

Integration of Disadvantaged Jewish Immigrant Youth

Summary of Programs Funded
by the Dorothea Gould Foundation

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A. Executive Summary

The Dorothea Gould Foundation (DGF) was established to honor the legacy of Dorothea Gould and dedicated to help alleviate poverty and improve the wellbeing of vulnerable Jewish immigrant youth through high-impact, innovative programs in four countries of special significance to Mrs. Gould's life: Canada, Germany, Switzerland and Israel. The philanthropic niche for the Foundation stemmed from historical timing: over one million former Soviet Union and more than 100,000 Ethiopian Jews had immigrated to developed countries over the previous fifteen years. Youth interventions offered a critical window of opportunity to foster adjustment and integration, enabling young people to grow into responsible citizens and affiliated Jewish members in their new communities and societies.

The DGF Board of Trustees engaged intermediary organizations to bridge between the Foundation and a number of smaller, local immigrant intervention programs. These intermediaries had already gained over a decade of programming experience with the present wave of immigration – enough to know what didn't work, which programs should be expanded and how to engage additional stakeholders. The organizations are as follows: United Israel Appeal Federations Canada (UIAFC); *Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (ZWST)*; *Verband Schweizerischer Jüdischer Fürsorgen (VSJF)*; *Shatil* of the New Israel Fund (NIF), *Ashalim* and *Masad Klita* of the Joint Distribution Committee Israel (JDC). Additional funds were disbursed directly to the Swiss-Israeli youth village of *Kiriat Yearim* and *Yedidim*, an Israeli NGO operating the '*Sikuim*' program for immigrant juvenile offenders.

This publication was prepared by the JDC Center for International Migration and Integration (CIMI) in coordination with the Dorothea Gould Foundation for the DGF seminar held in October 2011. It provides a short survey and comparison of the immigrant youth integration programming supported by the Foundation over the past seven years, by examining the variables of national and Jewish community immigration and integration policies and resources; the characteristics and size of the immigrant populations; veteran-immigrant cooperation in planning and practice; relief work versus capacity building; documentation, action research and best practice modeling; and attempts to effect social change from the grassroots upward and from the periphery inward.

Comparisons and general conclusions are set forth for further discussion and debate through a broad-based, retrospective review of the programs individually-tailored to the unique needs of immigrant youth in various settings. Analysis demonstrates that through the diversity of programs funded, the Dorothea Gould Foundation transnationally facilitated the evolution of new thinking and practices for addressing the needs of immigrant youth at risk.

B. Dorothea Gould Foundation Vision and Grant Reward Guidelines

The Dorothea Gould Foundation (hereafter DGF) was established by Dorothea Gould and the trustees she appointed were entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out her wishes. As the Foundation was based on limited, though significant capital, the board of trustees decided to focus Mrs. Gould's stated intent to help alleviate poverty among Jewish youth in the context of the immigrant experience which had played a significant role in her life. They chose, further, to fund short-term (approximately five-year), high-impact, innovative programs to improve the wellbeing of poor and vulnerable Jewish immigrant youth in four countries of special significance to Mrs. Gould's life: Canada, Germany, Switzerland and Israel.

The philanthropic niche for the Foundation stemmed from historical timing: over one million former Soviet Union (FSU) and more than 100,000 Ethiopian Jews had immigrated to developed countries over the previous fifteen years. Youth represent the future of the community, but bear the brunt of bridging between their family and the new society and often witness the disempowerment and helplessness of their parents in the face of unemployment and cultural incompetence. Plagued by economic impoverishment and instability, these youth often grow up with extensive emotional and socio-cultural deficits, marginalized into social peripheries which may sentence them to an adult life of marginalization and poverty. DGF broadly defines 'poverty' to include economic, educational, cultural and emotional deficits that may impede successful integration of immigrants into their new communities.

At the same time, youth offer a window of opportunity for critical interventions to foster adjustment and integration, enabling young people to grow into responsible citizens and affiliated Jewish members in their new communities and societies.

In order to ensure efficient, evidence-based use of funds, tailored to the needs of immigrant communities in the four countries, DGF engaged 'intermediary organizations' to bridge between the Foundation and a number of smaller, local immigrant intervention programs. These intermediaries had already gained over a decade of programming experience with the present wave of immigration – enough to know what didn't work, which programs should be expanded and how to engage additional stakeholders as well as partners to provide supplementary funding. The organizations are as follows: United Israel Appeal Federations Canada (UIAFC); *Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden en Deutschland* (ZWST); *Verband Schweizerischer Jüdischer Fürsorgen* (VSJF); *Shatil* of the New Israel Fund (NIF), *Ashalim* and *Masad Klita* of the Joint Distribution Committee Israel (JDC). Additional funds were disbursed directly to the Swiss-Israeli youth village of *Kiriat Yearim* and *Yedidim*, an Israeli NGO operating the 'Sikuim' (Chances) program for immigrant juvenile offenders.

Donations were considered in the following areas, with priority given to innovation and sustainability:

- Community centers and facilities
- Psychological counseling services
- Preventative programming to reduce drug and alcohol abuse
- Reduction of school drop-out rates
- Language training for youth and their parents

- Educational scholarships
- Training programs for teachers and other professionals dealing with the immigrant population
- Vocational training programs to assist in creation of employment opportunities
- Emergency relief for immigrant youth victims of trauma
- Academic research to better understand and evaluate programs dealing with immigrant absorption

As far as the weighting of allocations, Israel was recognized as the country with the highest volume of immigrants and the highest poverty levels. Israel's challenge is to both integrate the immigrants as healthy, productive citizens and engage them as Jews in the Jewish state. Switzerland's case is unique due to their immigration criteria and will be discussed below. Canada and Germany have strong government welfare programs in place for immigrants as well as screening criteria that weed out many of the neediest immigrants from the start. Their organizations face the challenges of integrating very large numbers of immigrants into the Jewish community, within a short period of time, while enhancing Jewish identity and developing community cohesion.

C. Booklet Introduction

The Dorothea Gould Foundation entered the immigrant integration field at a critical point in history, about a decade after a massive Jewish migration from the former Soviet Union and the transport of the Jewish community of Ethiopia to Israel.

This booklet was prepared in coordination with the Dorothea Gould Foundation seminar to provide a short survey and comparison of the youth immigrant integration programming supported by the Foundation over the past seven years.

As noted, the DGF funded programming in four countries: Canada, Germany, Switzerland and Israel. It is rather disproportionate to compare the first three countries with Israel in terms of the numbers of immigrants and the capacity of the Jewish communities to assist in their integration. While the other countries offer the resources of a relatively small Jewish minority within a predominately Gentile setting, Israel, as the Jewish state and declared homeland of the Jewish people, brings together the resources of an entire nation – as well as financial contributions from the Diaspora Jewish communities.

Having placed this requisite disclaimer on the table, we can turn to the subject at hand, for much can be learned from the comparison of the highly varied DGF programs. This booklet does not analyze each of the programs in detail, as the knowledge resides with the implementers and the programs will be presented at the seminar by the program planners and managers. Through a retrospective, broad-based review of the programs that developed individually to respond to the needs of immigrant youth in various settings, comparisons and general conclusions are set forth for further discussion and debate. Practice and analysis demonstrate that through the diversity of approaches and programs funded, DGF funding allowed for the evolution of new thought, approaches and tools to address the needs of immigrant youth at risk and in need.

In this publication, we will provide a context for seven years of work, by examining the variables of national and Jewish community immigration and integration policies and

resources; the characteristics and size of the immigrant populations; veteran-immigrant cooperation in planning and practice; relief work versus training and capacity building; documentation, action research and evaluation; and attempts to effect social change from the grassroots upward and from the periphery inward.

D. Introduction of Programs by Country

Canada

The Dorothea Gould Foundation board appointed the UIAFC as the intermediary organization to foster programming through local communities in Canada. For this purpose, the UIAFC was given a funding 'envelope' to be disbursed based on the its recommendations to the Foundation.

The DGF Canadian programming for young immigrants may be divided into five categories:

- Camp stipends
- After-school childcare and enrichment
- Youth programming and leadership training
- 'March of the Living' stipends
- Basic financial aid



Teen members of a media arts course to explore Jewish identity

In Canada, as in Germany and Switzerland, there has been a primary focus on helping to meet financial need in order to facilitate participation of immigrant youth in mainstream Jewish programming. The younger the participants, the more the programming is designed to enrich the youngsters with Jewish content and assist parents in childcare. The older the children, the greater the attempt to engage them in Jewish life and cultivate them into young community leaders of the future.

Germany

DGF programming in Germany was supervised by the ZWST acting alternately as a primary and intermediary organization. The German programming may be divided into the following four categories:

- BA for Jewish social workers
- E-learning Jewish and language courses & informative website
- Youth workers training
- Camp, Israel trip and Bar/Bat Mitzvah trip stipends

As the FSU immigration composes between 75%-90% of the German Jewish community, the emphasis in German programming is placed much more on engaging and training youth and young adults.

Another outstanding characteristic of the German Jewish community is the dispersion of the immigrants into some 94 localities. This is a result of the government policy to distribute the welfare cost burden of immigrant integration throughout the country, rather than concentrating it in urban centers. As long as immigrants continue to receive welfare benefits in their integration process, they are required to reside in the locality designated by the German government. As a result, the economically weaker members of the immigrant population are scattered about. This makes Jewish community intervention all the more challenging as regular attendance in synagogue or community events is not always a feasible option.



Graduation Ceremony at City Hall for BA in Social Work

It is this reality which birthed the e-learning program as well as intensified the need for subsidy of concentrated communal and learning experiences for youth such as camps, training and trips. The geographic dispersion is also a factor in ZWST developing a Bachelor's program to equip young social workers, many of whom will then return to work in the more outlying communities.

Switzerland

The VSJF was appointed as the national organization responsible for DGF programming in Switzerland. The chosen programming venue may be described as a form of relief-work to equip young Jewish immigrants with basic language and vocational skills to springboard them toward financial independence. The Jewish community oversaw the trainings and screened participants, however the work itself was carried out by a non-Jewish professional educational institution, as the community lacked the capacity to run the programs in-house.



Training Courses for Men and Women

Kiriat Yearim is also considered Swiss DGF programming due to the Israeli youth village's decades-long relationship with Swiss philanthropists. The village is a total institution, providing boarding facilities, schooling and enrichment activities.

Established in the 1950's, the village mandate was to help absorb the mass influx of immigrants after World War II and the establishment of the Jewish state. Many of these immigrants were orphans who had experienced the horrors of the Holocaust or other traumas, such as leaving behind generations of life in Arab countries with only the shirt on their backs.

The recent waves of FSU and Ethiopian immigrants have posed new challenges. They arrive years behind their peers academically and otherwise, and are in need of multiple, long-term interventions. *Kiriat Yearim* is often the last institutional opportunity available to

marginalized youth who have dropped out of numerous other frameworks, to assist in their successful integration into Israeli society as mature, healthy and well-functioning adults.



Carpentry Workshop at Kiriat Yearim

Israel

'Back from the Edge'

Shatil's 'Back from the Edge' (BFTE) program, targeting youth immigrants ages 14-18, is designed to reduce school dropout rates, new criminal files and drug use, and to increase matriculation rates and self-esteem. *Shatil* takes a comprehensive approach with the intention of leading societal change as well as transforming young lives. The BFTE approach stresses the importance of the process as well as the product, by embracing the need for intervention as an opportunity to empower grassroots activists, educators, parents, students and children.

BFTE established key alliances within the Ministry of Education, including representatives from the Department of Student Immigrants, the Educational Psychological Consulting Services (SHEFI), the Department of Drop-out Prevention, the Department of Youth at Risk and the Teachers' Division of the Department of Human Resources. During the program development, BFTE consulted with experts in the fields of youth-at-risk, educational systems, multiculturalism, psychology of immigration and adolescent psychology and developed a training course for partner organizations. The partner organizations are grassroots FSU and Ethiopian social and educational organizations, who themselves are empowered by exercising responsibility for the development and execution of programs in the field.

Shatil guided the organizations in mapping out their needs and resources and trained them in designing and implementing interventions. 'Back from the Edge' did far more than reach an average of 500 students a year throughout the program's six pilot locations. It also engaged police volunteers, youth activists, youth camp counselors, immigrant university student interns and approximately 400 parents, school and grassroots immigrant organization staff members.



After School Tutoring in Gedera

According to the program evaluation, participants showed lower drop-out rates and behavioral problems and higher active school attendance and grade-point averages. Best practice models were developed from the field experience and shared at professional conferences; policy and legislative change proposals were drafted; textual, film and virtual resources were developed for parents, educators, activists and policy-makers.

'Better Together'

In the past two decades, Israel has witnessed a plethora of social interventions aimed at immigrant youth populations. However, these were often undertaken without communication or coordination among efforts. In the wake of global economic difficulties, budget cuts to social programming intensified the need to coordinate efforts and pool resources, as well as to ensure evidence-based intervention practices.



Better Together Group in the Migdalor Youth Center

JDC-Ashalim's approach focused on achieving broad-based, interdisciplinary cooperation. Ashalim's 'Better Together' (BT) implemented after-school programs to lower drop-out rates and risk behaviors and worked towards developing best practice models that could be integrated as mainstream interventions. As part of this innovative approach to coordinated services, DGF funding ensured adequate services and specialized attention to the particular needs of poor immigrant youth in BT communities.

Each of the fourteen 'Better Together' locations developed uniquely, according to the pre-mapped needs, requests and resources of each community. 'Better Together' partners included active parents' and residents' committees; the Ministries of Welfare & Social Affairs, Education and Housing & Construction; the National Insurance Institute; the Israel Defense Forces, the Israel Anti-Drug Authority and the National Program for Children & Youth at Risk; NGOs and colleges. 'Better Together' engaged some 500 youth movement volunteers; IDF & National Service young adults; senior citizens; college students; local businesspeople; professionals; urban kibbutz activists; municipal workers; school principals, teachers, counselors; social workers and parents.

'Better Together' succeeded in reaching close to 20,000 immigrant youth per year. An outstanding element of the interventions was employment of mentoring methods in small groups. Since after-school programs were naturally held after school hours, children were not only assisted in schoolwork, but kept engaged while their parents worked out of the home – during the critical afternoon-early evening hours when their peers often practice high-risk behaviors.

'Better Together' teams also promoted culturally sensitive materials in school curricula; represented immigrant interests in Parliament committees; developed best practice organizational models and handbooks; arranged national conferences of program participants for mutual learning and evaluation; produced a promotional film; and established a virtual library resource center. Six years after opening in the two first communities, BT has developed a national model for municipal coordination of services and has ensured that immigrant youth are addressed as a key target.

'Centers for Young Adults'

JDC-Masad Klita's 'Centers for Young Adults' (CYA) program in the DGF portfolio is designed to integrate immigrant population concerns into and build on the success of existing centers for at-risk youth and young adults. The centers are based on awareness that at-risk young adults often lack the social, cultural and economic capital of other populations in order to break negative cycles of behavior and learn the skills necessary to lead productive lives in Israeli society. The center funnels the resources of numerous organizations and programs into 'one-stop' service centers assisting youth and young adults in improving language acquisition, preparing for military service, completing educational and vocational training, learning life skills and providing career and job placement counseling – to give disadvantaged youth the additional support necessary for them to become mainstream.



Center for Young Adults in Kiryat Yam

CYA, like the other Israeli programs, rests in part on civil society volunteerism, with many of the volunteers hailing from similar immigrant backgrounds and serving as positive role models. CYA has partnered with the Ministries of Absorption, Defense and Construction & Housing; the Council for Higher Education; and the Office for the Development of the Negev and the Galilee; as well as municipal governments and philanthropic foundations. Reaching approximately 30,000 young adults, the results of the CYA, according to the Martens-Hoffman evaluation, show decreased unemployment and increased higher education. Where DGF funding terminated, immigrant youth concerns have remained embedded in the centers' programming.

'Sikuim'

Yedidim's *Sikuim* project developed with the support of the Ministry of Immigrant Absorption, the Ministry of Welfare and Social Services, the Israel Police and the National Insurance Institute. The focus of the program is the rehabilitation of repeat juvenile offenders. *Sikuim* pairs youth with criminal records with a suitable mentor, often a slightly older, more experienced immigrant. Close to one quarter of all new juvenile files opened by the police are for immigrant youth offenders who often lack suitable social frameworks and wind up as directionless delinquents in search of excitement. Some of this they find in sex, drug and alcohol abuse, violent clashes, vandalism or other petty crimes. *Sikuim* offers a 'second chance' to select youth who reveal high motivation and self-awareness. The program offers better options and adult mentors to accompany them along their journey toward social reintegration.



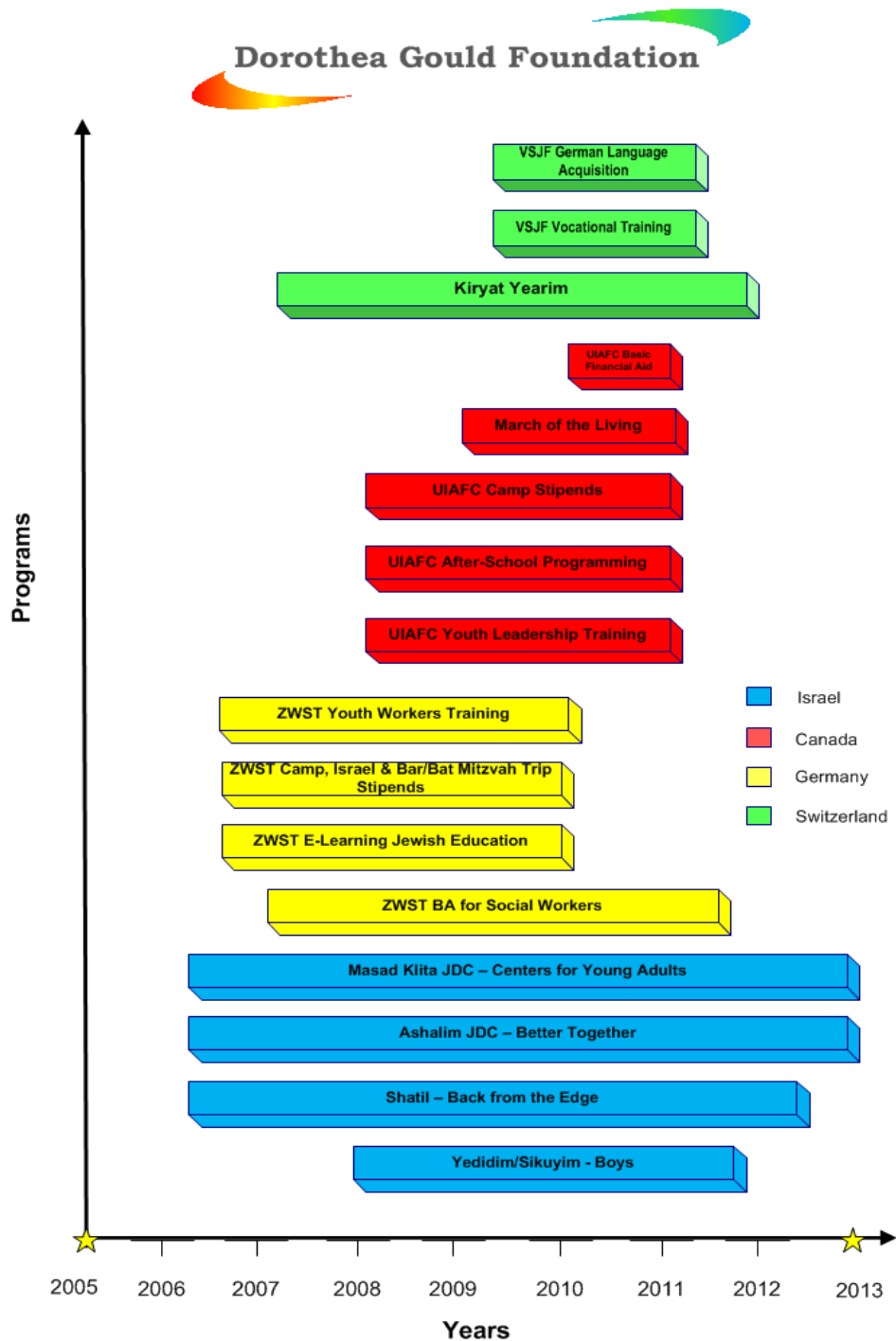
Sikuim participant and her mentor

For many immigrants, 'reintegration' is a euphemism; they were never integrated to begin with – either in their native countries or in Israel. Evaluative research shows that as a result of the program, there has been a 45% decrease in recurrent criminal offences, a

reduction in the amount of psychoactive substances consumed, and an increase from 75% to 90% in school enrollment. *Sikuim* operates in some 26 towns and cities. After achieving a high success rate among immigrant youth, the program was expanded to include native Israeli youth as well.

E. Time Line Chart

Below is a graphic summary of the projects that were funded in all four countries by funding period.



F. Indicators for Program Comparison

1. Population Characteristics and DGF Programming by Country

Canada

The last Canadian census, which took place in 2001, numbered 370,520 Jewish Canadians, approximately a third of whom were born abroad. Jews constitute approximately 1% of the Canadian population. About one fifth of the Jewish immigrants continue on welfare for more than a decade, a statistic comparable to other immigrant groups in Canada. For most, the first five to ten years are the critical time of economic need until the family breadwinners are able to establish themselves in their vocation.

Mila Voihanski, national director of the Canadian Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (JIAS), estimates that the past two decades of Jewish immigration to Canada consist of between 80%-90% FSU immigrants.¹ JIAS Montreal's demographer, Charles Shahar, estimates the number of FSU immigrants to Toronto alone in 2010 at 40,273.² While the majority of FSU immigrants are residing in the capitol, even if we were to assume that another 25% of the above figure is living elsewhere in Canada, we will arrive at some 50,000 FSU immigrants. This does not include second generation immigrants who are counted in the Israeli figures, but like Israel, it does include those who do not qualify as Jews according to Orthodox halakha. Therefore, the FSU immigrants are likely to represent at least 13% of Canadian Jewry and far more, if we count their Canadian-born children. When adding the number of non-FSU Israeli immigrants to that total, we approximate 70,000 immigrants – nearly one in five of all Canadian Jews.

Entry into Canada for immigration purposes is based on a point system, which gives preference to those sponsored by a family member, good language command, higher educational levels, professionals in fields of high demand or who are capable of filling unique job niches that cannot be filled by native Canadians and those with significant sums of money to invest in the Canadian economy. There are also immigrants granted citizenship under refugee status, which did indeed characterize FSU immigrants in the early 1990's, who tended to enter the country as tourists and then apply for refugee status.

The majority of the FSU immigrants are Russian, White Russian and Ukrainian, with an additional approximately 10% who are Bukharan or Caucasian wealthy business people. The later tend to be less educated and more religious, while the former have a higher educational average than the veteran Canadian Jewish population.

Canadian immigration policy, for the most part, has therefore created an immigrant population that is both elite, either in terms of social or economic capital, however not exclusively Jewish.

According to Voihansky, the Jewish identity of FSU immigrants is often stronger than that of Canadian Jewry; however it is substantially different in content. The FSU Jewish identity includes a unique body of Jewish culture, traditions and history so foreign that it is often rejected by veteran Canadian Jews.

¹ Telephone interview with Mila Voihanski, National Director JIAS Canada, 26.8.11.

² Telephone interview with Charles Shahar, JIAS Montreal demographer, 31.8.11.

Jewish Family Services (JFS) acts as an agent of the government in welfare issues of new immigrants. In contrast to the Swiss Jewish welfare agency which receives very limited funding from the Jewish community alone, the Canadian organization is quite liberal in their definition of who is a Jew for assistance purposes. When immigrants identify themselves as Jewish, they are referred to the JFS which operates by and large on government funding.

JIAS asks to see birth certificates of FSU immigrants which indicate whether a parent is Jewish or not. Their policy is to accept mixed marriages as long as the parents express a desire to join the Jewish community and raise their children to be Jewish. In this case, a variety of services are offered including financial assistance, children's programming, camps, family counseling, athletics and subsidized language courses – all through the local Jewish community.

The Jewish community centers also do not insist on purely halakhic definitions of Jewishness when it comes to social programming, as opposed to the synagogues which mostly adopt Orthodox halakha in this matter. Therefore, among the majority of FSU immigrants who are relatively secular in matters of observance, intermarriage does not exclude them from participation in Jewish community activities.

From a socioeconomic standpoint, most FSU immigrants are well on their way to being established in Canadian society within five years of their arrival. However, they often integrate into general Canadian society more easily than into the Canadian Jewish community. Their Russian identity is very strong and has led to considerable identification between Jewish and non-Jewish 'Russian' immigrants, including shared neighborhoods and a high rate of intermarriage. The intermarriage and non-affiliation rates are of greater proportions outside of the large Jewish population of Toronto, where the Jewish communities are smaller and the Russian church and Messianic Jews are actively recruiting the new immigrants.

The DGF granted a lump sum through the United Israel Appeal Federations of Canada UIAFC on behalf of Canadian Jewish immigrant youth integration efforts. The Canadian Jewish community is dispersed throughout 10 larger and dozens of smaller communities across the country. UIAFC sent out a request for proposals to all the communities, from which programs were selected for funding and recommended to the Foundation.

The general programming approach of the local communities was to expand the capacities of pre-existing, mainstream Jewish programming to include the newcomers. DGF encouraged more innovative outreach, which provided an impetus for the development of several unique programs. One initiative trained youth in the theater arts using Jewish-content plays. The troupe eventually toured with their productions, providing the youth with opportunities to develop self-expression in the arts, earn money and become acquainted with other Canadian Jewish communities. Another initiative, keeping in mind the drastically different socio-economic conditions of the Soviet Union, provided courses in financial management within the context of both Canadian capitalism and Jewish values such as *tzedakah* and *gemilut chasadim*.

Germany

German Jews constitute less than 0.3% of the German population of almost 81.5 million. The 'veteran' Jewish population in Germany consists of Holocaust survivors as well as waves of immigrants from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Russia in the 1970's, Iran and Israel, prior to the 1990's influx of Jews from the Former Soviet Union. The German government offers immigrants monthly living stipends, legal residence papers and housing subsidies for an extended period of time.

Of the four countries, Germany shows the most pronounced influx of recent FSU immigrants in terms of the numerical impact on the Jewish population. Increasing the population from 30,000 to 230,000 Jews, according to some sources, the FSU immigrants constitute nearly 90% of the present Jewish population in Germany.³ However in practice, since membership in the Jewish community is contingent upon halachic Jewish definitions of who is a Jew, Mr. Beni Bloch, executive director of the ZWST (the Central Welfare Board of Jewish Communities in Germany) estimates a slightly more conservative growth, adding an additional approximately 115,000 members to the Jewish community from the recent waves of FSU immigrants, effectively quadrupling the community from approximately 28,000 to 143,000 members.⁴

The statistical differential exists in part due to the German law, which is parallel to the Israeli Law of Return. Individuals may immigrate as Jews or as descendants of Jews up to the *fourth* generation, although the Jewish community reserves the right to greater stringency in their membership criteria. Another factor is the fact that there are some halachically Jewish immigrants who view themselves as atheists or who are otherwise uninterested in identifying with the Jewish community.

In effect, the membership stringency adds an additional filter to the population, because according to the ZWST, the halachically Jewish immigrants are four times as likely to hold academic degrees in comparison with their non-Jewish immigrant counterparts.

As the German government already offers immigrants German language courses, the ZWST has assisted in career retraining of professionals who have come from different fields and have chosen to work as social services providers within the Jewish community. The ZWST has also designed youth workers' training programs. Thus, the investment is mutually beneficial for the immigrant worker and the Jewish community. Additional programming supported by the DGF in Germany includes Jewish camps, Israel trips and bar or bat mitzvah trip stipends for children to encourage integration and promote Jewish values and heritage, and an extensive capacity-building e-learning system for youth and adults to reach out and unite all 94 Jewish communities dispersed throughout the country.

Switzerland

The Swiss Jewish population is unique in several ways. Firstly, it is almost entirely composed of post World War II immigrants; only their children are native Swiss Jews. Numbering 17,600, the Jewish community constitutes only 0.23% of the general population of 7,595,000. The vast majority of Jews live in the canton of Zurich, making the country much more geographically centralized than the German and Canadian communities.

³ Ben-Rafael, Eliezer, Jews and Jewish Education in Germany Today, The L.A. Pincus Fund for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, January 2000, Jerusalem.

⁴ Telephone Interview with ZWST Director, Mr. Beni Bloch, 19.8.11.

In principle, Switzerland does not receive immigrants except in cases of 'family reunification', which for Jewish immigrants can include marriage to a Swiss citizen, the 'repatriation' of children of Swiss citizens or people entering the country for limited periods on work visas (temporary work migration). Immigration is the only source of growth in the community, whose numbers have gradually decreased over the past decades due to low birth rates and emigration to Israel.

Mr. Eran Simchi of the *Verband Schweizerischer Jüdischer Fürsorgen* (VSJF), the central Jewish welfare agency of Switzerland, estimates that until 2008, approximately 100 immigrants would contact his offices per year. However, the number has quadrupled over the past four years since the onset of the recent global financial crisis, with some 400 immigrants coming per year, totaling approximately 3,200 Jewish immigrants to Switzerland over the past 20 years.

The Swiss Jewish immigrants are almost entirely Ashkenazi Jews, and according to Simchi, are divided evenly between religious and traditional (mildly observant) or secular Jews. The ultra-Orthodox communities that only marry within their community tend to choose their spouses from Israel or from other large Jewish centers around the globe. While they are entering a strong local social network, these young spouses often arrive in Switzerland at age 19 or 20 with inadequate secular education and German language acquisition for attaining economic self-sufficiency.

The second type of immigrants, children of Jews holding Swiss passports, often have little or no language base and are driven to immigrate out of economic distress. Both of these groups are in need of language and professional training to succeed in their new country.

The third group, Jewish people working temporarily in Switzerland, is generally financially self-sufficient and simply requires advice to assist them in connecting with local Jewish communal life.

The Swiss government offers welfare stipends to qualifying immigrants, however it will not subsidize language or professional training courses sufficiently to make them accessible to the lowest-income immigrants. The ultra-Orthodox experience additional difficulties, as they are uncomfortable in non-Jewish and mixed-sex learning environments. Many of the Jews also have difficulty with government courses since they are held on Saturdays and Jewish holidays. Children sent to government schools must also study on Saturdays. The Swiss government is not willing to subsidize learning in Jewish schools or to provide higher welfare stipends for those Jews who need to pay more for kosher groceries.

In these ways and more, the VSJF steps in and assists the Jewish immigrants by helping to meet their special needs. They offer advice, assistance in finding suitable local Jewish communities and services, translation services and so forth. The Dorothea Gould Foundation grants helped the VSJF to tailor language and vocational programming to the needs of young immigrants, to help them achieve economic self-sufficiency.

The governments of Germany and Switzerland both guarantee benefit packages to new immigrants, including assistance such as rental subsidy, living stipends, health-care and free public schooling. In cases where immigrants are already functional in the language,

they are placed in job integration programs. However, those that lack language facility or fail to integrate into the job force may receive welfare assistance for years. This is often the case with older immigrants who have greater difficulties making the transition and finding employment. For many FSU immigrants, the government welfare provides greater income than they earned in their home countries.

The German and Swiss governments specifically support the Jewish community, among other ways, by exacting a 'religion tax', based on a certain percentage of the community member's income. These funds form a basis for the national Jewish welfare organizations operation of social services, including assistance for new immigrants.

To a large degree, the substantial financial and vocational assistance offered to the German and Swiss immigrants by their governments – not as Jews but as immigrants – frees the Jewish organizations to focus on issues of integration into the local Jewish community. For example, the ZWST vocational program, which involved training Jewish immigrants as social workers in their communities, served the pressing need of the community for well-trained engaged Jewish community workers, as much as it served the vocational needs of the immigrants themselves. The Swiss trainings also served the community by providing linguistically and vocationally competent office managers and teachers, many of whom could be hired by Swiss Jewish businesses, schools and community centers.

Another Swiss program, *Kiriat Yearim*, is a youth village in Israel, founded in 1951, to offer European child immigrant survivors a new home. Supported largely by Swiss donations, *Kiriat Yearim* helps to integrate youth from the margins of Israeli society, three quarters of whom are poor immigrants for whom a comprehensive institution provides the only consistent support in their lives. Due to poor education in their countries of origin, personal traumas, difficult living conditions, erratic school attendance and undiagnosed learning disabilities, the immigrant youth often arrive in the village illiterate and 3-5 years behind their peers academically. Some already hold criminal records.

The DGF has helped the youth village expand its school program from three to six years, significantly increasing the number of students and staff. The Foundation has also helped in the extensive renovation of old dormitories and the construction of a sports facility, as part of a national plan to encourage physical activity in place of drugs and alcohol as pastimes for youth. In addition, the staff has taken part in in-service trainings and volunteers have contributed practical professional lessons from the Justice and Finance Ministries and creative vocational programming such as village gardening, animal husbandry, silver and wood crafting, photography and painting.

Kiriat Yearim offers a 'last chance' to many youth to break the cycles of marginalization and neglect and find a positive, productive place in Israeli society.

Israel

As the recognized homeland of the Jewish people, Israel is of course unique in its immigration policy. Any individual with one halachically Jewish grandparent is welcome to immigrate and receive immediate citizenship under the 'Law of Return'. Israel sends out Jewish Agency and other representatives to actively encourage 'Aliyah' across the globe and has in recent decades arranged mass immigrations of Ethiopians. Due to the open-door immigration policy, active recruitment and extensive immigration integration efforts,

Israel has received some 922,200 FSU (87%) & Ethiopian (13%) immigrants in recent waves, constituting 16% of the present Jewish population and some 12% of the general population in the country.

The open-door policy also allows for the integration of some of the socioeconomically weakest Jewish populations, who do not qualify for immigration to the other countries, including Jews of the Caucasian mountain region, Bukhara and Ethiopia. In addition to the classic cultural, linguistic and professional adaptations required of all immigrants, these groups must transition from much more traditional, relatively isolated patriarchal societies and lesser developed economies.

The government system in Israel offers all immigrants integration 'baskets' that include grants, subsidies and rights depending on country of origin. Local governments and NGOs offer a wide range of more locally-tailored programming. One of the primary needs, identified by both the JDC and *Shatil*, was for greater coordination between the programming bodies, to reduce duplication of efforts and foster more effective collaboration of human and financial resources.

The DGF programming in Israel is characterized by a much greater emphasis upon coalition and capacity building, cultural sensitivity toward the immigrant minorities and empowerment and integration of the weakest and most marginalized of the immigrant youth. In some cases, the 'immigrant' youth are not first-generation immigrants, but rather, are born into immigrant families and cultural 'ghettos', with more limited socio-cultural and financial capital to integrate into and succeed in Israeli society than their veteran Israeli counterparts.

As the DGF support gradually tapers off, it leaves in its wake well-entrenched programming supported by wide communal and institutional coalitions; mobilized professionals; trained staff; adult, student, military, parent and youth workers and volunteers. In addition to efforts to transform the youth themselves, Israeli programming has sought to transform their homes and communities as well. Through evaluations and documentation, program directors have developed best practice models for national and international consumption. Through coalition building and professional training, they have attempted to raise levels of cultural knowledge and sensitivity and impact policy change in the field of immigrant and minority integration.

a) Immigrant Demography Chart

Following is a summary of the demographic statistics reviewed in the text above.

Country	Immigrants as Percentage of Jewish Population	Jewish Immigrant Population	Jewish Population	Jewish People as % of General Population	Country Size (sq. km.) & Jewish Geographic Dispersal	Diverse Communities
Israel	As of 2010, 40.4% of Israel's population is foreign-born ⁵ , and 16% has come from or is born to parents from the FSU & Ethiopia since 1990.	806,100 FSU ⁶ + 116,100 Ethiopians ⁷ = 922,200	5,840,000 ⁸	75% of 7,751,000	Less than 21,000 sq. km. ⁹ Country- wide dispersal of the Jewish population.	Mostly FSU (including Causasians & Bukharans) & Ethiopians, as well as immigrants from Jewish communities worldwide.
Canada	Approximately 13% of the Jewish population today hails from FSU.	50,000 FSU (2010 estimate)	375,000 (2010 estimate)	1% of 34,278,400 ¹⁰	Nearly 10 million sq. km. Jewish population is dispersed through 10 large and many small areas.	Mostly FSU; Israel; North & South Africa
Germany	76% ¹¹ - 90% ¹² of the Jewish population comes from the FSU.	200,000 Approx. 115,000 new members to the Jewish community	143,000 - 230,000	Less than 0.3% of 81,471,834 ¹³	Nearly 360,000 sq. km. dispersed throughout some 94 communities ¹⁴	FSU
Switzerland	Close to 100% of Swiss Jews are immigrants since 1945. Immigrants since 1990 constitute approx 18% of the Jewish population.	Unofficial estimate of 3,200 ¹⁵	17,600	Slightly more than 0.2% of 7,595,000	Over 41,000 sq. km. The majority live in the Zurich canton, and an additional French-speaking population live in the Geneva canton.	Mostly Ashkenazi Jews from North America, Europe & Israel. Very few from the FSU or eastern Jewish communities.

⁵World Migration Report 2010, International Organization for Migration 2010, Accessed 8.8.11. http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/WMR_2010_ENGLISH.pdf.

⁶The Former Soviet Union Population in Israel, updated to 2004," CBS 3.11.10, accessed 8.8.11. http://www.cbs.gov.il/www/publications/migration_ussr01/pdf/005pro.pdf.

⁷"The Ethiopian Community in Israel," CBS 3.11.10, accessed 8.8.11. http://www.cbs.gov.il/reader/newhodaot/hodaa_template.html?hodaa=201011262.

⁸"63rd Israeli Independence Day," CBS 8.5.11, accessed 8.8.11. http://www.cbs.gov.il/reader/newhodaot/hodaa_template.html?hodaa=201111101.

⁹All country land mass information was taken from, "Countries of the World," World Atlas, accessed 21.8.11. <http://www.worldatlas.com/aatlas/populations/ctypopls.htm>.

¹⁰"Canada's Population Estimates," Statistics Canada 24.3.11, accessed 8.8.11. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/110324/dq110324b-eng.htm>.

¹¹ Telephone Interview with Mr. Beni Bloch, executive director of ZWST, 19.8.11. Mr. Bloch's estimate refers to halachically Jewish members of the Jewish community.

¹² Ben-Rafael, Eliezer, *Jews and Jewish Education in Germany Today*, The L.A. Pincus Fund for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, January, 2000 Jerusalem. Prof. Ben-Rafael's estimate refers to the raw number of FSU immigrants admitted as Jews into Germany under the *Contingency Refugee Act*. He estimates that just over 100,000 are official members of the Jewish community.

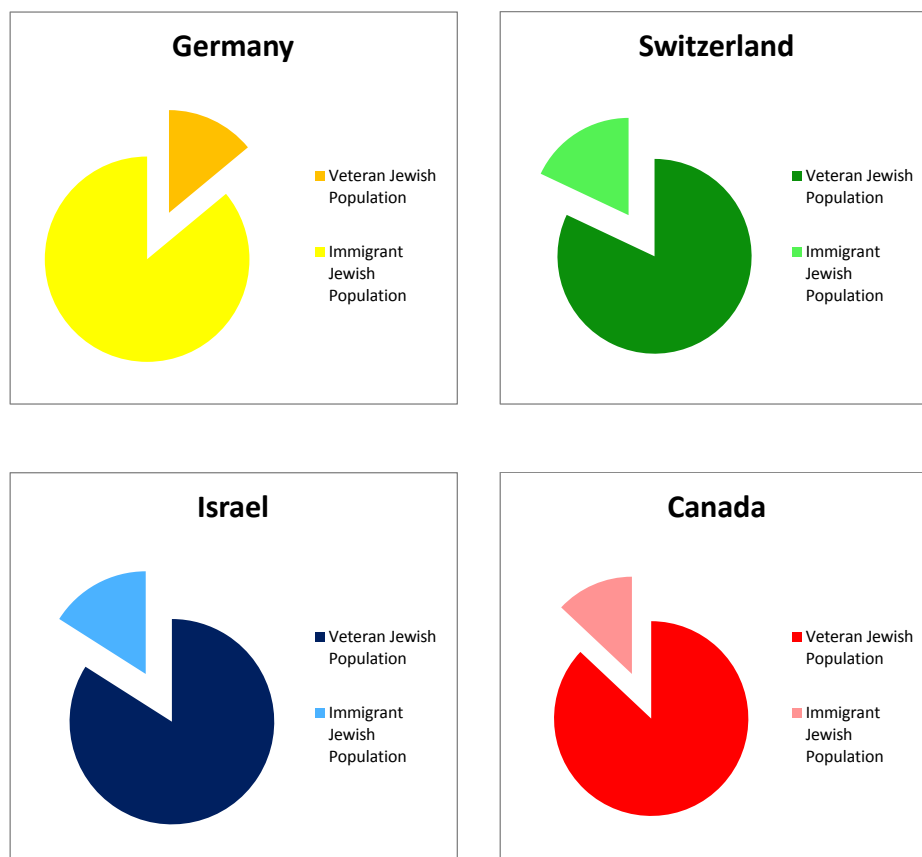
¹³ "Germany Demographics Profile," *Index mundi* 7.11, accessed 8.8.11. http://www.indexmundi.com/germany/demographics_profile.html.

¹⁴ According to the DGF annual report for 2009.

¹⁵ Telephone conversation with Mr. Eran-Shoham Simchi of the Verband Schweizerischer Jüdischer Fürsorgen, 16.8.11.

b) Veteran and Immigrant Population Comparison Pie Charts

Below is a graphic presentation of the immigrant Jewish populations as compared with the veteran Jewish populations in all four countries. It is important to remember that the proportions in Germany are opposite to the other countries, since the new immigrants now represent the vast majority of the German Jewish community.



2. 'Border Controls'

The Diaspora Jewish communities and Israel offer privileges and services to those admitted through their gates. The admission qualifications vary from community to community and reflect the character, interests and goals of the veteran community as well as the resources at their disposal.

The Canadian UIAFC places no official limitation on access to programs, however the programming clearly promotes Jewish heritage, faith and community networking, which is unlikely to draw non-Jewish people. Local communities may choose to impose further limitations based on their religious identification.

In contrast, the ZWST Central Welfare Board of Jewish Communities in Germany and the VSJF Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities both limit their programming to those who are halakhically Jewish. This policy differs from the German government criteria during the height of the FSU immigration, according to which one was a Jew for the purposes of

immigration if descendant from at least one halakhically Jewish grandparent. The experience of Jewishness in the Soviet Union also differed from the German Jewish criteria, as Jewishness was far more an ethnic than a religious identity and could be passed on through either parent.

For Swiss authorities, who allow immigration for family unification purposes only, Jewish identity carries no significance. The significant factor is whether the individual has married a Swiss citizen or holds a Swiss passport as the child of a Swiss citizen. Even if one is the child of a Jew but is not halakhically Jewish, the Jewish community will not assist them. Therefore, the operative definition of who is a Jew in Germany and Switzerland according to the official Jewish welfare and community membership policies is relatively narrow.

Although their governments will accept a broad spectrum of Jews and their family members, the German and Swiss Jewish communities reserve the right to preserve their Orthodox standards. There are only approximately 4,000 members of liberal synagogues in Germany who adopt looser definitions of who is a Jew.¹⁶ In practice in Germany, this means that non-Jewish children¹⁷ may study in Jewish schools because the German government provides most of the educational funding, however the same children are not received as members of the mainstream Jewish community when it comes to synagogue membership, preschools, camps or other activities. The Swiss community differs in that the government does not fund religious schools, therefore the stricter definitions regarding Jewishness do apply in the Swiss Jewish schools.

In general, it may be said that the community "border controls" and Jewish programming in Germany and Switzerland reflect the overarching communal goal of "preserving tradition, Judaism and the Jewish community, and proving the continued existence of the Jewish people" despite all adversity.¹⁸ The more liberal approach to border controls in Canadian Jewish community activities and programming seems to reflect a greater sense of ease in the host society, both historically and at present.

Israel's immigration policy is necessarily the determining factor in admission to integration programming. Once Israel has granted citizenship according to the 'Law of Return', the state is responsible for the immigrant's welfare, whether halakhically Jewish or not. Therefore, the ongoing battle with the Ministry of Interior is not only about who can claim membership in the Jewish nation on an esoteric level; it is also about who can claim the integration privileges and services offered to new immigrants and citizens.

Israel has chosen to open its doors to anyone with Jewish ancestry to the fourth generation. Israeli integration programming – whether state, municipal or NGO run – is necessarily broader and more intensive, since from the society's standpoint, after immigration, integration can be neither optional nor exclusive. Jewish content is not always evident in the programming, either, although efforts are made to help immigrants forge meaningful connections to Jewish Israeli society (as opposed to encouraging Christian, Muslim or other perspectives) – much in the same way that the German and

¹⁶ Telephone interview with Beni Bloch, National Director of ZWST, 31.8.11.

¹⁷ Non-Jewish students constitute approximately one quarter of the student bodies in German Jewish schools, to include children of mixed marriages as well as children without any Jewish lineage.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Canadian programs offer society-situated programming, from lessons on the history of Jews in the country to appreciation of the local nature through hiking and camping.

Israel, upon granting citizenship, must work toward the integration of all immigrants regardless of their Jewish status, even though in some cases – such as with the Ethiopian *Falash Mura* – strict Orthodox conversion is made an official criterion for their naturalization. However, while this semi-imposed conversion may solve halakhic dilemmas, it is likely to do little to impact identity or practice.

In general, the 'border policing', which regulates admission to immigrant programming in the three veteran Diaspora communities seems to reflect their degree of identification with Orthodox Judaism, the extent to which they perceive their community as a threatened minority and the resources at their disposal. The Canadian community opens its gates wider than the smaller, younger and more heterogeneous communities of Germany and Switzerland. Israel necessarily opens its gates the widest and therefore faces the most complex set of integration challenges.

3. Is 'Integration' a One-Way Street? Integrating Veterans and Immigrants.

Immigrant 'integration' raises a most basic question: Integration into what? Is integration simply a euphemism for 'resocialization' according to the terms set by the government and/or veteran Jewish communities? Must immigrants leave behind their worldviews and practices in order to 'integrate', or is there room for dialogue and societal change, new ideas, visions and priorities – even on issues of Jewish identity and practice? Is it only the youth that require 'integration', or is it possible that the community and even the society may benefit from dialogic renovation?

'Integration' is a broad term applied to a spectrum of significantly different social relationships between veterans and immigrants. In order to evaluate and compare 'integration' programs, we will attempt to distinguish assumptions regarding the goals of integration latent in each organization's programming.

Social psychologists LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton have developed a useful theoretical mapping of three common models of immigrant integration.¹⁹ According to the **Assimilation** model, problems of stress and alienation occur when immigrants experience the loss of support from their culture of origin and the inability to adapt the assets of the new culture. The assimilation model of success requires the newcomer to disregard her previous identity and fully take on her new culture. The **Acculturation** model is equally as unidirectional and hierarchical; however, it expects the immigrant to maintain some degree of his previous cultural identity while adopting the codes of the dominant new culture. The **Alternation** model proposes a positive, non-hierarchical relationship between the old and new cultures, such that the immigrant need not choose one over the other. Rather, she learns the codes of both cultures and switches between the two as necessary, as a fully bicultural individual, in the same way that a bilingual person knows to navigate between two languages. The immigrant may also determine her degree and manner of affiliation to each culture.

¹⁹ LaFromboise, T., Coleman H.L.K. & Gerton J., "Psychological Impact of Biculturalism: Evidence and Theory," Psychological Bulletin Vol. 114, No. 3: pp. 395-412, 1993.

Canadian programming is clearly situated within the local Jewish communities and therefore promotes local Jewish integration – through the classic Jewish supplementary fare of camp stipends, after-school programming and youth leadership training. By also meeting the real needs of families – financial aid to purchase school supplies or summer camps and after-school child-care and enrichment – the UIAFC programming attempts to foster the sense of a new Jewish home within the larger home of Canada.

The Canadian UIAFC funding criteria and program directors chose to emphasize the integration of immigrant children and youth into local Canadian Jewish communities, mostly by subsidizing their participation in existing programs. Hence, the Canadian integration paradigm can be illustrated for the most part as monologic, with minimal direct impact on the existing community planning or programming execution. The clear intent of the programming is that through social and economic outreach, newcomers will **assimilate** into veteran community structures.

It seems that despite years of outreach to the FSU immigrants, by and large, the majority has chosen not to integrate into the veteran Jewish community. When they do choose to affiliate, it is primarily within separate FSU Jewish groups and institutions.²⁰ In Canadian mainstream programming discourse, the failure of Jewish immigrants to affiliate is labeled 'marginalization' and 'isolation'. However, social psychologist and integration specialist, Floyd Rudmin, argues that youth cannot be marginalized from a culture into which they choose not to integrate.²¹ It may be that the price of this kind of 'integration' induces more stress than remaining unaffiliated with the Jewish mainstream, since integration may require sacrificing too many defining aspects of their native culture. One way that FSU young people have solved their dilemma of how to identify as Jews in Canada is by remaining in separate Jewish congregations of their own. Hence, FSU immigrants are choosing the **alternation** model of integration with Gentile Canadians as their main reference group. Whether or not this is a step toward full integration into the Jewish mainstream within a generation or two still remains to be seen. For now it seems that at best, an alternative 'Canadian' Jewishness is evolving parallel to the veteran mainstream – one linked to the unique meanings of being a Jew in the former Soviet Union.

In Germany, the outreach efforts of the veteran community to the recent immigrants are designed to strengthen three aspects of their collective identity: as members of the Jewish people, as German Jews and as German citizens. Each of these identities is expected to contribute both to integration into German society in general and into the German Jewish community in particular. The programming assists both the immigrants and the Jewish community by capacity building of human resources through training professional social workers and youth leaders, as well as efficiently filling in gaps in the Jewish knowledge of the FSU immigrants through e-learning-- even in the smallest communities where no Jewish schools exist.

German Jewish leaders are aware of their community's need to cope with the recent history of the Holocaust, much more so than in Canada or Switzerland. Immigrants are encouraged to learn of their Jewish heritage and grapple with the difficult questions that

²⁰ From telephone interviews with Andrea Freedman of the UIAFC, 19.8.11 and Mila Voihanski of JIAS Canada, 26.8.11.

²¹ Rudmin, Floyd, "Debate in Science: The Case of Acculturation," University of Tromsø, Norway, 8.4.05.

arise from the post-1945 revival of the German Jewish community and their choice of Germany over other countries, including Israel. The German programming recognizes that without coming to terms with and developing a sustainable identification with German society, integration becomes a nearly insurmountable task.

ZWST German programming tended to focus on older youth and young adults (mostly bar mitzvah age and older) and placed a greater emphasis upon the training of immigrant social workers and youth leaders. ZWST consulted with immigrant professionals at the planning stage and integrated youth counselors and workers in the implementation stages. Thus, the German programming paradigm may be illustrated as primarily acculturative, raising up a cadre of communally active bicultural immigrants who serve as a bridge between veteran and immigrant community members, and between German society and the FSU immigrant population.

The minority status of the Jewish population, the fact that FSU immigrants constitute such an overwhelming majority of the Jewish community and their geographical dispersion are all factors which have apparently prevented or eliminated the need for origin-specific grassroots immigrant organizations to represent the needs of the immigrant population in veteran fora. At the same time, considering the critical mass of FSU immigrants in the community, it is only inevitable that both veterans and immigrants will go through a transformative process, producing a new German Jewish community, where perhaps being Jewish in Germany will have something to do with having links to the former Soviet Union. In this case, the model of integration can be configured as **alternation**, where one is alternately (FSU-linked) Jewish or German.

Canadians participate in the March of the Living tour and Germany also sponsors immigrants who travel on special youth tours to Israel. While Israel always offers an optional future for Jewish youth worldwide, it is interesting that the young immigrants – or their families – have already made the choice to live in Diaspora for the time being. Yet, the Israel tour gives them a glimpse of what they could have chosen and still may choose at a later date, and provides opportunity to maturely formulate their new localized identity vis-à-vis Israel within the broader context of a spectrum of Jewish options. In a sense, Israel is the forum that levels the playing field between Canadian and German veterans and immigrants, because it is only there that all of the youth travelers both belong as Jews and yet hold outsider status as foreign nationals.

The Swiss DGF programming falls into the category of relief work, in which the Jewish community attempts to provide tools to assist immigrants in basic subsistence – in this case, to make a decent living in their new country. Secular studies, under the umbrella of the Jewish community, encourage practical integration into the general society while framing the Jewish community as a benefactor and social network for Jewish immigrants.

In Switzerland, Jews are allowed entry into the country for the purposes of family 'unification', regardless of their socio-economic status. The DGF-funded Swiss programming was offered in tandem with general government programming, to provide limited but affordable and culturally-sensitive options for Jewish immigrants with limited means. A VSJF representative met with candidates to verify their status, including both Jewish identity and financial need.

Mr. Simchi of the VSJF points out that from his perspective, throughout history, social services have been provided through the Jewish community not only because general frameworks excluded or ill-suited Jewish people, but also out of a desire to maintain some degree of segregation from the surrounding Gentile population. According to Simchi,²² no Jew in all of Switzerland – religious or otherwise – places his child in public childcare or early educational institutions. Not only do they teach Christian concepts, ignore and remain inflexible regarding studies on Jewish holidays, they also serve pork and other non-kosher foods to the children. Adults also prefer studying with other Jews in programs which allow them to honor the Sabbath and holidays.

The Swiss VSJF perspective contrasts to some degree with the German ZWST position, which simultaneously encourages the strengthening of Jewish and German identities and integration into both the Jewish community and the broader German society. According to Professor Eliezer Ben-Rafael's 2010 study of the German Jewish population,²³ nearly 63% of veteran and immigrant German Jewry have never exposed their children to *any form of Jewish education*.

The Swiss community is significantly smaller in size in both its veteran and immigrant populations in comparison with the other countries. The VSJF led the Jewish community leaders from across the country in roundtable discussions about the most pressing needs and best approaches to assisting integration of poor young immigrants. Some young immigrant representatives were also consulted in the process. The result was classic relief work, designed to equip the immigrants with basic language and vocational skills in a culturally-sensitive setting. Programming offered differed little from government or private educational programs for new immigrants or young people in general, apart from the fact that the learning schedule was synchronized with the Jewish calendar and the student body was all Jewish, providing newcomer networking opportunities. Unlike the programming of the other countries, the Swiss community geared its programming toward an economically functional acculturation into Swiss society through the Jewish community. The very planning and execution of the programming assumed a pronounced desire on the part of the veterans and newcomers to remain socially and culturally **segregated** from their Gentile compatriots.

Israel offers extensive benefit packages to immigrants depending upon their country of origin. Israeli programs tend to focus on integration into Israeli Jewish society. In some cases, greater appreciation for and identification with their Jewish heritage can help youth decrease feelings of marginalization and alienation toward their new society and promote integration; however, in general, less coordination with religious authorities or institutions takes place in Israel, as programming mostly relies on the support of the civil authorities and specific-issue or population-focused non-government organizations. Religious groups, such as the political party Shas, may also choose to reach out to immigrant populations and encourage integration into their ranks.

Israel, in contrast to the other countries, is highly decentralized in its immigrant integration programming and, in principle, open to a variety of voices. Rather than dialogue between the immigrants, programmers and policy makers, what existed prior to DGF

²² Telephone interview with Mr. Eran Shoham-Simchi, 24.8.11.

²³ Ben-Rafael, Glöckner & Sternberg, "Jews and Jewish Education in Germany Today," The L.A. Pincus Fund for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, Jerusalem: January 2010, p. 76.

funded programming could more accurately be described as cacophony. The multiplicity of integration programs was so pronounced that one of the main goals of both the JDC and *Shatil* programming was critically important coordination among the multitude of government and non-government bodies and programs operating on behalf of young immigrants. JDC's *Ashalim* even named their program 'Better Together' to reflect both the desirable outcome of immigrant integration and the need for various organizations to coordinate their efforts to this end. JDC's *Masad Klita's* Centers for Young Adults were designed as 'clearinghouses' to focus and provide one potent address for the gamut of immigrant youth programming. Through coordination, organizations were able to streamline their efforts, reduce duplication of efforts and channel grassroots immigrant organization input toward formulation of proposals for policy change. Because of the marginalized status of the populations targeted in the Israeli DGF programming, the integration process is most accurately described as **acculturative**; however, the eventual goal of the programs empowering grassroots immigrant organizations would be best described as **alternation**.

4. Diverse Populations – Reaching One or More Cultural Groups?

While **Canada** is in principle open to a variety of Jewish immigrants, by far the largest representative group comes from the former Soviet Union. Smaller numbers of immigrants have arrived roughly during the same time period from Israel, Argentina and South Africa, although it is estimated that approximately 50% of 'Israeli' immigrants merely stopped over in Israel for a few years on their way westward from the FSU.

Approximately 10% of the FSU immigrants hail from Bukhara and the Caucasus mountain region. In Israel, these populations are known for their lower educational levels and socioeconomic status. However in Canada, these immigrants, who on the whole are less educated and more religiously traditional than their more mainstream 'Russian' Jewish compatriots, tend to be quite well-established, even wealthy, businesspeople. In Toronto, the Bukharan community has established a working relationship with the Sephardic community, sharing their community center and often sending their children to the Sephardic day school. In smaller Jewish communities, all FSU immigrants tend to congregate together, speak Russian (some have vastly improved their Russian language since immigrating to Canada) and emphasize their commonalities.

Germany also has welcomed an overwhelming majority of FSU immigrants in the past two decades. The ZWST is investing in training immigrant leaders who can more effectively minister to the needs of their compatriots, as well as form an effective bridge between the veteran and immigrant communities.

Switzerland, on the other hand, due to its immigration policy, has received almost no FSU immigrants, but rather a mixed bag of nationalities, mostly from Ashkenazi Jewish centers in the west. The programming is therefore focused on socioeconomic rather than cultural challenges.

Both Canada and Switzerland, due to their French-speaking regions, have in the past also integrated French-speaking immigrants, mostly from North Africa, however their numbers have been low in recent years.

Israel has by far the most diverse immigrant population. Israel's diversity extends beyond the most obvious duo of FSU and Ethiopian immigrants; it also includes minority groups within the FSU population, who scarcely immigrate elsewhere and the *Falash Mura* Ethiopians, who allegedly descended from Jews, converted to Christianity generations ago and are largely rejected by the Ethiopian Jews.

Each minority constitutes a critical mass in Israeli terms, warranting specially tailored programming. The JDC and *Shatil* add their professional experience to the cultural expertise and networks of grassroots organizations in order to tailor culturally-specific programs. This approach produces more effective programming at the same time that it trains and empowers minority leaders and organizations. *Shatil* takes the process one step further by assisting community activists in formulating proposals for legislative and policy change.

Jews from the Bukhara and the Caucasus mountain region form culturally unique pockets within the Russian-speaking population. *Ashalim's* Better Together project has specifically targeted these groups, known for their lower socio-economic status, in cooperation with grassroots organizations active in their communities.

Shatil's 'Back from the Edge' program has targeted FSU youth in Beersheva, Ramle, Lod, Bat Yam and Pardes Hanna, and Ethiopian youth in Hadera and Bat Galim. *Yedidim's* *Sikuim* project began by targeting FSU and Ethiopian immigrants and later expanded to include veteran Israeli youth.

In summary, Canada and Germany have focused primarily on FSU immigrants; Switzerland on a highly diverse group of individuals; and Israel, while coping primarily with the FSU and Ethiopians when it comes to needy immigrants, has general as well as more ethnically-honed programs for unique minorities within the immigrant groups.

5. Formal vs. Informal Education & Programming

Researchers maintain that it is not mixed, but rather weak, cultural identification that creates problems for the immigrant, and more so for the immigrant youth lacking the opportunity to develop full competency and a sense of groundedness in either his native culture or his new one.²⁴ The Jewish community plays an important anchoring role in helping children and youth develop strong personal and cultural identities in the wake of migration-related instability and change. A combination of formal educational and informal social programming is the most common choice for providing both depth of knowledge and breadth of experience and social networking.

Canadian programming was primarily based on informal education and programming, including Jewish camps, trips, youth leadership training and after-school enrichment, in addition to formal learning elements of youth training and afterschool Jewish enrichment. This was economically the best route to reach a large number of immigrant youth and communities.

²⁴ Oetting, E.R., Edwards R.W. & Beauvais F., "Drugs and Native American Youth," In B. Segal (Ed.), Perspectives on Adolescent Drug Use, New York: Harworth Press, 1989: 1-34.

The **German** programs include a combination of formal and informal educational interventions. The ZWST BA program for social workers is the most obvious form of formal education, albeit for a limited group of 'change agents', joined by the e-learning courses with formal registration and homework and educational materials posted on the internet site. Due to the extremely diffused demography of the Jewish population in Germany, the e-learning program was designed in part to replace educational programming traditionally offered in synagogues or local community centers. German youth trainings also offered sophisticated content designed to engage youth in interpreting their own personal stories, the history of Jews in Germany and the role of the state of Israel in order to develop mature positions about their role in the community and the agenda of the Jewish community today. Informal German programming included camps and youth trips.

The **Swiss** programming, geared entirely to young adult immigrants, included formal vocational and language courses. The Swiss-Israeli youth village of **Kiriat Yearim** is a total institution offering formal education alongside informal enrichment in one comprehensive framework.

Shatil developed a Master's program for immigrant counselors, teacher and school counselor trainings and educational curricula which were integrated into the Israeli school system. All of the Israeli programs provided formal professional and volunteer training. Nonetheless, **Israeli** programming for the youth was for the most part informal and took place outside of the formal educational frameworks. As Israeli schools provide Jewish content in the standard curricula, there is less need to supplement Jewish learning through enrichment programming, however the challenge of fostering ties to the new 'homeland' is relevant in Israel as well as in the other countries.

The Mentoring Approach

The **Canadian** programming was more classically group-oriented: Jewish camps, after-school enrichment, youth leadership training and the March of the Living. It may be that in particular instances in the camp, enrichment or training activities, leaders or counselors took on the role of mentors; however, mentoring should be considered an ancillary outcome in these cases, as it was not formulated as a goal of the programming or reported upon in the UIAFC periodic reports.

The **German** ZWST e-learning program, among other things, also offered virtual counseling, which may be seen as a form of mentoring in cases in which an ongoing relationship is maintained. In the Jewish camps and youth workers training, mentoring is not mentioned as one of the methods of intervention. Therefore, in Germany also, if mentoring took place, it may be considered an ancillary outcome.

The **Swiss** programming was limited to formal vocational training in classroom settings without elements of mentoring. A parallel phenomenon of peer networking did develop through the prolonged period of study together of the young immigrant adults.

All of the **Israeli** programs employed mentoring in different capacities. *Shatil* formed a bank of experts to mentor grassroots immigrant activists in order to increase their organizational capacities and raise their level of professionalism. Both *Shatil* and *Ashalim*

engaged volunteer immigrant students and teachers as tutors to mentor children individually and in groups both academically and by personal example. *Masad Klita* mobilized older, more established immigrant young adults to mentor younger participants in the Centers for Young Adults. *Yedidim's Sikuim* program, in particular, emphasized mentoring by pairing juvenile offenders with immigrant students to offer counseling and tutoring, to tailor each youth's personal advancement program and to guide the youth in designing and implementing their mandatory community service programs. Prof. Arnon Edelstein, who carried out the program evaluation, writes that the youth overwhelmingly identified mentoring as the single most significant factor in reducing their recurrent criminal behavior. Another outstanding comment of *Sikuim* youth participants is that the program made them realize that there are adults that truly care about them and want to help them succeed in life.²⁵

Mentoring is a labor and potentially economically-intensive activity that engages the immigrant on a very personal level over an extended period of time. When conducted by more established immigrants, it offers personalized guidance and hope to marginalized, impoverished youth who often come from dysfunctional families or disempowered, culturally-inept immigrant parents or authority figures. The Israeli programming overcame the potential trap of high cost interventions by mobilizing community volunteers and working in tandem with the national educational system to offer tuition stipends to student volunteers. In addition to the satisfaction of impacting young lives, volunteers also benefitted from professional training and networking with representatives of the coalition of ministries and organizations supporting the initiative. The program coordinators, in addition to benefitting from volunteer labor, effectively increased the capacity of immigrant communities and imparted their vision for social change to a new generation of young immigrant social leaders and workers.

6. Evaluations, Documentation, Best Practice Models, Publications, Professional Conferences, Policy Change

The DGF board of trustees in practice preferred direct-impact programming to academic research or program evaluations. Some of the programs were small in scale or carried out over a relatively brief period of time. However larger-scale, longer-term programs carried out extensive evaluations. For all of the programs, the Foundation required periodic detailed reporting from the program managers.

The ZWST benefitted generally from a national mapping of the German Jewish immigrant population published in 2010, focusing on Jewish identity and education, carried out by Tel Aviv University Professor Eliezer Ben-Rafael, with funding from a number of foundations, most notably the L.A. Pincus Fund. However, this research did not evaluate specific intervention programs or make concrete recommendations regarding future programming. The flagship BA program, specifically, was evaluated more rigorously and the demand for its continuation along with the large rate of graduates spoke to its success.

The Canadian programs also did not carry out evaluative research to examine the effectiveness of specific programming, however the UIAFC funding criteria document

²⁵ Edelstein, Arnon, "" 2008.

from 2010 cites a study offering evidence that Jewish camps have a strong impact on community and synagogue membership and future financial donations.²⁶ Additionally, in the transition from year 1 to 2 of funding, the criteria were tightened and applied to all programs selected.

The Swiss programs were also unevaluated by an outside source. VSJF periodic updates reported high student satisfaction across the board, however the office manager certificate program was eventually significantly downsized due to its incompatibility with student capabilities and expectations.

The Israeli programs benefit from broad coalitional support of government ministries and NGOs, many of whom specialize either in the immigrant populations or integration. All four, large-scale programs benefitted from experienced intermediaries who built professional action research evaluations into their budgets and work plans. Thus, an ongoing dialogue was initiated from the start between the program goals and the facts on the ground, which helped to shape the programs in real time.

In preparation for the 'Back from the Edge' (BFTE) program, *Shatil* mapped the present state of the entire Ethiopian community in Israel, existing programming and best practices targeting Ethiopian youth and organized a national conference to share their findings with other professionals active in the field. In addition to the publication of the program evaluation and best practice models resulting from the five years of DGF funded programming experience, *Shatil* established a virtual public library online on the subject of youth immigration.

Shatil also coordinated a professional bank of experts to assist in advising grassroots organizational leaders and raise their level of professionalism in program design and management, materials development, public awareness media campaigns, evaluation of best practices and drafting proposals for policy and legislative change. Dr. Edna Bustin was commissioned to evaluate the program.

The *Ashalim* program staff ran surveys before entering each neighborhood, to assess the local needs as perceived by the residents. They presented the 'Better Together' program at national and international conferences and hired a team of evaluators to accompany the program from Brookdale-Myers with the support of the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics.

JDC Masad Klita's 'Centers for Young Adults' (CYA) developed a best practice data base of preferred interventions for young adult immigrants. Martens-Hoffman was commissioned to perform CYA's evaluative analysis. Similarly, *Yedidim's Sikuim* staff compiled a data base of best practice interventions for the rehabilitation of immigrant juvenile offenders as well as professional publications on the subject. *Sikuim* was professionally evaluated by Professor Arnon Edelstein of the Institute of Criminology in the Faculty of Law at the Hebrew University.

All four Israeli organizations, due to their work through broad-based coalitions, necessarily promoted discourse and best practice intervention models on issues of immigrant youth integration in a wide spectrum of local and national fora.

²⁶ Silverman, Jerry, "Investing in Jewish Education," [The Jewish Week](#) 20.8.2008.

7. Capacity Building, Empowerment & Social Change – Ancillary Benefits or Best Practice Models?

From capacity building of community or national organizations to parent empowerment to mobilization of neighborhood residents in community service, are the practices of social change merely 'ancillary impacts' of integration programming or should they constitute best practice models?

The Israeli NGO *Yedidim's Sikuim* program offers a fine example of an immigrant-specific program that was so successful that it was integrated into the mainstream network of national social services and interventions and **expanded to include native Israeli youth offenders**. Therefore, in addition to offering culturally-sensitive programming, *Yedidim* succeeded in creating an innovative program that increased mainstream Israeli capacities in their field.

In the past five years, nearly two decades since the beginning of the FSU immigration to **Canada**, JIAS Canada began promoting programming, which rather than 'train' newcomers, encourages them to bridge the gaps between veterans and immigrants. This new approach, spearheaded by JIAS national director Mila Voihanski, herself a FSU immigrant, attempts to mobilize immigrant or second-generation FSU youth to take responsibility, to 'own' the Jewish community, to learn to lead through mentorship and to participate in rather than assimilate into the Jewish mainstream. This new programming encourages the immigrants and veterans alike to accept and respect different ways of being Jewish. Nonetheless, this vision of cultural dialogue between new and old-comer Jews in Canada, postdates the UIAFC DGF programming, which promoted a more classic assimilationist model of immigrant integration into the veteran community.

Partway through the funding period, the DGF board encouraged UIAFC to seek out more innovative programming. As previously mentioned, one program succeeded in using theater to engage youth in Jewish content, increase their visibility in the community and provide opportunity to earn money and travel the 'Jewish' Canadian map (from community to community) to present plays. Another program equipped young FSU immigrants to successfully cope with capitalistic Canada by teaching them money-management and consumer skills, all from the unique perspective of Jewish *tzedakah* and *gemilut chasadim*. Through creative, holistic means, the Jewish community contributes to the overall successful integration and development of the young immigrants into Canadian society within a Jewish context and through Jewish texts.

Germany & Switzerland both offer language courses to improve immigrants' German skills, equipping them in a Jewish context to better integrate in the society at large.

Israel is unique in that it offers widespread cooperation between national and NGO organizations in social programming in general – which is, of course, in the case of immigrant integration, geared to Israeli Jewish society. Often, after entering a field with private seed money – in this case, due to the generosity of the DGF – once NGO initiatives take root and begin to blossom, government agencies are willing to partner with the projects and even absorb them into the national or local government work plans. This is certainly the case with *Shatil's* 'Back from the Edge', *Ashalim's* 'Better Together' coordination model, *Masad Klita's* integration of immigrant issues and resources into the

'Centers for Young Adults' and *Yedidim's Sikuim* model program for the rehabilitation of immigrant youth.

Thus, the investment and successful practices of NGOs directly impact the national and local governments through capacity building, paradigm shifting and policy and legislative change. In fact, in 2008, in recognition of the significant contributions made by civil society in Israel, one of the primary stated goals of the Office of the Prime Minister was the explicit fostering of government – NGO relations.²⁷

On the community level, the Israeli organizations recognize that to integrate thousands of severely disadvantaged, alienated youth – from reducing the school drop-out rate, juvenile criminal files, drug and alcohol abuse, violence, vandalism and risky sexual behaviors to increasing matriculation rates, employability and self-esteem – the change required must take place on every level of society. Therefore, the process of the programming is as significant as the content.

After years of active training and supervision, *Shatil* is now in the final stages of successfully handing over the reins to the local grassroots immigrant organizations in their coalition who have been running the program in the field.

Shatil partners included relevant departments within the Ministries of Welfare, Absorption & Education; municipal governments; more than nine grassroots immigrant organizations; parents; camp counselors; immigrant teachers, principals and school counselors; police and youth volunteers; immigrant university student interns. In total, *Shatil* mobilized an estimated 400 parents, community workers and school staff; nearly 40 volunteers and interns; and some 500 children per year.

Shatil's training included supervision of the grassroots organizations running the programs in the field, mentoring immigrant youth to successfully mentor younger children, cultural proficiency trainings for teachers and development of a Master of Arts program for immigrant school counselors.

Among its many contributions, 'Back from the Edge' produced a DVD and literature, accompanied by training seminars, to heighten awareness of parents and sensitize professionals with regards to learning disabilities in the Ethiopian community; a 35 minute long film about reducing domestic violence in Ethiopian families; Russian-language materials online about learning disabilities; a booklet on bilingualism; and a teen literacy program integrated into Israeli schools.

In the 'Better Together' program, JDC *Ashalim* mobilized hundreds of volunteers, promoted culturally sensitive materials in schools, represented immigrant interests in government committees, developed best practice models and handbooks, arranged national conferences to discuss 'Better Together' models within larger professional circles, produced a film and established online resources.

²⁷ The Office of the Israeli Prime Minister, Department of Policy Planning, "The State of Israel, the Civil Society and the Business Community: A Policy Paper," Jerusalem, February 2008. Accessed 11.9.11, <http://www.pmo.gov.il/NR/rdonlyres/8B456F77-9B3A-4321-AF8F-875D27C8D384/0/PolicyHEB.pdf>.

JDC *Masad Klita* succeeded in integrating immigrant concerns into mainstream programming for at-risk young adults. Like all Israeli programming, 'Centers for Young Adults' also developed a wide-based coalition of supporters which included civil society volunteers.

Yedidim's Sikuim unique success in developing a juvenile offender reintegration model for all marginalized youth is mentioned in the opening of this section. *Kiriat Yearim* was able to increase its physical capacity to hold more youth and its programming capacity to offer a modern sport facility, through the generous funding of the Dorothea Gould Foundation. Professionals volunteered their time to offer financial and legal course content, as well as gardening, animal husbandry, arts and crafts.

Often the DGF funds were utilized to leverage the support of others – whether in finances, key alliances, manpower or volunteer hours. In Israel, immigrant integration is the vested interest of the entire nation, making relevant programming fertile ground for the promotion of social change.

G. Conclusion

This summary and analysis of the Dorothea Gould Foundation programs, spanning seven years of funding in four targeted immigrant absorption countries, indicates that the Foundation made exceptional contributions to the success of Jewish community outreach to former Soviet Union and Ethiopian Jewish immigrants.

All three models of immigrant integration – assimilation, acculturation and alternation – were employed in various ways in the countries' programming, highlighting the ongoing struggle to strike a balance between defining and maintaining the borders of who is a Jew and reaching out and attempting to integrate marginalized, newcomer kinsmen. This delicate balance reflects the historical struggle of the Jewish people to both preserve Jewish tradition and to maintain and rejuvenate Jewish communities and identity.

The most notable achievements of the DGF programming included empowerment of grassroots organizations; coordination of existing immigrant services; and development of culturally-sensitive programming, materials and professional training. Perhaps the most innovative contributions involved harnessing successful interventions in marginalized Jewish communities as springboards for social change in both paradigms and policy. Many of the evaluative research, documentations, publications and conferences which grew out of DGF programming have impacted field professionals and decision-makers worldwide. With ever-increasing trends of global migration, it is to the credit of the Dorothea Gould Foundation trustees and their peers that immigrant absorption organizations and national government policy planners have turned to DGF grantees to guide them in policy planning and implementation in their various countries across the world.

The seeds planted in honor of Dorothea Gould's legacy in the hearts of tens of thousands of young Jewish immigrants across the globe through social, educational and psychological interventions will continue to bear fruit in these lives and in their families and communities for generations to come.

H.Appendix: Conference Agenda

Integration of Disadvantaged Immigrant Youth Highlighting Programs Supported by the Dorothea Gould Foundation JDC Israel, 25-26 October, 2011

Seminar Agenda*

Tuesday, 25 October 2011

9:30 – 10:00	Registration (including sign-up for working groups)
10:00 – 10:30	Welcoming Remarks Mr. Thierry Bollag Chairman, Dorothea Gould Foundation Board of Trustees Mr. Danny Pins Director, Immigrant Integration, JDC Israel; Center for International Migration and Integration (CIMI) Dr. Rami Sulimani Director, Ashalim, JDC-Israel
10:30 – 11:00	The Legacy of Dorothea Gould Mr. Denis Weil Trustee, Dorothea Gould Foundation Dr. Keri Zelson Warshawsky Social Anthropologist; Consultant, CIMI
11:00 – 11:45	Central Challenges and Accomplishments Panel 1: Diaspora Initiatives UIA Federations Canada; JIAS Toronto Ms. Linda Kislowicz, Ms. Janis Roth ZWST (Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland E.V.) Mr. Beni Bloch BA in Jewish Social Work in Germany Prof. Esther Weitzel-Polzer, Prof. Doron Kiesel VSJF (Verband Schweizerischer Jüdischer Fürsorgen) Ms. Gabi Rosenstein

11:45 – 12:00	Coffee Break
12:00 – 13:00	<p>Panel 2: Israeli Initiatives</p> <p><i>Back from the Edge (Shatil)</i> Ms. Ina Kriksunov</p> <p><i>Better Together (JDC)</i> Mr. Shmuel Yilma</p> <p><i>Centers for Young Adults (JDC)</i> Ms. Yael Hait</p> <p><i>Sikuim (Yedidim)</i> Ms. Ruthi Saragosti</p> <p><i>Kiryat Yearim (Switzerland)</i> Mr. Shimoni Peretz</p>
13:00 – 14:00	Lunch
14:00 – 15:00	<p>Working Groups</p> <p>A. <u>Who to work with:</u> Reaching Individual or Multiple Groups Moderator: Mr. Amizur Damari</p> <p>B. <u>When to Intervene:</u> Modifying the Focus of Programming for Stages of Development, from Childhood into Adulthood Moderator: Ms. Anat Penso</p> <p>C. <u>International Comparisons:</u> Efforts to Integrate into General and/or Jewish Societies Moderator: Ms. Rebecca Bardach</p>
15:00 – 15:15	Coffee Break
15:15	<p>Reports from the Working Groups and Discussion</p> <p>Moderator – Mr. Denis Weil</p>
16:00	<p>Wrapping up, closing remarks</p> <p><i>Mr. Arnon Mantver</i> Director General, JDC Israel/Chairman of the Board, CIMI</p>
17:30	<p>Cocktail Reception</p> <p>Guest speaker: Dr. Chaim Peri, Director, Yemin Orde Youth Village</p>

Wednesday 26 October 2011

8:30	Leave from JDC for Petah Tikva
10:00 – 12:00	Site visit to Sikum program, Yedidim (round-table discussion with participants, mentors, coordinators, program directors and government and NGO partners)
12:30 – 14:00	Site visit and lunch at Ramle Center for Young Adults (meeting with center staff and directors of centers from around the country)
14:00 – 15:30	Return to Jerusalem