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Transmission of narratives among former Soviet Union (FSU) émigrés

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**Marina Kantarovich,
Transmission of Narratives
Among Former Soviet
Union (FSU) Jewish Émigré
Families**

Abstract

This qualitative study explores the stories told by Former Soviet Union (FSU) Jewish émigré parents to their American-reared children about their experiences of life in the FSU and their reasons for emigration. Specifically, this study examines whether the stories transmitted reflect the mass oppression, suppression and state-sponsored brutality exacted upon Soviet Jews. The sample consisted of twelve participants between the ages of 18-35, all of whom had at least one parent who emigrated from the FSU.

The analysis revealed the following noteworthy findings: 1) All twelve participants inherited stories depicting the collective discrimination that Jews were forced to endure under the Soviet regime; 2) The narratives of Central Asian Jews reflected a more positive association with the FSU than did the accounts transmitted by Eastern-European Jews, suggesting critical regional and cultural differences despite their mutually shared identity as FSU Jewish émigrés; 3) The transmission of the collective discrimination imposed upon the Jewish population in Soviet Russia and the personal implications of Soviet Anti-Semitism for their parents was influential in shaping the participants' identity; (4) The narratives were communicated both directly and indirectly and shared often, suggesting the prevalence of such a practice among FSU Jewish families in the United States; (5) The participants' parents' explicit communication of their expectations implicitly told the story of their lives in the FSU and their reasons for emigration; (6) These expectations were communicated with an intensity and drive that was often internalized by the American-reared children.

TRANSMISSION OF NARRATIVES AMONG FORMER SOVIET UNION (FSU)
JEWISH ÉMIGRÉ FAMILIES

A project based upon an independent investigation,
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
degree of Master of Social Work

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2011

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As I think about all the people in my life who have helped me to get to this point, I realize how absolutely blessed I am. I dedicate this thesis to all of them: those I have mentioned and the countless others who have accompanied me on this path.

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Chapter I

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to study the stories told by Former Soviet Union (FSU) Jewish émigrés to their American-reared children about their experiences of living in the FSU and their reasons for immigration. In particular, I am interested in exploring if and how experiences of discrimination and oppression among FSU Jewish émigrés are transmitted to their American reared children. According to 2006 data provided by the U.S. Citizen and Immigration Services, the United States has become a home to 700,000 émigrés from the FSU—approximately 550,000 of whom are refugees (as cited in Birman, 2006). The post-World War II era witnessed three distinct waves of Soviet Jewish immigrants resettling to the United States (Newhouse, 2005; Orleck, 1999). The earliest group arrived in the 1970s when immigration for Jews in the FSU first became possible. The second wave began in the 1980s and included individuals who had survived the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in 1986. Finally, the last wave descended upon American shores after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 (Newhouse, 2005; Orleck, 1999).

Former Soviet Jewish émigrés (FSU) are clustered in big cities across the United States. As immigrants, they often interface with social service agencies. Consequently, knowledge and sensitivity about the experiences of this unique immigrant work is essential for any social worker working in a big city, as they will likely make contact with clients from this community. Furthermore, this study will provide useful information to educators in urban schools who must cater to a multicultural student body. In the field of social work as a whole, little has been written

about the challenges faced by immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Often there is the misconception that this immigrant community has become well-integrated into American culture, despite the fact that many immigrated less than thirty-years ago when the first generation were often not older than their late twenties. For FSU émigrés from Central Asia, the U.S. was often the second stopping ground, after Israel, rendering their emigration an even newer phenomenon occurring within the last ten years.

The mass oppression, discrimination and brutality of Jews did not begin with Adolf Hitler's rise to power nor end with his demise, as is commonly believed. Anti-Semitic sentiment in Russia "predates the tsars and has outlived Communism" (Orleck, 1999, p.12). Although the literature reviewed acknowledges this fact, it does not explore whether these experiences are transmitted to children raised in the United States. Social work would greatly benefit from knowing more about this population for practical and ethical reasons.

Chapter II

Literature Review

In an attempt to answer my query, I have looked at literature that examines three main areas: 1) the political and historical climate of oppression that existed in the FSU for individuals of Judaic heritage, resulting in their subsequent exodus to the United States; 2) acculturation, and 3) intergenerational transmission of various forms of trauma related to large-scale discrimination. I will begin by reviewing the literature on the experience of Jews living in the FSU.

Background/Context

There is a large body of literature that pays tribute to the difficulty and complexity of life in the former Soviet Union for Jews. The authors acknowledge and discuss at length the discrimination, oppression and state-sponsored brutality waged against Jews living in the U.S.S.R during the 70 years of Communist rule (Persky & Berman, 2005; Birman 2006; Roytburd & Freidlander, 2008). Due to the institution of official atheism in the USSR, Jews lost their religious affiliation and cultural practices. Although they were forced to assimilate to Soviet culture, the government also discriminated against them as a group. For example, most were segregated by housing and denied admission to universities. Even though many attempted to aggressively assimilate, they were not considered Russian by U.S.S.R standards (Sternberg, 2002). Sternberg notes ironically that it was not until this population moved to the United States that they were regarded as Russian. Although the majority of Jews living in Russia had lost touch with their Judaic culture and heritage and embraced the Soviet way of life, they were still regarded by the majority as “other” because of their Judaic roots. Their otherness was captured

by the word Jew, which was etched in their official government papers. Persky & Birman (2005) compare this process of tracking and methodical categorization of the Jews living in the U.S.S.R to the yellow Stars of David that Jews were forced to wear under the Hitler regime. She compares Soviet anti-Semitism to racism in the USA, noting that being Jewish in the USSR was considered a racial identity in that society, measured by biological lineage and not cultural practice or self-identification.

Although these articles give a clear picture of the hardships of life for FSU Jews, Newhouse (2005) provides further insight by framing the experience as traumatic. In particular, he explains how the breakup of the family structure carried over into their experience in the United States. The brutality of the Stalin regime, in particular, stayed with them. The family unit served as a protective factor from the difficulties of life during that time. Because neighbors were encouraged to spy on one another, people placed trust in small, compact family units. Immigration to the US disrupted this protective factor, eroding the family structure. This is often times experienced as an incredible loss, especially for older immigrants. Children raised in the United States are encouraged to individuate, which contributes to the disruption of the family structure. The article does not discuss, however, the impact of these changing dynamics on the development of the child, assuming instead that they simply assimilate fully into American society, relinquishing the legacy of their parents.

Acculturation

The literature on acculturation and assimilation often overlap with the historical accounts of Jews living in the FSU as this history is critical in understanding the resettlement process for these immigrants. Citing Berry, Persky & Birman (2005) define the process of acculturation as “the process of cultural change that occurs as a result of contact between members of two or

more cultural groups” (p. 557). According to Persky & Birman, acculturation is typically understood in terms of a bidirectional or bicultural model. Typically, the bicultural model uses two identities to understand acculturation: the host country identity and the country of origin identity. However, there appears to be a consensus in the literature that I have read thus far that this model is inadequate for understanding the complex identity of former-USSR Jews. Rather, there are three important identities that must be considered: Russian, Jewish, and American. In looking at the process of acculturation for this unique immigrant group, the researchers primarily use quantitative methods for gathering information and drawing conclusions (Persky & Birman, 2005; Roytburd & Friedlander, 2008; Birman, 2006).

Roytburd & Friedlander (2008) acknowledge the importance of these three identities; the purpose of Birman’s study was to determine empirically what ethnic identities were most salient for FSU émigrés living in the United States and their relationship to psychological adjustment. A stratified random sample was selected from the lists of resettlement and community agencies that included all refugee arrivals from the FSU to Maryland. The final sample included 351 working class adults who were on average 47 at the time of the study and 41 upon arrival. A four-item version of the identity subscale of the Language, Identity, and Behavior (LIB) Acculturation scale was used to assess identity with respect to the American, Jewish and Russian cultures. Items assess the extent to which participants consider themselves Russian/American/Jewish and have positive feelings related to being Russian/American/Jewish. Through the results of the study, it was found that the Jewish identity plays a prominent role in the individual’s sense of self and that it is this third identity rather than the typically studied Russian and American identities that is the most salient of the three. The results of the multiple research studies indicated that being Jewish was correlated to feeling more comfortable in U.S. society, whereas

identification with their Russian identification was linked to a greater sense of alienation in the new society (Persky & Birman, 2005).

Roytburd and Friedlander (2008) also touch on the relevance of considering the multiple identities of FSU Jewish émigrés, but the purpose of their research was to examine the impact of family relationships on the acculturation process of individuals within this immigrant group and determine whether the Bowenian concept of differentiation of self influenced the acculturative process. Differentiation was measured by one's ability to take an "I-position." Potential volunteers were recruited by snowball sampling (a) from Roytburd's personal contacts in the FSU Jewish population on the east coast and (b) through the leaders of a networking organization in San Francisco for FSU Jewish individuals who had immigrated to the U.S. in their youth. Individuals and families were contacted in person, by phone or email. Final participants included 108 people, evenly divided by gender (52 women and 56 men), all of whom self identified as FSU Jewish émigrés who came to the U.S. between the ages of 20 and 21. In order to participate in the research study the participants must have completed one year of schooling. Three instruments were used: the *Differentiation of Self-Inventory*, an *Acculturative Hassles* measure, and the *Language, Identity, and Behavior Acculturation* measure. The findings indicated that one's ability to take an I-position (a measure of differentiation) was linked to participants' cultural identifications. Those that demonstrated a capacity to take an I-position appeared to acculturate to American society with greater ease, resulting in greater psychological well-being, thereby substantiating the researcher's hypothesis that differentiation of self was positively correlated to American acculturation. Similarly to Persky & Berman's (2005) findings, Roytburd and Friedlander's results conveyed a negative correlation between American and Russian acculturation, suggesting that FSU Jewish émigré's identified *either* as Russian or

American, but not both. However, unlike Pirsky & Birman, Roytburd and Friedlander found that Russian acculturation was linked to positive psychological well-being.

Although Roytburd and Friedlander's (2008) article begins to explore the changing family dynamics and ties that occur as a result of immigration, Birman (2006) explores more fully the nature of the acculturation gap between émigré parents and their children. The research sample consisted of 115 pairs of adolescents and one of their parents. The participants were administered qualitative measures. In addition to the Language, Identity and Behavioral Acculturation Scale the measures that were used included the American Identity Questionnaire and a shortened form of the Behavioral Acculturation Scale to measure various aspects of American and Russian acculturation. Familial relations related to adjustment were measured using (a) the Conflict subscale of the Family Environment Scale, which measured "the amount of openly expressed anger, aggression and, conflict among family members" (p.57) and (b) the Problem Solving Checklist, which sought to assess parent-adolescent conflict. Her findings concluded that a language gap was the most salient cause for conflict between parents and children. As parents learned to speak English, children forgot to speak Russian.

Even though the research methods were rigorously constructed, all the research contained elements that rendered the findings slightly less credible. Pirsky & Birman (2005), Roytburd & Friedlander and Birman (2006), share a positivist orientation, which is evidenced by their initial hypotheses, prior to the execution of the research studies. Each of the researchers went into the study with a theory that they intended to prove. In all cases, the findings affirmed the researchers' hypothesis. This trend makes me wonder if the researchers' own biases led them to either design the studies or interpret the results in such a way as to confirm their own position on

the issue. Furthermore, despite having their own convictions about the potential outcome of the studies, the researchers' did not acknowledge their biases in any of the articles.

Soviet Russia: A Mosaic of Subcultures

In *Subjugated Knowledge and the Working Alliance: The Narratives of Russian-Jewish Immigrants*, Shapiro (1995) refers to the United States as a mosaic of subcultures. As a vast empire consisting of 15 republics spread across Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the same can be said of the USSR. However, it is rarely described in this way. The majority of the literature on Soviet Jewry neglects to mention the tremendous diversity within this population. This is certainly the case with the previously cited material. Soviet Jewry has become an umbrella term to describe Jews from the FSU. Although there are many similarities among the different subgroups, there are also important differences, which are overlooked when all republics are clumped into a single word. Halberstandt, (1992) identifies three distinct subgroups of FSU Jews: Families from Urban Centers (Moscow and Leningrad), Families from Provincial Towns in the Ukraine and Belorussia, and Families from Central Asia. In highlighting the range of differences among their respective subcultures, Halberstandt posits that Soviet families must be understood in the context of their cultural, historical and geographical background. These factors account for in-group differences.

Furthermore, it is often the case that when articles reference Soviet Jews without further elaboration on the specific region from which they emigrated, they allude to a specific enclave of FSU Jewish émigrés. When the narrative of a subculture is told, yet presented as if it were the narrative of the larger culture of which it is a part, there evolves a hierarchy of stories. The Eastern-European Jewish stronghold over the dissemination of knowledge regarding the Jews of Central Asia exemplifies such a hierarchal imbalance. Eastern-European Jewish scholars

produced the first written history on the Jews of Central Asia, which are considered by many to be the authoritative texts on the population's beginnings. The Eastern-European Jewish community's dominance over the rendering of Jewish diasporic history demonstrates that even with a marginalized group, there is a center and periphery (Cooper, 2007).

Transmission of Trauma

I have not yet found literature that attempts to explore whether stories of oppression and discrimination are transmitted to the American-reared children of FSU Jewish émigrés. The apparent absence of knowledge on this topic demonstrates the need for further research. However, there is literature that examines cross-cultural assessments of trauma and its transmission across generations. Danieli (2007) purports that only a “multi-dimensional, multi-disciplinary, integrative framework” (p.67) can convey the implications of a massive trauma such as that experienced by Jews during World War II. History in particular is a crucial tool in helping one to conceptualize the trauma and its impact. According to Danieli, the trauma is often recycled on to the next generation by the silence and disavowal of the first generation. Healing becomes synonymous with reclamation of one's history; culture becomes the “transmitter, buffer and healer” (p.78) of trauma. Although Danieli makes some interesting points, she does not clarify what a “multi-dimensional, multi-disciplinary integrative framework” is or what it entails. Furthermore, in order to prove her hypothesis she cites other research in the field of cross-cultural assessment and treatment of trauma rather than conducting new research.

Echoing Danieli, Shapiro (1995) demonstrates the healing power of ethnographic and narrative approaches for clients who have experienced “traumatic biographical discontinuities” (p.4) Such approaches encourage the reclamation of one's history as a means toward bridging these discontinuities. Shapiro's sample group consisted of four intact families who had recently

emigrated from Belarus and Russia as political refugees. Due to their target position in the USSR and their subsequent migration to the United States, these immigrants experienced multiple ruptures in their lives and identities resulting in an “existential crisis” (Shapiro, 1995, p.10) By telling their stories, these émigrés were able to connect the disparate pieces of their lives and imbue it with a sense of coherence.

The acknowledgement that trauma profoundly impacts the individual who was exposed to it, and may have far-reaching consequences that affect and shape the lives of future generations signaled a tremendous breakthrough in the clinical realm. The research on the long-term effects of the Holocaust paved the way in uncovering this phenomenon. However, the focus was limited to understanding the transmission of psychopathology and clinical symptomology (Wiseman, Barber, Yam, Foltz, Livne-Smir, 2002). Some of the more recent research on the transgenerational effects of the Holocaust has moved its attention to exploring how the effects of trauma on broader areas, such as intrafamilial communication patterns, interpersonal relations, one’s sense of agency and the passing of traditions from one generation the next. According to these researchers, the narrow focus of previous research did not account for the painful experiences of countless others who were raised by Holocaust survivor parents—experiences that were less obvious and in some cases, more insidious (Wiseman et. al, 2002; Wiseman & Barber, 2004).

Four of the five empirical studies that I have examined seek to understand the long-term psychosocial development and interpersonal patterns of Holocaust Survivor Offspring (HSO) (Wiseman et. al, 2002; Wiseman & Barber, 2004; Kopman, 2007; Lev-Wiesel, 2007). Although my study involves a different population, the literature that I reviewed in the field of intergenerational transmission of trauma involves primarily HSO. This is because there is the

most written about this population and because it looks at the long-term transgenerational effects of living under an Anti-Semitic regime, which is ultimately what my study seeks to accomplish. The fifth study had a twofold purpose: (1) examine the intergenerational communication patterns between Japanese Americans who were interned and their offspring after World War II and (2) examine the factors that may have accounted for the differences in communication patterns (Nagata & Cheng, 2003). I chose this study because it discussed the long-term pernicious effects of race and ethnic based trauma on parent-child relations. For many Jews living in the United States, there was no one horrific overt event that typified and accounted for their trauma. Instead, it resembled the experience of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States, in that while discrimination may not have always overt, it acted as a web that penetrated every aspect of life and surfaced continuously in the form of microaggressions, which were often either as lethal or far worse. All studies looked at communication patterns. Four of the five studies found that communication patterns and psychosocial development were impacted in children of parents who had suffered from race and ethnic based trauma (Wiseman et. al, 2002; Wiseman & Barber, 2004; Lev-Wiesel, 2007; Nagata & Cheng, 2003). Only one study found that the race-based trauma endured by their parents had no impact on their overall development (Kopman, 2007). The literature as a whole identified four mediums by which the trauma is transmitted: storytelling, overt and covert communication, and silence. Among Holocaust survivors and their offspring, silence most commonly facilitated the transmission process. This silence led to a sense of “knowing-not-knowing” among the children of survivors. Those who knew, but had no narrative or a loose narrative, were shown to have the highest levels of interpersonal distress as adults (Wiseman et. al, 2002; Wiseman & Barber, 2004; Kopman, 2007; Lev-Wiesel, 2007).

The samples of four out of the five studies were the children of parents who had experienced race and/or ethnic based trauma (Wiseman et. al, 2002; Wiseman & Barber, 2004; Kopman, 2007; Lev-Wiesel, 2007). The respondents ranged from 30-70+ years of age (Wiseman et. al, 2002; Wiseman & Barber, 2004; Kopman, 2007; Lev-Wiesel, 2007, Nagata & Cheng, 2003). Three out of four of the studies were done in Israel (Wiseman et. al, 2002; Wiseman & Barber, 2004; Lev-Wiesel, 2007). The remaining two were conducted in California, the Northeast and the Midwest (Kopman, 2007; Nagata & Cheng, 2003). Therefore, this data cannot be generalized to the entire country. Only one of the studies sought to examine communication patterns by interviewing the parents (Nagata & Cheng, 2003). The rest of the studies sought to understand this phenomenon from the lens of the second-generation trauma survivor. However, in referencing other literature, Nagata & Cheng (2003) indicate that there is a discrepancy in findings depending on whether one asks the child or the parent about the nature of the transmission and its effects. Consequently, any literature that does not interview family units will be less reliable because it seeks to understand the phenomenon from one perspective—either that of the child or the adult. Only one of the studies used primarily quantitative methods (Wiseman, et. al, 2002). Two of the studies used mixed methods while the other two only used qualitative measures. Several of the research studies (Wiseman, Barber, Raz, Yam, Foltz & Livne-Smir, 2002; Wiseman & Barber, 2004) used a unique instrument called the Core Conflictual Relationship Theme (CCRT) model to get at the core issues and patterns that were embedded in the relational narratives remembered by adult children of Holocaust survivors. As part of the CCRT framework for exploring relational trauma, a specialized interview called the Relationship Anecdotes Paradigm (RAP) was developed in order to elicit childhood narratives that reflected elements of the CCRT components. The researchers used the RAP in their interviews with sons

and daughters of mothers who were survivors of Nazi concentration camps. Researchers found that within each of the narratives there was “some form of distressed and distorted communication” (Wiseman & Barber, 2004, p. 161), which impacted the relational patterns in their adult lives. However, until their relational patterns were evaluated it was presumed these HSO’s were not impacted by their parents’ histories.

In addition to issues of validity related to interviewing one member of the parent-child dyad, terms were at times used inconsistently and not clearly defined. The studies also differ in their conceptualization of what is meant by a transmission of trauma. For example, according to Lev-Wiesel (2007), children of former Holocaust survivors showed the same symptoms as their parents. In this example, transmission implied that the children of trauma survivors inherited post-traumatic symptoms that closely resembled those of their parents and grandparents. These symptoms created problems in overall biopsychosocial functioning and showed comorbidity with other diagnoses such as Major Depressive Disorder and/or an Anxiety-related disorders (Kopman, 2007). Other studies explain transmission as the pattern of communication or lack of communication between parent and child about the trauma. The latter studies correlate the patterns of communication to the interpersonal patterns that develop in the adult lives of children of trauma survivors (Wiseman et. al, 2002; Wiseman & Barber, 2004).

Summary

In an attempt to explore whether there is a legacy of trauma transmitted from one generation to the next among Soviet émigré Jews living in the United States, and, if so, how this trauma is transmitted, I have chosen to explore literature in three different areas: the historical context of life in the Soviet Union for Jews, the acculturation process of FSU Jewish émigrés living in the U.S, and the intergenerational transmission of trauma of Holocaust survivors and

Japanese internees. The literature on the history of life for FSU Jews under the Communist era as well as that on the acculturation process for this immigrant group contends that this group's Jewish identity, which is regarded as an ethnic identity rather than a religious one, is influential in one's self-conception. However, the literature on acculturation does not answer the "so what?" question: Why is it important that these individuals value their Jewish identity? What does it mean for them to consider themselves Jewish? Are there elements of Anti-Semitism that they have incorporated into their self-concept of being Jewish? If so, have parents transmitted these experiences to their children? This study reflects an attempt to explore these questions in greater depth. The literature reviewed on FSU Jewish émigrés primarily relies on quantitative methods. Since qualitative research appears to be lacking, I intend to employ a qualitative method and design in gathering data about this population.

The literature on the intergenerational transmission of trauma among Holocaust survivors demonstrates empirically that trauma is in fact perpetuated across generations. The Holocaust was a horrific crusade waged against Jews. It was the most flagrant and explicit form of Anti-Semitism. Still, few know of the centuries of crimes exacted upon Jews living under the Soviet regime. One reason for the silence around it has to do with the country's intentional institutionalization of silence regarding this issue. It has been only recently that Russian history books have included any information about FSU Jews in general and the Holocaust in particular.

Chapter III

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to explore the transgenerational transmission of stories by Former Soviet Union (FSU) Jewish émigrés to their American-reared children about their experiences of life in Soviet Russia and their reasons for immigration. Specifically, this research seeks to explore if and how stories of oppression and discrimination were communicated to the American-reared children of these immigrants. I refer to the term transmission broadly to include any contact, familiarity or lack thereof that is had with one's parents' status as an oppressed minority in the U.S.S.R. I am also interested in observing whether the demographic information correlates to specific findings. For specific questions, please refer to the Interview Guide (see Appendix D).

Research Method and Design

Because this study sought to examine a scarcely-researched phenomenon, an exploratory qualitative research design was used. The scant literature recovered on the identity development of children of FSU Jewish émigrés and their patterns of acculturation employed quantitative methods of inquiry. Consequently, the studies offered limited understanding of the potential impact their parents' immigration experiences may have had on them and its relation to the variables under examination. Furthermore, because this study's aim is to examine stories, the process by which they are transmitted and the child's rendition of the story, qualitative measures are most suitable for this purpose. The strength of this method lies in the depth of understanding that it provides about a particular phenomenon by offering nuance and richness to data that might

otherwise be absent (Rubin and Babbie, 2009). Most importantly, a qualitative design gives voice to marginalized stories and individuals that have been underrepresented and silenced.

Sample

This study relied on a non-probability sample gathered through convenience and snowball techniques. I chose these methods of sampling for several reasons. First, the sample frame represents a small segment of the general population that is often difficult to access. Snowball and convenience sampling are often most appropriate when the sample frame consists of individuals who are difficult to locate as was the case in this study (Rubin and Babbie, 2009). Furthermore, in order to ensure a degree of diversity by attempting to include children of Central Asian émigrés, I had to appeal to alliances previously made with organizations and institutions that cater to this immigrant group. The Bukharian community, in particular, is insular and difficult to infiltrate. In allying with important community leaders, I was more readily accepted into the community and able to gain credibility among its members.

The inclusion criterion for participation in the study was as follows: (1) Participants must have had at least one parent who immigrated from the FSU to the United States no younger than at age 20. This cap helped to ensure that the parents have had experiences in the FSU that they can remember and relay to their children; (2) Participants must be between 18 and 35 years of age; (3) The adult child of a FSU Jewish émigré must have spent more than half of his or her life in the United States. The place of birth of the adult child can be either the United States or Russia. Those who were not able to speak conversational English were excluded. The desired sample size was 10-12 participants.

My rationale for the age is based on Erik Erikson's theoretical constructions of identity development. According to Erikson, each stage of the life cycle involves the experience of a

psychosocial crisis, the resolution of which is essential to optimal ego functioning. Each stage also presents the individual with a task to be mastered (Berzoff, Flanagan & Hertz, 2006). The task of adolescence is “to achieve a stable sense of self, which must fit with the individual’s past, present and future” (Berzoff, et al., 2006, p. 111). As the self is solidified, one develops a personal identity that represents the full range of one’s experiences and their integration. Because the interview questions posed in this study require such a capacity, the sample must consist of individuals who have adequately mastered adolescence and are currently navigating young adulthood.

The feasibility of this study was increased due to my connections with colleagues in the mental health professions that had ties to the FSU Jewish émigré community, organizations whose clientele consisted largely of FSU Jewish émigrés and religious leaders in the community. I also contacted organizations whose stated purpose was to provide services for Jewish émigrés and asked for their support in recruiting participants. These individuals and organizations were located in New York and Connecticut. Their letters of support are enclosed (see Appendix F). These organizations included Hillel groups, which were housed in several colleges and universities in New York City and Connecticut and the Jewish Federation of Greater New Haven. Several of these organizations requested a written post that outlined the purpose of the study and eligibility requirements for participants (see Appendix F). This post was circulated to individuals who were on their mailing list. A prominent religious leader in the Bukharian community permitted me to present the study at his weekly seminars, which were held at various colleges in New York City. I described the research project and invited interested participants to follow up with me at the conclusion of the seminar. Lastly, Facebook was utilized to maximize the likelihood of appealing to a wider and more random subject pool so that the

representativeness of the respondents would more accurately reflect the general population that was being studied. I posted details of the study on my Facebook page and sent messages to individuals in my friend network, requesting that they guide eligible persons with whom they may be acquainted to the post and circulate information about the study to such individuals.

Significant efforts were made in order to recruit a diverse sample that would be representative of the larger group of American-reared children of FSU Jewish émigrés. The literature on acculturation of FSU Jewish émigrés as well as transmission of Holocaust trauma primarily looks at FSU Jewish émigrés from European satellites. In an effort to ensure diversity within the sample, I recruited the children of parents who immigrated both from European and non-European Soviet satellites. Efforts were also made to recruit individuals whose parents resettled to the United States during the different waves of FSU Jewish immigration. Depending on when their parents immigrated and the reasons for the immigration, their parents may have had a difference experience, which was then passed on to the child.

It is unlikely that the respondents will be representative of the larger population of children raised by FSU Jewish émigré parents for several reasons. First, FSU Jewish émigrés are an extremely diverse people originating from 15 republics spread across Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Although there are known ethnic enclaves in New York City and parts of Connecticut, these enclaves are rarely representative of the larger FSU Jewish émigré population. Due to the limitations of time and resources, it will be impossible to locate representatives from all 15 republics. Second, a sample size of 12 is too small to represent émigrés from all 15 republics. Furthermore, the sample will mainly consist of self-selected individuals who choose to tell their stories. Such individuals may have had less of an exposure to trauma or intrafamilial conflict. Conversely, some may be compelled to tell their stories because of their trauma history.

Additionally, there may be factors, which differentiate FSU Jewish émigré families who immigrated to East Coast cities from those who settled in other parts of the United States.

Participants

Twelve respondents of FSU Jewish descent were interviewed between April and May 2011. The respondents' age ranged from 18-35. One was between 18 and 20, four between the ages of 21 and 23, three between 24 and 26, one between 27 and 29 and two between 33 and 35. Five of the participants were born in the Eastern European Soviet bloc and three born in the Central Asian republics formerly controlled by the USSR. The following countries were represented: Belarus (n=3), Moldova (n=1), Russia (St. Petersburg) (n=1), Uzbekistan (n=2) and Tajikistan (n=1). The remaining three participants were born in Connecticut (n=2) and New Jersey (n=1). The participants lived in the following states at the time of the interview: New York, Connecticut, Texas and the District of Columbia. All foreign born participants immigrated to “East Coast” cities and fled the Soviet Union the same year as did their parents. Ten of the respondents reported having two parents, both of whom were born in a Soviet satellite. One of the respondents had only one parent who was born in the FSU and later defected to the United States. Two of the participants’ parents came to the United States after first immigrating to Israel. Participants' parents reportedly represented all three waves of Russian-speaking Jewish immigrants who fled to American soil. Subjects indicated that their parents' left the FSU in the following years: 1972 (n=1), 1973 (n=1), 1980 (n=1), 1989 (n=5), 1992 (n=2) and 1993 (n=1). Two participants reported having children.

Data Collection Methods

The Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Review Committee approved the design for this study (see Appendix A). Interested respondents were contacted by phone or email and screened for eligibility. Once eligibility was confirmed, a date and time for the interview was scheduled. Participants were interviewed either in person or via Skype. I sent one copy of the informed consent via email or two by postal mail to participants with whom a Skype interview was arranged. The Informed Consent outlined the purpose of the study, the nature of the interview process, the risks and benefits of participation, and measures taken to ensure the participant's confidentiality. The Informed Consent also informed the participants that all data pertaining to the research will be kept in a secure location for three years, as required by Federal regulations and destroyed when it is no longer needed.

In order to proceed with the scheduled Skype interview, participants were required to submit a signed copy of the informed consent prior to the interview. Participants with whom an in-person interview was arranged were sent the Informed Consent via email, if they had provided me with an email address. They were encouraged to review the Informed Consent before the date and time of the interview. When I met with participants, they were asked if they had any questions or concerns about the Informed Consent's content. During in-person interviews, participants were required to sign the Informed Consent before the interview officially began and given an opportunity to ask the researcher any questions or concerns. All participants were offered a list of Mental Health referrals should they become upset during the interviews. All participants declined to take the referrals. I asked respondents if they were interested in receiving either the results of the study or the completed version of the thesis. Five of the participants expressed such interest.

The interviews lasted from 30-60 minutes. A semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix D), comprised of 16 questions was used. This allowed for flexibility should participants move in an unanticipated yet important direction (Rubbin and Babbie, 2009). This unanticipated direction was taken by two of the participants, both of whom were over the age of 10 when they emigrated from the FSU and therefore had many of their own memories. After I interviewed the first of these two participants, it became apparent that some of the questions from the original interview guide were not relevant and gave rise to a slightly different set of questions for this sub-group (see Appendix D). Consequently, the use of semi-structured interview allowed for insights to develop organically, rather than forcibly directing the course of the interview.

The original interview guide was used for the remaining 10 participants. When needed additional probes were used to clarify or further explore participants' responses. The interview questions were organized into the following themes: Transmission of Narratives (Questions 1, 2, 3, 4), Meaning of Narratives (Questions 4 & 16), Migration Narrative (Questions 6, 7, 8, 9) Family Relationships (Questions 10, 11, 12) and Transmission of Expectations (Questions 13, 14, 15, 16).

All twelve participants were asked to provide specific demographic information at the beginning of the interview to determine if certain demographic data correlated with specific findings. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. I transcribed five interviews; the remaining six were transcribed professionally. The professional transcriber signed a confidentiality pledge agreeing to maintain the participants' confidentiality and only discuss the content of the interviews with me. Participants were informed that I would receive support with the transcription process and asked if they were comfortable with someone else transcribing their

interviews. Every one who was asked consented to have their interviews transcribed professionally.

Data Analysis

Mirroring the nature and purpose of a qualitative method, the data gathered for this study consisted of the participants' own words (Anastas, 1999), which were communicated orally and then converted into written form via transcription. The written data was analyzed using thematic content analysis. The transcriptions were first read and coded individually. The narrative data was categorized according to observable themes and the themes were color-coded. I created a table that specified the noted themes and included quotes to support the themes. The table also included the demographic information of the individual who supplied each quote. The table was used to analyze the data as a whole and look for recurring themes and patterns interwoven throughout the different sets of narratives. The demographic data was also reviewed to determine if it correlated with specific themes. Once notable themes and patterns were identified, several quotes were selected to anchor the themes to “detailed descriptions from the field” (Anastas, 1999, 412). Illustrating themes through the use of direct quotes helped to ensure the validity of the findings. I attempted to ensure the reliability of the findings by including several quotes provided by different participants whenever possible, to reflect the prevalence of the noted theme.

Chapter IV

Findings

This chapter will present the findings of the study. The data analysis revealed the following significant themes: *Soviet Anti-Semitism Remembered*, *Different Narratives*, *Confusion*, *Absurdity*, *Issues of Identity*, *Acculturation Gap* and *The Grand Narrative or “Big Story.”* This chapter will be organized according to these themes as well as relevant sub-themes. The themes will be explored in detail and illustrated through the use of direct quotes.

In the analysis, it became apparent that some themes correlated more positively with certain demographic data than did others. For example, the quality of the narratives differed based on age, immigration status and ethnic affiliation. Participants who were born in the FSU and emigrated with their parents at six years of age and older (n=4) shared stories constructed from their own memories. They did not have to rely on the stories told by their parents. Similarly, the aforementioned participants (n=4) all provided detailed portrayals of resettlement in the United States that were derived from their personal recollections. Those who emigrated when they were five years of age or younger relied (n=5) as heavily on their parents accounts of life in the FSU as did those participants who were born in the United States (n=8). Additionally, the analysis indicated similarities as well as differences between the two primary sub-groups of FSU Jewish émigrés, Eastern European and Central Asian, which will be elaborated upon in the appropriate thematic categories.

Soviet Anti-Semitism Remembered

The narratives of each of the eleven respondents provided a rich and personalized account of the political, cultural and social implications of living under an Anti-Semitic and Communist regime. The stories captured the mass oppression, repression and bewilderment that defined the lives of millions of Soviet Jews. Due to the official institution of atheism, Soviet Jews were forbidden from observing any traditions and/or practices that could be associated with Judaism. When asked whether her parents discussed with her what it was like to be Jewish in the USSR, one respondent whose parents emigrated from Tajikistan noted, “They would keep the holidays at home, but it wouldn't be overt...The religious part was kept under the wraps...It seemed like it was one of those things that they couldn't really parade around. No one would wear the Star of David like they do here.” While some Soviet Jews maintained their religious practices in secret despite the state's prohibitions, others abandoned their Judaic roots in an attempt to integrate fully into Soviet culture. Despite their efforts, they could not escape their Judaic heritage nor were they allowed to do so. Another interviewee, whose parents were born in Ufa, provided an example of the systematic segregation of Soviet Jews: “It said your religion on your passport and every employer sees that.” However, unlike in the United States, where the term Jews refers to one's religion, being Jewish in the USSR corresponded to one's nationality. The documentation of one's Judaic heritage encapsulated the state's perception of the Jew as other, a belief that seeped into the consciousness of ethnic Russians, and reminded Soviet Jews that they would never be fully accepted into Russian society. A participant who was born in Minsk and immigrated to the United States when she was sixteen years old exemplifies this stratification:

My name is purely a Russian name...and I don't think anyone ever thought of me as a Jew...The fifth column was where they put your nationality. We had our names, addresses, and other information in the class journal...One day a student found out about

this page and looked me up. I remember kids talking about it...Some things stuck in my head. When we had lunch for example, we had these metal plates, which had a bowl with soup, a second course which, included meat or potatoes. You go in, get your lunch and sit down to eat. I didn't like soup anyway and so I would start eating the second course and they would look at me like 'Why are you eating like a Jew?' meaning the Jewish people read from the opposite side. And they were saying why are you eating in a different order like a Jew...? After that I got made fun of and there were a couple of bullies....

Being Jewish had various implications for the individuals depicted in the narratives.

Some were ridiculed, others ostracized and the majority denied opportunities and privileges that were otherwise granted to their Soviet non-Jewish counterparts, such as higher education and employment. The aforementioned narratives captured the structural inequalities imposed on Soviet Jews. For many others, the stories of Anti-Semitism and oppression that Jews endured in Soviet Russia were intertwined with the Holocaust narrative. This was certainly true for one respondent, for whom the Holocaust story was embedded in the family narrative:

“A lot of my grandfather's siblings were killed in the war because they were Jewish-- how can you not be affected in a way? I'm affected hearing my grandfather talk about things like that. It makes me want to throw up. It was disgusting. The stories that he was telling me, [such as] when the Germans invaded Minsk ... the Germans came to his parents house and my great-grandfather gave the soldier a gold watch just to pretend that they weren't there.... My grandfather's sister was out buying bread and came home, ran home and saw there was nobody there and went where all the Jews were taken ... it's still a monument in Russia, it's called the Yama. It's like “Well.” It was where all the Jews were shot. [My grandfather's sister] stood there and got killed thinking that her family was taken away. So, she got killed for no reason. She thought that her parents were taken away, but really they were hiding inside the house.... So, she got killed thinking she died with her family. He would cry about it.

This participant later described the process by which the Germans killed captured Jews.

According to her, German soldiers forced the captives to line up at the edge of the well so that when they were shot, they would fall into the well. Her grandfather's sister sacrificed herself and joined those who were captured to die. This story conveys that it was not only parents who shared stories of oppression and discrimination with their children, but also grandparents. Many

of the American-reared children inherited a collection of stories, the pieces of which came from multiple generations. For the aforementioned respondent, stories such as the one shared above formed the core of her identity and forever linked her to a legacy that she hoped would extend well beyond her.

Each of the 11 participants demonstrated that stories of oppression and discrimination were transmitted from FSU Jewish émigré parents to their American-reared children. The stories also conveyed the presence of other variables that compelled individuals to flee their birth country. These factors followed individuals and families across the world and were transmitted to the younger generation of FSU émigrés who carried with them the legacy of their parents' experiences. Some repudiated this legacy while others proudly embraced it. More often, some elements were rejected while others maintained.

Different Narratives

Participants' accounts included both specific and general examples of Anti-Semitism; the narrations differed in their overall representation of life in the FSU. Some accounts included solely negative content about life in the FSU in general, while others included a combination of positive and negative elements about life in their country of origin. The stories transmitted by Eastern European FSU émigré parents to their children about life in the FSU were primarily negative. This pattern was reflected in the stories of all eight participants who were of Eastern European descent. When they did share positive recollections, they were at the level of meaningful individual and familial experiences; life at the macro level was challenging at best. The only positive factor was the experience at the micro level. The stories shared among this group were absent of nostalgia, as exemplified by the following respondent:

My dad loves to tell stories. He has a lot of memories-- good memories. He shares with him about his childhood and how he missed his orchestra. My son likes it. But it's interesting, I don't think I've ever heard him say, "Oh I really would like to go there and visit." Because I think there is a part of him that knows we weren't fond of that life. It's almost like good riddance.

In addition to serving as a protective factor, the family relationship was a vital coping mechanism. Relationships among family members provided opportunities for meaningful experiences and support in the midst of the harrowing world in which they lived.

The family was also one's sole site of control. This attitude remained with many FSU Jewish émigrés decades after they had resettled in the United States. The lives of parents and children were often inter-linked such that the adult children lived in close proximity to their parents and grandparents shared in the task of child-rearing. One participant reported: "[My daughter] is so close with my parents. [My parents] see [the children] on a daily basis. She always goes there and my mom cooks something Russian for them like Fried potatoes or [buckwheat groats]." This respondent admitted that she would like to move to farther away, but could not imagine living far away from her parents. Later in the conversation, she added that she would not even consider hiring a babysitter as this would offend her mother.

The narratives of the Bukharian participants also reflected the importance of family life and its protective role in the Central Asian republics from which they emigrated. Similarly to the Eastern European Soviet Jewish community, they carried these values across the world and clung tenaciously to them. However, unlike the narratives shared by the children of Eastern European Soviet Jewish émigrés, two of the three participants who identified as Bukharian provided positive and negative depictions of life in the FSU as experienced and narrated to them by their parents. The following statement illustrates this difference:

My parents told me we actually had a very good life in Uz. One of the reasons we left was because of religion. It reached a point where it was very hard to keep our religion. My parents and all our family members and all our neighbors decided that we have to move to a place where we can have our religion.... We had a nice house, a nice farm. My parents were educated. They made decent salaries. Everyone was happy. We left only because of religion, nothing else.

Although the second participant's relation of the stories transmitted to her by her parents are less favorable than those shared by the former participant, she indicated that even with the constant barrage of Ant-Semitism flung at them, her mother regularly reminisced about the life she had prior to emigrating. According to this participant, what her mother missed most was the communal nature of life in Tajikistan, her birthplace and home for roughly forty years. The following quote echoes this sentiment:

Everyone lived close by. Kids would play in the street. Everyone would go over each other's houses. That's kind of what people talk about here—*a lot*. That what they miss about back there was that people were even closer. People have the idea that the Bukharian community is close, and it is, but back there it was even more close-knit. Everybody had these big yards and people would come in freely and come out—it was very communal...

Even the third participant's account, which portrayed her parents' experiences in the Central Asian republic of Uzbekistan as mainly negative, provided snapshots of the communal aspect of life in her parents' homeland. Although the sample size of Bukharian participants is too small to make any conclusions, the content analysis suggests that for the Bukharian community it was not only the family that served as a protective factor for Bukharians in the FSU, but also the community—two elements whose importance and presence were transplanted to the United States.

Another notable distinction between the stories of the Eastern European Soviet Jews and the Bukharian émigrés was their parents' experience of Anti-Semitism. When asked to describe stories of Anti-Semitism that were shared to them by their parents, all three of the Bukharian

participants gave examples of not being able to observe religious practices as ordained by Jewish law. Below are examples shared by each of the participants, which represent this challenge:

Participant 1: It seemed like it was difficult, like to get Kosher meat was difficult. They had to go to a special butcher... They would try to go to synagogue when it was allowed because the Soviet Union was officially an atheist state even though everyone did their own thing on the side.

Participant 2: Even though it was very hard to practice religion, it wasn't like other places where they would force you or beat you. There was a point where they stopped having shuls (synagogues). It wasn't by force or torture. They just didn't allow it.

Participant 3: "My grandparents used to tell me...because...[in] the FSU there was no religion...they didn't have Yom Kippur off [or] Passover; They couldn't really celebrate Sabbath. They work[ed] on those days. They had to be very secretive about how they celebrated the Jewish holidays... It was hard to get kosher meat."

By contrast, Anti-Semitism portrayed in the narratives of the Eastern European Jewish émigrés primarily reflected random and systematized acts of bigotry directed at those who were identified as being of Judaic heritage. The intolerance was not directed at what they *did*, but who they *were*. The following examples provided by three adult children of Eastern European Jewish émigrés illustrate the nonsensical nature of the oppression experienced in the FSU and its penetration into the mundane.

Participant 1: My mom sent me out for milk when I was really little...when I got home, we opened it and it was spoiled.... when we moved to America I remember my parents telling me stories about how one of the reasons we left was because being Jewish in the soviet union was just a big no-no. And my mom actually said... that it may have been because they thought I was Jewish and they just gave me spoiled milk.

Participant 2: [My dad] talked about getting called Zhid (Kike) and getting picked on by kids when he was younger, which is how he got into boxing.

Participant 3: When she moved to Siberia she had to change her maiden name to a different name because Livchitz sounds so Jewish that she couldn't get work [and] she couldn't make friends.

The primacy of this type of oppression among the narratives of the Eastern European Soviet Jews does not imply that it was less common among the narratives transmitted among Bukharian families. In fact, two of the three Bukharian participants cited acts of aggression targeted at their parents because they were Jewish. What the content analysis did show was that whereas all the Bukharian participants experienced Anti-Semitism as not being able to freely practice their religion or having to do so in private as well as being mistreated and ostracized, Anti-Semitism as it was expressed by the Eastern European Soviet Jews was most frequently associated with the latter experience.

Confusion

For the parents whose stories are represented and the children who are old enough to remember life in the FSU, confusion was a common yet unwelcome companion with which they had to reckon. It was an integral theme that ran through many of the stories, informing the adult child's struggle to understand their parents' experiences in the FSU. Expressions of confusion typically arose in discussions about Soviet Anti-Semitism and the USSR's circulation of misinformation. Participant 1, whose story of buying spoiled milk is depicted above, was six years old when she immigrated to America with her parents. When asked about her earliest memories of life in the FSU, the first story she offered was about the spoiled milk, describing it as "one of the most distinct I actually have." In her recollection of the incident, she vividly recalls the confusion and disorganization felt by her childhood self:

[My mother] sent me out for milk when I was really little. And I guess it was safe enough to just kind of send your...five-year-old kid out to go get milk or whatever by themselves. I remember getting to the store and there was a line of course; and I remember getting up to the counter, giving the guy my change and giving him the glass bottles of milk. When I got home, we opened it and it was spoiled. And I don't remember if it was fine in the store and it had spoiled on the way home, which is kind of impossible, or if it was just spoiled in general. For some reason, I just remember that so clearly. I don't really

remember my parents reaction, but I remember my own reaction thinking like 'Eew, what happened?! How could this happen?!'

Everything in the story is accounted for, except how the milk spoiled. The magnitude of the confusion felt is captured by her inability to remember her parents' reaction as well as by the sentiment: "How could this happen?!" Something about this world clearly does not make sense to this child. As the interview proceeds and she is asked about her parents' experiences of Anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R, she returns to the story of the spoiled milk, noting that it was not until years later, far removed from that world in suburban New Jersey, that her mother shared her own rationale for the spoiled milk. This participant reported that as a child she had no conscious understanding that being Jewish was a "major no-no." At this same time, the persistence of this memory might suggest that she had an unconscious understanding of the implications of being Jewish. The spoiled milk may have been her best and most concrete way of vocalizing the intuition that something about her world was not quite right.

For another participant, knowing that she belonged to a marginalized and oppressed group did not mitigate her confusion as to why she was targeted. Similar to the previous interviewee, this participant had her own collection of memories in addition to those shared with her by her parents. Since she was twelve years old when she left, she certainly knew what was going on around her and how things worked. Since they were set against her, she decided she would bend the rules. She did not identify as being Jewish and only associated with the non-Jewish students. Her bewilderment came from not being able to blend easily into the non-target group. This participant's recollection of her apparent difference and the confusion it evoked is depicted below:

I remember I was playing outside with my friends and one drunk guy came up to me— How did he pick me out of four people--and he choked me and called me a Kike. How

does he know? He took me by my collar. Out of the four people I was with, I was the Jewish one. How did he know? Do I look Jewish? I remember coming home crying...

This particular account is notable because it suggests that being Jewish was not only detected by one's name, relations or association with a community, but had a visual element. The participant confirms this point later in the conversation, when she speaks about her cousin who was rarely identified as being Jewish: "She doesn't look Jewish at all. She's very fair and has lightish hair."

Whereas the respondents referred to above expressed confusion in relation to Anti-Jewish sentiment, confusion also surfaced in relation to conversations about elements of Soviet life such as its culture, policies and practices. The confusion was born out of a juxtaposition between one's experience in the USSR and one's exposure to life in the United States. Some parents received exposure to American life through their American-reared children. According to one participant, when he had decided that he was going to graduate with a joint Bachelor's and Master's degree, his father discouraged him saying "You can't do that...The system isn't not set up for that. It won't work." Reflecting on his father's reaction, he noted, "I don't think [my parents] understand it...that there's a system and you can work within that system to get what you want done." This participant had a close relationship with his parents and spoke at length about how much they supported him in all areas of his life. Thus, in saying "you can't do that" he was communicating something about the way he experienced the world and in that world policies and practices were non-negotiable. Confusion was also present as participants spoke about their parents and at times their own reactions to Soviet propaganda when it was challenged by information infiltrated from the United States. One participant shared a memory whereby she had begun to realize that things were not as the Soviet government had portrayed them to be.

When I was...about...10, my best friend moved to the United States and she sent me a letter saying "Oh I love it here so much. Then she said 'And everyone is nice' and I guess

she was talking about things that sounded really fun.... But when she wrote to me, I was still wearing the red pioneer scarf and I thought how could she do this? She used to be a patriot of Russia. What is she doing, really loving it in America? To me that upbringing, with the Cold War mentality was really embedded in us. But after she started writing to me...I started seeing Russia differently.

The narratives of the adult children of FSU Jewish émigrés indicated that for many parents, they did not know the extent to which they were manipulated and misinformed until they were exposed to life in America and the freedoms that came with it.

Absurdity

Whereas confusion was a prominent theme for those who experienced life in the FSU, the theme of absurdity was common among those who relied on their parents for information about life in the FSU. For many of these individuals, it was not that they did not understand the world their parents lived in; rather, the filter through which they perceived the stories—an Americanized filter—portrayed their parents’ shared experiences in the light of absurdity. They experienced their parents’ depictions of life in the FSU as surreal, lawless and unpredictable. The rules were subject to change without notice, and the system that was meant to protect its citizens was also behind many of the crimes and atrocities that were rampant in the FSU. On the one hand, that children viewed the place from which their parents originated as absurd suggests the presence of an acculturation gap. This gap derived from the fact that the children were raised in a world in stark contrast to that of their parents. At the same time, the framework served as the impetus that inspired many of the children to seek a better understanding of this world. For many of these participants, this occurred by linking their parents’ stories with their own research. According to a participant, one of the instances when her parents exchanged stories about their lives in the FSU was during her freshman year of High School when she was reading *Animal Farm*. This participant noted: “For every three pages of it, my parents told me real stories that were parallel.”

However, when class resumed, she was exposed to a different reality: Her classmates were entirely skeptical of the book. Hearing their disbelief, she responded angrily, “What are you talking about it's not realistic, it's an experience that my parents practically lived!” In defending the reality of their story despite its absurdity, she aligned herself with her parents’ past, despite her apparent connection to an entirely different world, which she shared with her American classmates.

Viewing their parents’ experiences in the light of absurdity positively informed some of the participants’ relationship to their parents and, by extension, their roots. One of the participants remarked that his relationship with his parents at present was strained in part because of their acculturation gap. According to him, there was a certain morbidity and intensity to his family, in particular his father, that repelled him: “There is [a] tragedy to everyday life that is annoying to be around.... Every minor element has to be documented because it's a death culture.” This participant attributed these qualities to his parents’ Jewishness, which like the “death culture” was a “kvetching culture” that was the site for anxiety and depression. This was a culture that he could not relate to and did not want to be a part of. However, what did appeal to him were the “Soviet stories” that his father told him as a child. These stories contained a light-heartedness that was divergent from the “kveching culture.” This difference is articulated in rich detail by one participant:

There’s just something about the society that seems wild...like 1970s New York is wild or something, but there’s a lawlessness to it.... It’s a world in which there are hooligans and gangsters but they’re not really caricatures, they’re real people. I kind of like that idea. I don’t really think about it like, you know, this like entire group of people being subjugated and living in hell...

In other words, it was a culture where people lived, survived and thrived—not one where they died, literally or metaphorically. In the “Soviet story,” his father is a survivor who did not

let himself be victimized. The connection between father and son and it is exemplified in the following statement: “When framing my identity I include elements that I like about my dad...like living in an absurd world and somehow still surviving...[and] playing by its weird rules. That appeals to me as a mythology.” This mythology of the absurd cast the parents as heroic figures who were able to successfully navigate this world without letting it break them and ultimately win the game by escaping.

Issues of Identity

The participants’ parents were confronted with a dilemma. Although they were born in Russia, were citizens of Russia, spoke Russian fluently, served in the Russian army and had deep roots in Russia, they were not considered Russian. Whether or not Soviet Jews had a formal religious practice, they were equally Jewish and therefore equally hated. The Jewish identity remained the most salient for many of the participants’ parents. This is represented in the following participant’s account of his father’s relationship to his Judaic identity:

...He's always known he was Jewish and knew that he was different in that sense and he was amazed when he came to this country and people started calling him Russian and he was like 'I'm not Russian. Nobody would ever call me Russian. I'm Jewish...in the culture they lived in, it defined them.

One question naturally follows: did it continue to define them once they settled in the land of the free?

The Émigré Parents' Jewish Identity. The accounts provided by the participants revealed that even after resettlement, the Jewish identity remained an integral part of their parents’ self-conception. This was true for all 12 participants, no matter their level of religious observance in the FSU. Although each of the participants' parents reunited with their Jewish identity, their expression of it varied considerably. Some expressed this identity by formally

observing Judaic law. Comparing his parents' level of observance in the FSU to their current level of observance, one interviewee stated: "I think we became more [religious] because there is more opportunity.... Nobody is stopping you. You freely can practice it." Six of the participants explicitly stated that upon emigrating from the FSU, their parents had become more observant. Among this subgroup were two parents who prior to coming to the United States had no formal practice in the FSU. One of these participants described her mother's transformation: "In America it was almost immediate.... She likes the traditions, she goes to temple on Yom Kippur...She likes the apples on Passover and that kind of thing." According to some of the participants, even when their parents observed formal Judaic practice, it was absent of religious doctrine. Rather, it was a personal experience, as if reconnecting to a lost part of themselves. For many Eastern European Jews, the personal reunification was coupled with a communal experience that was unavailable to them in Soviet Russia. This duality is expressed in one participant's account of her father's relationship to his Judaism:

He [my father] always tried to find Judaism in his life. When we moved...he found Chavura, it means friendship, but people refer to it as a Jewish group...and then we moved [again]...and he found [another] Chavura-type thing in a temple...and then we moved somewhere else and he found another synagogue...I think it's really a testament to his Jewish identity—even though he defies it so much...and he's not religious, I think it's a very important part of him.

Since the family was at the center of Soviet Jewish life and remained pivotal after resettlement, one's identity could not be shaped without the forces of one's past and also, one's future generations. Consequently, some émigrés reclaimed their tie to their Judaic heritage by expressing it through their children. Two interviewees, both of whom emigrated with their parents, were enrolled in parochial Hebrew schools in the United States. In both cases, the parents were not religiously observant. Their only link to their Judaic heritage was their

experience of oppression, which in both families, was a deep-rooted legacy inherited from the past. Storytelling was another medium by which one could embody the Jewish identity. Through storytelling one could simultaneously evoke the past and touch the future generations. Although the individual stories varied, they were typically about the mistreatment of Jews either in the Soviet Union or their near-elimination during the Holocaust. The essential theme was the legacy of Anti-Semitism. The recurrence of this theme suggests that more than any other shared variable, tradition or cultural practice, what bound them to their Jewish identity was the experience of being hated. Thus, the stories that were transmitted reflected not only an experience of oppression, but also an identity that was born of that experience. And although the experience of oppression often took away their religious affiliation with Judaism, it solidified their allegiance to their Judaic roots. In trying to understand why her father was so firmly connected to his Jewish identity, despite his lack of religiosity, one participant speculated, “I think it's an important part of him because it was almost stamped out of him.”

The Parents' Russian Identity. Four of the participants described their parents as explicitly expressing antipathy toward the FSU. The parents of these participants were from Eastern European satellite nations. A similar attitude could be inferred from many of the other stories, though not explicitly reported by the remainder of the participants. Reflecting upon his parents' relationship to the FSU, one participant concluded, “They would have no interest in going back.” Another participant, wondering what life would have been like for her parents had they remained in Russia stated, “Ideologically, they would never be happy.” According to this participant, her parents intuited from an early age that “all was not quite right,” speculations which were confirmed by her parents' stories.

Some parents of the interviewees quoted above communicated their distaste verbally; others distanced themselves from their Russian roots through silence. One interviewee noted that for the first fifteen years of his life, his parents spoke minimally about their respective birthplaces and the lives they left behind. Instead, they projected an American identity onto their children. Their general stance, as reported by the interviewee, was, “You're American. It's a beautiful thing. All this freedom...you have to embrace that.” Embracing the American identity was common among those who were not fond of the FSU and did not want to carry on its legacy. This was certainly the case for one participant, whose parents felt cheated and taken advantage of by the FSU. In response, her parents developed the following attitude: “We don't need to identify with the Soviet Union to know who we are. We're American now.” For the parents of one participant, assimilating meant living in a neighborhood with no other Russian immigrants and sending their son to a school where he was the only identifiably Russian-speaking child.

Although many of the FSU Jewish émigrés harbored tremendous resentment toward the FSU and often attempted to discard the Russian influence, a closer look revealed that the Russian identity lingered and was transmitted to the American-reared child. This paradox is exemplified by one of the participants: even though his parents withheld their past and encouraged him to take on the American identity, he felt that he had grown up in a “Russian home.” A deeper analysis revealed that rather than mere antipathy, many FSU émigrés felt ambivalence about their Russian identity. After all, their lived experience demonstrated that the Jewish identity was antithetical to the Russian identity. Yet it became evident that elements of the dominant culture had influenced their cultural make-up. Not one of the interviewees' parents gave up the Russian language. The parents who said they had no interest in returning to their homeland decided to travel there. The parents who shared with their child stories of their family's historical

subjugation also made sure that her Russian was flawless. Finally, the family who encouraged their son to embrace his American identity decided fifteen years later that they needed him to know his Russian identity. In doing so, they were able to reclaim it and transmit their roots. Their son attributes the following to his parent's change of heart: "After they finally stopped being fearful of it, they took us [their children] back [to their homeland]." Thus, although the Judaic identity was at the core of the parents' identities, it was mediated by the Russian identity. The comingling of the Russian and Jewish identity spawned an entirely new identity: the Russian-Jewish identity. However, this could only be acknowledged in the United States. The fluidity and ephemeral nature of the FSU Jewish identity often bore with it a confusion that was transmitted across the generations.

The Adult Children of FSU Jewish Émigrés and their Multiple Identities. During their interview, respondents were asked a series of demographic questions as well as open-ended questions relating to their parents' immigration experience and its potential influence on them. One of the demographic questions asked participants for their ethnic and racial denomination. Of the twelve respondents, eleven identified as white. Among these eleven respondents, one wavered and initially stated Asian, but settled on white. One respondent self-identified as Central Asian. The eleven respondents who categorized themselves as white varied considerably in their country of origin, cultural practices and complexion. Individuals of FSU Jewish descent are typically considered white. However, the data provided by the participants suggests that there may be degrees of whiteness among this population. Responses other than white were given by two of the three Bukharian participants. Although only one of the two gave a final answer, which veered from the norm, his initial vacillation between Asian and white confirmed that unlike the

Eastern European immigrants who are unquestionably white, there is ambiguity in the Bukharian racial identity. This is confirmed in the greater range of skin tone that exists among Bukharians.

There was even greater variability among the interviewees' responses regarding their ethnic identity. The exact nature of the responses broke down as follows: "Caucasian Jew," "Jewish and Russian," "Bukharian," "Russian-Jewish," "Moldovan-Jewish," "Russian and Jewish," "Russian," "Russian Jew" and "American Jew with Eastern European roots." Certainly, the responses are similar. It may even be that Russian Jew, Russian Jewish and Russian and Jewish have the same meaning for the participants and are mere variations of each other. However, what is truly notable is that not one of the participants identified in exactly the same way even though some of the participants were born in the same region. This was not the only opportunity for participants to name their ethnic background. Those who were Bukharian had to self-identify as such prior to the interview. Participants were also given an opportunity to elaborate on their relationship to their various identities and which they identified with most. These responses captured critical elements of their self-conception that were masked by the terms they had used initially used, once again capturing the elusive nature of the FSU Jewish identity and the difficulty of capturing it tidily via a single term.

Take, for example, two participants who both emigrated with their parents and were born in the same region, yet identified differently. One participant identified as Russian whereas the other participant identified as a Russian Jew. The respondents' narratives offer insight into the potential reason for their varying responses. Before delving into the narratives, it is important to note that unlike any of the participants, having emigrated when they were in their teens, these participants spent their formative years and the received the majority of their schooling in the

FSU, despite having spent most of their lives in the United States at the time of this interview. Still, both internalized a slightly different self-conception based on their unique experiences. After stating her ethnic and racial identity, the first participant added: “I don't volunteer the info that I'm Jewish...I don't know if it's because it's the mentality that we always had to hide it in Minsk.” As she related her narrative, this participant reported that she was secretive about her Jewish-identity because “it was pretty bad for someone to experience people hating you because you were Jewish.” Despite attempts to hide her identity, she was tagged as Jewish because of her appearance and was exposed to physical acts of intolerance. However, she also noted that she was proud of her Judaic heritage and wanted to pass it on to her children. With the birth of her first child, she began to celebrate the Jewish holidays for the first time in her life.

Whereas the first participant's reported ethnic identification masked a deep-seated fear about her Jewish-identity, the second participant hides a similar story of oppression as well as her attitude toward the oppressor. Her experience of Ant-Semitism drew her toward her Judaism, which she regarded as central in her self-conception. Her attitude about her Russian identity surfaced when asked which parts of her identity she would want to pass on her son who at the time of this interview was 12-years-old. Her response was as follows:

It's hard, right? A lot of people think that because you are from Russia, you're Russian.... So what's Russian that I can pass on to him? He might listen to some Russian music. Unfortunately aside for some art/cultural aspects in terms of art history or music history, I don't see beyond that too much. Because I don't associate with a lot of the other stuff. The things you are closer to are the pain that your family went through during the Holocaust—we had a lot of family lost—the pain of Anti-Semitism and what you can do to cope with these things.

Later, she notes that she has no loyalty toward Russia and considers Israel more of her country than Russia ever was. Regarding her son's ethnic identity she reports, “I think he recognizes [Judaism] as his sphere. It's that belonging. I think that's what I'd cultivate in him.”

This interview targeted the children of FSU Jewish émigrés who were raised in America. Consequently, the information gathered about their parents is second-hand. Although the participants portrayed above were children of immigrants who have spent the majority of their lives in the United States, their exposure to Soviet life may reflect some of the attitudes of the parents of the other participants. In reflecting about what they wanted to pass on to their children, they revealed the full complexity of their identities and reflected their own cultural affiliations.

Three of the participants explicitly noted that the stories communicated were paramount in understanding their roots and developing a relationship with those roots. One of the participants discussed the influence that these stories had on his desire to reclaim his Judaic heritage:

They could never get rid of their identity so it became a lot more important to me to be associated as a Jew.... I don't get labeled as a Jew as much in my society so it's my choice how apparent I make it.... I guess just hearing all these stories and knowing what they went through definitely pushed me to associate more with Judaism, try to understand it more, learn about it and maybe not be more religious but incorporate myself more into that society or culture. To embrace their struggle--and I wouldn't say justify it to myself, but make it seem more meaningful.

Even though they understood it was an important part of their identity, some participants reflected a degree of ambivalence regarding their Judaic identity. Their ambivalence seemed to be related to the religious connotation that Judaism has in America. Furthermore, the participants that felt the most alienated from their Judaic roots had a conflicted relationship with their parents. These participants had more of an affinity with their Russian heritage.

Identity Confusion

The participants were often caught between multiple identities, all of which were prevalent in their lives and some of which appeared irreconcilable. The result was a drifting feeling of “neither here nor there.” Four of the participants openly expressed feelings of

confusion and disconnectedness related to their identity. These participants all came to the United States when they were under the age of five. One participant noted, “There are a set of experiences that are Russian and there are a set of experiences that are American and I don't have either per se. I'm sort of in between and it's hard to pin myself down in a place culturally.”

For these participants, it was impossible to fully assimilate into American culture because the root of who they were was not American. Another participant echoes this dilemma:

I've always felt like I've had the dichotomy of growing up in America really young, so essentially I'm an American, but at the same time, you know, English is not my first language, even though I learned it really young. There's a lot [that's American]...[i.e.] TV shows and music and American history and pop culture that isn't my DNA. The very roots of who I am are not American.

The inability to feel truly at home among any of these subcultures often resulted in a feeling of separateness and isolation when in the presence of individuals within the respective subcultures. For example, the participant quoted above noted that even among her Jewish peers, there was a palpable difference that was the result of her unique Russian-Jewish immigrant upbringing: “it's...hard to find kinship among your peers because the way their parents brought them up is...very different. I feel there's an American Jewish standard mode of parenting...where parents are a lot more hands off.”

The participant quoted above reflects a similar sense of disconnection among Americans and Russians: “There's still that part of me that always felt like an outsider, like I couldn't exactly relate to Russians, but I can't exactly relate to Americans, either. So where does that leave me...?” The “where does that leave me” is a poignant question that reflects the sense of fragmentation that results not only from the interface of multiple identities, but when these identities ostensibly come with a set of expectations and narratives that are foreign to the self. Coherence can come not only from an integration of these identities in a manner that is palatable

to the self, but also from a mirroring of the confusion. As if in answer to her own question, the second participant eludes to this mirroring: “if I had someone who said, 'I come from the same kind of confusion, look how I’ve turned out, look at the place I’ve found for myself,' I think I would have felt ok.”

Reclamation and Coherence

Many of the children of these immigrants were involved in their own process of reclamation, independent of their parents. The reclamation of their identity was coupled with an attempt to provide coherence to a narrative and identity that was otherwise splintered. For some, this was accomplished by the transmission of their parents’ narratives. In these cases, there was a mutual process of reclamation that benefitted parent and child. Those for whom the narrative felt loose or insubstantial sought clarity by reengaging their parents in the process of storytelling or conducting their own research. Two participants mentioned researching Civil Wars that occurred in their respective birth country as adults. In both case, their parents alluded to the Civil War when the participants were younger, but the impetus to understand it did not come until years later.

The literature on intergenerational transmission of Holocaust trauma contends that children who inherit a loose or incoherent narrative from their parents have the highest levels of interpersonal distress. Among the participants interviewed, eleven claimed to have been affected by their parents’ identity as a FSU Jewish émigré. The coherence of the narrative had no bearing on whether one felt impacted by their parents’ experiences of oppression. In fact, there was more of a correlation between impact and gender. Women appeared to have been more deeply affected by their parents’ experiences than men.

Acculturation Gap

Like most immigrants, FSU Jewish émigrés sought asylum in the United States because they wanted to make a go at what they saw as the American Dream. To them, the American Dream offered them an opportunity to enjoy religious freedom, financial prosperity and stability. Most importantly, they could provide their children with a far better life. As mentioned above, many émigré parents repudiated their affiliation with Soviet Russia and embraced their version of the American way of life. What they really embraced were some of the more external privileges that were associated with America. Their children's stories reveal that these immigrants clung to remnants of the life they had in Soviet Russia. Consequently, they did not want themselves or their children to take in *all* aspects of American culture—only a select few. Unfortunately for the parents, they could not always control what parts their children took in and what they left out. The children assimilated at a far greater pace than their parents, and as part of that process, developed beliefs, values and principles that were often at odds with those of their parents.

Tension between Individuation and Closeness. The importance of the family structure prevailed once these families settled in the United States. Grandparents either lived with the immediate family or in close proximity. The children of these émigrés were often caught between the dichotomy of maintaining closeness or individuating. They were growing up in a society where individuation was a cultural rite of passage, but raised in a family where individuation was considered betrayal. This tension was alluded to by several of the participants. According to one respondent,

Growing up, it was rocky. There were a lot of fights. Being the youngest and last child, I was already much more assimilated than my sisters who two years after coming here

already got married. Sometimes it felt like I was a teen living with my 50 year-old parents who were from a completely different planet.

This participant explained that most of the fights were related to her going out with her friends. Her level of differentiation was met with fear and resistance. Several years later when she began graduate school, she continued to live at home despite the three-hour commute.

Closeness was often accompanied by what participants described as overprotective and controlling behaviors exhibited by their parents. According to one participant, her parents micromanaged every aspect of her life, leaving little room for her to make personal choices. There was no boundary between what they wanted and what she wanted. When she went away to college, the physical distance allowed her to take steps toward individuation: “They would call me and I would pick up sometimes... I very rarely picked up the phone to call them. I’m an only child, so they’re very protective. And I relished my liberty to forget to call them, which made them very unhappy.” Similar to the previous participant, when she took steps toward establishing her independence, she was met with resistance on the other side.

In all cases, parents and children were forced to compromise in order to preserve their relationship. The first participant eventually moved out of her parents’ home during the school year so that she did not have to commute. However, she agreed to move back home for the summer when school was out of session. Furthermore, she continued to come home several Saturdays a month to spend the Sabbath with her family. The second participant made more of an effort to call her parents, but was given more freedom to make personal life decisions.

These participants’ levels of differentiation cannot be measured by purely American standards. Rather than simply launching, they must find a way to differentiate in a way that honors their ethnic culture and preserves their relationship with their parents. This balance varies

among FSU émigrés. For example, according to the participants' accounts, the tension between individuation and closeness appeared most prevalent among the children of Eastern European émigrés.

Ideological Difference. For many FSU Jewish émigrés, the experience of living in an absurd world governed by corruption, lawlessness and propaganda coupled with the anxiety of being a oppressed minority remained with them decades after they fled to the United States. It colored their perception of reality and orientation toward people, places and situations. Their children who were raised with an entirely different set of experiences often developed attitudes and ideas that were in direct contrast to those of their parents. Among the participants interviewed (n=12), nine expressed ideological differences from their parents. For some, these ideological differences existed during their youth but dissipated as they grew older; for others, they remained ever-present and followed them into adulthood.

Political beliefs were one of the most commonly cited areas of ideological difference. Participants described their parents as having varying responses to living under an autocratic regime. At the same time, the responses were similar in that they reflected a generalized cynicism toward government and politics. For one participant, his parents' cynicism was manifested in their apolitical stance: "My parents are not...especially political people.... even about America and politics. Instead of ... rebel[ling] against the Soviet political structure [they] were like 'I'm just not interested.'" As noted by another participant, some people coped with their lack of agency over the external world by focusing strictly on themselves and their family members. In regard to her family, she remarked: "My dad doesn't because he thinks your life is more what you make of it than anything else. He thinks politicians are all the same, and the world is sort of a shitty place so you kind of have to trudge along and make it better for yourself

and for your family.” As highly educated, liberal individuals, this type of cynicism contrasted drastically with these participants’ attitudes as well as their own sense of agency. At the same time, it was a window into the world that their parents came from.

Cynicism extended beyond the political sphere and infiltrated many parents' attitude toward people and situations. Cynicism toward people was linked with feelings of distrust and suspicion. This is reflected in the following participant's description of his father: “He's more of the mind frame that people are inherently...dumb and lazy and you have to motivate them...treat them a certain way to get things done.” He then describes his own attitude and his father's reaction to his stance: “My understanding is no, people are inherently good, they'll work towards something. He might say that's naive and I'll say that's cynical. I think there is something to both of those.” The last line “I think there is something to both of those” is a prescient statement that illuminates the position that some children take as a way to rebel against the conservatism of their parents—a position that is often at the other end of the spectrum. Another participant reflects on what he perceives are manifestations of his parents' Jewish heritage: “My mother worries a lot about things and asks that I always call.... [My father] used to be sure that people were trying to fuck us and was paranoid about tiny things, which to me always seemed absurd.” Similarly to the first participant, this respondent developed a position that was diametrically opposed to that of his parents:

I've overcompensated...because I play devils advocate so much, I end up holding more extreme naïve position...Sometimes there are things to worry about and sometimes you have to be careful... My position with everything is, “don't worry about it, it's fine, everything's fine.”

The participant quoted above was able to see that his patterns of responding to the world, although seemingly different from his parents, was at times as unrealistic and harmful as his parents' neuroses.

Although the majority of the participants experienced an acculturation gap with their parents, only in a few cases (n=3) did it cause a rupture in the parent-child relationship. Several participants noted that one parent had made concessions, which reduced the gap. In one of the cases mentioned above, the participant's father voted for the first time in his life during the previous year's election because he knew the election was important to his daughter. The transmission of narratives from parents to children was another important means by which the acculturation gap was bridged. Several participants (n=3) noted that the stories their parents shared with them helped them to appreciate their parents' attitude and outlook on the world at the micro and macro level. When asked how her parents' identity as a FSU Jewish émigré affected her, one participant responded,

I guess it's helped me understand their personalities. Sometimes as a teen I would think, my parents are very intense people, they're high strung, they raise their voices a lot. I would think why aren't they calmer people, where is this coming from? I I've just realized they've been through a lot, especially them having four girls and coming to a new country. You have to be strong. You can't waver.

Once this participant was able to accept her parents personality, she recognized how much of their personality resided in her. It was then that she was able to say, "I'm unique and I come from a really cool place of the world that people know little about."

For another participant, her parents' stories about the legacy of terror, persecution and suppression their family underwent during the Soviet era provided insight into her parents' political stance during the 2008 election. During her reflections on the meaning of these stories to her, she commented:

Because I know where my parents are coming from, I could understand that during the last election, when... Obama was becoming a cult figure and everyone was sort of like oh, he's awesome...when he comes to power, there will be butterflies and unicorns trampling over the field.... It legitimately made them really nervous and I can't imagine not understanding that...

The transmission of her family narrative provided her with a glimpse into the reality her parents once inhabited while maintaining her own present reality.

The Grand Narrative or “Big Story”

As one participant reflected, “I think it is important to maybe hear the different stories. And to not have just the big story be ‘these people come over and they want to stay Jewish and be doctors and do really well.’” A strong desire to succeed was embedded in the narrative of the FSU Jewish experience and transmitted across generations, such that even after their liberation from Soviet Russia, it remained at the core of the FSU Jewish American identity. One participant refers to such ambition as a “handicap,” noting, “We Jews...carry that burden because we always feel that people don't like us and we always feel like we have to do better than others. It's almost like a handicap attached...to us.” This handicap or neurotic desire was at the core of the Grand Narrative that the children of these immigrants were expected to embody.

The Big Story, as described above by one participant, is the expectation that the children of FSU Jewish émigrés climb the ranks of American society by excelling academically and attaining financial prosperity. This expectation was unanimously shared and communicated by each of the participants' parents. It became a cultural emblem for the children of Soviet émigrés: “Every single every Russian kid that I went to school with just all of them were like straight A's out the gate, everyone wanted to be a doctor...The way it ‘should be.’” Although few of the interviewees' parents had heard of Horatio Alger, his message was not lost on them. Hard work, determination and persistence prevented most Soviet Jews from sinking into the cesspool of

Soviet life. These qualities closely mirrored Algier's guiding principles. The difference was that in the United States there was a conceivable endpoint and payoff. Since many of these émigrés were not able to enjoy the full extent of the payoff due to their age and immigrant status, it was critical that their children would. This sentiment is expressed by one participant: “I think because they weren't as secure financially, they really want that life for me, where I have the things they did not have...like stability.” The desire for their children to have stability was paramount. It was seen as the ultimate payoff. This aspiration was shared by another participant: “I think they wanted everything to be really good for me... simple and stable.”

According to the participants' reports, academic success was seen as a direct link to the fulfillment of the American Dream. Ten of the participants were asked what their parents' expectations were of them during their childhood years. Below are some of the their responses:

Participant 1: They always expected me to be academically perfect. I had to bring home perfect grades, or they were not satisfied...And they didn't really care about any of [the] other stuff that I did with my time.... They expected me to spend all of my time studying.

Participants 2: They always wanted me to be the best in school. They...expected it of me rather than just being mildly encouraging.

Participant 3: [They said] this is how you pick yourself up. You need to do well in school.... There's no other option.

The final quote conveys the sheer weight that was placed on academic success and perhaps the anxiety that accompanied it. Each one of the participants had no doubt as to what was expected of them. It was communicated directly and explicitly. Academic success was only the first step on the yellow-brick road toward stability and security. Its purpose, as one participant stated, was “to make good money.” Four of the ten respondents reported that their parents wanted them to be doctors. As the opening quote of the chapter shows, it became the stereotypical career path for the children of these émigrés. Another participant cited three career options that were identified

by her parents as acceptable alternatives: lawyer, pharmacist or businessperson. The parents of these respondents perceived these professions as vehicles toward the attainment of prosperity and, by extension, security and stability.

Guilt and sacrifice served as conduits via which these expectations were expressed. The guilt and sacrifice was often carried by the parents and at times projected onto the children. For example, for one of the participants' parents, their desire for her to have stability and security stemmed from their own guilt about uprooting their family and moving to the United States. However, as a child she was forced to bear the guilt for not fitting into their mold. This participant disclosed that her failure to meet her expectations was the source of significant conflict and tension, which impaired her relationship with her parents and her parents' relationship with one another during her childhood years. She became acutely aware of her parents' expectations each time she failed to meet them, at which point an argument would ensue. This participant noted that these arguments, in addition to making her parents aspirations known, simultaneously provided a window into their life in the FSU. She describes the transmission of her parents' expectations and her own awareness of the expectations that were intertwined with the Soviet Jewish identity:

I've never liked school... I was never good at it. When I first started school and all the way through high school...most of the arguments that we would have, would be because of my poor grades. For Russian Jewish parents, poor grades [are] just a no-no. I was this odd duck. Every time there would be the comparisons.... My cousins were brilliant...My dad is brilliant in math and science; My mom is the hardest working person I know. Where did I come from? Why am I not that way?

Her inability to fit within the dominant narrative assigned to her generation was met with anger and confusion. They perceived her academic failures as an affront to their struggles. This participant discussed the messages she intuited behind her parents' anger and disappointment:

My parents thought if America is the land of opportunity, then our child has to take advantage of every opportunity that's given.... If I didn't take [them]... they automatically were like, "How dare you?! We had nothing. You have everything given to you on a plate, how could you not eat it up?"

Their expectations and communication of their own past was transmitted via shame and guilt.

The above participant was one of three individuals who reported that their parents' expectations were transmitted during times of conflict. However, whereas the former participant described these arguments as the source of her knowledge about her parents experience in the FSU, the other two participants were privy to the specifics that motivated their parents to emigrate from their birthplace. The specifics involved acts of sacrifice, the communication of which incited guilt and shame. When one of the interviewees was asked if he knew his parents' reasons for immigration, he responded, " [My father] said it all the time, whenever I did anything that like he didn't like ... It was always emphasized that we were here for us...[that] they sacrificed so that we could have a better life." The second participant described a similar pattern: "They would bring it up frequently when they didn't like something that I was doing and they wanted to shame me for squandering the opportunity that they gave me and all of the hard work that they've done to get here." The tension that arose from her failure to meet these expectations evoked her parents' recollections about their life in the FSU and their reasons for immigration. In all three cases, the participants veered away from the dominant narrative explored at the beginning of the chapter. They did not become doctors or fully embrace their Judaism. In fact, all three participants had a conflicted attitude toward their Judaic heritage, although to varying degrees.

In other cases, participants reported that their parents' struggles in the FSU and their reasons for immigration inspired them to fully embrace the paradigm of success that their parents

envisioned for them. In some of these cases, the parents of these émigrés expressed to their children that they were the primary reason they chose to leave the Soviet Russia. In these cases, the sacrifice made by the parents was not layered with guilt. These respondents did not report any arguments relating to their parents expectations of them or failure to meet them. It may be that the absence of conflict around this issue encouraged them to fulfill their parents' aspirations for them. More research would have to be done in order to determine if there is a correlation between how the expectations are conveyed and the degree to which they are internalized. Additionally, more variables would have to be controlled for and the term "success" would need to be operationalized. In this study, there were slight variations in the parents' expectations and what they defined as success for their children. Furthermore, the analysis revealed that those who did not report conflict with their parents regarding their choices and actions and ostensibly embodied their parents vision of success appeared less conflicted about their Jewish identity. However, no correlation can be assumed between these two factors without further research.

Either way, the analysis demonstrated that the drive to succeed was an identity and characteristic that FSU Jewish émigrés attempted to impart in their children. This was the case for both the Bukharian and Eastern European émigrés. Furthermore, whether or not the children embraced the dominant narrative that was designed for them, the communication of the narrative had important implications. The children who rejected or were unable to fit into the dominant narrative experienced tension in their relationships with their parents. In addition to impaired relations with their parents, these participants also reported feelings of isolation and a crisis in identity. Others aligned with their parents' expectations and set out to embody their vision of the American Dream. One participant noted that by doing so, he inevitably limited his career options. In all cases, the communication of the expectations was also a part of the transmission of

the parents' histories and in particular, the force that facilitated their parents' survival in the FSU and drove them to uproot themselves in the first place. For many of these émigrés, this change was far more terrifying than continuing to live in an autocratic and Anti-Semitic state. According to several participants, even though their parents were constantly targeted for their Judaic heritage, they were able to cope and, in some cases, find meaningful work. In an attempt to explain the difficulty her parents faced upon emigrating and the sacrifices they made in leaving, despite the potential benefits, one participant stated: "The devil you knew was is better than the devil you don't." Many of these immigrants were only willing to face the unknown devil for economic prosperity as opposed to religious and ethnic freedom. But they tackled one as they tackled the other: with hard work and, as one participant stated, "fierce determination."

Conclusion

This qualitative study explored whether the American-reared children of FSU Jewish émigrés are affected by their parents immigration experiences as well as the stories that are circulated from parent to child about these immigration experiences. This study revealed that the transmission of stories about the Soviet Jewish experience is a prevailing phenomenon in this community that is facilitated not only by parents, but also grandparents. These stories were communicated in a variety of different ways. Some elements were transmitted directly while others indirectly. The final story as narrated by the children of these immigrants reflected their own process of piecing together the information. For some the process of weaving the disparate details was an attempt to imbue the narrative with coherence and meaning. Of the twelve participants, only one stated that the narrative he inherited had no meaning for him. Two participants stated that although they knew the stories had meaning, they did not have a clear understanding of its manifestation in their lives. The remaining nine participants, all of who had

different relationships with their Judaic heritage, reported that these stories had significant meaning that seeped into various aspects of their lives and rested at the core of their identity. As one participant stated, “I recognize that when I hear all these stories they’re someone else’s, but it doesn’t feel that way. They feel like they’re my stories and they have very much informed who I am.”

Chapter V

Discussion

This study was undertaken to examine the stories told by FSU Jewish émigrés to their American-reared children in an attempt to answer the following research questions: Are these stories reflective of the oppression and discrimination that Soviet Jews endured under the Soviet regime? If so, how were these experiences communicated to the child? The research not only provided clarity to the research questions, but also yielded additional insights. The analysis revealed the following noteworthy findings: 1) All twelve participants inherited stories depicting the collective discrimination that Jews were forced to endure under the Soviet regime. These stories were shared by parents and grandparents; 2) The narratives of Central Asian Jews reflected a more positive association with the FSU than did the accounts transmitted by Eastern-European Jews, suggesting critical regional and/or cultural differences despite their mutually shared identity as FSU Jewish émigrés; 3) The transmission of the collective discrimination heaped upon the Jewish population in Soviet Russia and the personal implications of Soviet Anti-Semitism for their parents was influential in shaping the participants' identity; (4) The narratives were communicated both directly and indirectly and shared often, suggesting the prevalence of such a practice among FSU Jewish families in the United States; (5) The participants' parents' explicit communication of their expectations implicitly told the story of their lives in the FSU and their reasons for emigration; (6) These expectations were communicated with an intensity and drive that was often internalized by the American-reared children.

Explicit Transmission vs. Silence

In this study there was unanimous transmission of narratives across multiple generations of FSU Jewish émigrés. This represents a stark contrast to the communication patterns that exist among Holocaust survivors and their children. The literature on the transgenerational transmission of trauma among Holocaust survivors and their offspring indicates that the communication about the trauma was primarily non-existent or fractured. Unlike the Holocaust Survivor Offspring who experienced a sense of “knowing-not-knowing” (Wiseman et. al, 2002; Wiseman & Barber, 2004; Kopman, 2007; Lev-Wiesel, 2007) related to their parents’ experiences during the Holocaust, the participants in this study had the knowledge and language to express the ghosts of their parents’ past. Furthermore, unlike the majority of Holocaust Survivor Offspring, even when their parents' stories were transmitted piecemeal, they were still able to connect the pieces. Perhaps the adult-children of the FSU Jewish émigrés were able to construct a coherent narrative from the distorted and fragmented communication of their parents stories because, as one participant aptly noted, “the centerpiece is sort of more direct, something I got more directly from them.” By contrast, HSO were not given any solid ground on which they could build a narrative.

The question that naturally arises is: Why might have there been a distinction in the communicate patterns of FSU Jewish émigrés and Holocaust survivors? Both of these groups were vehemently targeted because of their Judaic identity. There is also overlap between these two groups, as some Holocaust survivors are also FSU Jewish émigrés. One participant offers insight into the potential reason behind the difference:

None of us had an experience where we were bullied to a point where we had to sacrifice moving somewhere or how you hear here people committing suicide because of bullying. Certainly my grandfather on my mother's side was 12 when his father was killed in a pogrom. So that's the epitome of what Anti-Semitism was.

Later in the interview, this participant goes on to say: “Believe me, I don't think my experience was so traumatic that I couldn't do something.” Although she identifies multiple instances in which she and her family were both targeted and confronted with structural barriers that limited their agency, this participant repeatedly noted that “it wasn't that bad” or “traumatic.” At the same time, she classifies her great-grandfather's murder as the “epitome” of Anti-Semitism. This juxtaposition suggests that as hard and painful as life was for FSU Jewish émigrés, it was by no means comparable to the horrors enacted during the Holocaust. This point of comparison mitigated the effects of living under an Anti-Semitic regime, potentially rendering it a safer and easier story to tell.

Different Narratives and Identities among FSU Jewish émigrés and their children

The FSU Jewish identity is complex for a number of reasons. First, it is an identity that changes with time and place. This fluidity is the culmination of the Jewish diasporic experience in the FSU. Second, the FSU was comprised of 15 republics that were spread across two continents. Although the republics shared similarities, they each had their own unique practices and traditions and perceived themselves as different from the other republics. Soviet dominance over these nations resulted in contact between different peoples, which then inspired a process of cultural change as well as borrowing elements from the dominant culture. These factors are important in understanding the participants' characterization of their identities and why even individuals born in the same republic may not self-identify identically.

The findings in this study mirrored some of the key findings in the literature on acculturation and assimilation. At the same time, the qualitative nature of the study provided a deeper and richer understanding of the data as well as how the data correlated to the participants' subjective experience. Whereas a bidirectional or bicultural model is used to understand the process of acculturation, the research on the acculturation process for FSU Jewish émigrés contends that this model is inappropriate in understanding the complex identity of FSU Jewish émigrés living in the United States. Instead, there are three identities that must be considered: Russian, Jewish and American. The collected narratives of the participants partially confirm this conclusion. These three identities were interwoven throughout narratives provided by participants whose parents were of Eastern-European descent. Furthermore, this study revealed that these three identities are critical in the identity formation of the adult-children of FSU Jewish émigrés as well their parents.

This study found that the tri-directional model is inadequate in considering the identity evolution of all FSU Jewish émigrés living in the United States. For the participants whose families immigrated to the United States from Central Asia, there were four identities that warranted consideration: Bukharian, Jewish, Russian and American. Similarly to their Eastern-European counterparts, these four identities were relevant for the participants of Central Asian descent as well as their parents. Although the ethnic identity of the Eastern-European and Central Asian participants often mirrored those of their parents, the analysis showed that the salience of these identities varied between parents and children. For example, whereas some parents considered themselves more Jewish than Russian, their children had an equal identification with their Russian and Jewish identities. This difference in ethnic identification between parents and children as well as the fluidity of the FSU Jewish-identity in general substantiated Pirsky and

Berman's (2005) claim that ethnocultural identities are often contextually bound. Furthermore, generalizing the acculturation process for FSU Eastern-European Jewish émigrés to *all* FSU émigrés eclipses, as Cooper (2004) notes, the viewpoints of peripheral groups such as Central Asian Jews, in favor of those who occupy a central position (i.e. Ashkenazi Jews).

The variations in ethnic identity among Eastern-European and Central Asian émigrés and their children were only one of several important differences noted between the two subgroups—differences that are often overlooked by the literature on FSU Jewish émigrés. These differences were observed in the quality of the narratives transmitted from parent to child, degree of the acculturation gap between parents and children and the realization and internalization of parental expectations. Despite their relation to the Soviet Jewish identity, all three participants whose parents emigrated from Central Asia distinguished themselves from their Eastern-European counterparts. For example, when one of the participants was asked how she identified ethnically, she responded: “I always say Russian Jewish...[but] there's obviously a difference.” When I asked for clarification regarding the participant's concluding remark, she stated: “there’s obviously a difference between Ashkenazis and Bukharians, but I notice that a lot of us use the same ethnicity...label to describe [ourselves].”

It is imperative that when researchers write about FSU Jewish émigrés, they specify the subgroup of FSU Jewish émigrés they are referring to. Otherwise, the research has questionable reliability—that is, unless the research applies to *all* subgroups of FSU Jewish émigrés. Specifically, the differences between the Bukharian and Eastern-European Jewish community must be noted and the research performed on one group cannot be generalized to the other group. Otherwise, social workers risk further marginalizing an already marginalized group who have existed in the shadow of their Eastern-European Jewish counterparts.

The Salience of the Jewish Identity

The participants confirmed that of the three identities their parents were negotiating, the Jewish identity outweighed the other three in relevance, prevalence and importance. Although the literature on acculturation supports this finding, it does not examine why this is the case. This analysis of the stories transmitted provided a rich backstory that offered insight into why the Jewish identity was regarded as the most important of the three. The narratives offered by the participants of Eastern European descent suggest that the oppression and systematic discrimination that their parents endured solidified their relationship to their Jewish identity. For many Eastern-European Jews, Anti-Semitism was their only remaining link to their Jewish heritage. The Soviet government's crusade against religion and anything that could be associated with it deprived many Soviet Jews of any form of cultural or religious expression, such that over time the great majority of Eastern-European Jews lost touch with these practices. This is exemplified by one participant, who stated that it was not until she moved to America and connected with American Jews that she learned to formally observe Passover. Despite the Soviet regime's attempts to purge the Jews of their heritage, they inadvertently preserved that heritage to an extent by never fully allowing the Jews to assimilate. Soviet Jews rarely had an opportunity to forget that they were not Russian, such that when they came to America and were able to claim their Russian heritage, many repudiated this identity because it was irreconcilable with their Jewish identity. While they may have had no observable association to their Judaic culture, the pain of Anti-Semitism remained with them and reminded FSU Jewish émigrés of their primary ethnic identity. This finding is consistent with Goldstein's definition of the Jewish-identity, as cited in Halberstadt (1992). He conceives the Jewish identity as a combination of two qualities, one of which is a negative association with the persecuted minority. It is unclear as to whether

Goldstein's construction of the Jewish-identity is applicable to Bukharian Jews. As noted in the findings and supported by current research on the Bukharian community, these Jews were able to maintain a connection to Jewish practice and honor it whenever possible. Thus, unlike Eastern-European Soviet Jews, Bukharians' relationship to their Judaism consisted of more than an association with the "Pain of Anti-Semitism." The degree to which Goldstein's definition of the Jewish-identity applies to Bukharians is an area that would benefit from further research.

Goldstein's conception of the Jewish identity pertains not only to FSU Eastern-European Jewish émigrés, but also to their American-reared children. However, the source of their negative associations with the Jewish identity varied depending on the participants' birthplace and age of emigration. As noted in the findings chapter, three of the participants had actual memories of life in the FSU. Of those three, two also reported personal confrontations with Anti-Semitism. These participants were twelve and sixteen when they emigrated. Despite having lived more than half their life in the United States, these painful memories remained alive. Both of these participants admitted that those experiences followed them throughout their daily lives and informed their perception of the surrounding environment. For example, one participant admitted that she does not tell people she is Jewish unless she is asked specifically about her religion. Upon reflection, she speculated: "I don't know if it's because it's the mentality that we always had to hide it in Minsk. So, I'm ok with admitting it, but unless I'm asked about my religion, I don't volunteer it." The other participant expressed a similar vigilance related to her Jewish identity, "It's kind of different. But you know what? I always feel like I'm on the offensive." Similarly to the parents of the participants' of Eastern-European descent, these participants had a relationship to their Judaism shaped by their collective and individual marginalization. Their sense of distrust, born from a history of marginalization and sustained after physical severance from the source of the

oppression, has been observed among FSU Jewish émigrés who, unlike these participants, spent the majority of their lives in the FSU (Shapiro, 1994, 1995).

Unlike their parents and the aforementioned respondents, the remaining five interviewees were not systematically and structurally discriminated against because of their Judaic heritage. They experienced a less severe form of Anti-Semitism because of the changing implications of the Russian-Jewish identity. Historians and researchers Sternberg (2002), Roytburd and Friedlander (2008) have discussed the mercurial nature of the Soviet-Jewish identity resulting from emigration. Consequently, the children of FSU Jewish émigrés raised in the United States inherited an identity that was the same as that of their parents' by name, but had entirely different implications. Whereas Russian-Jews and particularly their children can blend into mainstream dominant American culture because they are Caucasian, Soviet Jews were rarely able to hide their minority status in Soviet Russia (Roytburd and Friedlander, 2008). However, this study found that the children related to their Judaic identity in the manner described by Goldstein, much like their parents. As mentioned in the findings, the participants of Eastern-European descent often showed a tenuous and conflicted attitude toward their Jewish identity; however, unlike their parents, they appeared more comfortable with their Russian identity. This may have been because their exposure to Judaism was primarily in the form of stories told to them by their immediate and extended family members. Some parents occasionally complemented these narratives by celebrating the Jewish holidays. Yet even those who did not have an understanding of what it meant to be Jewish still identified as being Jewish and were shown to have been affected by their parents' narratives. The analysis demonstrated the impact these stories had in shaping the identities of the participants, particularly their Jewish identity. These stories depicted the collective and personal oppression inflicted upon Soviet Jews. Consequently, these stories

transmitted a Jewish identity marked by marginalization, which was then internalized by many of the adult children of FSU Jewish émigrés, especially those of Eastern-European descent.

These stories were often the only legacy parents and grandparents were able to pass on to future generations. In recollecting their parents' narratives, several participants discussed the confiscation of their family's belongings by Soviet authorities. One participant recalls the material and simultaneous cultural losses her parents underwent even before they stepped on to the plane: “So many things we had to sell off because when we get to the gate they would be like you can’t take that; this is property of the Soviet Union.... I think it was very sad for my mom.” Some took desperate measures to smuggle artifacts that were of significant cultural and familial import: “There’s a tallit, a prayer shawl, that has been in my family for years...to get it out...[my grandmother] wrapped it around her body, instead of a slip... And she literally carried it on her body...they patted her down [but] they didn't strip search her...that’s how that got out.” One of the ways culture is transmitted is through material objects. Often, these objects carry the stories of many generations. One of the legacies of Soviet Anti-Semitism was the near elimination of the external and material manifestations of Judaism. As an atheist state, all relics that had the slightest association with religion were banned. Consequently, many families lost their cultural belongings long before they repudiated their Soviet citizenship. Without these heirlooms or few of them, their stories became the bearers of culture and history. However, in order for the stories to successfully transmit culture and history, they needed to be told and retold.

As a protectorate of the Soviet Union, Central Asia was bound to the same rules and regulations as its European counterparts. This study demonstrated that unlike the parents of the Eastern-European respondents, the Bukharian community was able to retain some of the Jewish practices and traditions, even if sporadically. The literature written on this subgroup confirms

this finding (Halberstadt, 1992). However, I was not able to find literature that explained the reason for this difference. The social work community would benefit from understanding the basis for this difference. Continued formal observation of Judaism made it such that the stories were not the primary vehicle for transmitting culture and history. However, whereas the Eastern-European Jewish community lost their practices, the Bukharian history stands to drift into oblivion. This sentiment is voiced by one participant:

Central Asia is a totally lost region of the world. I think any spotlight on Asia is positive. You never hear about it in the news and it's almost sad for me when people ask me where I was born and 90% of people are like, where is that? What is that? I've never heard of that place. And you're almost like, that's sad, I was born there and nobody's heard of it.

In addition to a negative association with an oppressed group, Goldstein claimed that the Jewish identity was also defined by a “neurotic desire to succeed to compensate for the injured national pride” (Halberstadt, 1992, p. 2). This neurotic desire resembles the drive behind the “Big Story” that the participants were expected to realize. It was embedded in the narrative of the FSU Jewish experience and transmitted across generations, such that even after resettlement, it remained at the core of their identity. Despite the relief that many FSU Jewish émigrés felt when they were permitted to emigrate, the accounts provided by the participants suggest that the immigration process was characterized by significant loss. The most frequently cited loss was the loss of opportunity. With “fierce determination” and hard work, many of these families were able to create a life for themselves that was far better than they could have ever dreamed of in the FSU. At the same time, as they settled into American life, it became clear for many that they would have only a sliver of the American Dream. This loss is exemplified in the following message, as relayed to one participant by his parents: “We won't have your childhood; We won't have your experiences growing up here.” As was the case with many FSU Jewish émigrés, when

they immigrated to the United States, they still bore the losses they sustained in Soviet Russia, which were often compounded by the difficulties of resettlement. However, the survival instinct that developed as a defense against the brittleness of life in the FSU remained with many émigrés and propelled them forward.

Strengths

Among the study's most notable strengths was that it represented multiple subjective narratives and in doing so gave voice to a population that has been historically absent in the social work literature. I have not found any other literature in the social work field that seeks to understand the experiences of the adult-children of FSU Jewish émigrés. Consequently, this study may have been the first of its kind. The qualitative nature of this study dug up rich historical and cultural content that is unbeknownst to many. There have been countless efforts to eradicate the history and culture of Soviet Jewish émigrés; in representing their muted voices, this study serves as an attempt to override those efforts.

At the end of the study, participants were asked to briefly describe the interview process. Participants stated that it was an enjoyable and interesting experience; for many it was even therapeutic. This process was achieved in a variety of different ways, as reported by the respondents. For some it was helpful to openly discuss material they had not consciously related to in years or at all. Several participants stated that they hoped their testimonies would be of benefit to other children of FSU Jewish émigrés. Among such individuals were those who veered from the roles and expectations that were assigned to them by their parents. Five participants requested that the study be sent to them upon completion.

Despite the minimal number of Central Asian participants that were recruited, this study was one of a rare few that portrayed the experiences of Bukharians and differentiated their

narrative from those of Eastern-European Jews. My connections with professionals in the Bukharian and Eastern-European Jewish community increased the feasibility of the study by accessing a population that is often invisible and scattered. Furthermore, I share the participants' identity as the adult-child of FSU Jewish émigrés, thereby taking the role of participant-observer. This role served as a valuable asset in the research process. Some participants expressed more comfort with the study once they learned of our shared identity and were more willing to disclose personal information. Furthermore, although the respondents primarily spoke in English, they were able to use Russian and or Hebrew terminology without explaining the meaning of what they were saying because of my knowledge of both the Russian language and Judaic customs. My role as a participant-observer helped facilitate a comfortable and familiar environment, such that participants were less likely to be guarded due to potential fears of being misunderstood. The majority of the participants were forthcoming and vulnerable. They were able to delve into rich content without interrupting the narrative to explain the cultural and ethnic meaning behind the content. For some, my role as participant-observer enriched the interview process and augmented its healing capacity. During the course of the interview, one participant revealed: "The reason why I agreed to this was... because when I heard there's a Russian girl who's in school for Social Work, I was like 'Russian girls go for Social work? Her parents must have rallied against that!' This participant shared that as a child, she had felt like an "odd duck" because she did not fit into the dominant narrative that was assigned to the children of FSU Jewish émigrés. This narrative did not include becoming a social worker. Consequently, in occupying both positions, participant and observer, I was able to offer a degree of mirroring and empathy.

Limitations

This findings in this study and narratives depicted are not generalizable to the larger population of American-reared children raised by Soviet émigré parents. As mentioned elsewhere in this study, the Soviet Union consisted of 15 republics, each of which had their own unique cultural identities, geographic and regional differences, and racial discrepancies. Additionally, some of the republics had a language that was specific to the individuals living in the region, which was spoken in tandem with Russian. In order for this study to have represented the intergenerational transmission of narratives among émigrés from all 15 republics, I would have needed a to recruit a much larger sample size. Consequently, representation to the larger population was limited at the study's onset, as I sought to recruit a maximum of 12 participants. Furthermore, FSU Jewish émigrés are scattered across North America. The respondents for this study were all raised on the East Coast, although some of them were living in different parts of the country at the time this study was conducted. Observations about the narrative transmission among adult-children and their FSU Jewish émigré parents who immigrated to the East Coast cannot be generalizable to those that may have emerged among émigrés living in other parts of the country. There may have been critical factors that accounted for the diverse geographical destinations of these émigrés. These factors may have affected the nature of the communication among parents and children about the immigration experience and content of narratives. Although I strived for equal representation among both men and women and Central Asian and European émigrés, the employment of convenience sampling prohibited the fulfillment of these goals. Lastly, as participant-observer, I may have been influenced by my own experiences as the child of FSU Jewish émigrés during the process of coding and data analysis.

Implications for Clinical Social Work

Like a Babyshka doll, the stories relayed by the participants were layered with hidden meaning, complexity and nuance that was only unveiled upon continued exploration. Although Soviet Jewish émigrés shared common ground and history, the specific effects of life under a Soviet regime and the ripple effect it would have on their children varied. These stories introduced and debunked dominant narratives and perceptions, the result of which permitted subjugated or marginalized stories to be known. Providing a forum for individuals to relate their subjugated narratives has shown to be critical in the development of an effective working alliance (Shapiro, 2004, 2005).

In the United States, FSU Jewish émigrés have a multiple minority status, which is derived from their nationality of origin, ethnicity and religion (Roytburd and Friedlander, 2008). In the case of Eastern European and some Central Asian Jewish émigrés, this minority status can be overlooked because of their white skin. This is especially true for the American-reared children who have acculturated at an accelerated pace and adopted many of the cultural norms of American society. Often they have no accent; their English is flawless and on paper they present as incredibly successful individuals. These external factors suggest seamless assimilation. However, this and other studies demonstrate that FSU Jewish émigrés are often confronted with many challenges, two of which are the continued burden of the pain of Anti-Semitism and the losses that accompany resettlement (Birman, 2006; Halberstadt, 1992; Newhouse, 2005; Persky, I., & Birman, 2006; Shapiro, 1994, 1995; Sternberg, 2002). It is important for clinical social workers and other professionals who make contact with this unique community to be sensitive to and aware of these challenges, lest they risk a breach of the working alliance. Shapiro (1995)

opens her article with a Hispanic folk saying that alludes to one of the central findings in her research: “Don't Ask Me About My Problems Until You Know Who I Am.” In this article, Shapiro writes about the cultural divide that existed between the agency in which she worked and the population that was served. One of the objectives of her study was to explore the usefulness of narrative and ethnographic approaches in bridging the cultural divide between agency and client in general and clinician and client in particular. In her work with four recently emigrated Russian-Jewish families, Shapiro (1994, 1995) found that she could not have built the alliance essential in helping the family work through the problems that had brought them there without inviting their subjugated stories into the therapeutic space.

Because the children of these émigrés appear well assimilated, there may be an assumption that the immigrant story does not apply to them. This study shows that such an assumption warrants reevaluation. It is this immigrant story—sometimes their own, sometimes their parents', and often an interweaving of the two sources—that stands against complete integration into the host culture. Although to varying degrees, their immigration experience—especially that which is specific to Soviet Jews—informed the participants' identities and colored many of their own experiences. Any mental health worker involved with the children of these émigrés would be wise to explore with the client who they are behind the seemingly American exterior before delving into the presenting problem. Future research would benefit from exploring the usefulness of a narrative/ethnographic approach in working with the children of Russian-Jewish immigrants.

This study unveiled another subjugated story that was overshadowed by the Eastern-European Soviet Jewish narrative: Bukharians. This community is even more isolated than its European counterpart, and distrustful of outsiders. Consequently, clinicians working with this

population need to be aware of the distinct subgroup and not use their general knowledge about Soviet Jewry, which is often derived from a study of Eastern-European émigrés. To do so would perpetuate the invisibility of this subgroup and undermine one of the basic principles of social work, “to promote sensitivity to and knowledge about oppression and cultural and ethnic diversity’ (National Association of Social Workers, 2008).

The notion of a “transgenerational transmission” opened people's eyes and minds to the idea that what plagues one generation does not die with succeeding generations. Instead, the troubles of one generation are transmitted across generations, such that individuals discover patterns, beliefs and behaviors that appear to have no identifiable origin.. For the participants in this study, the transmission of narratives was accompanied by the transmission of the Jewish identity, identity confusion and expectations. It is important for clinicians to understand that while some of these participants were not exposed to Anti-Semitism to the extent that their parents were, remnants of their parents’ experiences were internalized by the transmission of the family narrative.

The internalization of their parents stories and all that it signified was facilitated by the close relations that children were expected to have with their immediate and extended family. All participants endorsed the importance of family life. Several authors have paid heed to the close-knit nature of the Russian-Jewish family even after resettlement (Halberstadt, 1992; Newhouse, 2005; Orleck, 1999). The family served as the protective factor in Soviet Russia, particularly in the Eastern-European republics. Those outside of the family could not be trusted for fear of betrayal. It was not uncommon for neighbors to spy on each at the behest of the Soviet government. Consequently, family members banded together to help one another cope with the struggles of everyday life. Although the dangers that were present in Soviet Russia were no

longer present in the U.S., the importance of the family structure prevailed after resettlement. This is conveyed in the frequency with which many of the participants made contact and were expected to make contact with their parents despite having moved out of the home. Such expectations and behaviors might appear strange as they contradict the principle of individuation, a value, which is deeply rooted in the American lifestyle and culture. To a purist American clinician, the relationship between American-reared children and their parents may appear enmeshed. Prior to making such an evaluation, it is important for clinicians to be aware of the significance and value of family relationships for Soviet Jewish émigrés, and not use Western standards for assigning pathology. When necessary, clinicians can aid clients in sorting through ego syntonic versus that which belongs to their parents, but was taken in during the transmission process.

In order for clinicians and other mental health professionals to bridge the gulf that often exists between agencies and clients, the art of cultural code-switching must be learned. This entails wearing multiple cultural lenses. For example, the meaning of the Jewish identity differs depending on the cultural context. In the United States, the word Jew bears a religious connotation. However, as one participant observed, Judaism in the Soviet Jewish context “had nothing to do with religion.” This distinction is specific to the Eastern-European FSU Jewish community. As noted previously, whereas the government succeeded in nearly eliminating formal and cultural expressions of Judaism and Russia, this was not the case in Central Asia. Furthermore, Judaism in Soviet Russia pertained to one's ethnicity. This definition was transmitted to their American-reared children, who at times struggled to negotiate their relationship to this identity due to its contextual fluidity. Furthermore, similarly to their parents, many of the adult children understood it as an identity shared by a “persecuted minority”

(Halberstadt, 1992, p. 2). The internalization of this message may warrant further exploration. Furthermore, in conversing about this identity, clinicians must be able to alternate between the American and Soviet Jewish definition, as this is what immigrant children must do.

It has been noted that integration of one's life story is key in healing from traumatic disjunctures that disrupt one's sense of self (Danieli, 1995; Shapiro, 1994, 1995). It is not within the scope of this research to determine the ethnic-related trauma that was transmitted to the American-reared child. However, many of the participants certainly experienced “biographical discontinuities” which upset their sense of self. Confusion was a recurrent theme in the adult-child experience; it was found in the fragmented pieces of narrative and the confluence of multiple identities, which were at times irreconcilable. As depicted in the narratives, many of the participants were involved in their own process of integration, which involved linking the disparate parts and imbuing them with coherence. Clinicians can assist clients who are already involved in this process or guide those who have not begun. In doing so, they provide a forum for the subjugated story to emerge and confusion to gradually morph into clarity—at least to a degree. In constructing the narrative with the therapist, they not only tell the therapist who they are; they tell themselves.

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Appendix A

HSR Approval Letter



Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063
T (413) 585-7950
F (413) 585-7994

March 14, 2011

Marina Kantarovich

Dear Marina,

Your second set of revisions has been reviewed and they are fine, with one small exception. In your Informed Consent, please just say that vignettes and quotes "will be carefully disguised". You may have to change more than a name to make them unidentifiable.

Please send the amended Consent to Laurie Wyman for your permanent file. We are happy at this time to give final approval to your study, assuming you will make that small revision.

Please note the following requirements:

Consent Maintaining Data: You must retain all data and other documents for at least three (3) years past completion of the research activity.

In addition, these requirements may also be applicable:

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of the study (such as design, procedures, consent forms or subject population), please submit these changes to the Committee.

Renewal: You are required to apply for renewal of approval every year for as long as the study is active.

Completion: You are required to notify the Chair of the Human Subjects Review Committee when your study is completed (data collection finished). This requirement is met by completion of the thesis project during the Third Summer.

Good luck with your very interesting project. Be sure to take a look at Vivian Shapiro's doctoral dissertation. I would think it would be of great interest to you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Ann Hartman" followed by a flourish.

Ann Hartman, D.S.W.
Chair, Human Subjects Review Committee

CC: Joan Lesser, Research Advisor

Appendix B

Informed Consent Letter

Dear Participant,

My name is Marina Kantarovich and I am a second year Master's student at Smith College School for Social Work. I am conducting a research study that seeks to examine how children of Former Soviet Union Jewish émigré parents have been affected by their parents' immigration experience. This research study is for the fulfillment of a Master's degree in Social Work and for possible future presentations and/or publications on this topic.

Should you decide to participate in the study, I will ask you a series of questions that relate to your experience as the child of a FSU immigrant and its impact on your life. You can provide as much or as little detail as you would like to any of the questions. The interview will be recorded and will last approximately one hour. It will be audiotaped and transcribed by me.

During the course of the interview, you will be asked delicate questions about sensitive information. The content of what you share might at times arouse uncomfortable emotions. I have provided you with a list of referral sources should you feel the need to process what was shared and/or the memories recalled.

Although there are potential risks associated with participating in the study, there are also significant benefits. Sharing your story with others might prove to be a powerful experience. It can also be a source of strength and relief for other adult children of FSU immigrants to hear your story and know that they are not isolated in their experience. It might inspire others to share their stories and have their voices heard. The information you share will educate the social work community and related professions about your community's needs and effective ways of meeting those needs. There is no financial compensation for participation in this study.

Your participation in this study will be confidential. You will not be asked to provide your full name, address or any other identifying information. Data related to your interview will be kept in a secure place for a period of three years, after which it will be destroyed if no longer needed. Data stored electronically will be carefully protected. When stories, vignettes and/or quotes are reported, they will be carefully disguised.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You may withdraw from the study at any point during and after the interview process. However, you may not withdraw after April 20, 2011, which is when the report will be written. If you have any additional questions after the interview process or decide that you want to withdraw from the study, please contact Marina Kantarovich. Should you have any concern about your rights or about, or about any aspect of the study, please contact me or the chair of the Chair of the Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Review Committee, Ann Hartman, D.S.W., at (413) 585-7974 or ahartman@smith.edu.

YOUR SIGNATURE INDICATES THAT YOU HAVE READ AND UNDERSTAND THE ABOVE INFORMATION AND THAT YOU HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY, YOUR PARTICIPATION, AND YOUR RIGHTS AND THAT YOU AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY.

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date

Thank you for your time and consideration. Please keep a copy of this form for your records so that you may contact me as needed and access the referral sources should you wish to do so.

Appendix C

Recruitment Flyer

ARE YOU THE CHILD OF A RUSSIAN-SPEAKING JEWISH IMMIGRANT?

HAVE YOU BEEN AFFECTED BY YOUR PARENTS' IMMIGRATION EXPERIENCE?

If so, then you are invited to participate in a research study that seeks to examine impact of immigration on children raised by Jewish parents who emigrated from the Former Soviet Union. Your participation is voluntary and will contribute significantly in educating the social work community about the psychological and social impact of immigration on the adult children of this community.

The study is not paid and will include an interview for 1 hour. This is scheduled at your convenience. To participate you must be 18 years of age or older and have at least 1 parent who emigrated from the Former Soviet Union.

This research study is being conducted by Marina Kantarovich, MSW in fulfillment of a Master's Thesis at Smith College School for Social Work.

If you are interested or have any questions, feel free to contact me.

Your Participation is greatly appreciated.

Recruitment Facebook Post

Dear Friends,

I am conducting a research study that seeks to examine how children of Former Soviet Union Jewish émigrés (i.e. Belarus, Ukraine, Uzbekistan) are affected by their parent's immigration experience. If you know of anyone who might be eligible for this study and would be interested in participating, please have them email, call or direct them to this page. This research is being conducted for my Master's Thesis as Smith College School for Social Work.

The study is not paid and will include an interview for 1 hour. The interview is scheduled at your convenience. To participate you must be 18 years of age or older and have at least 1 parent who emigrated from the Former Soviet Union.

Thanks so much for your help!

Appendix D

Interview Guide Version I

A. Demographic Questions:

1. How old are you?
2. Where were you born? If not born in the U.S., how long have you lived in the U.S.?
3. Where in the FSU was/were your parent(s) born?
4. What year did your parent(s) immigrate to the U.S. and how were they at the time?
5. What is your mother's educational level?
6. What is your mother's occupation? What was her occupation in the FSU?
7. What is your father's occupation? What was his occupation in the FSU?
8. What is your father's educational level?

B. Interview Questions:

1. What knowledge if any do you have of your parents' experiences in the FSU? What stories if any did they share with you about their lives in the FSU?
2. Did your parents ever speak about what it was like to be Jewish in the FSU? Any stories? Experiences of anti-Semitism?
3. If no, for 1&2 Do you have any understanding of what life in the FSU was like when your parents were living there and what is the source of your knowledge? Why do you think your parents refrained from sharing their experiences with you?
4. IF yes to 1 & 2-What meaning do these stories have for you? Did they impact you in any way?
5. Were you curious about their experiences? Did you want to know more? Did you feel you could ask them about their experiences?
6. If you have no knowledge, what do you attribute this lack of knowledge or information? What has the process of immigration, life in America, been like for your parents?
7. Have your parents changed much during the years that they have lived in the USA?
8. How do/did your parents view the world?
9. What is your relationship with your parents like? Your extended family? Can you talk to them about your life? Your problems? Has it always been this way?
10. What was your relationship with your parents as a child? Were you able to freely talk to them about what was going on in your life? Your problems? What were some of the most common topics of conversation?
11. What were your parents' expectations and hopes for you during your childhood years? How were these expectations/ hopes communicated to you?
12. What was the predominant language that was spoken in the home?
13. What language do you feel most comfortable speaking?
14. What is the level of your communication with your family (i.e. Are you able to communicate freely or is there a language barrier)?
15. Do you feel that your parents' experiences as a FSU Jewish émigré have affected you psychologically, emotionally and interpersonally?

Interview Guide Version II

A. Demographic Questions:

1. How old are you?
2. Where were you born? If not born in the U.S., how long have you lived in the U.S.?
3. Where in the FSU was/were your parent(s) born?
4. What year did your parent(s) immigrate to the U.S. and how old were they at the time?
5. Did you immigrate with them?
6. What is your mother's educational level?
7. What is your mother's occupation? What was her occupation in the FSU?
8. What is your father's educational level?
9. What is your father's occupation? What was his occupation in the FSU?
10. Do you have children?
11. How old are they?
12. Are you married?

B. Interview Questions:

1. Can you tell me why you were interested in participating in the study?
2. If someone asked you how you identify, what would you say?
3. What do you remember about life in the FSU as a child?
4. Can you tell me about experiences of Anti-Semitism that you may have encountered? Did they ever speak about their experiences with Anti-Semitism?
2. How was it for you compared to what it was like for your parents? Did they share their experiences with you? Experiences they encountered in their youth?
3. Why did your parents decide to immigrate to the U.S.? Did they share their reasons?
4. What was the process of immigrating like for you?
5. What was the process of immigrating like for your parents? How do you know?
6. What stories were recalled about life in the FSU? How often?
7. What were the most common topics of conversation?
8. What did your parents hold onto of life there?
9. What did you hold onto from life there?
10. What would you want to share w your children? Traditions? Life in the FSU?
11. Do your parents share stories w your children.
12. How do your parents view the world?
13. How do you view the world?
14. Tell me about your relationship with your parents? Can you talk to them about your problems?
15. Tell me about your relationship with your parents as a child.
16. Did your relationship change when you immigrated to the U.S.?
17. What language do you feel most comfortable speaking?
18. What is the level of your communication with your family (i.e. Are you able to communicate freely or is there a language barrier?)

Appendix E


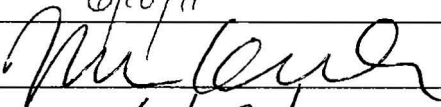
Professional Transcriber's Assurance of Research Confidentiality

This thesis project is firmly committed to the principle that research confidentiality must be protected and to all of the ethics, values, and practical requirements for participant protection laid down by federal guidelines and by the Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Review Committee. In the service of this commitment:

- All volunteer and professional transcribers for this project shall sign this assurance of confidentiality.
- A volunteer, or professional transcriber should be aware that the identity of participants in research studies is confidential information, as are identifying information about participants and individual responses to questions. The organizations participating in the study, the geographical location of the study, the method of participant recruitment, the subject matter of the study, and the hypotheses being tested are also be confidential information. Specific research findings and conclusions are also usually confidential until they have been published or presented in public.
- The researcher for this project, Marina Kantarovich, shall be responsible for ensuring that all volunteer or professional transcribers handling data are instructed on procedures for keeping the data secure and maintaining all of the information in and about the study in confidence, and that that they have signed this pledge. At the end of the project, all materials shall be returned to the investigator for secure storage in accordance with federal guidelines.

PLEDGE

I hereby certify that I will maintain the confidentiality of all of the information from all studies with which I have involvement. I will not discuss, disclose, disseminate, or provide access to such information, except directly to the researcher, Marina Kantarovich, for this project. I understand that violation of this pledge is sufficient grounds for disciplinary action, including termination of professional or volunteer services with the project, and may make me subject to criminal or civil penalties. I give my personal pledge that I shall abide by this assurance of confidentiality.

	Signature of Transcriber
<u>6/18/11</u>	Date
	Marina Kantarovich
<u>6/19/11</u>	Date

Appendix F

Letters of Support from Organizations



Wednesday, December 08, 2010

Smith College
School for Social Work
Lilly Hall
Northampton, MA 01063

To Whom It May Concern:

Hillel at Baruch gives permission for Marina Kantarovich to locate her research in this agency, Hillel at Baruch. We do not have a Human Subjects Review Board and, therefore, request that Smith College School for Social Work's (SSW) Human Subject Review Committee (HSR) perform a review of the research proposed by a Marina Kantarovich and Hillel at Baruch will abide by the standards related to the protection of all participants in the research approved by SSW HSR Committee.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Matthew Vogel'.

Matthew Vogel
Executive Director
Hillel at Baruch College

www.hillelatbaruch.org

Hillel at Baruch Inc.
55 Lexington Ave. B2-210 | New York, NY 10010
P: 646.312.4760 | F: 646.312.4761 | Mobile: 347.366.2996



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20 Shevat 5771
January 25, 2011

Smith College
School for Social Work
Lilly Hall
Northampton, MA 01063

To Whom It May Concern:

The Jewish Federation of Greater New Haven gives permission for Marina Kantarovich to locate her research at this agency. We do not have a Human Subjects Review Board and, therefore, request that Smith College School for Social Work's (SSW) Human Subject Review Committee (HSR) perform a review of the research proposed by a Marina Kantarovich and The Jewish Federation of Greater New Haven will abide by the standards related to the protection of all participants in the research approved by SSW HSR Committee.

Sincerely,

Sydney A. Perry
Chief Executive Officer, Jewish Federation of Greater New Haven

360 Amity Road, Woodbridge, Connecticut 06525 • jfgh@jewishnewhaven.org
203 387-2424 • fax 203 387-1818 • www.jewishnewhaven.org

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Rabbi
Rabbi Shlomo Nisanov

President
Gavriel Nisanov

Honorary President February 15, 2011
Yosef Nisanov

Vice President
Gavriel Aronov

Honorary Vice President
Ariel Fuzailov

Gabbai
Itzhak Yukhnanov

Gabbai
Rafael Katanov

Treasurer
Shalom M. Fuzailov

Secretary
Shalom M. Fuzailov

Smith College
 School for Social Work
 Lilly Hall
 Northampton, MA 01063

To Whom It May Concern:

Kehilat Sephardim of Ahavat Achim gives permission for Marina Kantarovich to locate his/her research in this organization. We do not have a Human Subjects Review Board and, therefore, request that Smith College School for Social Work's (SSW) Human Subject Review Committee (HSR) perform a review of the research proposed by a Marina Kantarovich. Kehilat Sephardim of Ahavat Achim will abide by the standards related to the protection of all participants in the research approved by SSW HSR Committee.

Sincerely,

Signature

Appendix G

Mental Health Referral Sources

Below is a list of behavioral health clinics that you may contact should you want to speak with someone after participating in this study. Your insurance might also be able to provide you with a list of referrals covered under your plan. Please note that many of these clinics offer a sliding scale to those who do not have insurance.

Behavioral Health Center in New York City

Jewish Board of Children and Family Services- Bay Ridge Counseling Center

9435 Ridge Blvd.
Brooklyn, NY 11209
Phone: (718) 238-6444

Jewish Board of Children and Family Services- Boro Park Counseling Center

1273 53rd Street
Brooklyn, NY 11219
Phone: (718) 435-5700

Jewish Board of Children and Family Services- Greenberg Manhattan West

135 West 50th Street
6th Floor
New York, NY 10020
Phone: 212-632-4700

On-site Counseling at JCC

334 Amsterdam Avenue
New York, NY 10019
Phone: (646) 505-4488

Dorris L. Rosenberg Counseling Center/Southern Brooklyn Office

333 Avenue X
Brooklyn, NY 11223
Phone: (718) 339-5300

Brooklyn Resource Center - Counseling Center

938 Kings Highway • New York, NY 11223
Phone: 718.998.3235 Ext. 314

F·E·G·S/NYSD Services Counseling Center

The Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Health Related and Human Services Center
80 Vandam Street, 2nd Floor • New York, NY 10013
Phone: 212.366.0066 TTY: 212.366.0066

The Honorable Caroline K. Simon Counseling Center · Brooklyn

Sandra P. and Frederick P. Rose Center

199 Jay Street • New York, NY 11201

Phone: 718.488.0100 Ext. 381

The Honorable Caroline K. Simon Counseling Center · Rego Park

The Honorable Caroline K. Simon Counseling Center · Rego Park

97-45 Queens Boulevard • New York, NY 11374

Phone: 718.896.9090 Ext. 236

Ryan-NENA Community Health Center (Lower East Side)

279 East Third Street, (between Avenues C and D)

New York, N.Y. 10009

Phone: (212) 477-8500

William F. Ryan Community Health Center (Upper West Side)

110 West 97th Street (between Columbus & Amsterdam Avenues)

New York, N.Y. 10025

Phone: (212) 749-1820

Behavioral Health Centers in Connecticut**Yale Behavioral Health Services at Hamden**

95-97 Circular Avenue

Hamden, CT 06517

Phone: (203) 288-6253

Connecticut Mental Health Center

34 Park Street

New Haven, CT 06519

Phone: (203) 974-7300

Cornell-Scott Hill Health Counseling Centers

400-428 Columbus Avenue

New Haven, Connecticut 06519

Phone: (203) 503-3075

913 State St

New Haven, Ct 06511

Phone: (203) 503-3660

226 Dixwell Avenue, 2nd floor

New Haven, CT 06511

Phone: (203) 503-3420