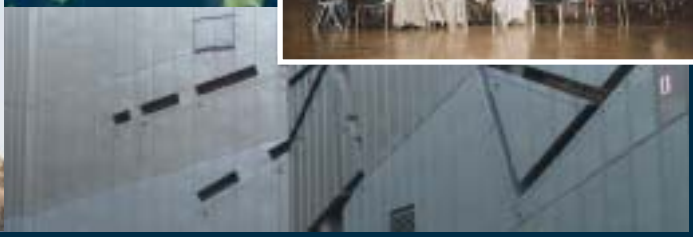
The Changing Jewish Community in Europe

Conference June 26, 27 and 28, 2002 in Berlin
Organized by the ZWST, ECJC, JMW and JDC



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Transcriptions	Greetje Venetianer	JMW
Translations	Lee Mitzman	
	Jeannette Buesink	JMW
Editing	Ellen Avraham	JDC
Photography	Nicolienne Wolf	JMW
Design and Lay-out	Dickhoff Design	
Final editing	Danny Sherman	JDC
	Nicolienne Wolf	JMW

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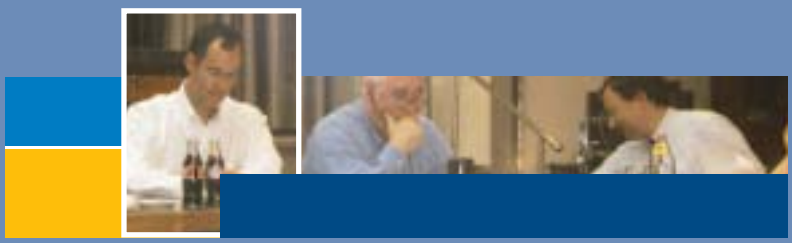

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Table of Contents

Introduction

The Social Welfare Committee of the European Council of Jewish Communities (ECJC) was founded during the General Assembly in Nice in 1999. The central mission of the Social Welfare Committee is to strengthen the bonds between the Jewish welfare organisations in Europe – to learn from each other's strengths and weaknesses. This is not an easy task to set for ourselves in a time where every Jewish organisation needs all its energy to survive in a turbulent world.

The members of the Social Welfare Committee decided to strengthen the bonds between East and West and to get to know each other better. This decision resulted in a mission to Ukraine in September 2002 organized by JDC. Professionals from England, France, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Israel, Russia, Belarus and Holland took part in this memorable mission.

During a plenary on the 13th of September in Kiev we met to discuss an agenda for the next two years. Essential to this meeting was our effort to illuminate common issues. Our brainstorming led us to several concrete activities. One of these was a conference about the changes within our communities. We found that nearly all the Jewish communities were changed, or in a process of change due to the migration of Jews: France had dealt during the fifties and sixties with an influx of Jews from North Africa; Germany was experiencing a huge influx of Jews from the former Soviet states; the Jewish community of Holland was enlarged by 25 percent by Israelis; and Spain was awaiting Jews from Argentina due to the country's economic problems.

Migration of Jews not only changed the Jewish communities that received them, but also the communities they left. The idea of our Conference "Changing Jewish Communities" was born!

An organizing committee was formed with professionals from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), the *Zentralwohlfahrtstelle der Juden in Deutschland* (ZWST) and the Dutch Jewish Social Service (JMW), which resulted in a conference held in Berlin on June 26-28, 2002. Over 60 professionals from 11 countries discussed the impact of immigration on their daily work.

The contributions of the different speakers on the theme of integration were too special to restrict to the participants of the conference. This booklet makes it possible for all professionals in the field of Jewish welfare to read and to reflect upon experiences in other countries with issues of Jewish migration and integration.

It is not possible to thank all of the people who shared in the success of this conference. Still there are exceptions to make! I would like to thank as the driving force and chairman of our Social Welfare Committee, Amos Avgar (JDC), for our host who made this conference possible, Benjamin Bloch (ZWST) and to the organizers of the conference, Daniel Sherman (JDC) and Nicolienne Wolf (JMW).

Hans Vuijsje
Member of the Social Welfare Committee
Executive Director of the Dutch Jewish Social Services (JMW)

Welcome words

Mr. Abraham Lehrer, Chairman of the ZWST, Germany

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am pleased to welcome Mr. Alexander Brenner, the chairman of the Jewish community in Berlin. He would not miss this conference and is most familiar with the issue that we are discussing. He was the science attaché in Russia for a long time and was the cultural attaché at the embassy in Israel, and is extremely knowledgeable about the concerns and needs of a large community, and certainly about the problems of a small community as well. We are delighted to see you here, Mr. Brenner, and look forward to your lecture.

I would like to extend a very warm welcome to Gabi Taus, the director of the European Council. How wonderful to see you here! I hope that we will all enjoy many interesting and informative speeches. I also greet Rolph Shapiro, a member of the board of the Jewish Community in Berlin, and Daniel Sherman, the representative from the Joint Distribution Committee, as well as the representatives from the European Community, with Mr. Jessy Kissler as the deputy. I am delighted that Mikel May, the director of the Jewish Community in Berlin, is among us. Dear participants, I am pleased to welcome all of you here.

We are here to talk about the changing Jewish communities in Europe. I believe that the greatest changes have taken place and continue to take place in Germany. Community membership has grown dramatically as a result of the move of Jews from the former Soviet Union. You probably know that in recent years, some 75,000 Jewish immigrants have increased the size of the German Jewish community to 100,000. This makes it the fastest growing community outside of Israel.

The communities are experiencing serious problems absorbing, caring for and integrating these people. They are benefiting from the enrichment and support for Jewish institutions and organizations. I am proud to report that the ZWST (Central Welfare Department) has allocated funding for this purpose. In the years ahead in the other states of the European Union, thanks to the generosity of the JDC, the immigrants will achieve the same standard of living following successful adjustment.

What are the most obvious problems of the Jewish community in Europe? In my view they are the populist parties and movements in the European Union member states. The demagogues are not classical anti-Semites. Instead, they pave the way for other elements of society, who are encouraged by such examples, to disseminate their reprehensible views. Because of Germany's past, the State of Israel has an exceptional position here. Criticizing the government of Israel must be possible, as democratic law often requires. Still, the advances of the Israeli army are not comparable to the methods of the National Socialists. Drawing such a parallel is anti-Semitic. Moreover, equating Jews in Europe with those in Israel presents particularly serious problems for our youth. We need to devise a joint approach to counteract these movements and fight such views.

The immigration I have described has also led us to work more closely with our European neighbours and the European Council. The election of the late Iegnes Burg and Michel Friedmann as vice president of the European Jewish Congress has confirmed this change. We are very pleased with this development, since the Jews in Germany will once again be heard. All states need to be involved in the ongoing European unification. In Brussels, funding requests have been submitted to the administration for near-exclusive projects that involve more than one state. The collaboration with the Joint is commendable as well. This is not the first joint effort in progress. Israeli organizations take pride in the standing of the Jewish community in Germany. I am grateful to the representatives of the Joint for their fruitful support.

In conclusion, I hope we will all hear interesting and informative lectures and will bring back a great deal for our communities.
Thank you very much.

Opening words

Mr. Gabriel Taus, former director of the European Council for Jewish Communities

The European Council of Jewish Communities thanks the Zentralwohlfahrtstelle, its chairman, Mr. Avraham Lehrer, and its director, Mr. Benni Bloch, for the support in realising the idea of this seminar. My thanks also to the leaders of the Joint Distribution Committee, who have given us a great deal of help in putting the seminar together.

I want to briefly inform you about the main ideas and goals of the European Council of Jewish Communities, which now has 68 members in 41 countries. We are a very active pan-European organisation whose main activities are social welfare. This meeting was proposed by the social welfare committee of the European Council, and another recent successful activity was last October's study mission to Ukraine, one of the former states of the Soviet Union, for top professionals to see the development in that country.

The European Council of Jewish Community works with Jewish culture and heritage as well, and organises an annual European Day of Jewish Culture. This year's Day of Jewish Culture was held last week, Sunday June 16th. Last year the event brought 200,000 visitors to 250 sites in a single day; this year's total will be announced shortly.

We are also involved in education, and after the tremendous success of the Arevim conference held in Budapest during November 2000, in which over 200 educators from all over Europe discussed educational matters, the ECJC is preparing with its partners the Arevim two, which will be held in London during November 22-27. Once again, the conference will bring together top professionals.

In addition, the ECJC organises people-to-people encounters. Encounters for young Jewish adults occur regularly two to three times a year, and encounters for Jewish singles bring together people from all over Europe. A new activity for people aged 55+ has been created recently to reach out to a different generation.

Another ECJC activity is leadership training, which takes place in cooperation with the Le'adid European Centre for Jewish Leadership. The ECJC also organises platforms and forums; we pioneered the idea of the bi-annual general European Assembly which was held in Niece in 1999 with approximately 500 participants. We repeated this experience two years later, last year in Madrid-Toledo with almost 700 participants. As a result of the positive feedback that we received, we are organising a new conference that will be announced soon. Furthermore, we organise meetings for presidents of Jewish communities and of major Jewish organisations. The last such meeting was held in Barcelona two years ago and the next one is scheduled for November 1-4 this year in Prague.

There is a proven need for the activities that I mentioned for the Jewish leadership. Participants are grateful for the opportunities to taking some time out of daily life in order to meet with colleagues and speak about the current situation and where we are headed. The presidents and board members from all parts of the continent are quite happy to have these platforms. This brings me back to our meeting, in which we will come together for the next two days. The European Council of Jewish Communities and its social welfare committee, together with the Joint Distribution Committee, are working to bring together the professionals responsible for social welfare in Europe. We are here to establish connections, to exchange ideas, and – I hope – to bring home successful recipes for our daily work.

In the name of the ECJC, I wish you a successful meeting.
Thank you very much.

An Overview of Social and Demographic Changes in the Jewish Communities of Europe

Professor Barry A. Kosmin, JPR, London

International political developments since the fall of Communism around 1990 have led to the re-emergence of Europe as a factor on the world Jewish scene alongside Israel and the North American Jewish community. The European Union has a Jewish population of approximately 1.2 million within the present 15 states and a further 200,000 among the candidate countries. Beyond that there are up to another million Jews in the rest of Europe. According to one's definition of who is a Jew, there are up to 2.4 million Jews across Europe from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains today.

Table 1 sets out the general picture. It illustrates the point that we rely on estimates of population size. There is no agreed definition on who qualifies and very little systematic counting or research goes on. Few national censuses now provide national population data on Jews and those that do are not very reliable.

Contemporary European Jewry is a composite of some of the world's oldest and newest Jewish communities. For example, Jews have lived in Rome for over 22 centuries. Other Jewish communities are creations of the last ten years. The presence of many generations of Jews in the UK and The Netherlands contrasts with the relative recency of settlement in Norway and Belgium, and of the recent immigration from outside Europe into many areas of France. Large metropolitan communities such as Greater London and the Region Parisienne can be contrasted with tiny populations in the provincial towns of Britain and France or the new Balkans states. Germany's 100,000 Jews are spread over 89 registered communities.

Table 1. Jewish Population in Europe, Estimates by Various Sources and Definitions

Definition	**Core**	**Core**	**Core**	**Enlarged**	**Law of Return**	**?**
Country	AJYB 1.1.2000*	Accuracy rating**	Jews per 1,000 population*	Rough hypotheses***	?****	WJC 2001
EU member						
Austria	9,000	C	1.1	15,000		10,000
Belgium	31,700	C	3.1	35,000		35,000
Denmark	6,400	C	1.2	8,000		8,000
Finland	1,100	B	0.2	1,500		1,200
France[a]	521,000	C	8.8	600,000		600,000
Germany	92,000	B	1.1	170,000		100,000
Greece	4,500	B	0.4	6,000		4,500
Ireland	1,000	B	0.3	1,200		1,200
Italy	29,600	B	0.5	35,000		30,000
Luxembourg	600	B	1.4	700		600
Netherlands	26,500	C	1.7	40,000		28,000
Portugal	300	C	0.0	400		800
Spain[b]	12,600	D	0.3	14,000		14,650
Sweden	15,000	C	1.7	19,000		16,000
U.K.	276,000	B	4.7	300,000		280,000
EU Candidate						
Bulgaria	2,600	B	0.3	5,000		3,000
Czech Republic	2,800	B	0.3	5,000		5,000
Estonia	2,000	C	1.5	4,000		2,500
Hungary	52,000	D	5.2	100,000		60,000
Latvia	8,600	C	3.6	17,000		10,000
Lithuania	4,400	C	1.2	9,000		5,000
Poland	3,500	D	0.1	8,000		5,000
Romania	11,500	B	0.5	15,000		12,000
Slovakia	3,300	D	0.6	5,000		5,000
Slovenia	100	C	0.1	200		< 100
Turkey[c]	19,000	C	0.3	21,000		20,000
Other[d]	100	D	0.1	200		< 100
Other						
Belarus	26,000	B	2.6	50,000		30,000
Bosnia	300	C	0.1	600		400
Croatia	1,300	C	0.3	2,600		2,000
Macedonia	100	C	0.0	200		< 100
Moldova	6,500	B	1.5	12,000		15,000
Norway	1,200	B	0.3	1,500		1,500
Russia	290,000	B	2.0	600,000		300,000
Switzerland	18,000	A	2.4	22,000		18,000
Ukraine	125,000[e]	C	2.5	260,000		180,000
Yugoslavia	1,800	C	0.2	3,600		2,500

[a] Including Monaco; [b] Including Gibraltar; [c] Including Asian regions; [d] Iceland, Malta; [e] Revised.
* Source: DellaPergola (2000); ** A Best - D Poorest; *** Author's estimates; **** Jews, children and grandchildren of Jews, and respective spouses, no matter if not-Jewish.

The social and demographic profiles of European Jewish communities vary according to the differing characteristics of the general societies in their countries of residence and their different histories. Significant variation arises from the different local impact of the *Shoah*, the historic patterns of immigration waves, the political environment, and the general level of economic development, as well as the ethnic and religious composition of individual nations. Such factors often lead local observers to the conclusion that "the socio-demographic and cultural profile of their own community is unique and cannot be compared to that of other communities" (DellaPergola 1999). Nevertheless, from an academic or global perspective a number of generalizations appear obvious.

European Jewry's social and demographic profile was reshaped in the 1945-1970 period by migration, first of the Displaced Persons of World War II, then *aliyah* to Israel; the 1956 Hungarian revolution; and Polish political upheavals. The movement was first out towards North America and Israel, and later inward from Africa and Asia following decolonization. Yet after 1970, there was a new era of relative stability and consolidation in both western and Communist Europe. The bulk of the new Jewish immigrants to the West – mainly to France – were successfully absorbed in their new countries and became integrated into the local population. The 1990s saw a renewal of international migration following the collapse of the USSR. Though not the main focus of the 'Russian' migration, Western Europe – particularly Germany – absorbed a substantial number of migrants. As a consequence, the number of EU Jews today is fairly stable, since this immigration compensated for the negative effects of demographic trends that otherwise would have produced population decline.

Despite the social, cultural and political differences that remain, we can still observe similar processes and trends among Jews across Europe. One obvious characteristic common to countries as varied as the UK, France, Hungary, Austria, Sweden and Russia is the overwhelming urbanization of the Jews and their concentration in capital cities and the main regional centres of the continent. Significant suburbanization has occurred but there are still recognizable and unique Jewish residential patterns in most cities. Jews – particularly Jewish women – are

invariably better educated and more likely to attend university, and so are more highly qualified, than the rest of society. This process has led to movement out of traditional Jewish trades and industries towards above-average involvement in the new service industries, liberal professions, scientific and telecommunications sectors. There is more government and public employment and less self-employment than in the past. As a result of this occupational profile, Jews have higher than average incomes in nearly every European society. They are more affluent than any previous generation of Jews or Europeans.

Given this increasingly consistent socio-economic profile, it is not surprising that the trends in family processes are similar in most Jewish communities. These include postponement of marriage, a growing share of never-married persons, more frequent divorce, very low fertility, and the spread of mixed or inter-faith marriage. This has produced changes in the overall household structure. The conventional nuclear family is in decline and alternative types of households such one-parent, empty-nest and singles have grown in numbers and proportion. Despite immigration, there is a general ageing of the population. As our latest JPR Report suggests, "Jews are demographic pioneers for the rest of society. In the UK, a quarter of Jews are aged over 65, compared to 16 percent nationally. Similarly, approximately 14 percent of Jews are aged 75 or over, as opposed to 7 percent for the general population." Jews tend to live longer and their health status is better than average. Nevertheless, in most communities the number of death exceeds the number of birth each year.

If we look closer at the Jewish community and identify different sub-communities on the basis of religious outlook rather than geography, then different patterns emerge. The more religious and traditional the population, then the less impact there is of the modernizing social and demographic trends. The number of births increases as women's economic activity rates fall. Secular women are far less likely to marry a Jew and produce Jewish children than are Haredi women. Biological and social trends are interlinked and in the long term, they will change the demographic, religious and socio-cultural balance of the internal composition of the Jewish population. The problem here is that we cannot accurately predict the future. The Haredim cannot be sure that

all their descendants will remain loyal to their religious tradition any more than could the Orthodox Jews of a few generations ago whose descendants are the secular Jewish women of today.

This discussion raises an important issue. There is a paradox in Europe. Whereas Europe is uniting and standardizing, from a historical perspective European Jews are increasingly becoming differentiated. Compared with 200 years ago, we have less homogeneity and more pluralism; fewer Jews and more Judaisms, and many non-religious Jews.

This trend is most obvious in terms of language. The Jewish *lingua franca* – Yiddish and Ladino – have been replaced by a multitude of national languages. Hebrew is not that strong. Rather, among the young perhaps English is now the common tongue as it is for much of European youth. This means that there is no common European Jewish culture today.

Despite a growing amount of common regulation, a common currency, social legislation, and an increasingly unified labour market, there are no European Jews as such. Whatever the rhetoric about a Europe of the nations, a Europe of the regions or a Federal Europe, the political and social reality is that European institutions in general are governmental or economic – for elites and businessmen – just as in the past, the only real Europeans were royalty or aristocrats – the Habsburgs and the Esterhazys. Jews are in the mass part of the various national bourgeoisies, not the international capital; thus there is very little real contact between the largest communities, e.g. French and British Jews, at the mass or youth level. There are few examples of economies of scale in European Jewish life.

The economic and sociological commonalities such as a tendency to be well-educated, capital city dwellers, and prominent in professions, arts/media and managerial occupations mean common patterns of consumption in a consumer or market society. But they do not lead to similar consumption of Jewish products. We have to face facts. Religion – Judaism – divides the Jews among Haredim, Modern Orthodox, Liberal/Progressive and seculars, as well as Sephardi and Ashkenazi. There is polarization and it is not just a media creation: it is clearly

evident in recent surveys in the UK, Sweden and Hungary. In Sweden, Dencik has shown that even in this *Einheitzgemeinde*, the members of this nominally religious community are overwhelmingly not religious in outlook, opinion or practice. The religious polarization in Europe has been exacerbated in recent years by the fact that the Orthodox establishments – the chief rabbinates – and the Haredim have moved to the right, whereas most people, especially women, moved to the left and reject patriarchy and traditional roles. Interfaith marriage is around 50% in the UK and France, and even higher in the smaller communities. Thus *halacha* and the definition of who is a Jew becomes more of a problem the further east you travel in Europe. It excludes many potential community members and alienates even more. Yet ironically, the Law of Return offers many of these excluded people a home in Israel. Table 1 shows that many small communities need to recruit numbers in order to be socially and financially viable. It is possible to ration Jewish services in Paris and London, but that policy makes little sense elsewhere. In contrast, from a rational economic perspective, most communities have an incentive to sell to more people – they need to include rather than exclude potential clients. A population of at least a certain size is necessary to make most educational, social and welfare services viable.

Given the economic and demographic realities in Europe or North America today, a population of 5,000 is required to justify and fill an elementary school and around 15,000 people are needed to produce enough students for a local high school. No town of fewer than 50,000 people in its catchments area can now acquire a regional hospital.

Another harsh fact is that Israel and Zionism too are no longer unifying ideas, especially compared to the 1970s. Politics divides the Jews as it did before WWII. This fact is temporarily obscured by the present crisis but the current unity will dissipate if normality or peace returns. Whether to celebrate Yom Hatzmaut is a major issue for many Orthodox schools. Most ordinary Jews' ties with Israel are emotional, personal and familial rather than formal and institutional. This mode of attachment based on friendship, vacations, and business is organic and healthy in the long term.

Jewish education is a major area of investment and concern in all our communities, but it too, linked as it is to religious ideology, tends to divide the population. There is no common curriculum. The result is a range of Jews. This pluralism among Jews is created by society, the economy, religious outlook, and schooling, as well as experiences. Structural and societal pressures create differentiation. A privatized society has led to the end of the extended family (*hamula* or *mishpocha*) except among the Haredim. Jewish ties today are local, and thus organizational power is local: the local synagogue, local club or local school. The locus of Jewish activity is local. That is where Jews congregate, play and pay. Jewish products are purchased locally, not nationally and certainly not continentally. These products and services tend to be purchased episodically rather than regularly. An objective, functional analysis suggests that European Jewry today is largely a world of autonomous consumers occasionally searching out specific products in boutiques rather than department stores or hypermarkets. And now European Jewry has the opportunity to personalize their purchases even more by using the new communications – mobile phones and the Internet – to read the news from Israel or New York directly and to talk and socialize with friends long distance, and in so doing, bypass the local Jewish media.

Each Jew living in his or her own bubble with a personal and unique Jewish experience militates against the creation of viable communities. Economies of scale are hard to create in this type of market society. Society and life are increasingly complex. Hence everyone's real sense of concern – the angst about demography and population numbers that I find in every communal meeting. But the real problem for the organizations is getting the right Jewish product or Judaism at the right level for the various new European Jewish markets. New definitions of Jewish group identity and new meanings to communal attachment will have to be found. Multiple options of identificational choice ranging from traditional definitions along religious lines, through Jewish ethnicity and attraction to Judaism as a culture will have to be recognized. Individual, family and group expressions of Jewish identity and lifestyles will need to be accepted, and formal and informal methods of association will have to be offered. There also will have to be much more emphasis on *Ahavat Israel* and what unites us so that

Jewish communities will become attractive and comfortable places for sophisticated consumers, who have plenty of other options and alternatives on where to spend their precious leisure time, money and energy.

The logical conclusion to all this is that Jewish communities will have to pay much more attention to the realities of the marketplace. They no longer have a captive market, but rather are in competition with many other secular and non-Jewish institutions. To be successful communities in the new Europe, where nearly all Jews are Jews by choice, requires a reflective approach and an investment in good market and social research. They will have to learn to be more insightful in their operations – "to speculate in order to accumulate." To be frank about it, at present the knowledge base of the Jewish leadership and organizations just does not match up to the task they have set themselves.

The Impact of Jewish Migration on the Local European Jewish Communities from a Multicultural Perspective

Professor David Pinto

Multiculturalism today is a source of considerable misunderstanding. Many attribute the sometimes unfortunate consequences of cultural differences to religion. Accordingly, individuals such as Amsterdam Mayor Job Cohen regard a dialogue between religious movements as a meaningful contribution to understanding and tolerance between the diverse inhabitants of this capital. The actual project elaborated includes a discussion evening and tours of the various sites of religious worship, such as a synagogue and a mosque. Such an initiative is unlikely to be very effective. The cause of the truly significant differences in everyday interaction between people is not religion but the system of standards and values imposed during socialization by those raising and educating children.

Jewish migration from different countries and its impact on relations with local Jewish communities is a revealing illustration of the above statement. In The Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, France and Israel alike, encounters between Western and non-Western Jews follow the same pattern as those of Moroccans, Turks, Egyptians, Somalis, Iranians and Iraqis with their West-European host societies. Why is this?

Behaviour is determined, according to the author Meredith Belbin, by six factors: personality, mental skills, values and standards, pressure or coercion from our surroundings, experience and the ability to play various roles effectively. This lecture is about values and standards. Perceptions of types of behaviour and expressive acts depend on time and place. “Culture makes almost all the difference,” explains Harvard historian David S. Landes.

These findings are also borne out by a study I recently supervised in Israel, in which the impressions were examined that prevail among Israelis of predominantly oriental and Sephardi heritage and among Americans and Europeans of each other's respective behaviour.

The study identified several features typically associated with Israelis. They include an informal approach to personal interactions, a direct communication style, spontaneity, improvisational problem-solving skills, willingness to take risks, self-confidence and a group orientation complemented by strong individualism and testing and exploring the limits of rules and regulations ('not all rules are cast in stone'). Westerners often misunderstand these characteristics. Self-confidence, for example, is often perceived as arrogance.

Other aspects are regarded as 'typically European and American,' reveals the Israeli study, without actually compromising individual uniqueness. The pattern is identifiable and perceptible in West-European settings as well. The typically Western views and patterns of behaviour are at odds with non-Western types of behaviour, as is clear from the following list:

1. Politeness is considered insincere, artificial behaviour, such as constantly uttering 'excuse me' and 'thank you.'

2. Friendliness is labelled as naive, artificial and sexually provocative, such as an attractive woman who willingly answers many questions from men.

3. Respecting the privacy of others is interpreted as aloof, unfriendly and lacking spontaneity, such as refraining from inquiring about all of somebody's phone calls, letters and appointments.

4. The organizational methods and focus on efficiency are regarded as inflexible, stiff, lacking improvisation and emphasizing procedures rather than the task at hand.

5. Separating business from private life is often viewed as overly formal. Why shouldn't people who like each other do more than simply work together?

6. Obeying rules and respecting other cultures also comes across as overly formal. People who obey all the rules are believed to be a few ounces short of a full load (*friar* is the Hebrew designation for them). Park in a no-parking space, but don't ask the police officer for permission. This actually happened in Ashkelon!

7. In Europe and the United States, people are deemed trustworthy until proven otherwise. Orientals (even in Israel) assume that others are not to be trusted until they have proven themselves. Americans come across as naive to Orientals, who are in turn regarded by Westerners as mistrusting.

You probably wonder what underlies these rather fundamental differences. Before I answer this question, let me tell you more about my field, which is intercultural communication. This discipline, which arises from a clear demand, explores interactions between people with different cultural backgrounds. Many scholars have tried to establish differences between people, which they call dimensions. The disadvantage of the dimension theory is that some scholars believe there are five dimensions and others seven. This is all rather arbitrary. Since in my view the world is too complex to capture in a number of dimensions, I have devised a matrix that relates all the differences to the structure of communication codes and rules of conduct that people are expected to observe without pinning them down to a specific number of points. I have plotted their distribution along an intricate structure (F) versus a coarse structure (G). The extremes of these F and G structures are positioned on a *spectrum* ranging from an elaborate, rigid structure of codes of conduct and communication (intricate) on the one hand and an expansive, loose and global system of rules and codes (coarse). Intricate structures are thus based primarily on rigid regulations focused on *groups*. Coarser structures have more flexible characteristics that highlight *individuals*, with a sliding scale between the two extremes. My theory applies at both macro levels (i.e. between countries) and meso levels (i.e. within corporate structures), as well as at micro levels (i.e. between members of the same family). Overall, Third World countries conform to the F structure and industrialized nations ('first world') to the G structure. In between are the emerging economies

(second-world countries, e.g. Eastern Europe) and second-generation migrants, which I have labelled the M structure (mixed structure).

Which factors determine whether we belong to an intricate or a coarse structure? Four factors come into play in my view. First, economic factors are important at national levels. People raised in surroundings where tomorrow's food supply is uncertain are more inclined to operate in groups. Being part of a group, which, after all, is stronger than an individual, reduces the likelihood of starvation. The second factor is religion, which makes structures more intricate. Religion is a rule-governed system of commandments and prohibitions. In many cases the religious factor extends across borders. The social factor is the third factor that comes into play and concerns the differences between urban and rural settings, and group formation among young adults. The desire to belong leads to implicit rules. Codes include wearing the right brand of shoes, with or without laces and tied or loose. The final factor is the individual one. Some people welcome rules, while others despise them and avoid regulations in general. This model, however, is funnel-shaped, which means that discrepancies diminish as geographic distances grow smaller.

Can we overcome these differences without forfeiting our individuality? This is a rhetorical question. In addition to my objections to the current cultural classifications, I was unable to find a methodical approach in the literature about dealing with any kind of differences with consideration for all aspects of people's individuality. Here, too, the purpose was for the communication to be effective and to achieve the stated objective. Elaborating such a method without overlooking differences between people appears to be difficult, if not impossible. Nonetheless, examining the obstacles to effective communication almost automatically yields the method intended here. In my view there are three potential obstacles to effective communication:

1. We tend to be unaware of the standards, values, codes and rules imposed on us during socialization. People see, experience and interpret everything around them according to that restricted context of individual subconscious standards and values. This leads to universalization of individual standards and values.

2. People are inclined to attribute or ascribe their own standards, values and perceptions to others (Heider, 1958; Jones and Davis, 1965; Kelly, 1967; Jones, Kanouse, Kelly, Nisbett, Valins & Weiner, 1971).
3. People do not inform each other sufficiently of their own wishes, limitations and boundaries or do so too late, precisely because they are unaware of their own and other people's communication codes and standards and values.

A method comprising the following three steps offers an almost obvious solution to these three obstacles:

Step 1
Learning about and becoming aware of *personal* standards and values. Which rules and codes influence personal thoughts, actions and communication?

Step 2
Learning about the standards, values and communication codes *of others*. Here, *opinions* about other people's behaviour need to be distinguished from *facts*. This involves examining the meaning of 'odd' behaviour by others.

Step 3
Establishing ways to deal with the differences observed in standards and values in the situation at hand. The next step is to set personal *boundaries* for adapting to and accepting others and to communicate these *boundaries* to others *in time* and in a manner that accommodates the communication codes of the communication partner.

Step 1 enables people to learn and become aware of their *individual* perspective on communicating and acting. Step 2 reveals the perspectives of *others* on communicating and acting. These first two steps of what I call the three-step method (TSM) thus reflect the double perspective (DP) approach. This DP approach helps resolve even the widest and seemingly mutually exclusive differences without compromising the individuality of the communication partners.

The procedure is illustrated by Case 24 in my book *Interculturele Communicatie* (Pinto, 1994): A traditional, rural couple asked a physician to ensure they would not have any more children. They requested that the wife be sterilized. The husband did all the talking, even when the physician addressed the wife directly. This specific couple, though obviously not representative of any group whatsoever, insisted that the husband do the talking in all interactions with the outside world. In this case, however, the physician was required to seek consent from the wife herself. The two positions appeared incompatible but were resolved thanks to the DP approach.

Given the need to respect both principles (i.e. that of the couple and the physician), the standard procedure of the physician provided the solution. Also following the wife's consent, the physician took her into the examination room alone, in part to check her blood pressure. This solved the problem. Once he was alone with the wife, the physician asked her whether she would agree to undergo the procedure. This approach respects both principles. Moreover, it establishes a link that supports cultural relativism and avoids disregarding personal culture and standards. This would be impossible according to the vision expressed by Bolkestein.

Definition of DP

The double perspective (DP) approach entails deviating from the standard procedure to respect diversity and consequently differences that are sometimes diametrically opposed and apparently insurmountable. This enables cultural relativism and preservation of individual standards.

Fruit Salad Model

This approach increases the likelihood of discovering interesting and attractive elements in others and consequently enriching one's personal assets. In this fruit salad model, the different fruits remain identifiable, while the various juices mingle to create a new taste, scent and colour. This model is superior to the mosaic model that Ed van Thijn advocated in his inaugural lecture on 26 November 1997. Mosaic sections are *adjacent to* each other, retain their individuality but do not influence with each other.

In some cases, differences cannot be resolved, despite the application of the DP method. Understanding, which is what the DP method promotes, does not necessarily lead to acceptance. Power and interest, as well as political, religious, legal or strictly individual reasons may be cause for understanding but not for accepting. In this event, Step 3 of the TSM is applied. At this point, which means after steps one and two, people need to establish the *boundary* and to inform others *in time*. Applying the second step bases such a boundary on an *opinion* rather than on a *prejudice*.

Theory and Practice

Could this model be purely theoretical? Definitely not. I am fortunate that my work reflects a balance of corporate industry and scholarship. At my firm, the Intercultural Institute (ICI) in Amsterdam, we have applied the model described here for years. As my colleague Pieter Adriaans has stated, nothing is more rewarding than seeing all your theoretical reflections culminate in an application that truly works and helps people solve their problems. The study by Hans Harmsen at the Erasmus University is a case in point. Harmsen is a researcher and a GP. In his PhD research, he explores the effectiveness of the TSM method with GPs.

Three brief remarks about the method:

1. Setting boundaries in time, which is what the third step entails, averts being overly *understanding*, which can be as detrimental as not being understanding enough.
2. Like the ICC definition and the F and G classification, the DSM and DP are widely applicable: domestically, internationally, at firms and between individuals, i.e. at macro, meso and micro levels.
3. This method and its components do not offer a solution to *unwillingness*, *ignorance* or *incompetence*. In other words, the method presented here is likely to succeed only with sufficient professional skill and a positive attitude toward diversity.

Finally, as far as religious differences are concerned, the deception and embrace of religion as a source of the major differences is somewhat understandable. Aside from widespread unfamiliarity with the difference in standards and values that determine conduct and interaction, the

distance between Islam and Christianity is considerable, especially in Western Europe today with its strong emphasis on individualism. Among Jews in Western Europe, yet another factor comes into play with migrants from Israel. General pride among Israelis may conflict with what they perceive as the Diaspora mentality of the European Jews and their increased tendency to assimilate to and merge with their surroundings.

The Dutch method for building new communities, Identity strengthening as a way towards integration into a new community

Dr. Hans Vuijsje, Director Jewish Social Service in The Netherlands

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have just heard Professor Pinto's contribution to this conference and discussed it. Although Professor Pinto and I did not have any contact on this topic prior to this conference, our introductions are complementary. There is one important difference, however. Professor Pinto's approach is a theoretical, academic one, with a perspective that points to practical matters. Dutch Jewish Social Services (JMW), on the other hand, developed its social work model on the basis of daily practice.

Ever since the establishment of JMW in 1947 as a social work organisation for all Jews in The Netherlands, it has worked intensively with Shoah survivors. Demographic research (English summary available) has shown that about 30% of our Jewish community was not born in The Netherlands or has parents who were not born there.

The demographic study carried out by JMW in 1999 also showed that 60% of the 36,000 Jews born in The Netherlands migrated abroad at some stage in their life or have relatives that did so. A group of at least 7,000 Jews living in The Netherlands was born in countries such as Israel, the former Soviet Union, Iran, Iraq, or the USA.

Self-respect

At the inauguration of a synagogue in 1994, a Dutch Jewish mayor, Jacques Wallage, said: "Every minority group needs to find a delicate balance between maintaining its identity, which provides security, and

exploring the opportunities for participation that could open new perspectives. Respect from 'the others', the majority of the dominant culture, is usually not obtained if the minority group does not show self-respect. Self-respect, rather than adaptation, is the key to participation."

The last sentence, "self-respect is the key to participation", is like a *leitmotiv* in the social work of our organisation.

The Socio-psychological and Cultural Break

In 1994, JMW developed a model for social work to help victims of war and violence. The central idea of this model is the "break with society." The experiences of Jewish war victims during the Shoah radically disrupted their lives. This led not only to a psychological break that resulted from the traumatic experiences, but also to a "cultural" break from confrontation with an environment that had completely changed. Of the 140,000 members of the Dutch Jewish community before the war, only 25,000 survived. Family structures were completely destroyed, and the development of a Jewish social network had to start from scratch. Jews returning from concentration camps and from hiding were confronted with a society, a Jewish community, and a family structure that had completely changed.

The same psychological processes that were found in Jewish war victims, and which have left their mark on our Jewish community to this day, can be found in the groups of non-Dutch immigrants and refugees who have settled in The Netherlands. This is also true of the Jewish refugees from Iran, Iraq, and the former Soviet Union, who for many years have come to JMW for help.

These patterns can even be identified in immigrant groups from relatively modern Western cultures. A study carried out by JMW among Israelis in The Netherlands in 1995 showed that this group was larger than expected (about 10,000) and seemed to be fairly well integrated: they had jobs, spoke the language, and maintained close contacts with Dutch people. But appearances are sometimes deceptive, as the study also showed that the group members did not consider themselves well integrated in Dutch society.

Age and Identity

Finding a new identity in a different society is at the core of JMW's experience with refugees and immigrants. Differences in experience that are determined by the age of the person undergoing this "cultural break" must be taken into account. All norms and values of the country of origin are internalised in the personality of an adult immigrant, and adaptation to new norms and values will depend on individual flexibility. The older the immigrant is, the more problems will be experienced.

Refugees and immigrants who left their countries of origin at a younger age are in a different position. This is also true of children born after their parents' arrival in The Netherlands. They belong to two conflicting cultures: the traditional one of their parents and the Western culture of The Netherlands. They struggle with issues involving conflicting loyalties: loyalties to Israel and loyalties to The Netherlands, loyalties to their Sephardic parents or to their Dutch environment, loyalty to their family in Ukraine or to the family of their Dutch partner. How is an individual to navigate between the norms and values of the culture of origin and the norms and values of a "do-as-you-please" liberal Western culture?

JMW's experience shows that self-confidence is needed to participate fully in a discussion, whether it be confidence in an individual's acceptance by the Jewish community or by Dutch society. It is of great importance that an individual knows where he stands in the group, and has sufficient self-awareness and self-respect.

Peters (1993), a Dutch social scientist, distinguishes three dimensions of social integration: functional integration, moral integration, and expressive integration. Functional integration determines the ability to function in another country. Knowledge of language and culture are essential parts of this. Moral integration means adopting the norms and values of the new society. In various countries, educational programmes for immigrants are mainly aimed at functional and moral integration, leaving out the expressive dimension, which deals with development of individual and collective identities. To develop these, it is essential for a person to acknowledge his own needs and values. Peters believes that

if an individual or group does not receive recognition, it may lead to an identity crisis or alienation. In JMW's daily practice, we observe that people feel misunderstood, undervalued, alienated, and insecure as a result of the "cultural break". We see that these feelings can easily lead to social isolation and unease.

Tsavta

After having developed the social support model in projects involving survivors of the Shoah, child survivors, and the post-war generation, in 1994 JMW started a project to help Israelis in The Netherlands. In this project we applied the principles described above.

The Israeli presence in 1994 in The Netherlands was hardly noticeable to the Jewish community or to Dutch society as a whole. The only indications of an Israeli presence in the streets were shawarma restaurants and reports in the press about an Israeli drug mafia. Personal contacts between Dutch people and Israelis who had settled in The Netherlands were not evident. This led JMW to carry out a study on the number of Israelis in The Netherlands, their backgrounds, needs, level of integration in Dutch society, and contacts with the Dutch Jewish community (English summary available).

Questionnaires were distributed through the Israeli Embassy and numerous Jewish and Israeli organisations. In total, over 2,600 households were involved: these included those in which one or both partners were Israeli nationals or had lived in Israel for an extensive time. A large number of volunteers were used to distribute the questionnaires. Many were distributed through a "snowball method": each Israeli passed on a questionnaire to another, etc. Apart from the scientifically interesting aspects, the study marked a development towards "action-based research". Within the research framework, contacts were developed among Israelis who had not previously known one another.

The Jewish community in The Netherlands (some 34,000 people) was surprised to learn that almost 10,000 Israelis (including children) lived among them. This meant almost 25% of the Jews in The Netherlands had an Israeli background. Two distinct results flowed from the study.

The Dutch Jewish community, now aware of the number of Israelis, started to include Hebrew pages in their bulletins and to organise activities for Israelis. The Israelis started to organise themselves and to open up to the Dutch community.

JMW supported this process of self-organisation and opening up by initiating a four-year project in 1996, subsidised by sponsors, to strengthen the identity and development of networks as well as to stimulate integration of Israelis in the Dutch Jewish community. In her talk, Nicolienne Wolf, head of JMW's community development department, explains in detail the method used in the project. I will conclude my introduction with a brief description of the project.

This project began with the presentation of an Israeli musical, *Casablan*, by a newly-established drama society comprised of Israelis in The Netherlands. JMW provided a great deal of publicity for this musical, and it was performed in several places in The Netherlands. Through this activity we were able to contact 1,200 people, many of whom had attended one of the performances and had given us their names and addresses to receive information about the project. A second major activity was *Yom Tsavta*, where an activity day at a spacious location was organised for Israelis. The first *Yom Tsavta* was attended by 650 people, and it has become an annual event. Besides the major activities, volunteers organised several regional ones. JMW included a number of specific services for Israelis in its social work package: Hebrew-speaking social workers and *Kav Petuach* ("Open Line"), a special telephone help line for Israelis. In addition, JMW issued a quarterly magazine as part of this project during the first four years. The magazine, which was in both Hebrew and Dutch, included information about all the activities for Israelis, and was sent to all those who had given their names.

Four years have passed since the project began. There are no more funds available, and, despite the considerable interest, we cannot find any sponsors willing to subsidise the project. Nevertheless, JMW has decided to continue this important project by financing it itself, albeit on a more modest scale. Tsippy Harmsen, one of our community staff members, will share her experiences with you. We were able to contact

628 households in 2001, 650 visitors again attended *Yom Tsavta*, and we have begun *Kaits* ("Summer"), a support group for young people with an Israeli background. The information bulletin with activities has now been included in JMW's general information magazine, which is sent to 8,000 Dutch Jews and Israelis. This itself is a form of integration.

Much has changed in the Dutch Jewish community during the past six years. The Israelis have become an important part of our community. They have developed some understanding of the Dutch way of thinking, and the Dutch Jews have started tuning in to how the Israelis think. Things are not yet ideal, but we are working on it.

The young Israeli community is very important to the survival of the Dutch Jewish community in The Netherlands. Demographically, it is an important addition to the ageing Jewish community. It is true that *yerida* (emigration from Israel) is not usually considered a positive development by some Israeli governments and by many in the Jewish communities of the *gola* (Diaspora); it is sometimes even regarded as a type of betrayal. However, as a social work organisation we reject that kind of moral judgement. All individuals, including Israelis, have the right to take control of their own destinies. Our role as social workers is to support them in this. In fact, JMW is proud to be able to play a role in the integration of Israelis in the Jewish community and in Dutch society.

The changing Jewish community in Spain

Dr. Mario Izcovich, Director of Pan-European Afairs, JDC Paris

I have two comments. The first regards the concept. I think that in general, based on my experience and travels throughout Europe, what I have seen is that in every place, the Jewish community sometimes relates to the others – the newcomers – as different, as foreigners.

My second comment is that I work for JDC throughout Europe. In Spain, I help the Jewish communities to think about this problem and to create structures to deal with it. I work with the old communities. I will give you some brief background information. Argentina has a very large Jewish community. It is a very complicated country, and this year it is experiencing a huge crisis. Each time there is a crisis in Argentina, one sees in Israel, and to a much larger extent in Spain – due to the common language – the influx of a great many Jews (and not only Jews) arriving from Argentina. In the 1970s, an important group come to Spain from Argentina. This occurred again during the 1980s, and is happening now again. As you may know, there is currently a major crisis in Argentina, which I will not get into now but which may be the worst crisis ever in Argentina. The crisis especially affects the middle class, which includes most of that country's Jewish population. This is the background to the situation. The Jewish community in Spain is extremely young. After the expulsion of Jews in 1492, there were no more Jews in Spain until the 20th century.

Summary
Madrid Jewish Centre (CJM)
Immigration from Argentina to Madrid

Objectives of the Reception Committee
- Help newcomers integrate and promote positive attitudes toward their arrival
- Build support networks
- Organize social, cultural, leisure and sporting events
- Inform CJM members about the activities to encourage aid and promote integration
- Get new immigrants to join the CJM
- Cultivate orientation networks for employment
- Stay in touch with Jewish organizations abroad

Contacts
- 200 from Argentina via e-mail
- 51 orientation interviews with families (usually with the husband) not yet living in Madrid
- 42 interviews (since January) with families residing in Madrid
- 32 interviews (since January) with young adults, ages 20 to 36
- 42 children attend the Jewish school
- 11 children do not attend the Jewish school
- 169 persons living in Madrid

The changing Jewish community in Germany

Mrs. Paulette Weber, ZWST Germany

Integration

- Immigration figures
- Social composition
- Occupational groups
- Age groups
- Integration in the city and countryside
- Host communities
- Preparations
- Conflicts/achievements
- Integration principles

History of Immigration from the USSR

The mass emigration of Soviet Jews has had a decisive impact on the two largest Jewish communities in the world: Israel and the United States. Between 1870 and 1890, approximately 176,000 Jews arrived in the United States. By 1905, there were already 1,300,000 Jews. Seventy percent of the Jewish immigrants from today's former Soviet Union settled in the United States. Between 1898 and 1920, approximately 70,000 Jews from Russia went to Canada. By 1914, about 70,000 had left for Palestine. Between 1881 and 1912, a total of 1,889,000 Jews left Russia: 84 percent to the United States, 8.5 percent to Britain, 2.2 percent to Canada and 2.1 percent to Palestine.

Until 1990-91, very few Jews from the USSR came to Germany. Those who did arrive usually did so through marriages. In early 1990, outbursts of anti-Semitism worsened in the USSR. The situation was highlighted in an interview with Chief Rabbi Shaevich from Moscow in *Jungen Welt* (the periodical of the Freien Deutsche Jugend) and was thus

brought to the attention of the contemporary administration of the GDR. On 11 July 1990, Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) and the GDR government resolved to accept Soviet Jews who suffered discrimination. The resolution read: "absorption of Jews from the USSR on humanitarian grounds." By 3 October 1990, approximately 1,000 Jews had arrived in the GDR under this resolution, and about 400 Jews arrived in the FRG. The decisive efforts that made regulated emigration possible came from the Central Jewish Council, represented by its president, Heinz Galinski. On 9 January 1991, the Conference of Ministers of the Interior of the German States decided to include Soviet Jews in the so-called "contingency refugee act" of 22 July 1980.

By 1 May 2002, German embassies and consulates had registered approximately 240,000 applicants. About 150,000 have already entered Germany. In addition, another 8,535 persons were included in the allocation, most of them in the summer of 1991. According to statistics from the Federal administrative office in Cologne, between 1,400 and 1,700 applications are submitted each month, and between 1,100 and 1,300 immigrants arrive. The deadline for entry – limited to one year because of the stipulated time limit for admission – has expired for approximately 28,000 persons.

Federal and state authorities have issued admission regulations that authorize entry into Germany according to the regular visa procedures. The representations abroad, which report to the foreign office, receive visa applications. Generally, the representations abroad determine only whether the applicant pertains to the entitled group of people. In cases of doubt, they consult the national authorities, the Foreign Office in Berlin or the Central Welfare Division for Jews in Germany. After reviewing the applications, the representations abroad forward them to the Federal administrative office, which distributes those admitted among the states. Distribution among the federal states proceeds (as with asylum requests) according to the so-called Königsteiner Schlüssel, which is based on the current population of the federal states. At present, the wait for travel authorization is between two and five years, depending on the admitting federal state. The waits vary accordingly, from four to six months for a federal state such as Hessen to five or six years for a federal state such as Baden-Württemberg.

Once admitted, Jewish immigrants receive residence permits that are unlimited in duration and unrestricted work permits. They are entitled to social assistance, health insurance and a language course. Spouses, minor children and unmarried children who are of age and share the same household as the individual admitted may enter with the approved immigrant, provided they are listed on the application.

Unlike those who recently resettled, Jewish emigrants are ineligible for German citizenship and retain their current nationality. After six years of residence in Germany, they become eligible for naturalization.

Social Composition

Origins

Over 90 percent of the emigrants come from the European part of the former Soviet Union (Russia, Ukraine, Moldavia, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania), and about half were born in the metropolises of Moscow, Leningrad, Odessa, Kiev, Riga and Minsk. The Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union are therefore unusually urbanized.

The immigration figures do not always correspond with the share of the Jewish population in the respective regions. The regional origin of immigrants relates to their immigration motives. Only about 34 percent of the immigrants come from Russia, which is the former Soviet state with the largest share of Jews in the population. Ukraine tops the list as the place of origin of 39 percent of the immigrants. Part of the reason is that the economy is even worse in Ukraine than in Russia. Central Asia, which has the third largest share of Jews among its population within the former Soviet Union, is at the bottom as the origin of 2.5 percent of the immigrants. The Baltic republics, which have the smallest share of Jews in the former Soviet Union, rank third with 13.5 percent. This distortion is due in part to their geographic distance from/proximity to Germany, respectively (Central Asia is farthest away, while the cities on the Baltic Sea are closest).

The disproportionate rise in emigrants from the Baltic since the reestablishment of the republics (Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia) is due

to the rise in discrimination against Jews in these countries, as the refusal of the Latvian authorities to grant them citizenship illustrates. Although Jews from the more remote areas in the Caucasus and Asia tend to prefer Israel – which is more similar in social, cultural and climatic respects – the civil wars in the Caucasus, the sense among the local Jews of being used as a football between the parties, and the rise of Islam in the Asiatic republics have led their immigration to Germany to increase as well.

Demographics

The demographic structure of Jews in the Soviet Union reflects a strong prevalence of the elderly and low birth rates. The average age of the immigrants is 45. Dividing the immigrants into three age groups (under 18, 19 to 60 and over 60) reveals that over one quarter of the immigrants is over 60, with the largest number between 61 and 70 years old. Those of working age account for 58.5 percent and are therefore the largest group. Those between 31 and 40 and between 41 and 50 are the most numerous. Minors are the smallest group and account for only 14.5 percent. Statistically speaking, the immigrants have 1.1 children on average.

The age breakdown of the group as a whole has changed considerably between 1990 and 2000. At first, only 10 percent was over 60. By 1990 their share was already 20 percent, and by 1995 it had increased to 27 percent. In 2002, the members of this age group accounted for 33.8 percent of the immigrants.

Many immigrants come because of the poor economic conditions, especially in Ukraine, while other emigrants follow their children, who have preceded them. With respect to gender, the immigrants comprise 47.1 percent men and 52.9 percent women. This might be attributable to the shorter life expectancy among men, the casualties among the male population during World War II, and the fact that more single elderly women decide to emigrate than men. Births appeared to be a far stronger obstacle to emigration: far fewer families arrived with babies or small children than with older children.

Occupations
In the Soviet Union, Jews were only 0.7 percent of the total population, although they accounted for 11 percent of all scientists, 15 percent of the physicians, and some 10 percent of the lawyers and journalists. This pattern corresponds with that of the immigrants. Among the immigrants, 68 percent has attended university. This also holds true for the women: both the younger and the older women immigrants are well educated. Women born in the 1930s are more likely to have occupational training. Among the immigrants from the Asian part of the former Soviet Union, however, men and women have similar educational backgrounds.

In the Soviet Union, many women worked in traditional men's occupations. The immigrants included female electricians, physicists, mechanics and aircraft engineers. The occupational breakdown of the immigrants reveals that 29 percent work in technology, industry and construction. This high rate is attributable to the university admission quotas for Jews, especially at prestigious faculties, such as philosophy, law and medicine. The institutes for occupational training and a few less popular fields were more accessible.

Engineers are by far the largest individual group and account for 20 percent of the immigrants. Next come teachers and physicians. Medical practitioners comprise laboratory technicians, nurses, masseuses, pharmacists and the like. This field ranks third after manual labour and services.

Manual labour and services account for 16 percent. In addition to hairdressers and lorry drivers, some people hold administrative positions (bookkeepers), work in sales and the like. Overall, they account for a much larger share of those employed in this respect than the conventional artisans (shoemakers, furriers, watchmakers) and merchants.

Academics employed in commercial industry are very common among the immigrants. Economists are the fourth-largest individual group. Next are musicians and singers. If you include the music teachers, the number of immigrants active in music is still higher.

Art and media comprise a great many other professions as well: actors, painters, sculptors, set designers, dancers, writers, directors and the like.

Scientists and social scientists together make up 7 percent of the immigrants, with historians and philosophers accounting for 3 percent, and physicists, mathematicians and biochemists for 4 percent.

Several factors favour the educational and professional backgrounds of the immigrants.

- **Social background:** in most cases their parents were highly educated professionals; the children tend to enter similar occupations.
- **Regional origins:** most come from urbanized areas and metropolises.
- **Spatial mobility:** migrated with their parents when they were young or left their place of origin for their studies or work.
- **Traditional Jewish educational context:** social standing based on a good education and a commensurate lifestyle.

Integration

The Jewish immigrants are largely ambitious, well-educated graduates of higher education and specialists. Few are working class. They have a competitive edge on other groups, such as the conventional immigrant workers. This also underlies their high expectations. In many cases, however, they fail to obtain good jobs because of restrictions concerning professional accreditation as well as a lack of realistic facilities for adaptation, retraining and continuing education, job-related language courses and skilled work available to foreigners. Moreover, the professional expertise of the immigrants may not be in demand here, and the immigrants may be insufficiently familiar with current market structures, application procedures and the like.

The result is a form of "*ethnic economy*," where some immigrants are self-employed or find gainful employment separate from the German labour market to escape the unfavourable surrounding conditions. This is facilitated by the multitude of Russian speakers, the regional proximity of their country of origin, as well as the specific interests or demand among the domestic population.

This immigrant group maintains *self-imposed boundaries*. Their social conduct resembles that in their home country in that they establish or perpetuate relationships based on their regional origin, political views, education and social status.

They manage to keep to their own kind because of the high density of friends and relatives (due to the rapid chain migration) and the proximity of the home country (which enables them to stay in touch and return for visits).

Lack of information has led most immigrants to arrive in Germany with highly unrealistic expectations and demands. Back home, they had a relatively high social status and were respected professionals. In Germany, however, they start off as applicants. Unemployment, life in a residential centre and state-imposed restrictions of their domicile are extremely *disillusioning*.

The Jewish communities open youth and recreational centres for immigrants, where they learn about basic concepts of Jewish life together with Jewish and Israeli history. In most cases, children, young adults and adults are separated and divided according to whether they speak German or Russian. In addition to various groups for applied and visual art, dance and music (which cater to all age groups and are initiated largely by the immigrants), young adults are eligible to attend training programmes for youth counsellors to work at holiday camps later on. The Jewish communities and the ZWST also offer German language and computer courses. Supra-regional integration seminars of the ZWST for musicians, teachers, painters, existentialists and engineers are organized here.

The Jewish Community Needs Immigrants

At present there are about 90 Jewish communities in Germany. Some of these communities consist entirely of immigrants. The share of longstanding members rarely exceeds 10 or 15 percent. Because of the large share of immigrants and the focus of community efforts on their problems and needs, some longstanding members feel neglected and slighted. The communities are often reproached for considering only the immigrants. Russian is regarded as the new, exclusive official and

informal language. On the other hand, many immigrants find the support insufficient. They arrived in Germany believing that the country was rich and the Jewish community affluent, and expected to receive willing and full compensation for their lives thus far.

The Jewish communities are general service centres and arrange creative and educational activities or tasks for their new members and pass on Jewish traditions. The dire financial situation has made it especially difficult for the Jewish communities and institutions to realize the objective originally defined by the German government, which was "to form and enrich Jewish communities in Germany." Achieving this mission requires Jewish religious instructors, rabbis, offices and the like. Since in Germany, the Holocaust obliterated a generation of individuals that could have imparted these values, and providing others with commensurate training is likely to take a long time, the Jewish communities often recruit staff from abroad. This is often impossible without funding. Such funds are usually lacking for new synagogues and community centres as well. As a result, Jewish communities and institutions often face insurmountable obstacles. The ZWST has therefore resolved to train people in this field as well to operate as multipliers in their communities.

The changing Jewish community in Germany viewed from Moscow and an overview of the Jewish community in Moscow

Rabbi Goldschmidt, Chief Rabbi of Moscow

It is a great pleasure for me to be here with you today. This is not my first time in Berlin, and everytime I come back, the city becomes more and more familair, not just because the building are familiar but because more and more people I know from Moscow are in Berlin. Just looking around the table right now, I see our colleagues from the former Soviet Union and from the EJC, ECJC and Zentralwohlfahrtstelle, and Mr. Nussen from Erfurt, with whom I am very much in contact. So it is great to be here and I thank you for having invited me.

I would like to speak firstly about a little bit of my unique experience during the past 13 years of community building in Moscow. Secondly, I would like to approach the subject of symmetry or asymmetry in the rebuilding the Russian Jewish communities, whether it is in Russia, Israel, Germany or the USA. The last issue which I like to touch upon today is what the future brings us, especially in Germany with the large Russian emigration here: what are the changes we can and should expect.

I arrived in the Soviet Union in 1989. We were able to have the very unique experience of building a community from scratch. This experience did not exist anywhere else in the world, with the possible exception of Germany in 1945 when Jews came out of the concentration camps. But our experience was different because we had to create communities with people who had no idea what a community was like nor that they needed a community, and who had no idea how to build a

community. Additionally, the most active part of those who could have built a community – the activists, the refusniks, the engaged Jewish people – were all waiting for their visas to Israel. We were left with those Jews who had less interest in Jewish community, or in fact no interest at all. It is with those Jews that we started to rebuild the Jewish community in Moscow.

There were two distinct parts of the community: one part of the community contained those people who were too poor to leave and who needed our help; the second part did not want to be associated with the community, they did not need the community. The second group were successful politically and they were successful economically. They thought that in order to buy protection for themselves, they needed to finance the building of Russian orthodox churches. It is an old system. It is not the Russian Jews who created this system. We started negotiating, looking for leaders to come to us and telling them that we have to hang together because if we do not hang together, then we will all go to be hung separately.

In January 1996, with the help of the leading bankers in Russia, we were able to create a structure which was called the Russian Jewish Congress. I would say that this was the first Jewish Russian structure to collect money from Russian Jews rather than to give something to Russian Jews. It was the first structure created in the post-Soviet world. There have since been many other structures created. Lubavitch in Russia has very successfully created a model based on the Russian Jewish Congress, but the Russian Jewish Congress was the first time that Russian Jews came together not in order to take, but in order to give.

With your permission I would like to close in a few moments and I am open to answering your questions. I very much believe in terms of Jewish community, in terms of creating Jewish community, and in terms of developing Jewish community. I think it is a theory which is right for everywhere: it is right for Israel, it is right for Germany, for Russia, and for everywhere. I believe in the stone-throwing theory, in which you take a stone and throw it into the water. There are ever-widening circles – you have the inner circle, you have the wider circle, you have ever-widening circles, and I think that this is what a Jewish community is

supposed to represent. The Jewish community should represent those circles, but in place of ever-widening circles, it is circles which do not widen, circles which come closer and closer, circles which are there to stop or slow down the natural process of assimilation to the majority. One of the major differences between Israel and the rest of the Diaspora is that in Israel, the problem of assimilation is positive because all those non-Jews arrived in Israel and in one day they were assimilated into Israeli society just by the power of statistics. But assimilation is working against us in the Diaspora. It is working everywhere and the only way to stop assimilation is to create these frameworks, these circles which will keep the people in the inner circles.

Hesed models of community organization and adaptation of charity to community changes

Mr. Leonid Kolton, Director of Hesed Avraham Welfare Centre, St. Petersburg

Introduction by Amos Avgar

The next presentation is, I think, a natural continuation of the previous presentation. We are talking about the Hesed model of community organisation, which as we have heard before in Holland is an attempt to integrate welfare with community development. The model has an integrated, holistic approach, in which welfare is not viewed as one thing and community development as another, with education and theatre for example, but rather they are looked at together. We will hear more about this from Leonid Kolton. But first, a few words about Leonid. Leonid is happily married to Masha and he has three children, including a brand-new baby for which he deserves a *mazel tov* from us. After Leonid finished his studies, he worked in hydro-mechanics. He has been working for Hesed Avraham in St. Petersburg since 1993, serving as the director since 1994. In 1997, Leonid was appointed director of the umbrella organization of Hesed Welfare Centers in Russia. Leonid will now give us a short presentation on Hesed's community development in Russia, which will be followed by a short response of how the community development process occurred in Minsk by Sofia Abramova and in Moscow by Alexander Kirnos and Greta Elinson.

Leonid Kolton, Director of Hesed Avraham

The Russian Jewish community was influenced by the same factors as other European Jewish communities; namely, emigration and immigration. In the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, the whole Jewish community had emigrated, and we were left with nothing – the

situation was even worse than Germany in 1945. We had nothing and then an emigration of Jews began. I do not know where they came from, but they came and came and came. And the small community structures encountered the same issues that all of us are discussing: How can they integrate these new Jews? Who can define why they are Jews or what it means to be Jewish? What is it for them to be Jewish, what do they know about being Jewish, and how could they be integrated in the community? I think the situation was very similar what happened in Germany and other places.

One of the ways of dealing with these issues was by creating the welfare structure called Hesed. I never wanted to be a director but Amos Avgar forced me to take the position. It began approximately ten years ago, and now we have a network of Hesed Welfare Centres all over Russia, along with an umbrella organization – a whole system. What happened? What is Hesed?

Hesed is a charity welfare organization, but a great deal of thought goes into the way we provide assistance to people. Charity is one of the most important Jewish values and the welfare structure that we are trying to create is one of the gates of our community. It may be the easiest gate to enter, the easiest way to come into the community and feel oneself to be Jewish. There is a question, however, of how long is this type involvement going to last. But by providing aid, we are opening the gate. Our goal in establishing Hesed always had two parts. One was to provide help, which was especially necessary in Russia. But the second was important, too: to create a community based on Jewish values, welfare and voluntarism. And so we created an organisation based on these three tenets.

Hesed Avraham Is A Model For Changing The Community

1) What is Hesed Avraham?
Hesed Avraham, the first Jewish Welfare Centre in Russia, is one of the largest charitable organizations in Europe. It is officially registered in 1993 and established with the support of organizations from many countries over the world.

Our purpose is to provide comprehensive assistance in the spirit of Jewish heritage and to revive the St. Petersburg Jewish Community, promoting such values as voluntarism, *yiddishkeit*, community and mutual support.

Hesed's most unique feature is that all of its programmes are brought to life due to the efforts of volunteers. There are currently close to 950 volunteers offering their help to our clients.

Our mission is to help people of all ages and of different social backgrounds so that they can embrace Jewish life and heritage. We try our best to make our welfare assistance truly individual and responsive to every client's needs, so that it can become the gateway for every person to enter the Jewish community.

We are proud of our accomplishments:
- In the course of 9 years, over 52,000 citizens of St. Petersburg and the surrounding region have participated in Hesed Avraham programmes. We have the opportunity to reach every Jew.
- During these years, our Centre has rendered approximately 3,000,000 services through over 20 welfare programs. Continued assistance is received by more than 8,000 of the most needy members of the Jewish community

Hesed Abraham's Welfare programmes include:
- Food programmes – 1,475 people have lunches in canteens daily, meals-on-wheels are brought to 933 homes daily, 79,678 food packages were distributed last year.

- Home care programmes – 1,648 people are visited by nurses in their homes on a daily basis; they are also provided with such care and aid as injections, bandaging, and bedsores treatment.
- Medical programmes – last year 6,864 clients received medicine at a discounted price, 3,405 people received eyeglasses, 660 received hearing aids, and 211 received medical consultations from volunteer physicians.
- 3,466 units of rehabilitative equipment have been borrowed by clients.
- In addition, Hesed offers hairdressers and beauty services, distribution of winter clothes, repair of household appliances, a taxi service, a support group for the visually challenged and for the hearing impaired, and much more.

2) Hesed Avraham is the core of St. Petersburg's Jewish Community
Hesed (working on its own and in cooperation with other organizations) runs programmes for active members of the Jewish community of all ages and of all social backgrounds to meet their professional, social, educational, cultural and personal needs. To a great extent, Hesed promotes the development of the Jewish community, continuity of generations, professional and voluntary experience, preservation of the Jewish traditions and the transfer of Jewish heritage from generation to generation. Such programmes are the new branches of Hesed, the starting point for developing and reinforcing the future of our community.

Hesed, when assigning the most significant role to a person in need of help, acts according to the rules of the Jewish community. According to these rules, great importance is attached to the interdependence of a person and the community. On one hand, the Jewish community should take care of its members; on the other hand, upon entering Hesed, each person comes into contact with the community and becomes integral part of the communal whole.

3) Taking one single target group as an example, we suggest that we consider Hesed's possibilities in developing the Jewish Community.
'New horizons' is a target group consisting mainly of young pensioners – the most helpful and numerous group of the Jewish community. Let us

look at this group in detail. These are active people of pre-pension age and young pensioners, who are characterized by the following:

- Have already achieved their professional and personal aims and are open to new experiences; they have available free time;
- Are materially and psychologically vulnerable; do not feel that they are needed; have great, under-realized potential;
- Are aspiring to share their experience with others;
- Express interest towards Jewish life, while being deprived of Jewish education and knowledge of Jewish traditions.

The role of the 'young pensioners' in Hesed's life and in that of the Jewish community of the city:

- **Voluntarism** – The members of this group have achieved most of their professional and personal targets and are free to start 'a new life'. They organize, carry out and take part in all Hesed programmes. This is their way to realize their ideas and to acquire new knowledge and experience, as well as for helping people in need. At present, this group comprises 80 % of the total number of volunteers.
- **Club** – They are the most frequent and active visitors to the club, where assorted cultural events take place daily: lectures and discussions, concerts and interests circles, dating club, library and Jewish tradition classes, etc. There is an opportunity to socialize during tea breaks and to meet new friends. Every day about 150-200 people attend club events and circles, and there was an audience of 15,000 people at the Shana Tova concert in 2001.
- **Warm Home** – This programme is a blessing to those who live far from Hesed. Close circles of people gather once a week in 20 apartments in different districts of our city. The clients of this program are 279 previously lonely people who were striving for human contact. During friendly tea parties, they listen to concerts, study Jewish traditions, exchange life stories and celebrate Jewish holidays.
- **Repair Workshop** – This is a room in Hesed in which active volunteers have the opportunity to repair household appliances, furniture and other items with their own hands for Hesed clients. The necessary equipment and tools are available. This is a good chance to get training and a new specialization, as well as to work the team of soul mates. The workshop has been developed into a mini-plant of auxiliary rehabilitation equipment for physically challenged people. At

present, the plant produces 38 kinds of equipment (over 3,000 units per year) that are sold to 147 cities of the FSU, both for other Hesed Centers and state organizations.

The Hesed model is not only an effective way of providing social assistance, but also a chance to rally the Jewish community that will serve the aims of its revival.

The implementation of community development concepts during the buildup phase of viable new communities

Mrs. Nicolienne Wolf, Community Development Department Head, Jewish Social Service, The Netherlands

Strengthening Identity for Integration in the Jewish Community

Introduction

My name is Nicolienne Wolf. I am 57 years old. I was born in 1944, when my parents were in hiding during the final month of the Second World War. I have a master's degree in community development work. I have been working at Jewish Social Services since 1989. I started out as a community development staff member for a special project dealing with the second post-war generation in The Netherlands. For the past five years, I have been head of the Community Development Department. There are five community development staff members in the JMW, each having his or her own regional groups. There is one group worker and one member for the Israeli *Tsavta* project. We have the support of two secretaries and three regular volunteers. While the staff members are based in Amsterdam, most of the time they work from regional offices. Our development organisation has 200 volunteers in The Netherlands. The target group is comprised of all Jews in The Netherlands, and our organisation regards everyone who has one Jewish parent as Jewish. We are a social welfare organisation, rather than a religious organisation.

We developed a special method, not only for the Israelis but for all our target groups. It was first developed for the second post-war generation (external research) and the child survivors. Because the subject of this conference is changing communities, let us take as an example the

Dutch Jewish community. In The Netherlands today, as you know, there are only 45,000 Jews (according to the 2000 demographic survey). This number includes the Israelis. We also counted people who only had Jewish fathers yet thought of themselves as Jewish (we refer to this category as 'Father Jews'). Before 1997, we did not know a great deal about the Israelis who lived in The Netherlands. After doing extensive research, however, we found that there are approximately 9,000 Israelis (with their families) living in The Netherlands. They are a young group. For a small community like ours, they represent a substantial contingent. But in addition to discovering how many people there are in this group, we tried to find out what they would like from the Jewish community in The Netherlands. They had a great many questions, most relating to the need for contacts with other Israelis. They also wanted to be accepted in the Jewish community, but most felt that they were not very welcome if they had not completely adopted Dutch Jewish practices. (In a symposium organised by JMW for Jewish organisations, 65% of the participants indicated they did not wish to adjust to some of the Israeli practices.)

The first plan is the way we always try to work with a target group. The second is how we used this method, and the steps taken for our Israeli project Tsavta.

The first step: Research
We can initiate the research. It can be carried out by the researcher on our staff, or the research can be provided as an external report. An example: there was an external survey about the problems encountered by the second generation of Jews. It seems to be more difficult, however, to compare a similar second generation group whose parents were in the resistance or in the war in South East Asia. We started a very successful, progressive project in 1989.

As you can see from the second plan, we did the research about the Israelis ourselves. To reach people, we obtained addresses via the cooperation of the Israeli embassy and by what we call the "snowball" effect. I have some English translations of this research with me for people who are interested.

The second step: Project Plan
We developed a project plan. In this plan, we tried to clarify why it is important to work with the specific target group. This includes the history, background, problems, basic goals to solve, what the target group gains or loses, and what we and society gain or lose through working with the target group. We also deal with the cost of such a project by developing an estimate. Does the project fit with the policy of our organisation? Is there a task for the whole organisation, including social work and community development work? How many workers do we need if we want such a programme to be successful? How much time do we need to reach the goals – both short and long term?

If the organisation receives permission from the board and it (or other sponsors) decides to finance the project, we go to step three. Sponsorship in Holland is a special item that is too complex to discuss now.

The third step: Activity (Work) Plan
This is a working plan in which we set the goals for the short-term, including what we, the workers, are going to do and how it will be accomplished. We call this the five *W's and one H*:
- *What* are we going to do
- *Why* are we doing it
- *Where* will it lead us to
- *Where* will we do the work
- *With* whom do we work (professionals, volunteers and activists)
- *How* do we use to start and organise the project

Public Relations – this is very important during this phase. We contact both the national and Jewish media. It is important that we and the target group be able to contact one another, so we opened an *informational phone line*. Social workers, community development workers, and the group worker answer this line, talking with people and trying to find out what the person wants in order to refer them to the right place. For the Israelis, we have Hebrew speaking workers. We also write and distribute a *newsletter* as a way to contact the target group and to explain what our goals are. We explain the project and our ideas, ask the people to contribute by placing advertisements or writing about activities. It is important that they view this as their paper.

In this phase it is very important to build a network of people and organisations. For the Israelis, there are organisations such as the embassy, Hasharah, Alyah, and others. We try to find contact people in every region. How do we do that? See below.

The fourth step: Theatre and Regional Gatherings
We are use theatre not as an aim in itself, but as a means. For example, in the course of our project with the second generation, we asked the theatre group to write a play about the problems of this target group. We toured the country with the play, trying to get the attention of the second generation. We organised conversations with the audience following each performance, which included a group worker, a social worker, and the community development worker. Afterwards, we organised informal conversations with the visitors in the theatre cafes. We had forms for people to fill in their contact information and to discover what their most important needs were.

We also organised regional gatherings in which we divided people into small groups based on a particular topic. The gatherings ended in a common session to discuss needs and whether some individuals wanted work on the project for their own group. Since 1990, there have been several monthly Jewish cafes organised by volunteers.

To obtain PR, we place advertisements in national, regional, and Jewish papers, and try to get the attention of the press.

How did we start with the Israelis? There was a Jewish singer who wanted to start a musical group. This group studied and rehearsed the famous Israeli musical, *Casablan*. We supported this group and organised a tour throughout the country. It was a big success, enabling us to reach many people. Last year they performed the musical "The Palestinian", and this year "*Shalach Shabatti*". We only provide some publicity for them – everything else they do on their own.

We used a different form of theatre for another target group: Boal Theatre, which is a form of "get on" theatre, also called the Theatre of the Oppressed, which was founded by Augusto Boal, a South American social worker and philosopher who worked with Freire. Participants in

this movement taught the coffee farmers how to fight for their rights through this form of drama.

Step Five: Address Files
This is not a separate step, but rather continues throughout the whole project. To set the project in motion, it is important to install a database that includes everything required for the target group.

Step Six: Annual National Conference or Day
In the previous steps we directed our efforts broadly. The aim of this sixth step is to bring the target group together in one place. People from all over The Netherlands meet intensively in various workshops. Each conference has a particular theme, and each annual conference has a different theme. It is a novel experience for newcomers, but for people who have attended it before (as well as for those attending for the first time) it is a day to discover where they are now.

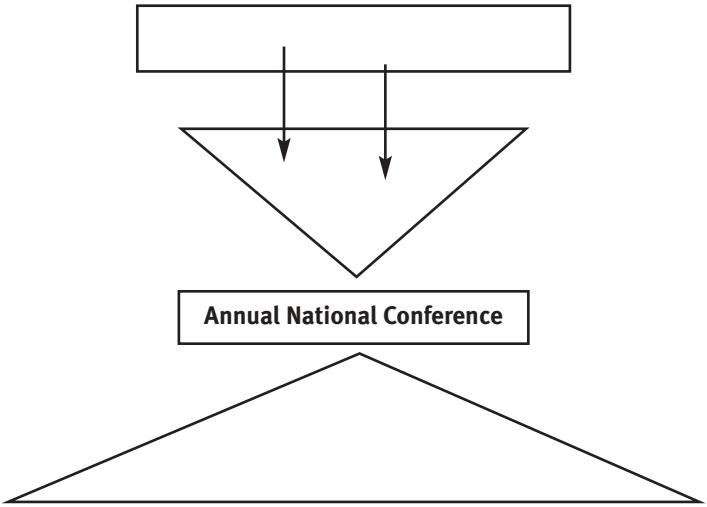
For the Israelis, we have *Yom Tsavta*. Last year 650 people participated. The day is organised by the community development worker and the Israeli volunteers. Our goal is not only to make contact with the Israelis, but also to giving them a picture of what is happening in The Netherlands for their target group and how many new self-supporting groups there are. The day is organised mostly around the festival of Hanukah; we light the candles and sing together. In addition, the Israeli ambassador says a few words, which is important because it helps them feel that despite the fact that they live outside of Israel, a representative of Israel takes the time to speak with them. The day also includes an information market, film, food and a children's program. For us it is another opportunity to find out what the questions are, to collect addresses, and to introduce courses and group work. It helps us take stock of where they stand, to see what they want, and to assess what has been achieved.

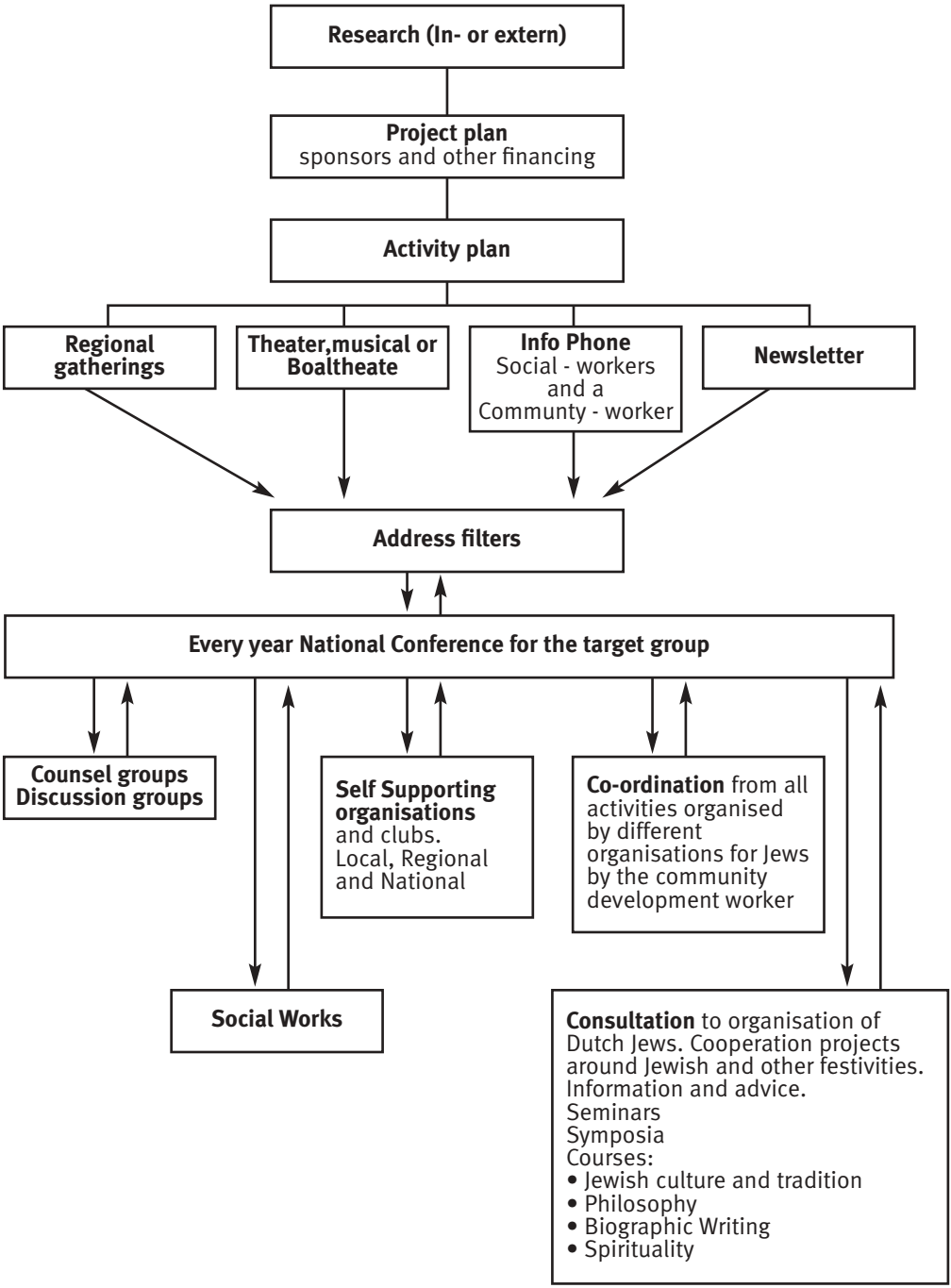
The seventh step: All Kinds of Work and Activities
After bringing the target group together, we then resume our broader emphasis. We continually offer to counsel groups and facilitate discussions. We also offer the possibility of visiting one of our offices to talk with our social workers for individual support. We train volunteers

and other people so they can work in a more professional way. We support self-supporting groups and try to advise them if they want to be a club or a corporation. We are mediators: when conflicts arise within a certain organisation or amongst volunteers, we try to mediate. We consult with people and clubs, if they ask us. We do not do the work for them. We try to co-ordinate the different organisations, inviting them to a semi-annual gathering to exchange information, tune in to each other, and cooperate.

We have four important goals: *informing, referring, tuning in,* and *working together*. We find that our Jewish Social Service has a broad role in the community: consultation, advice, mediation, lectures, seminars, workshop courses, and many other things. We refer people, and if necessary we organise the event or service. We are the advocates for our target groups in the broadest sense, and that is what we want to be.

Work plan




Research (In- or extern)
Project plan
sponsors and other financing
Activity plan
Regional gatherings
Theater,musical or Boaltheate
Info Phone
Social - workers and a Communty - worker
Newsletter
Address filters
Every year National Conference for the target group
Counsel groups
Discussion groups
Self Supporting organisations and clubs.
Local, Regional and National
Co-ordination from all activities organised by different organisations for Jews by the community development worker
Social Works
Consultation to organisation of Dutch Jews. Cooperation projects around Jewish and other festivities.
Information and advice.
Seminars
Symposia
Courses:
• Jewish culture and tradition
• Philosophy
• Biographic Writing
• Spirituality

Summary and conclusions

Dr. Hans Vuijsje, Director Jewish Social Service in The Netherlands

My friends, I would like to welcome you this morning, on our last day of the conference. I would also like to apologise to the Germans, as my German is terrible, and to the people of the former Soviet Union, as my Russian is even worse, so I try with English. We have wonderful translators so I hope you will understand me.

The theme of these last three days was the changing Jewish communities in Europe. And after the different presentations given to us, it is time to put before you some very difficult questions. All of us work in very different circumstances. The situations in the states of the former Soviet Union, in The Netherlands, in Germany and in Spain are nearly incomparable, although there is one common factor among us. All of us are trying to help people integrate within our communities, and at the same time our work influences this community. Therefore, all of us are working on the individual level and, at the same time, on a community level. As I said before, our circumstances are very different. In the states of the former Soviet Union there are hardly any community structures. As Rabbi Goldschmidt told us, one is starting from zero and there is nothing to lose. In this vacuum, the Hesed model is an amazing mix of welfare, volunteers and Yiddishkeit that is creating something new, and the people are open to change.

The situation in The Netherlands is quite different. We have very strong community structures. They are so strong that even the Shoah and the murder of 80% of our community hardly changed the community structures. And while fighting each other, as is usual in Jewish communities all over the world, we discovered suddenly that 10,000 Israelis were living with us in The Netherlands; 10,000 Israelis who seemed to be so integrated within the Dutch society that we had

overlooked them for years. For us it became a challenge to help them to create their own Jewish-Dutch-Israeli identity, and to help them integrate within our Jewish community. I call it a challenge because our Jewish community could not see it as a major threat.

The situation in Germany is quite different again. The migration of Jews from the former Soviet Union was planned in such a way that it was a fairly conscious decision to enlarge the German Jewish community and the plan succeeded – perhaps too well. The German Jews are completely outnumbered. In time, the strong Jewish community structure will be threatened and my impression is that the feelings about this are at least ambivalent.

And then in Spain, the Jewish community is preparing itself for the emigration of Jews from Argentina, and as Mario told us, the Jewish community in Spain is still young. But the influx of Jews from Argentina with their own Jewish Argentinean identity will influence the life of the Jews in Spain. One of Mario's remarks made an impression on me. He said that although we are all Jews, the "others" are different. Perhaps this is the essence of our dilemma. It means that the arrival of new immigrants has its advantages (at least a bigger community), but there are disadvantages, too. Perhaps even losses. We are losing some of the traditions. So let me pose some real tough questions.

The first one is how do you feel about the change in your Jewish community – a change that will effect you personally. The hard question is of course, how do you feel about your son or daughter marrying a Russian immigrant in Germany, an Israeli, a Sephardic or an Ashkenazi Jew. Let us keep it very close to ourselves.

The second question is how does your organisation feel about this, and the third is how does your own community feel about this.

As stated in the program, would a multiform – and let me call it a multi-cultural – Jewish community be enriching or impoverishing? I would think it a good thing that as many people as possible answer this question. So I ask you to make short statements in answer to the question and remember that of course, motivation is very important.

Perhaps some of these questions are difficult. We have mixed feeling about these issues. So why not be honest; let us forget political correctness; let us say what we feel.

Amos, let us start with you: I think I will take the Joint as an example. We are in a unique situation. It is a very strange organisation, the Joint. It is run by Americans from America, the decision making is done in America, the headquarters are in Israel, and the work is done in Russia. When I say Russia, I mean the former Soviet Union. The Joint's biggest operation is in the former Soviet Union. And the biggest number of people who work for the Joint are in the former Soviet Union; they are local people of the former Soviet Union. Even more to the point, the people who work there from Israel are Israelis who originally came from the former Soviet Union and who have now gone back there to work for the Joint.

We talk about changing the local Jewish communities but we do not even think of the possibility that they are changing us. And they are changing us. It can be very enriching. People think we are there to help them but somehow they are changing us, we pay lip service to how they change us. How do they change us? We drink a little vodka, sometimes we have a few Russian words in our Joint lexicon, but when it comes to the values, when it comes to the basic principles, we are unwilling to even recognise that there can be some changes and that we need to change according to whatever. So there is a price to be paid by changing and I do not even think that it was on the table as to what that price is and what we need to do to accommodate them and to change ourselves so that the work can be done in a better way. We are not an absorbing organisation that brings people in, but I think the same process also takes places in the Israeli social welfare services, when they have to absorb people and they think they have to change them but they never think of how they themselves have took been modified so as to make things more effective.

Questions and Answers

with David Pinto

Question from one of the participants of this conference:
I would like to ask this question to David Pinto: In a theoretical way, we talked about it yesterday, but in a personal way because you are a product of another society – having lived in Israel and gone to Holland – you have the same experience as a person living in another culture and it affects you.

Answer from David Pinto
I will sign for you some possibilities how we can expect the changes can go. There are six models of intercultural interaction or communication. The following equations represent the six possible models for intercultural interaction:

A + B = A
A + B = B
A + B = A + B
A + B = C
A + B = A- + B-
A + B = A+ + B+

The question is not so easy because it is a matter of identity. What are the possibilities when we introduce, let us say, the Jewish community of Russia with another community, for example, Germany? But the matter is exactly the same when two people meet together in a relationship. What are the possibilities? What is the result of this mixture?

There are many possibilities. The first is according to the values and the norms of people. You could say when it is a matter of two people who are married, he or she changes me. Yossi Vardi is aware of the values of his country, so the possibilities of the two extremes are possible. When two people or two communities meet together the first possibility is that the values of one – the "A" – are dominant, and so the result will be that the values of A will dominate the other – the "B". The second possibility will be exactly the opposite, and you can imagine very many reasons why the values of the other will dominate A's values. But there are other possibilities as well: In such a meeting we will not change. You remain with only your values and I stay with mine. Nobody changes the other person. This is the third possibility.

The fourth possibility would be the creation of something new; i.e. new values that are totally different from A's and B's values because they cannot recognise the traditions, the values, and the norms of their own origin. This is most often the result for the second generation.

What we mostly do in Holland is the fifth possibility, viz. we make what we call a compromise. If we meet together and you are here and I am here and we have to work together and live together, I say to you, "I am here and you are here," not only as a person but also as a community, and I ask you to leave behind some part of your values. So you give up some of your original values and in doing so, you lose something of yourself, but I have to do the same. The result is both sides' values remain, but without a certain aspect of their values.

In my opinion, this is the way to behave together, which is why I added another possibility – the sixth. I think this final possibility will be the best. It is more difficult to achieve, but the results are better than those of the other possibilities. The meeting together must occur, and it is incumbent upon us to make the effort not to make it a losing experience for both sides, but rather to use the opportunity to enrich each other. We can only do this when we are really interested in the other. Rather than us each insisting on staying in our respective corners and retaining 100% of our own values and norms, I first have to ask you why you think so differently than I do. I must ask this before I ask you to leave behind some of your old tradition. When I am really interested in

your way of life, there will be many elements in it that can enrich my own experiences. However, I can only gain from your experiences when I am sure about my own values and norms. When I am not so sure about myself, my tendency is to always blame you – your values and your norms –for the faults in our relationship. Therefore, I say that the first step is to be sure about your own values and norms.

Closing words

Mr. Beni Bloch

In Germany, the debate about immigration law continues. Can we admit immigrants? Will immigration to Germany continue? Political opinions vary. We represent the Jewish views. Our task is not to impose restrictions but simply to see how we can help each other. In my view, this is the basic difference between Jewish and non-Jewish perceptions concerning help from strangers. We have come here from vastly different European countries to see how we can help each other and which experiences we can exchange. Regardless of whether we come from Germany, Spain, Holland or anywhere else where we have become integrated, we have always felt an obligation and have believed that integrating Jews arriving from Argentina, Israel and Russia would enrich us. Looking at the people here from Germany, I notice that most are from different federal states. They have stated in advance that they are proud that we have acted as we have. That is my first point.

Next, I would like to thank Yossi Vardi and Hanalore Altman on behalf of our office for their help in organizing this seminar here in Berlin. Even though we are in Frankfurt and they are here, we must help each other organize. Neither Paulette Weber nor I feel otherwise. I am also grateful to Graziella Gublinsky, who helped us gather materials and provided all the other support we needed.

Amos Avgar and I met in Madrid last year, where we sat together and decided that we would raise some eyebrows in the European Council. As a result, we decided to organize a seminar and then we discussed when, how and where. Amos rang me to say that he would have Hans, Mario and his colleagues organize the seminar. We will organize another seminar with the European Council and have invited Gabi Taus. There were those who did not believe we would be able to achieve the

seminar, with all the uncertainties. Jews say that somebody who does not believe in miracles is not a realist. We made it happen. This seminar took place, and I wish to thank Hans, as well as Amos, Gabi, Nicolienne, Danny and everybody who contributed their help and support.

My last point is the reason I did not answer David. I sensed that his remarks were personal, with respect to relations between institutions. David said that the models of human relationships can all be transposed to relationships between institutions. Relationships between friends are exactly the same.

I am not satisfied if somebody comes along and says that we are having a seminar, and that the next seminar will be in Prague, and that we will talk about what we are doing when we are there. The Bible tells us to act first and then listen. This has always been the hallmark of the Jewish people, and it was not about listening first and acting next. I understand that we have made some arrangements between individual communities about how we will work together. We will submit proposals regarding the projects that we will execute. However, this is not what I meant. I was referring to interpersonal aspects between individuals.

Several important organizations are gathered here, and we see that there are now important themes in Europe, where a common denominator applies. Anti-Semitism is an issue not only for the Jewish community in Germany. It also exists in Switzerland, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Denmark and other countries, and we have to deal with it.

I am concerned about Holocaust survivors. These people have grown old. In the weeks ahead we will examine this issue in Frankfurt, where we have to address it. Perhaps we are late, but we are not too late to determine that these people are aging. The facts that they repressed in the early 1950s resurface the moment they enter the hospital and face death; images of their family and all such things. This is happening now.

Without discussing it, I am sure that a rapid comparison will reveal that the same problems exist in Holland and in Russia, where we still live. There are problems with integration and with using this integration for

the transfers occurring in Europe between individual communities. Soon we will have open borders with Poland. The moment Poland joins the European Community, we will have freedom to exercise occupation. People ask us how we are preparing for this change that is already in progress. I cannot always give the Jewish answer that we will improvise a bit and take some action over the long term.

Devising plans for the benefit of the community is entirely different from specific plans for the programmes that individuals have exchanged here. Moreover, the first seminar is a concept that will be immensely important within the Jewish community, but we have financial problems. Everybody here agrees that we are low on funds. We therefore need to consider how to convey what is happening in Russia to the West. What are the criteria, and how do we pass them on to Western Europe. Yesterday or today somebody asked me whether we might bring 18 volunteers from Israel to Germany next year. Nobody asked whether the project might be extended to other countries. Replication is possible, since the programme there is not specifically German. All you need is to believe in the programme and to act to implement it in the other countries as proposed.

Israel has a national social service. We have considered setting up a Jewish social service, and we have thought about sending young people from Holland to Israel and Germany, and from Germany to Belgium, and sending these three to Israel. Like the Americans, we decided we should think about setting up a Jewish social service. We would start with small groups – in America you simply take the Jewish community in any state or any place and divide it. Each group would allocate two people, and funds may be raised in Europe. I expected the European Council to do this, since I know they have the resources. The European Commission in Brussels has funds for European projects. We need not carry out 100 projects, but we might do one or two projects.

After all, no other organization is able to arrange joint efforts as quickly as the Jewish communities. Charities in Germany and Spain are entirely different organizations, even if their name is the same. Within the Jewish community, we are quick to find a common denominator and common objectives with support from professionals at other

organizations. This is our European advantage, which I believe we should use. We were able to transform all the necessary steps into action, thanks to those who helped.

We are planning another seminar this year and will invite you. In December, we will organize a congress about anti-Semitism. I hope that we will elaborate concrete proposals in a small group. We are motivated but need to settle practical matters. Otherwise, we will lose our motivation. People will ask why we bother with these conferences if they do not have any practical consequences for the communities in terms of interpersonal relationships and between the contacts. This is what others expect from us and is what we can offer you. Once again, I thank Amos, Gabi, Hans and everybody else.

ZWST - Zentralwohlfahrtstelle der Juden in Deutschland

JDC - American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee

ECJC - European Council of Jewish Communities

JMW - Jewish Social Service The Netherlands