The cultural adaptation of migrants from the FSU in Melbourne was heterogeneous. On one end of the continuum are those who self-identify with Orthodox, and to a lesser extent with non-Orthodox denominations. The Gen17 survey indicates that 13% do, but I estimate them at fewer than one in ten because an unknown proportion of the least affiliated were not represented in the survey, and those affiliated with Jewish denominations (except for some strictly Orthodox groups) tend to participate in Jewish surveys in higher proportions and are over-represented. Migrants from the FSU who self-identify as Orthodox do not necessarily abide by *halacha* (Jewish religious law) for most of their daily tasks, but they do observe many Jewish traditions. Those identifying with Jewish denominations are the most active participants in local Jewish communities and often create a link between migrants from the FSU and local Jews. Some of those who identify as Orthodox, particularly those who became *Chabadniks* (followers of the Chabad Hassidic group), organise Jewish activities for their non-religious peers, albeit often with limited success.

A finding that is distinct for Australia and indicative of the local influence is that in the middle of the continuum about one-third of Jews from the FSU self-identify as traditional. They maintain a strong ethnic Jewish identity and in addition observe far more Jewish traditions compared to their upbringing, but only participate to a limited degree in local Jewish cultural events and activities. At the other end of the continuum, more than half identify as non-religious but still maintain a relatively strong Jewish ethnic belonging, for

instance feeling part of the Jewish people (as discussed below), although they observe few Jewish traditions and generally do not participate in local Jewish communities.

It is little wonder that a relatively low proportion of migrants from the FSU identify with Jewish denominations, because they usually would have not experienced Jewish religion and culture growing up in the Soviet Union. The best predictor of whether someone identifies as religious is whether they had a religious upbringing. Only 2% of migrants from the FSU indicate having grown up in Orthodox homes compared to a much higher proportion of those born in Australia (33%). It is to be expected that there would be differences in observing Jewish traditions between migrants from the FSU and local Jews. These differences are primarily a result of the comparison between religious and non-religious persons. I therefore argue that in order to compare 'like with like', there needs to be a control for religious identification. Non-religious and traditional Jews from the FSU should be compared to non-religious and traditional cohorts in other Jewish groups. I further refer to the non-religious and traditional group as secular/traditional. The local influence on the Jewish identity of migrants from the FSU becomes apparent when comparing them to local Jews in this way.

Comparing secular/traditional migrants from the FSU to other Jewish groups indicates a convergence in the observance of Jewish traditions. This is primarily because many migrants from the FSU observe far more Jewish traditions currently compared to their upbringing, whereas the opposite is true for many of the secular/traditional Jews in other groups. Yet secular/traditional migrants from the FSU still observe far fewer Jewish traditions than other Jewish groups. The religiosity scale constructed from 13 items from the Gen17 survey indicates that secular/traditional migrants from the FSU, standardised from 0 to 100, score

much lower (34) than those born in Australia (45) and South Africa (58), but similar to Israeli-born Jews (35). The religiosity scale measures two constructs: religious commitment and faith, and familial and communal observance of religious traditions. Secular/traditional migrants from the FSU score slightly higher on religious commitment and faith (24) compared to those born in Israel (17), and similarly to Australian-born Jews (20). On familial and communal observance of religious traditions such as sharing Jewish festivals with their family, however, they score much lower (43) than those born in Australia and Israel (57).

It seems that migrants from the FSU, although many have increased their observance of Jewish traditions, hesitate to engage in familial and communal observance of religious traditions. This is most probably because the forced secularisation process in the Soviet Union made familial and communal Jewish traditions become a rarity, so that over time they became unfamiliar and even strange. In addition, as sociologist Stephen Miller states, 'a feeling of belonging, rather than belief in God, is the driving force behind synagogue attendance and other forms of involvement in synagogue life' (1994, p. 200). It seems, however, that many migrants from the FSU do not engage in familial and communal observance of religious traditions because they do not often have a feeling of belonging to Jewish communities; further, they do not seem to recognise that, for example, synagogue attendance can be divorced from belief in God, and that many local Jews do so as a manifestation of their ethnic, rather than religious identity.

The ethnic identity of secular/traditional migrants from the FSU is relatively strong and on the ethnicity scale, which was constructed from 33 items, they have a similar score (54) to those born in Israel (53) and Australia (58). The ethnicity scale, with scores standardised from 0 to 100, measures five constructs: Jewish peoplehood (80); commitment to

endogamy (67); connectedness with Israel (66); perception of antisemitism in Australia (37); and feeling of connection to and participation in Jewish communal life (17). Secular/traditional migrants from the FSU score the highest on Jewish peoplehood, which indicates a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people; this is slightly higher than those born in Israel (75) and similar to Australian-born Jews (82). Yet they score the lowest on feeling of connection to and participation in Jewish communal life, much lower than those born in Israel (27) and Australia (33). This supports the above proposed correlation of their low score on familial and communal observance of religious traditions with having a weak feeling of belonging to Jewish communities.

It remains to be seen if the relatively thin Jewish culture of Jews from the FSU can be transmitted to future generations in Melbourne. It seems that those who were socialised in the Soviet Union maintained their strong sense of 'primordial' Jewish ethnic identity. Those socialised in Melbourne, however, did not grow up with the same strong sense of primordial identity, and neither did they replace it with familial and communal observance of religious traditions. Some values of thin Jewish culture were successfully transmitted and contributed to their socioeconomic mobility, yet it seems that other values have already began to diminish. This may eventually lead future generations to experience their Jewishness as 'symbolic ethnicity' characterised by a 'nostalgic allegiance' to the culture of the immigrant generation, but without incorporating in everyday behaviour, much like Anglo-Celtic Australians or Polish Americans (Gans, 1979, p. 9). This can be gleaned from the overarching Jewish identity scale which is constructed by combining the religiosity and ethnicity scales. The older generation (65 years or over) of secular/traditional migrants from the FSU converges (55) towards those born in Australia (58), yet the younger age group (30-44 years)

from the FSU, of whom most were partly or wholly socialised in Melbourne, seem to be diverging (44) from those born in Australia (52), but score similar to Israeli-born Jews (47).

The younger generation from the FSU scores slightly lower on religiosity (31) than the older generation (38), and much lower on Jewish ethnic belonging (49 and 61, respectively). Furthermore, the younger generation does not feel connection to nor participates in Jewish communal life (17), and also does not participate in the Russian-speaking Jewish 'bubble', as one interview participant fondly describes her community. The older generation, on the other hand, feels much more connection to and participates in Jewish communal life (33), and are further very active in their 'own bubble'. They often socialise and participate in activities and events organised by or for Russian-speaking Jews, thereby maintaining a strong Jewish identification.

It is counterintuitive that those who were socialised in Melbourne have a weaker Jewish identity than those who were not, since the former had many more Jewish communal experiences (15) than the latter (5). Many of them also attended Jewish school. Of the migrants from the FSU who participated in the Gen17 survey, about four-fifths (79%) of those who arrived in Melbourne before 16 years of age attend(ed) a Jewish day school in Australia or overseas at some stage. This compares to one in ten (10%) of those who migrated aged 16 or over.

A possible explanation for their relatively weak Jewish identity is that the thin Jewish culture that they experienced at home in Melbourne growing up contributed to them being conflicted between two cultures and ways of being Jewish, which they have difficulties reconciling. Many decided to retain the thin Jewish culture at home and rejected the 'thicker' culture taught at Jewish school. Furthermore, children of immigrants from the FSU

grew up with children of local Jews, witnessing firsthand how many of them were also rejecting several aspects of ethnoreligious participation, and hence receiving mixed messages between what was taught at school and what local pupils practiced. An illustration of ethnoreligious rejection of the younger generation of local Jews is the estimate that in Australia more than half of the non-Orthodox married persons aged 25-34 had non-Jewish spouses (Markus, 2011, p. 13). The Gen17 survey further found that the intermarriage rate in Australia has doubled over the last 20 years (Graham & Markus, 2018, p. 26). Many Jews in Australia, as well as in the United States, reject several aspects of ethnoreligious participation, creating further ambiguity for migrants from the FSU who have to adapt to a Jewish identity that is extremely fluid and often in decline. An increasing number of local Jews observe few Jewish traditions, at times even less than migrants from the FSU. Political scientist Zvi Gitelman notes the following in a 2013 *Forward* article aptly titled 'We are all Russian Jews now': 'The Pew study shows that American Jews, who had all the cultural and religious facilities during the seventy years that their Soviet brethren had very few, are "catching up and overtaking," as Nikita Khrushchev liked to say.'

A limitation of this thesis is that it did not include second-generation Australians of FSU background, instead placing the emphasis on first-generation immigrants. A future research project could focus on the second generation and the culture of the homes they grew up in. The value placed on socioeconomic upward mobility, which the younger generation from the FSU in Melbourne aspired to and successfully achieved, is most probably one example of their culture growing up. The question remains as to what other values were transmitted that would translate into more than upward mobility and identifying as Jewish, which left on its own in the West may eventually be experienced as symbolic ethnicity.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Pattern matrix of 33 ethnicity items

Pattern Matrix	**PC1**	**PC2**	**PC3**	**PC4**	**PC5**
Jewish Peoplehood					
I have a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people	-.801				
I am proud to be a Jew	-.695				
I feel connected to other Jews even if I do not know them personally	-.669				
I have a clear sense of what being Jewish means to me	-.609				
How important or unimportant is feeling part of the Jewish people worldwide to your own sense of Jewish identity?	-.527				
I have a special responsibility to take care of Jews in need around the world	-.519				
How important or unimportant is belonging to a Jewish community to your own sense of Jewish identity?	-.461				
Which of the following best expresses your sense of being Jewish?	-.395				
Commitment to Endogamy					
How important or unimportant is marrying another Jew to your own sense of Jewish identity?		.723			
High School - Whether or not you have children, do you feel it is preferable for Jewish children to attend a school that is Jewish OR non-Jewish OR do you have no preference either way?		.717			
If one of your children said they were going to marry a non-Jew, how would you feel about it?		.697			
Primary School - Whether or not you have children, do you feel it is preferable for Jewish children to attend a school that is Jewish OR non-Jewish OR do you have no preference either way?		.652			
To what extent, if at all, are you personally concerned or unconcerned about intermarriage in Australia?		.612			
Thinking of your close friends, how many of them are Jewish?		.507			
Connectedness with Israel					
To what extent do you keep up with current events which involve Israel?			.582		
I feel a sense of responsibility to ensure that the State of Israel continues to exist			.573		
How important or unimportant is visiting Israel to your own sense of Jewish identity?			.546		
Although there are different opinions about what the term Zionism means, in general, do you consider yourself to be a Zionist?			.542		
When international events put Israel in danger, which one of the following best describes how you feel?			.506		
How important or unimportant is supporting Israel financially to your own sense of Jewish identity?			.474		
How many different times in your life have you visited Israel, if at all?			.365		
Perception of Antisemitism					
Antisemitic graffiti				.788	
Vandalism of Jewish buildings or institutions				.760	
In your opinion, how big a problem, if at all, is antisemitism in Australia today?				.714	
Antisemitic comments in discussions people have				.707	
Antisemitic comments on the Internet/Social media				.654	

Antisemitic reporting in the media				.621	
Jewish Communal Life					
In the past 12 MONTHS, how many other Jewish events have you attended, if any?					.687
In the past 12 MONTHS, how many educational Jewish events have you attended, if any?					.671
In the past 12 MONTHS, how many entertainment/cultural Jewish events have you attended, if any?					.591
In the past 12 MONTHS, how many social Jewish events have you attended, if any?					.559
In the past 12 MONTHS, how many fundraising Jewish events have you attended, if any?					.557
How connected do you feel to Jewish communal life?					.411
Cronbach's Alpha	***.866***	***.839***	***.778***	***.855***	***.786***

Source: Gen17 survey. PC is Principal Component. Extraction method is Principal Axis Factoring and rotation method is Oblimin. The Cronbach's Alpha cannot be improved by removing items. PCA analysis shows that the 33 ethnicity items load on five principal components. The first component (construct) includes eight items that measure Jewish peoplehood. The second component includes six items that measure commitment to endogamy. The third component includes seven items that measure connectedness with Israel. The fourth component includes six items that measure perception of antisemitism in Australia. The fifth component includes six items that measure feeling connected and participating in Jewish communal life.

Appendix 2: Interview documents

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

Project Title/ID: **Settlement experiences of Jews from the former Soviet Union in Melbourne: Socioeconomic and cultural adaptation — Project ID: 14401**

Professor Andrew Markus (Supervisor)
Department of History, ACJC
Phone:
email:

Emmanuel Gruzman (PhD candidate)
Phone:
email:

You are invited to take part in this study. Please read this Explanatory Statement in full before deciding whether or not to participate in this research. If you would like further information regarding any aspect of this project, you are encouraged to contact the researchers via the phone numbers or email addresses listed above.

What does the research involve?

The aim of the study is to better understand the settlement experiences and adaptation patterns of Jews from the former Soviet Union who settled in Melbourne. This includes their socioeconomic and cultural adaptation patterns.

You will be asked first to fill in the attached questionnaire to provide some general background information about yourself before the interview. The questionnaire is voluntary and all questions are non-mandatory.
The interview will discuss your settlement experiences and adaptation to Jewish communities and Australian society. I, Emmanuel Gruzman, will have some topics I want to address but will not confine the interview and you are free to talk about anything that comes to mind. The interview will be approximately 1.5 hours and will be audio recorded with your consent. At your convenience the interview will preferably be done in a meeting room at Monash University Caulfield campus or alternatively at a quiet café more accessible for you. During the course of conversation, it is possible some emotional or painful memories will come up. If you feel concerned at any point, please let me know. You can refuse to answer any question or stop the interview at any time. With your consent, I may send you a draft with findings based on your interview for your review and feedback that can be included in the final version.
I am born to Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union and speak Russian, Hebrew and Yiddish if you prefer.

Why were you chosen for this research?

You are chosen for this research because you identify as a Jewish person or a person of Jewish background from the former Soviet Union who settled in Melbourne. You received the Explanatory Statement because you initiated contact with me and indicated an interest in participating in this research. If there are more persons interested in participating than the target number of 20 participants, you may be chosen to participate based on your responses in the questionnaire. This

will make it possible to interview a broad range of persons in terms of age, gender, education, occupation and location.

Consenting to participate in the project and withdrawing from the research

The consent process involves you signing and returning the consent form. You have the right to withdraw from participation at any stage. You have the right to request the transcripts and recording of your interview to be withdrawn from the research as long as your request is received before March 2019.

Possible benefits and risks to participants

The research will add to the understanding of settlement experiences and adaptation patterns of Jews from the former Soviet Union in Melbourne. You will have the opportunity to explain how Jews from the former Soviet Union self-identity and how they define their community. In addition, this research provides an opportunity for you to discuss your settlement experiences in Australia and your socioeconomic and cultural adaptation to Australian society and Jewish communities in Melbourne.

There are no foreseeable health or safety risks to participants in this research. With all interviews, there may be some discomfort and it is possible that the interview may bring up some emotional memories associated with your immigration process. Most interviewees, however, find that talking about their past and revisiting memories, both positive and negative, is a rewarding experience.

Services on offer if adversely affected

Lifeline
13 11 14
Lifeline provides 24-hour access to crisis support, suicide prevention and mental health support services.

Confidentiality

The data I collect will be used in my PhD thesis and any publication arising from the interviews. I may also use it in future research projects related to settlement experiences, adaptation patterns and identities. Your participation will be treated as confidential and you will not be identified in my PhD thesis or any publication arising from the thesis.

Storage of data

Initially I will store this data on a password protected hard drive, which only I will have access to. With your consent, following the completion of my PhD thesis I may seek permanent storage for the interviews in a library or archive facility.

Results

The results will be available in my PhD thesis end-2019. You can receive a copy of parts of the PhD thesis that is based on the interviews upon request.

Complaints

Should you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of the project, you are welcome to contact the Executive Officer, Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC):

Executive Officer
Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC)

Room 111, Chancellery Building D,
26 Sports Walk, Clayton Campus
Research Office
Monash University VIC 3800

Tel: +61 3 9905 2052 Email: muhrec@monash.edu Fax: +61 3 9905 3831

Thank you,

Emmanuel Gruzman (PhD candidate)

Professor Andrew Markus
(Chief Investigator / supervisor)

CONSENT FORM

Project title/ID: **Settlement experiences of Jews from the former Soviet Union in Melbourne: Socioeconomic and cultural adaptation – Project ID: 14401**

Chief Investigator: **Professor Andrew Markus (Supervisor)**

Investigator: **Emmanuel Gruzman (PhD candidate)**

Please send the filled in Consent Form to

I have been asked to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement and I hereby consent to participate in this project. I understand that my participation will be treated as confidential and I will not be identified in any publication, including the PhD thesis, arising from my interview.

I consent to the following:	Yes	No
Taking part in an interview with Emmanuel Gruzman	☐	☐
Having this interview audio recorded	☐	☐
That Emmanuel Gruzman may send me a draft that includes findings based on my interview for my review and feedback	☐	☐
That Emmanuel Gruzman may use the data I provide during this interview in future research projects and that this research may be published	☐	☐
That the data I provide may be stored permanently by a third party such as a library or archive facility	☐	☐

Name of Participant _____

Participant Signature _____ Date _____

Questionnaire

Project title/ID: **Settlement experiences of Jews from the former Soviet Union in Melbourne: Socioeconomic and cultural adaptation – Project ID: 14401**

Professor Andrew Markus Department of History, ACJC Phone:	**Emmanuel Gruzman (PhD candidate)** Phone:

The questionnaire is voluntary and all questions are non-mandatory.
If there are more persons interested in participating than the target number of 20 participants, you may be chosen to participate based on your responses in the questionnaire. This will make it possible to interview a broad range of persons in terms of age, gender, education, occupation and location.
Only Emmanuel Gruzman will have access to the data provided in this questionnaire.
Please send the filled in questionnaire to

Please provide your name and contact details:	
What is your gender?	
What is your age?	
In what country and city were you born?	
What year did you arrive in Australia?	
With which visa type did you migrate to Australia?	
In which suburb do you now live?	
What is your marital status?	
How many children do you have and what are their ages?	
How many children currently live at your home?	
What is your highest level of education?	
In what field is your education?	
What is your employment status (employed, unemployed, retired, etc.)?	
In what field are you employed?	
What is your occupation?	

Interview participants

Identifier	Sex	Age	Year of arrival	Soviet republic	Relationship status	Children	Employment status	Interview date (2018)
Anna	F	50s	1990s	Ukraine	Married	2	Employed	23 July
Ariella	F	50s	1990s	Ukraine	Married	1	Unemployed	30 July
Haim	M	70s	1980s	Moldova	Married	1	Semi-retired	25 July
Int1	F	70s	1980s	Uzbekistan	Divorced	3	Retired	19 July
Int2	M	40s	1990s	Ukraine	Single	0	Employed	21 July
Int3	F	40s	2000s	Belarus	Single	0	Employed	21 July
Int4	F	70s	1970s	Ukraine	Married	2	Semi-retired	24 July
Int5	M	50s	1990s	Ukraine	Divorced	1	Disability pension	26 July
Int6	M	40s	1990s	Ukraine	Married	1	Employed	2 August
Leonid	M	60s	1980s	Belarus	Married	2	Retired	5 July
Mendel	M	50s	1990s	Ukraine	Married	2	Disability pension	20 July
Rami	M	60s	1970s	Ukraine	Divorced	4	Disability pension	19 July
Sasha	M	40s	1970s	Russia	Single	0	Employed	24 July
Svetlana	F	40s	1990s	Russia	De facto	1	Employed	20 July
Melbourne Physician								13 August
Sydney Physician								3 July (by phone)