IDENTITY TRANS-FORMATION IN CONTACT ZONES:

SOCIALIZATION OF ISRAELI IMMIGRANT YOUTH IN CANADA

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the impact of immigration on the lived experiences of Israeli immigrant youth, their linguistic, cultural, social, and academic endeavors in different contact zones—focusing on the interplay of language and socialization practices as they work their way into a multicultural Canadian society. Drawing on a socio-cultural perspective, I bring into play three theoretical constructs—transnationalism, contact zone, and language socialization—all intertwined with the concept of identity, to explore the relationships between immigrant language learners, social interaction, and identity construction. Drawing on an ethnographic approach, the data collected involve in-depth interviews with 12 generation 1.5 Israeli immigrant youth, participant observations, and other sources.

The findings demonstrate the interrelations of language, identity, and immigration in the socialization processes and identification practices of Israeli immigrant youth where Hebrew and English play an important role in terms of ideology and pragmatics. Language socialization is a translingual process in which Israeli immigrant youth constantly cross linguistic borders in their transnational and social practices, creating a contact zone involving individuals with multiple languages and social and ethnic alignments. The findings also reveal multidirectional power relations in the contact zone where, in addition to vertical power relationships with the dominant culture, Israeli immigrant youth interact with other ethnic immigrant youth in horizontal relations, creating a safe space within contested spaces. The co-presence of local and global contact

zones where Israeli immigrant youth negotiate new meanings illuminate their identity transformation as a trajectory signifying moving in between transnational and Diasporic identification.

On an applied level, this study highlights the significant role that teachers play as either enabling or constraining forces, the important role peers play in facilitating or hindering social integration and language development, and the crucial function of the ESL (English as a second language) classroom in creating a socio-psychological and linguistic "safe space" for generation 1.5 students.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Rationale

Contemporary migration has introduced unique transnational experiences for immigrants who maintain enduring contacts with both sending and receiving countries. These transnational experiences involve "the creation of new identities that incorporate cultural references from both the place of origin and the place of residence" (Wayland, 2006, p. 18). Yet, some immigrant groups successfully adapt to their new place of residence while others may meet with difficulty or resistance. Indeed, "in the same society, different groups may undergo different experiences according to their demography, human capital, symbolic resources, and the attitudes that the absorbing setting and culture have towards them" (Ben-Rafael, 2002, p. 337). In addition, different immigrant groups may undergo different experiences according to their own attitudes towards both their sending and receiving countries. Moreover, within the same group, individuals may undergo different experiences.

While migration presents an ongoing challenge for society and individuals, the integration of immigrant youth, in particular, has been identified as a crucial area for both social policy (Anisef, 2005; Anisef, Kilbride, & Kattar, 2003) and social science research (M. M. Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Because social identity formation is an integral part of adolescence, researchers in the area of youth and transnational migration seek to study the features and dynamics that impact on these social identification processes—including

interruptions and ruptures—and the concomitant choices faced by immigrant youth in their daily lived experiences (see, for example, Taraban, 2006). This is because "Adolescence is a moment of crossing an important identity forming threshold. In addition to the physical and psychological changes involved in crossing this threshold, the individual's sense of identity is also expanding to include a national consciousness as part of the idea of selfhood" (Gonzales-Berry, Mendoza, & Plaza, 2006, p. 4). Yet, the moment of "crossing" for adolescent immigrants who live in two worlds (homeland and new land) is more complex and complicated, specifically in regards to their ethnicity and language—salient categories in their sociocultural identity which play an important role in their socialization experiences. Anisef et al. (2003), for example, identified and examined "a range of challenges and needs encountered by immigrant youth as they make the transition to life in Canada, exploring issues that include personal adaptation to a new culture; coping with a new and often different school environment; adjusting to changed family dynamics that accompany immigration; and finding employment in a new country" (pp. 2–3). However, we have little insight into the processes by which young Israeli immigrants integrate into Canadian society.

My interest in Israeli immigrant youth in Toronto has roots in both my personal and professional backgrounds, experiences that at the same time confirm and complicate my researcher status with respect to this group. As an Israeli immigrant to Canada, I share a first language, Hebrew, and national origin with the youth I studied. As a member of the expatriate Israeli community living in Toronto, my research is partially in response to the calls of community leaders who are concerned about the future of the

young generation. Moreover, my work as a secondary school teacher in a parochial school milieu that hosts a significant proportion of youth from Israel played a part. Over several years I have observed a growing number of Israeli-origin youth in both the secondary-level classrooms and in the community at large. Through my role as a high school teacher I have developed an appreciation for the different trajectories through which immigrant adolescent students arrive in the host country, and the challenges that confront them as they seek to self-identify in relation to "outgroups" (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 1999) that could not be reductively described in terms of religious affiliation. These trajectories of social and cultural identity construction I sought to study with special attention to language socialization in a multicultural context.

1.2 Israelis in Toronto: Between Transnational and Diasporic Community

The Canadian Jewish community is the fourth largest in the world. The Jewish community in the metropolitan Toronto area is the largest in Canada with around 179,100 Jewish people (Shahar & Rosenbaum, 2003). Similar to other Jewish communities in the Diaspora, many Jews in Toronto base their identity on religion, active membership in the community, and support for Israel. This community is highly organized from the standpoint of fostering various institutions and organizations such as synagogues, schools, and social services. It displays diverse religious denominations such as Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist. A parallel (to the Ontario Ministry of Education) K–12 education system is also highly developed, with many day schools and after school and weekend supplementary schools peppering the northern GTA (Greater Toronto Area) landscape. The Jewish Family and Child Service (JFCS)

and the Jewish Vocational Service (JVS) are examples of important social service institutions serving the transposed community. The first office of JIAS (Jewish Immigrant Aid Society) was opened in Montreal in 1919, and the Toronto office was established in 1922. As well, there is a strong relationship between the Diasporic community and the state of Israel, with the community highly involved in support of Israel (Cohen, 1999). In comparison to Jews in the United States, Canadian Jews maintain a low level of intermarriage. However, according to Cohen (1999), this may be explained in part by the recent influx of Jewish immigrants from the former USSR, South Africa, and Israel.

Israelis have been immigrating to Canada, and other Western countries, since the early years of the state of Israel (Gold, 2002). Cohen (2000), who studied Israeli immigrants in Toronto, estimates the number of Israelis in Canada to be between 20,000 and 50,000, with more than half living in the Toronto area. Some would argue that the number of Israelis today is around the 50,000 (and even more) as a result of the Israeli influx in the last two decades. It is difficult, though, to accurately calculate the number of Israelis in any diasporic locality because of the problem of defining who an Israeli is, as Israel itself is a country of immigrants. This is because Israeli emigrants are not always Israeli-born, for the reason that they themselves have been immigrants in Israel, so they hold a foreign passport and speak languages other than Hebrew; thus they are not always registered as Israelis in census data. For example, a large number of Russian Jews have immigrated to Israel, and their children were born and raised in Israel before immigrating to Canada. Although these families and/or their children might consider themselves

Israelis, they may be recorded in the census and in the Jewish community records as Russian Jews. This may explain somewhat the attitude of the Israeli community towards Russian Jews versus Israeli Jews. In previous years when Jewish organizations assisted all Jewish immigrants in Toronto but not Israeli-Jewish immigrants, they did assist Russian Jews who emigrated from Israel. Similarly, research on immigrant Russian Jews in Toronto (e.g., Anisef, Baichman-Anisef, & Siemiatycki, 2005) usually regards Russian Jews and Russian Israeli Jews as one group.

Israeli immigrants in Toronto tend to exhibit characteristics that are similar to those identified with Israeli communities found in other Western countries, such as the United States and Australia (Gold, 2002; McNamara, 1987). Some factors make their actual movement to Western countries relatively uncomplicated. In Gold's (2001) words, "Israelis are generally white, well educated and are often in the possession of occupational and cultural skills that are useful in the Western states" (p. 61). Furthermore, many of them are secular which may make their integration into the Western society relatively unproblematic. Because of their exposure in their home country, Israel, to Western popular culture—American culture in particular—Israelis are often familiar with the English language and Western culture prior to their emigration. Olshtain and Kotik (2000) note that "English, in particular, has gained a special status in Israel like many other countries, mainly because of its function as a LWC [Language of Wider Communication]" (p. 206). Moreover, the Israeli *zeitgeist* is very much Western/American. Generally speaking, Israelis admire North American culture and institutions. Thus, when Israelis immigrate to English-speaking countries such as

Canada, their process of acculturation is often thought to be fairly easy culturally and linguistically (Gold, 2001). Nevertheless, this research questions whether such factors play an equally facilitative role as that claimed.

The recent influx of Israeli immigrants into Canada, and Toronto in particular, has resulted in the emergence of a dynamic, transnational community that is distinct from the long established Diasporic Jewish community. At the core of the Israeli distinctiveness is the use (or attempted use or perceived use) of the Hebrew language as *lingua franca* in oral communication, the emergence of local newspapers *in Hebrew*, and access to Israeli television *in Hebrew*. In addition, ethnolinguistic vitality (Allard & Landry, 1992) is ensured through various organizations that run programs in Hebrew, such as "Hatsofim" (Israeli scouts) and Sunday Hebrew school, and organize celebrations of community festivals. Indeed, the Hebrew language—as an active, transactional medium—is central in its symbolic value to this community's sense of transnational and cultural identity. In the words of Ben-Rafael (2002), for immigrant communities, "the vernacular of the community represents its principal linguistic assets and conveys its Diaspora experience; it binds it to a real or virtual 'homeland' and to other Diaspora communities" (p. 342). Furthermore, "self-exclusion from the highly-organized Toronto Jewish community has contributed to the gradual formation of an Israeli ethnic community" (Cohen & Gold, 1997, p. 387). Israelis use spoken Hebrew as a mode of exclusion to separate themselves from the Canadian Jewish community. The myth of return to Israel is another mode of exclusion which facilitates the development of a distinctive Israeli ethnic community in Toronto (Cohen & Gold, 1997). The emergence of exclusive organizations represents

resistance to integration into the organized Jewish community. At the same time it symbolizes the production of Israeliness in the Diaspora.

Not unlike other Israeli communities in Western countries, Israelis in Toronto tend to live on the margins of the established Jewish community. There are several reasons why Israelis live in the margins and why they may not integrate into this community in Toronto and elsewhere. Culturally, the Israeli's identity is seen as different from that of the Diasporic Jew: Jewish identity in Canada is based mainly on religion while Israeli identity is based on language and nationalism. Socially, the Jewish community is well established in mainstream society while Israelis are immigrants. Demographically, many of the Israelis live within the Jewish neighborhoods where they run businesses in the community, and organize communal activities. Similar to other recently immigrated ethnic communities in Toronto, Israeli immigrants tend to form Israeli enclaves.

However, the historic context is key to the marginality and self-exclusion of Israeli immigrants. Historically, Israelis were not welcome in the Jewish community because of an underlying feeling that "they should not leave Israel." For years, the Jewish community in Toronto, like similar communities around the world, did not support Israeli migrants while supporting Jewish migrants from elsewhere. They even had negative attitudes towards these Israelis. For example, the long established Jewish organization in Toronto, Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (JIAS), has serviced Jewish immigrants in Toronto from around the world, but not Israelis. An Israeli immigrant in Toronto described his experience some years ago with the Jewish community services: "When I

asked the Jewish community agency for help in search of a job, I was told the only thing I can receive is a one way ticket to Israel" (Hecht & Furman, 2003).

The attitudes of Diasporic Jews towards Israeli emigrants have mirrored the attitude of the state of Israel towards its emigrants. The state of Israel was established as a country of immigration, based on the Zionist ideology which has encouraged Diasporic Jews to immigrate to Israel. Thusly, when Israeli Jews emigrated they were criticized and stigmatized for being disloyal to the Zionist agenda. This negative attitude which emanated from the Israeli government may have influenced the attitudes of Jewish communities around the world. However, recently the Israeli government has changed its attitude toward Israeli emigrants, a development that seems to have in turn mollified the attitudes of Jewish communities in the Diaspora toward expatriate Israelis. For example, in Toronto, Jewish community institutions have begun to serve Israelis. Moreover, the Israelis are called on to participate and get actively involved in the Jewish community, through volunteer work, serving on committees, and making donations. One Jewish high school advertises on a weekly basis in the Israeli weekly newspaper to attract Israeli youth to attend this school.

Why has the state of Israel changed its attitudes towards Israeli expatriates? Reasons may include that Israel has realized: 1) that Israeli migration is part of a global phenomenon, and therefore unavoidable; and 2) that the Israeli Diaspora may be a potential financial and political resource. Today, the Israeli government through various agencies keeps very close ties with Israeli emigrants. For the purpose of sustaining a link between Israeli emigrants abroad and the state of Israel, the Israeli government has

established (through its consulates abroad) "the Israeli House" organization in cities around the world, including Toronto. Its goals are to maintain the Israeli culture, the Hebrew language, and relationship with the state of Israel through various educational and social activities. However, one important goal of "the Israeli house" remains to encourage Israelis to return to Israel. Indeed, at the center of the mission of organizations such as the Israeli house is to maintain identification with Israel. If the Israeli government cannot bring the Israelis back to Israel, then it will bring Israel to the Israelis abroad. This approach seems to be effective as it has been shown to keep Israeli culture vibrant and to promote maintenance of the Hebrew language.

It is noteworthy that the relationship between the Israeli expatriates and the state of Israel is bidirectional. Israeli emigrants in many cases make an effort to keep ties with Israel. They attempt to stay connected with family and friends. For Israelis abroad this is very important in order to practice "friendship," "togetherness," and "family," all values that are deeply engrained into the culture. Part of this culture also involves interest in the politics of the Middle East because of the security situation in Israel. Although Israeli emigrants cannot vote abroad, many attempt to return to Israel at times of government elections to exercise their citizenship right. In today's global world, telecommunication, transportation, and technology make these connections with Israel affordable, and moreover, facilitate the retention and maintenance of the language and culture among Israelis abroad.

1.3 Generation 1.5 Immigrant Children and Youth

A review of literature on immigrant youth as a research group reveals inconsistency and discrepancy in the classification of this group of immigrant youth or adolescent immigrants or what some would call "the sandwich generation." A standard approach to classifying immigrants is by place of birth: those who were born elsewhere are considered first generation and those who were born in the country of re-settlement are considered second generation. However, researchers have refined these classifications as they have considered development rather than place of birth of immigrants. Accordingly, as Gonzales-Berry et al. (2006) claim, it is generally accepted among scholars that those who migrate after the age of 18 are considered first generation; those who arrive as preschoolers before the age of 5 are considered second generation; and those who arrive after preschool but before adolescence are considered generation 1.5. Yet, this is not always the case. Conversely, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) refer to generation 1.5 as foreign-born who immigrated at an early age, and C. Suárez-Orozco, M. M. Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008) who studied "recently arrived foreign-born youth" (p. 6) between the age of 9 and 14, refer to those who arrive as babies or as very young children as generation 1.5 (still not clear what it means very young children). Conversely, Zhou (1997) refers to the U.S.-born children as the true second generation, and those children who arrived in the United States before their adulthood, as the new second generation or generation 1.5. The term *second generation*, it should be noted, refers sometimes to foreign-born children arriving at pre-school age (0–4 years). The one-and-a-half generation, as Zhou posits, "is sometimes broken down into two distinct

cohorts: children between 6 and 13 years of age as generation 1.5 children and those arriving as adolescents (aged 13 to 17) who are similar to first-generation children" (p. 65). According to Zhou, children who migrated after preschool but during their school years (K–12) are considered generation 1.5. Reviewing the literature, Zhou also maintains that the "usage of these generational terms has not been consistent" (p.65). Yet, Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean (2006) defined immigrants as generation 1.5 if they migrated to the United States before the age of 15, and as second generation if they were U.S.-born and had at least one parent who was foreign-born. Fry and Lowell (2002), in their study of Latino immigrant youth, define 1.5 Generation as immigrants who were born abroad and immigrated to the United States before 13 years of age. Interestingly, they cite Rumbaut (1997) as further dividing the immigrant generation into 1.25, 1.5, and 1.75 depending upon age of arrival.

While the experiences of each immigrant group (e.g., first generation, second generation) are different, the experiences of generation 1.5 immigrants share unique characteristics. As Park (2004) notes, "Although biologically the notion of a '1.5' generation is absurd, the sociocultural characteristics and psychological experiences of the pre-adult immigrant are distinct from those of either the first- or second-generation ethnic American" (p. 123). Some scholars represent Park's view in their studies although defining the research group as immigrant youth and not generation 1.5. This discrepancy in the definition of this group may explain on the one hand the relatively little research on this specific group, defined as generation 1.5, and on the other hand the many studies which consider this group together with the second generation. It also should be noted

that the terms *youth* and *adolescence* are not clear. The period of youth usually includes the early twenties while adolescence does not. I agree with Park and others who recognize the unique characteristics and experiences of immigrants who immigrated during their adolescent years as they bring together their past (old country) and their present and future (new country). While the term *adolescent immigrant* refers explicitly to the age period of the migration, *generation 1.5* (with disagreement of age frame) refers explicitly to both countries. For the purpose of this dissertation, I consider generation 1.5 as those Israeli immigrants who were born in Israel (or arrived in Israel as babies), and have experienced some formal schooling both in Israel and in Canada.

1.4 The Problem

There is little research into the processes by which Israeli immigrant adolescents adapt into Canadian society, or into the role played by language, or language*s*, in their socialization experiences inside and outside of schools. Much of the research about Israeli immigrants abroad explores the experiences of Israeli adults. Many of these studies, inter alia, use sociological lenses (e.g., Cohen, 2000; Gold, 2002); explore linguistic issues (e.g., Kaufman, 2000; McNamara, 1987); and some focus on Israeli emigrant women (e.g., Fogell, 2006; Herzberg, 2000). Research by Cohen (1999) and McNamara (1987) indicate that Israeli immigrant and second generation youth do tend to exhibit patterns of Hebrew language loss similar to those identified in Kaufman's study in the United States. That is, recently arrived "new" immigrants continue to support the use of the Hebrew language; however, heritage language vitality in the second generation is considerably less visible. Interestingly, both old and young Israeli immigrants tend to

move towards religious identification (Cohen, 1999; McNamara, 1987) and to participate in the Jewish community (Cohen, 1999). However, even research that does address the needs and challenges of Israeli immigrant youth does so from the perspectives of adults. For example, in 2004 the Board of Jewish Education in Toronto conducted a study to explore the needs of Israeli parents in regards to their children's education. In response, Israeli parents expressed their concerns with regard to maintenance of the Hebrew language, their children's connections to Israel, and their ambivalence regarding religious education, all discourses that have been identified previously as dominant within the Israeli adult community. Absent from these discussions are the perspectives of Israeli youth—their lived experiences of immigration and adaptation to a foreign educational system. We do know that schools play a crucial role in the socialization processes of immigrant youth (Harklau, 2003; James, 2005). In the Canadian "multicultural" context, in urban centers schools more often than not constitute zones for intercultural contact.

Consequently, we have little insight into the impact of immigration to Canada on the identification processes and construction of aspirations of immigrant youth from Israel and, in particular, Canadian schooling and language socialization experiences,. From extensive socio-linguistic research we learn that the complex relationships between the language learner and the socio-historical context determine how immigrants position themselves in relation to the dominant language (e.g., Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Schecter & Bayley, 2002). We have yet to explore the relationships between immigrant youth language learners, social interaction and social identity construction in cosmopolitan centers such as Toronto, where cultures collide and spaces are often defined by

conditions of asymmetrical power relations and flux. This research is intended to fill this gap and to present the voices of this understudied group of generation 1.5 Israeli immigrants.

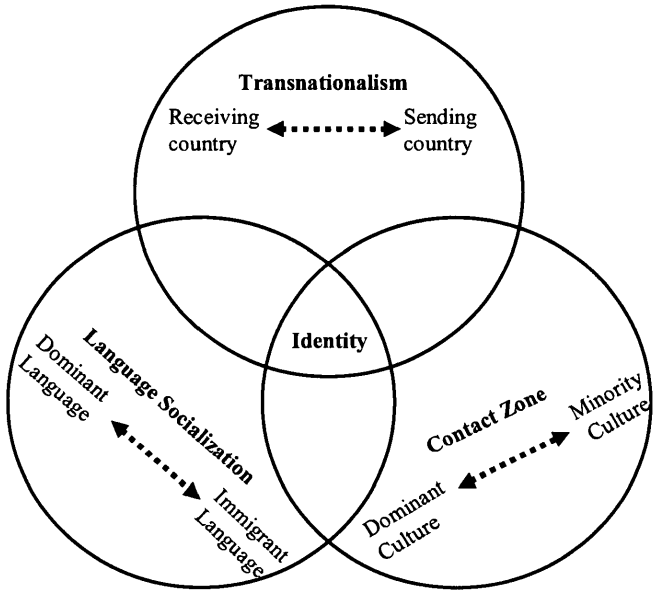
CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMING

The theoretical orientation framing this research of Israeli immigrant youth and their works with identity is derived from social constructivism and poststructuralist paradigms related to identity (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Norton Peirce, 1995). To explore the complexity of identity practices of Israeli immigrant youth within local and global contexts, I bring into play three theoretical constructs—language socialization, transnationalism, and contact zone—showing how these are intertwined with the construct of identity. Drawing on a language socialization perspective (Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Ochs, 1993; Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986), I explore sociocultural and linguistic practices in the socialization process. Immigrant and minority groups acquire through language socialization a sense of identity as members of the dominant and/or minority group. Drawing on theories of transnationalism, I analyze immigrant experiences within socio-historical context in multiple spaces. Many immigrants maintain transnational ties where they have enduring contacts with both sending and receiving countries. Accordingly, I looked at factors that may affect transnational identities among immigrants, factors such as homeland, host country, and globalization. I also enlisted the sociolinguistic notion of *contact zone* to study both transnational identities and immigrant inter-cultural experiences, as I found it useful to the research goals of unravelling the interplay of culture, language and power in the

processes of identity construction of Israeli immigrant youth. In particular, I am interested in how actors move back and forth between cultures and through languages, the nature of the inter-cultural contacts they encounter, and the role that language plays in the identification processes and trajectories of these youth as they alternately place themselves in dangerous places and retreat to more reassuring ones. Figure 1 illustrates the theoretical model I use in this study to explore the identity construction of immigrant youth.

Figure 1: Interactive Model of Immigrant Youth Identity Construction



2.1 Identities

Identity has become a focal subject in social science inquiries about migration as scholars continue to search for deeper insight into the meaning of complex human experiences. However, blurry boundaries have been shown to be characteristic of discussions among social scientists of concepts such as development, construction, forming, or transformation of identity, where they also have examined personal, social, cultural, immigrant, transnational, linguistic, and ethnic categories of identity. While these categories may appear to be distinct, they are not always clearly differentiated in the literature. These blurry boundaries may explain the many different meanings of the notion of identity in the literature (Gee, 2000). Social consructionist and poststructuralist views allow for a more dynamic approach in the study of contemporary identities. In this regard scholars look at identity categories such as ethnicity, age, class, language, race, gender, and culture as dynamic. In this study, I focus on ethnicity and language within a sociocultural frame. The dynamic approach views identities as multiple, conflicting, contradictory, relational, contextual, and always in process. In my exploration, the aspects of identity which were found relevant are relationality, power, time, space, multiplicity, context, and fluidity.

Identity always changes and continues to develop across a person's life; it is a "forever to-be-revised sense of the reality of the Self within social reality" (Erikson, 1968, p. 211). Identity, as Erikson describes, "also contains a complementarity of past and future both in the individual and in society: it links the actuality of a living past with that of a promising future" (p. 310). Gee (2000) views identity as multiple, changing and

context-based. As he explains: "The 'kind of person' one is recognized as 'being,' at a given time and place, can change from moment to moment in the interaction, can change from context to context, and, of course, can be ambiguous or unstable" (p. 99). The relational aspect of identity is another aspect significant in the work of identity (S. Hall, 1997; James, 2003). As S. Hall explains, "You go around the globe: when you know what everybody else is, then you are what they are not" (p. 21).

Contemporary discussions of identity also take into account notions of power and agency (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; James, 2003; Norton Peirce, 1995; Schecter & Bayley, 2004) and how they operate on the personal/individual or on the group/society level. Scholars attempt to articulate the ways in which identity and individual agency rely on and produce and reproduce cultural forms. In this regard, "Power relations, in particular, are thought to shape a person's self (or a group's identity) through acts that distinguish and treat the person as gendered, raced, classed, or other sort of subject" (Holland & Leander, 2004, p. 127). For example, the social interactions where immigrant language learners construct their identities are often defined by conditions of asymmetrical power relations and flux (McKay & Wong, 1996; Norton Peirce, 1995, 1997). As Norton Peirce (1995) notes, "Power relations play a crucial role in social interactions between language learners and target language speakers" (p. 3). These interactions can either decrease or increase the opportunities for positive language learning experiences and identity construction.

Language is central to the construction of identity. Through language we can express and give meaning to thoughts and feelings, and construct a sense of who we are.

Through language we constitute reality through the meaning which we construct (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). According to Norton Peirce (1995),

> It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points of time, and it is through language that a person gains access to—or is denied access to—powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak. Thus language is not conceived of as a neutral medium of communication but is understood with reference to its social meaning (p. 13).

As Spolsky (1999) reminds us, "When we hear someone speak, we immediately make guesses about gender, education level, age, profession, and place of origin." (p. 181). When immigrants arrive in a new place they generally learn the local language to be able to work and to participate in the new society. Research on language behavior of immigrants has contributed to the understanding of the relation between linguistic processes and social structure. In their study of the relationship between language and identity, Schecter and Bayley (1997) view "language practices in themselves as embodying acts of identity" (p. 516). The complex relationships between the language learner and the socio-historical context determine how immigrants position themselves in relation to the dominant language (e.g., Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Schecter & Bayley, 2002). Scholars have extended their research to examine the relationship between language learning, social interactions and identity construction (e.g., Menard-Warwick, 2005; Norton Peirce, 1995).

Ethnicity, as well as language, is also seen as an important marker of identity. According to S. Hall (1996b) "The term ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated, and all knowledge is contextual" (p. 446). Ethnic identity is more often associated with minority group than majority group (Liebkind, 1999). When drawing on an unessentialist perspective, ethnic identity is not easily defined. Thus, some researchers have advocated a broader and more open approach to identity. For example, James (2003) observed that "the term *ethnic* is sometimes used interchangeably with *race* and *immigrant* and *culture* to try to socially define or locate people" (p. 50). Kim (2006) employed the term ethnic identity "as a broad, inclusive concept that represents similar terms such as *national, cultural, ethnolinguistic, racial, and religious* identity, following the common usage of the term among social scientists" (p. 285). Notable are the interrelations between the social and the ethnic aspects of identity. As defined by Phinney (1992), "Ethnic identity is an aspect of a person's social identity" (p. 156).

In discussions of ethnic identity, however, some have pointed out that language is not a necessary requirement to identify with an ethnicity. For example, a person may identify themselves as Irish, yet not speak Gaelic (Liebkind, 1999). Additionally, an ethnic group or individual ascribing to that group may have a symbolic attachment to an associated language, but may use another more utilitarian language instead. This is the case among Jews in the Diaspora, particularly in English speaking countries where the Hebrew language has a lower status than the dominant language—English, but maintains

an important traditional and symbolic function (McNamara, 1987). That is, the ethnic identity of a Diaspora Jew does not necessarily include communicative Hebrew. Nonetheless, research in various disciplines has indicated that language is central to the formation of immigrant identity (Schecter & Bayley, 2002). In most ethnic groups the general consensus is that language plays a central role in their ethnic identity.

The nexus of ethnicity, language, and identity, that is, the connection of ethnic identity and language behavior, is reciprocal. The use of ethnic language may enhance the development of ethnic identity and vice versa. Moreover, "a language is a powerful symbol of national and ethnic identity" (Spolsky, 1999, p. 181). With regard to immigrant communities, Ben-Rafael (2002) asserts that "the vernacular of the community represents its principal linguistic assets and conveys its Diaspora experience; it binds it to a real or virtual 'homeland' and to other Diaspora communities" (p. 342).

2.2 Language Socialization

Language socialization research "draws on sociological, anthropological, and psychological approaches to the study of social and linguistic competence within a social group" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 163). A traditional perspective views language socialization as a developmental process in which children learn to become adults in a society whose norms and values are already pre-determined (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Thusly, language socialization is conceptualized as a process whereby the identity of children and adults is shaped as they adopt the social norms and shared meanings of their language groups. Language socialization studies—"*socialization through the use of language* and *socialization to use language*"—seek to understand "the interdependence

of language and sociocultural structures and processes" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 163). Language socialization is thought to be a lifelong process that occurs "throughout the human lifespan across a range of social experiences and contexts" (p. 163). In this matter, adolescence has a particular importance as this is the period in which social identity formation becomes central. Socialization is conceptualized as an interactive process whereby "the child or the novice (in the case of older individuals) is not a passive recipient of sociocultural knowledge but rather an active contributor to the meaning and outcome of interactions with other members of a social group" (p. 165). Peer interactions also serve as language socialization processes. Moreover, the view of language socialization as practice allows a more fluid and multi-faceted conception of socialization and social identities (Eckert, 2000).

Recent research, however, has expanded the notion of language socialization to a variety of linguistic contexts, notably bilingual and multilingual settings (e.g., Bayley & Schecter, 2003). Studies in bilingual and multilingual communities (e.g., Schecter & Bayley, 2002) show that language use is central to the processes of personal identity construction and cultural identification that youth undergo. Research indicates that individuals in fluid societal and situational contexts have opportunities for choice with regard to use of the minority vs. dominant language (e.g., Eckert, 2000; Schecter & Bayley, 2004). With regard to immigrant and minority groups, through socialization individuals acquire a sense of identity as members of the dominant or minority group.

Researchers on second language learning among immigrants have extended their research to examine the relationship between language learning, social interactions and

identity construction (e.g., Menard-Warwick, 2005; Norton Peirce, 1995). Norton Peirce (1995) argues that the complex relationships between the language learner and the social context determine how immigrants position themselves in relation to the dominant language. She proposes the concept of "investment," rather than motivation, "to capture the relationship of the language learner to the changing social world" (pp. 17–18). That is, investment in the target language is "connected to the ongoing production of a language learner's social identity" (p. 20). Drawing on Norton Peirce's concept of investment, McKay and Wong (1996) study how immigrant students construct their identities in relation to power structures and the majority's construction of the collective identity of a specific immigrant group. Interestingly, their findings show cases of strong ethnic language retention and strong English acquisition existing side by side.

2.2.1 Language Maintenance and Shift

When immigrants move to a new place where the spoken language is different from their own, they tend to learn the new language for various practical reasons such as academic attainments and work opportunities. While the new language is learned, the original language eventually may be lost particularly among the young generation. Notwithstandingly, many immigrant and ethnic communities desire to maintain their ethnic language. Language maintenance refers to immigrants acquiring proficiency in the dominant language while they maintain proficiency in their native language, a process referred to as additive bilingualism. However, additive bilingualism is not always the result of displacement processes. Studies on language behavior of immigrants suggest that in most cases, while immigrants acquire competency in the dominant language they

also lose some of the native language. This phenomenon of *language shift* occurs when a minority language group comes in contact with the dominant cultural group (Fishman, 1991). Research examining macro- and micro-factors affecting language maintenance and language shift among immigrants have the potential to contribute to the understanding of the relation between linguistic processes and social structure.

Fishman (1991) provides an assessment tool to evaluate language maintenance and language shift at a societal level. Language maintenance and reversing language shift (RLS) are about cultural reconstruction. As Fishman (1991) asserts, "Without intergenerational mother tongue transmission, no language maintenance is possible. . . . That which is not transmitted cannot be maintained" (p. 113). Fishman (1991) proposes a model for reversing language shift of eight stages which he calls the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) of language functions in threatened minority languages. Each stage describes certain language functions, and the distinctions between the stages relate to priorities for action under differing circumstances. The GIDS distinguishes the level of linguistic disruption, in which higher numbers mean greater linguistic disruption in the minority community. Stage eight represents the worst linguistic situation where the threaten languages are spoken only by the elderly, and stage one is the most desired where the threatened languages are represented at the institutional levels of society. Fishman (1991) emphasizes though that stage six is the crucial stage for intergenerational language transfer where the language is used within the family and community. While Fishman admits that obstacles to RLS persist, for example, the strong influence of a dominant language on ethnic language speakers, and non-supportive

educational policies, he stresses that community and individual efforts are valuable, even if not always successful.

Drawing on social psychology, Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) present a theoretical framework on the interrelationships among language, ethnicity and intergroup relations. Language, in their view, plays an important role in ethnicity and intergroup relations. As part of their theory, they present a structural analysis in which they propose an "ethnolinguistic vitality" model. This model is a descriptive taxonomy of structural variables (factors) affecting ethnolinguistic groups. The first group of factors relate to status (economic, social, sociohistorical, and language); the second group of factors relate to demography (distribution, numbers); the third group of factors relate to institutional support (mass media, education, and government services on the nation level, and industry, religion, and culture on the minority group level). Giles et al. (1977) state that "the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (p. 308). Thus, the more vitality a group has, the more likely it is to maintain its distinct characteristics, of which language is primary.

Research on immigrant youth shows that parents' attitudes towards the ethnic language and culture play an important role in language maintenance and ethnolinguistic identity (Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Haung, 2001; Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Umaña-Taylor, Bhanot, & Shin, 2006). Phinney et al. (2001) surveyed Armenian, Vietnamese, and Mexican adolescents and their parents in the United States. They found across all groups that parental cultural maintenance predicted adolescent

ethnic language proficiency. Similarly, Umaña-Taylor et al. examined ethnic identity development among adolescents of Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Salvadoran heritage living in the United States. Their findings indicated that familial ethnic socialization plays an important role in the process of ethnic identity formation for adolescents regardless of ethnic background.

Taking a socio-psychological approach, using ethnolinguistic theory, Luo and Wiseman (2000) examined the effect of familial and peer influences on ethnic language maintenance among Chinese immigrant children in the United States. The participants were first generation and second generation with an average age of 15.4 years. With regard to familial influences, the researchers found that parental attitudes toward ethnic language maintenance, parent-child and grandparent-child cohesiveness were positive influences on immigrant children's ethnic language maintenance.

Nonetheless, as research indicates, the peer group is not less important in playing a role in language choice, particularly during adolescence years when their role becomes critical in language practices and identity construction (Caldas, 2006; Goldstein, 2003; Langman, 2003; Liang, 2006; Luo & Wiseman, 2000). Luo and Wiseman, as noted above, examined the effect of familial and peer influences on the ethnic language maintenance among Chinese immigrant children in the United States. With regard to peer influences, their findings clearly show that Chinese-speaking peer influence was positive while English-speaking peer influence was negative on immigrant children's ethnic language maintenance.

A longitudinal study was conducted by Caldas (2006) who followed the bilingual (English and French) development of his three children. While this was not an easy accomplishment for the parents, in particular during the adolescence years, they succeeded in raising bilingual children. However, Caldas underscores in his findings adolescence as a crucial age in language development, and the influence of peers on language choice. He states that "even if tremendous effort is exerted to preserve a minority language, if that language is not cherished by the adolescent's peer group, he or she will likely not speak the language—even in the home" (p. 163).

In her study, Tse (2001) examined the experiences of literacy development among second generation immigrant adolescents in the United States who managed to develop high levels of literacy both in English and in their heritage language. This study highlighted the important role peer groups play in determining the overall social and personality characteristics of an individual. As Tse noted, "Peer influence is central to the development of positive attitudes toward and interest in learning the heritage language" (pp. 698–699). Tse asserted that "HL [heritage language] literacy appears to be best promoted when home, community, and school work in concert to reverse the stigma of non-English languages and to provide students with the necessary social, cultural, language, and literacy experiences" (p. 702).

Drawing primarily on Australian research, Pauwels (2005) reported on factors affecting language maintenance in immigrant families and highlighted some language use patterns which typify community language use in many Australian families as well as the challenges facing families wishing to maintain community languages. Pauwels claimed

that "in fact family together with CL [community language] education supported by appropriate government policies on language, linguistic and ethnic diversity constitute the main pillars for successful LM [language maintenance]" (p. 124). It is noteworthy that with the identification of successful strategies for language maintenance, applied linguists, language contact researchers, and community language activists started to assist parents, families and communities in their language maintenance efforts. This included initiatives such as workshops, seminars, and publication of newsletters and brochures. Nonetheless, Pauwels stressed that one of the challenges of families for language maintenance is among adolescents and young adults who shift their social lives from the family to friends and school.

2.2.2 The Mediating Role of Schooling

Schools play a crucial role in the socialization processes of immigrant youth (Harklau, 2003; James, 2005). In urban centers they more often than not constitute zones for intercultural contact. School is the prime place where the immigrant student's language comes in contact with the dominant language and is most likely to be affected by it. Another factor (in addition to parents and peers noted above) affecting ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al., 1977) and language maintenance (Fishman, 1991) is (non)supportive educational policies or institutional support practiced in schools (Garcia & Bartlett, 2007; Pacini-Ketchabaw & Bernhard, 2001; Wright, 2004). Some research exemplifies the influence and interference of schools and its policies within the home practices. Schools correspond more often to assimilative policy practices. Pacini-Ketchabaw and Bernhard explored home language practices and experiences of

immigrant Latino parents in Toronto who faced enormous institutional pressures in their decisions about their children's language. Their findings showed that parents viewed Spanish language maintenance positively in fostering family unity, Latino identity, and professional advancement. However, the assimilative pressures they experienced affected their desire to speak Spanish at home, and made it difficult for them to maintain their mother tongue and their Latino identity. Pacini-Ketchabaw and Bernhard concluded that "both the child and family's cultural capital has little impact on the educational system in which they find themselves" (p. 25). This study in consonant with other studies recognizes the dominant institutions' (e.g., school) power over immigrant language, and highlights the potential roles they have in supporting language maintenance. Pacini-Ketchabaw and Bernhard asserted that, in order to support language maintenance among immigrants, educational institutions need to adopt a more positive attitude along with a change of policies.

Wright (2004), taking a retrospective approach, reported on the educational experiences of former Cambodian-American students in an urban school district in southern California, with the focus on their language development. The findings show that English only classes have resulted in the gradual loss of the home language, family cohesiveness, and culture. Although opportunities to use Khmer were very popular among the students, as a consequence of the dominance of English-only programs, the students' proficiencies in both Khmer and English suffered. With regard to the consequences the educational experiences had on the adult lives of the former students, Wright found that while all the participants reported feeling proud to be Cambodian,

some had struggles with their self-identity and self-esteem. Family relationships were affected as well: while the older children were still able to communicate with the parents in Khmer, the younger children had more difficulty doing so, which subtracted from the parents' ability to communicate intimately with their children. Wright concluded that the English only programs did not meet the educational and linguistic needs of immigrant students. This study highlights the important role of the first language in both ethnic identity formation and second language development. Ethnic language proficiency is important for both students' development of academic literacy and the integrity of their home lives.

In contrast, in their study Garcia and Bartlett (2007) examined the unusually successful Gregorio Luperon High in New York—a segregated bilingual high school which nurtures a specific ethnolinguistic community, that is, Latino newcomers. Educators associated with the school attribute its success to the emphasis placed on second language acquisition as a social process (and not as an individual psycholinguistic process). Many of the teachers and administrators of the school are native Spanish-speaking Latinos. The equalization of the status of Spanish and English in the school contributes to a situation in which the languages do not compete—as usually is the situation in schools where English-only is the goal—but rather exist in functional complementarity. The success of the school is in contributing to the students' development of bilingual identity, with high academic achievement and sense of belonging. In their conclusion, Garcia and Bartlett noted that "the factors that create certain limitations for the Gregorio Luperon model are the same factors that contribute to

its success—a linguistically and, for the most part, culturally similar student population; the absence of native English speakers; privileging the acquisition of specific, academic English language targets over a broader communicative approach; the use of Spanish for the rigorous development of students' academic knowledge, as well as to establish relationships" (p. 21).

Similarly, Asanova (2005) explored educational experiences of immigrant children from the former Soviet Union in Chekhov School, an ethnic school in Toronto. Ethnic schools, Asanova proposed, "are sources of social capital as they promote an immigrant group's cultural norms of academic achievement" (p. 182). Asanova found the academic performance of the students to be very high. While the language of instruction is English, the use of Russian in the school was encouraged also through extra curricular programs. Many students appreciated the fact that most of their peers could speak Russian. The quality of teacher-student relationships and specifically the respect shown for students' ethnic culture, contributed to the students' sense of well being. Asanova asserted that "children from advantaged ethnic communities will have higher academic achievement in more favorable school environments" (p. 192); hence, "one reason ethnic schools can be effective is that they can facilitate long-term acculturation of immigrant youth" (p. 193).

Some studies have focused on the tensions immigrants experience between the ethnic language and the dominant language in their schooling (Goldstein, 2003; Liang, 2006). Liang examined how high school Chinese immigrant students in British Columbia perceive the use of first language and second language in the classroom and how they use

these languages in group activities. The researcher looked specifically at classroom code-switching in relation to individual and group identity. They found that the students seemed to be under peer pressure with regard to personal identity and group membership. The findings suggested that "the bilingual classroom code-switching may be a site of dilemmas for L2 school students" (p. 159) as students appeared to be torn between identifying with coethnics in the first language and gaining membership in mainstream classes in the second language.

Goldstein (2003) also studied Chinese immigrant high school students. She investigated how these students who were born in Hong Kong used Cantonese as well as English to achieve academic and social success in a school in Toronto where English is the medium of instruction. In her findings, Goldstein reported how the students deal with multiple and conflicting socialization agendas and their participation in multiple communities at the school. The use of Cantonese was associated with membership in the Cantonese-speaking community which symbolized a Hong Kong Canadian identity. Chinese was used to build peer social capital while the use of English endangered this process. Goldstein concluded that "by investing in and developing peer social capital at school, the Canadian Cantonese-speaking students at Northside capitalized on ethnic forms of solidarity not to resist the dominant academic culture of the school, but to negotiate and manage the development of their competence in this academic culture" (p. 261).

2.3 Transnationalism

At the beginning of the 21st century, the effects of globalization dynamics have become starkly apparent with regard to human mobility. As national boundaries have become more blurry and elusive, concepts such as *deterritorialitiy*, *supranationality*, and *transnationality* have emerged to explain related phenomena such as global economy, advanced technology, and international migration. Consequently, migration studies have moved the discussion of sociocultural processes and immigrants' life trajectories not in the context of single nation-state but as a transnational experience. In this section, I discuss contemporary migration as a transnational phenomenon against the background of globalization and Diaspora.

In the discussion of migration and migrant communities, Diaspora and transnationalism come to the fore as they are interrelated and overlapping at times (see Vertovec & Cohen, 1999). Some scholars refer to migrant communities as transnational communities while others refer to them as Diasporic communities. Diasporic communities are not exactly transnational communities, as Clifford (1994) explains:

> The phrase *diasporic community* conveys a stronger sense of difference than, say, *ethnic neighborhood* did in the language of pluralist nationalism. This strong difference, this sense of being a "people" with historical roots and destinies outside the time/space of the host nation, is not separatist. (Rather, separatist desires are just one of its moments.) Whatever their eschatological longings, diaspora communities are "not-here" to stay. Diaspora cultures thus mediate, in a

> lived tension, the experiences of separation and entanglement, of living here and remembering/desiring another place (pp. 310–311).

Canadian Jews, who emigrated from locations around the world (except Israel), correspond to what is called classic Diaspora (Cohen, 1997); they live in Diasporic communities. However, Israeli Jews, who emigrated from Israel to Canada, correspond to transnationalism (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992, 1995); they live in transnational communities. Interestingly, these two groups/communities illustrate the intersecting and overlapping notions of Diaspora and transnationalism (see Chapter 1).

Globalization is also related to transnationalism. Globalization, according to Giddens (as cited in Block, 2008), is "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (p. 31). In distinguishing between "transnationalism" and "globalization," Levitt (2001) states that "global processes tend to be de-linked from specific national territories, while transnational processes are anchored in and transcend one or more nation-states" (p. 14). In recent years, however, "transnationalism has become one of the fundamental ways of understanding contemporary migrant practices across the multi-disciplinary field of migration studies" (Vertovec, 2007, pp. 963–964). According to Vertovec (1999), "Transnationalism has changed people's relations to space particularly by creating 'social fields' that connect and position some actors in more than one country (p. 456)," what others (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Blanc-Szanton, 1994; Castles & Miller, 2003) would also call "transnational communities."

In today's globalized world, many immigrants maintain transnational ties where they have enduring contacts with both sending and receiving countries. For these immigrants, "Identities [are] made in relation to place and displacement, to community and to a sense of dispersal, to 'roots' as well as 'routes'" (Yon, 2000, p. 1). Drawing on a socio-political perspective, Wayland (2006) asserts that "transnationalism involves the creation of new identities that incorporate cultural references from both the place of origin and the place of residence" (p. 18). Drawing on international migration and domestic politics, Koslowski (2005) conveys some of the complexity of transnational identities:

> In general, emigrants may transfer their political identities from their homeland to their new host state, become completely apolitical or continue to identify with and participate in homeland politics. Emigrants may, however, resist homeland nationalism as well as complete assimilation in the host-state polity and instead develop a transnational identity, which is often marked by dual nationality. Such alternative transnational identities challenge uniform state authority and undivided loyalties, often assumed to exist with singular nationality in sharply delineated nation-states (p. 21).

The question arising from such reflection is: *what factors may affect transnational identities among immigrants?*

One factor believed to affect immigrants' transnational identities is the characteristics of the host country. The trajectories of immigrants' settlement in their receiving countries may be different, as the varying characteristics of nation-states may

lead to different concepts of citizenship in regard to immigrants (Castles & Miller, 1998). Following Castles and Miller's (1998) framework, countries of immigration can be divided into three categories:

1) The differential exclusionary model: Some countries of immigration make it very difficult for immigrants to become citizens. They express their unwillingness to accept immigrants through exclusionary policies. Germany and Austria are examples of such countries.

2) The assimilationist model: Some countries grant citizenship but only at the price of cultural assimilation. Immigrants are expected to give up their unique ethnic characteristics and become immersed in the majority population, as in France and the Netherlands, for example.

3) The multicultural model: Some countries make it possible for immigrants to become citizens while maintaining distinct cultural identities. The multicultural model includes a set of social policies to respond to the needs of settlers, specifically education and language policies, and a statement about openness of the nation to cultural diversity. Castles and Miller (1998) noted that "multicultural citizenship appears to be the most viable solution to the problem of defining membership of a nation-state in an increasingly mobile world" (p. 252).

Some countries, such as Canada, make it possible for immigrants to become citizens while maintaining distinct cultural identities. Notwithstanding Canada's assimilationist approach in earlier years, Canadian identity, since the 1960s, has been defined by multiculturalism. The belief was that exposure to other cultural traditions helped to bring

about greater mutual understanding. Thus, language and heritage programs were promoted (Joshee, 2004). Canada, as a country of immigrants, has developed an explicit policy of multiculturalism and supports continuing study of this issue, for example, the Multiculturalism Policy in 1971, and Multiculturalism Act in 1988 (Joshee, 2004). With respect to multicultural education, however, Cummins (1989) argues that "despite the rhetoric of 'multiculturalism', Canadian educators have been much less concerned with equity issues related to linguistic and cultural diversity than have our American colleagues" (p. 4).

Another factor found to affect immigrants' transnational identities is "the nature of sending-country states' efforts to incorporate migrant members" (Levitt, 2000, p. 466). This increased interest among sending states in maintaining transnational identities indicates the extent to which states continue to define identity and pursue their own interests, even beyond their borders. States seek to retain ties to their expatriates in various ways (Wayland, 2006) and for various reasons. One way, for example, is by allowing citizens living abroad dual citizenship and by conferring citizenship on their children. Some states send money, teachers, and religious emissaries abroad to work with their expatriate citizens. Some sponsor visits so that migrant youth can return "home" for summer camps. Noteworthy is that relationships between the home state and the expatriates are bidirectional. Emigrants in many cases would make an effort to maintain ties with their home state, and to stay connected with family and friends. Part of these ties may involve interest in the political scene. In today's global world, telecommunication, transportation, and technology make these connections or ties with the home state

feasible. Developments in technology and telecommunications such as television, video, internet, and CDs, as well as affordable transportation, facilitate the maintenance of transnational identities. "Electronic communication encourages the creation of hybrid identities that integrate elements of local, national and global identities" (Yon, 2000).

The transnational perspective of international migration is relevant for this study as it enables the examination and understanding of the experiences of generation 1.5 Israeli immigrant youth within multiple contexts—national, and transnational. The transnational perspective of identity construction also enables the analysis using diachronic dimension referring to time and space as aspects of identity. This dimension is in reference to the home state on the one hand and the host state on the other. This also enables the analysis using a synchronic dimension referring to power and relationality. This dimension is in reference to the dominant society on the one hand and the immigrant/minority on the other.

2.4 Contact Zones

Inevitably, dynamics of globalization and processes of migration bring different cultures, people and communities into contact, especially in expansive urban settings. The consequences have been a change in the infrastructure of society and community where many immigrants live in transnational communities, while others live in ethnic enclaves. In this section, I discuss Mary Louise Pratt's (1991, 2008) notion of *contact zone* as a useful conceptual and analytical tool in the study of both transnational identities and immigrant sociocultural and language experiences, a construct which allows us to look into the space where cultural and language socialization, and identity

construction processes occur. Pratt (2008) borrowed the term "contact" from linguistics: a contact linguistics is an interdisciplinary branch of multilingual research (Nelde, 2010). In proposing different models of social spaces in which language and literacy are used, Pratt (1987) suggests a shift in the focus of linguistics to

> a linguistics that decentered community, that placed at its centre the operation of language *across* lines of social differentiation, a linguistics that focused on modes and zones of contact between dominant and dominated groups, between persons of different and multiple identities, speakers of different languages, that focused on how such speakers constitute each other relationally and in difference, how they enact differences in language (p. 60).

In this manner, the new linguistics which considers transnationalization of culture is moving away from a view of a homogeneous social world.

The contact zone "invokes the space and time where subjects previously separated by geography and history are co-present, the point at which their trajectories now intersect" (Pratt, 2008, p. 8). Pratt's *contact zone* refers to "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt, 1991, p. 34). Nuancing the theory, Bizzell (2002) points out that "a "contact zone" is defined primarily in terms of historical circumstances. It is circumscribed in time and space, but with elastic boundaries" (p. 52). Similarly, Schecter and Bayley (2002), in discussing the "shifting circumstances of family members' lives" in their study of Mexican families in the United States, refer to the "shifting boundaries of their zones of contact" (p. 179).

There are three main aspects or phenomena of the *contact zone* that are relevant to this research: The first is *transculturation*—a term that ethnographers have used "to describe processes whereby members of subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted by a dominant or metropolitan culture" (Pratt, 1991, p. 34). In transculturation, "while subordinate peoples do not usually control what emanates from the dominant culture, they do determine to varying extents what gets absorbed into their own and what it gets used for" (Pratt, 1991, p. 34). The culture change in this process is not one-sided; it involves give and take. Thus, for immigrants the construct of contact zone implies a significant degree of agency (Schecter & Bayley, 2004). Secondly, the contact zone facilitates *autoethnography* texts, referring to self representations created by the dominated people who often would use more than one language. Pratt (1991) stated that "autoethnographic works are often addressed to both metropolitan audiences and the speaker's own community" (p. 34). Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the concept of *safe houses* has been inextricably related to that of contact zone. Pratt (1991) used the term *safe houses* to refer to

> social and intellectual spaces where groups can constitute themselves as horizontal, homogeneous, sovereign communities with high degrees of trust, shared understandings, temporary protection from legacies of oppression .... Where there are legacies of subordination, groups need places for healing and mutual recognition, safe houses in which to construct shared understandings, knowledges, claims on the world that they can then bring into the contact zone (p. 40).

Pratt's *contact zone* has been widely cited and used in recent sociolinguistic research (e.g., Bizzell, 2002; Canagarajah, 1997; Edelstein, 2005; Elmborg, 2006; Guerra, 1998; R. M. Hall & Rosner, 2004; Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Wolff, 2002). Several scholars have pointed out the relation of Pratt's *contact zone* to other theories. Edelstein (2005) noted that the term *contact zone* is widely used in literary and composition studies to explore border or boundary-crossing, theorized earlier by Anzaldúa (1987). Some scholars connect Pratt's *contact zone* to Vygotsky (Elmborg, 2006; McBeth, 2006; Shor, 1996) and Bakhtin (Elmborg, 2006; Warshauer Freedman & Ball, 2004). In his report of his experience as a teacher, Shor used Pratt's *contact zone* to describe classrooms as a space of unequal power where "students adapt through various means of accommodation and resistance" (p.12). He observes that Pratt's (1991) definition of the contact zone

> is an advanced version of Vygotsky's "zone of proximal development," because Pratt enumerates specific rhetorical and pedagogical arts which can make the zone critical, democratic, and transformative instead of unequal, colonizing, and oppressive. The key difference here, emphasized by Pratt, is disturbing the routinely "asymmetrical" power relations through which we rhetorically, pedagogically, and socially construct unequal selves (p. 22–23).

Shor (1996) noted further in his report that his class served as a small "safe house," another concept used by Pratt to theorize the contact zone, "where critical thought about knowledge and society had some protected breathing room" (p. 206). McBeth (2006) also noted that "Pratt's ideas align with those of Vygotsky" (p. 84), in

relation to the zone of proximal development. In their discussion of Bakhtin's struggles with an authoritative discourse, Warshauer Freedman and Ball (2004) cited Bakhtin's own term of *contact zone* to describe the place where the struggles occur while they compare it to Pratt's *contact zone*. Elmborg (2006) concluded that Pratt's conceptualization of the *contact zone* "is supported in composition studies by broader theories of Bakhtin and Vygotsky" (p. 59). As he stated, the contact zone "is derived at least in part from the work of social language theorist Mikhail Bakhtin" (p. 58), and "clearly echoes Vygotsky's zone of proximal development" (p. 59). I should emphasize though that the theoretical link of Pratt's *contact zone* to the theories of Vygotsky, Bakhtin, and Anzaldúa (1987) fortifies even more the relevance of this concept to my research agenda.

The concept of the *contact zone* has generated considerable controversy among scholars. Critiques have focused on the thin theorization of the concept. R. M. Hall and Rosner (2004) critiqued Pratt's contact zone, arguing that its meaning is still elusive and that Pratt's own explanation of the term continues to evolve. They asserted that "whatever else it means, it seems best characterized as a process that is ongoing, unstable, and resistant to simple explanations" (p. 98). Guerra (1998) extended the notions of *contact zone* and *safe houses* in his longitudinal study of a transnational Mexican community. He argued that "it may help to refer to the communities from which representatives of the different social, cultural, political, economic, and linguistic groups originate as 'home fronts' and the arenas where their differences clash, blend, or intermingle as 'contact zone'" (p. 3). However, Schecter and Bayley (2002), using

Guerra's term *home front*, complicated the issue further by suggesting that "there is no necessary opposition between a focus on the contact zone and a focus on the home front because, in many cases, the home front, whether conceived of as the immediate community or as the individual household, is also a contact zone" (pp. 178–179).

Similarly, with regard to the specific definition of *safe houses*, researchers are divided. The term has been used in different ways and with different emphases and points of reference. Some researchers focus on the location of the safe house in relation to the contact zone. Canagarajah (1997), for example, examined the notion of safe houses in his study of a special writing course for predominantly African-American students. In his discussion of the location of safe houses in relation to the contact zone, he concluded that "although safe houses can exist outside the contact zone for some time . . . they are typically situated *within* the contact zone and are linked to it" (p. 195). Some regard the safe house as not really safe. Wolff (2002) attempted in her American literature course to construct a "safe house for learning, to build an environment that would encourage knowledge making and risk taking." Her findings, however, showed that "teaching in the contact zone can be fraught with danger, and sometimes establishing a 'safe house' is little more than a myth" (p. 251).

Notwithstanding that the concepts of *contact zone* and *safe houses* have generated controversy among scholars, their potential usefulness for my dissertation research was clear. Notions such as culture, language, and power which characterize and are in relationship with Pratt's *contact zone* were crucial to my research goals of unravelling the interplay of culture, language, and power in the processes of identity construction of

Israeli immigrant youth. In particular, I was interested in how social actors move back and forth between cultures and cross linguistic boundaries, the nature of the intra- and inter-cultural contact they encounter, and the role that language plays in the identification processes and trajectories of these youth as they alternately place themselves in unsafe spaces and retreat to more reassuring ones.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This study aimed to explore the impact of immigration and transnationalism on the identity of Israeli immigrant youth, and their language socialization experiences. I researched the social and cultural identity constructions of Israeli immigrant youth in Toronto focusing on the roles of language in their constructions of identity as well as on what patterns of language use can tell us about these identification processes. In this chapter, I begin with the discussion of the qualitative research methodology followed by description of the research design and procedures employed in this exploratory study. I close the chapter with discussion of the analysis approach taken to interpret the data.

3.1 Theorizing the Research Methodology

This study is framed within an interpretive paradigm which "views the social world as constructed by those meanings/stories/accounts individuals provide concerning their understanding of their social world" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2006, p. 236). Qualitative research allows depth and breadth necessary for a critical exploration of how people assign meaning to certain constructs such as identity. I employed qualitative research methods to explore the socialization experiences of Israeli immigrant youth and the contexts in which they construct their linguistic, social and cultural identity. In their definition of qualitative research, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) pointed out that "qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that

qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 3).

Scholars use methods associated with qualitative research in searching for "answers to questions that stress *how* social experience is created and given meaning" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 10). Qualitative researchers "are interested in understanding the meanings people have constructed, that is, how they make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world" (Merriam, 1998, p. 6). In addition, qualitative research assumes that "there are multiple constructions and interpretations of reality that are in flux and that change over time. Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding what those interpretations are at a particular point in time and in a particular context" (Merriam, 2002, pp. 3–4). This study looked at the act of migration as "a particular point in time" in the "particular context" of the Canadian society.

This dissertation draws upon an ethnographic approach. According to Merriam (2002), "For a qualitative study to be an *ethnography*, it must present a sociocultural interpretation of the data" (p. 9). In the present study, the sociocultural component in the analysis of the data is crucial to understanding the lived experiences of Israeli immigrant youth. Furthermore, LeCompte (2002) asserts that "ethnography has a unique ability to help define community, and to help people identify how they fit within communities" (p. 295). More specifically, this study looks at how Israelis fit within or relate to different groups such as the Canadian Jewish community, other ethnic groups, and the dominant Canadian society. A theory-building process, ethnography provides a way of studying individuals in context, "as historically and socially situated entities engaged in

constructing their own realities through interaction with others in the social, political and cultural environments" (LeCompte, 2002, pp. 291–292). As Seidman (2006) explains, "People's behavior becomes meaningful and understandable when placed in the context of their lives and the lives of those around them. Without context there is little possibility of exploring the meaning of an experience" (pp. 16–17). For that reason, I draw also on transnational migration theory in order to understand the lived experiences of generation 1.5 Israeli immigrant youth in the context of their migration to Canada.

I should emphasize, however, that as I approach this research using ethnography as a method, I am aware of the blurry distinctions between this and other qualitative research methods and the potential ambiguity in their deployment (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Merriam, 2002). Ethnography, for example, as Hammersley and Atkinson observe,

> is not used in an entirely standard fashion; its meaning can vary. A consequence of this is that there is considerable overlap with other labels, such as "qualitative inquiry", "fieldwork", "interpretive method", and "case study", these also having fuzzy semantic boundaries. In fact, there is no sharp distinction even between ethnography and the study of individual life histories, as the example of "auto/ethnography" shows (p. 1).

In other words, within the framework of qualitative research we may find different methods intersecting and overlapping. This said, my priority throughout has been to seek out strategies that allow me to pursue my research questions rather than to adhere to the orthodoxy of any given "method."

3.2 Researcher's Positionality

My interest in Israeli youth in Toronto has roots in both my personal and professional backgrounds, experiences that at the same time confirm and complicate my insider status with respect to this group. As Cole and Knowles (2001) point out, "Any research project is an expression of elements of a researcher's life history" (p. 10). Life history research, they further assert, has both an autobiographical and relational orientation. As an Israeli immigrant to Canada, I share a first language, Hebrew, and national origin with the youth I studied. In addition, as a member of the expatriate Israeli community living in Toronto, my research may be seen partially in response to the calls of community leaders who are concerned about the future of the next generation. My work as a secondary school teacher in a parochial Jewish school milieu that hosts a significant proportion of youth from the demographic under study may also be seen to contribute to my "insider" status. Over the years, from the sidelines I have developed an appreciation, empathy even, for the different trajectories through which immigrant adolescent students arrive in the host country and the challenges that confront them.

However, I would make clear that my immigration experiences differ substantially from those of the youth I studied. I came to Canada as an adult, and thus my immigration trajectory posed different types of challenges. As well, the age difference between myself and those I studied is substantial, and contributes to the perception of my "outsider" status from an emic perspective. Yet, the fact that I was an Israeli immigrant myself facilitated, I believe, my ethnographer role. Perception of a shared group membership encouraged my respondents to share information which they may have

withheld if, for example, the interviewer would have been a Canadian-born Jew. In short, I embarked upon this research relying neither on my insider nor my outsider status. Moreover, even my theoretical "grounding" has been tenuous: since I have started work on this project, dimensions of the problem have changed under foot; and as I proceeded I was wise to assume neither the theoretical privilege nor the theoretical marginalization of my referent group.

3.3 Research Design

3.3.1 Research Questions

In this research, I consider the dilemmas and discourses of identity construction and negotiation among expatriate Israeli immigrant youth in Toronto, seeking to gain understanding of their perceptions and attitudes toward their language experiences and socialization practices. I explore the impact of immigration on their identity development through interactions with different referential groups considering globalization forces and transnational practices. I use the following research questions to guide my inquiry:

1. What is the *role of language/s in the identity construction* of Israeli immigrant youth in Toronto? What can patterns of language use teach us about signifying practices associated with identification processes of immigrant youth? What do we learn about language socialization theory?

2. What is the *role of schooling and education in the identity construction* of Israeli immigrant youth? What are the language socialization experiences of Israeli immigrant youth within the multicultural Canadian context of schooling? How do Israeli immigrant

youth view the role of schooling and education in their adaptation and integration into multicultural Canadian society?

3. How do Israeli immigrant youth negotiate their identities in global and local *contact zones*? What can the lived experiences of Israeli immigrant youth tell us about power relations between different referential groups, namely, Jewish community, Canadian society, other immigrant communities, Israeli community in Canada, and the Israeli state? What can we learn from generation 1.5 Israeli immigrants about youth adaptation and integration into the dominant society?

3.3.2 Research Site

I chose the greater Toronto area, specifically north Toronto and Vaughan, as the geographical site of my research. The Greater Toronto Area, the largest urban center in Canada, hosts the largest number of immigrants with the most diverse ethnic population. The largest concentration of Israeli immigrants in Canada is in the Greater Toronto Area; Toronto is also the location of the largest Jewish community in Canada (see Chapter 1). Many of these Israelis live in or near Jewish neighborhoods, where they have formed their own enclaves.

The Greater Toronto Area is also a place for the largest Russian Jewish community—those who migrated directly from Russia to Canada as well as those who migrated from Russia to Israel before their migration to Canada. The Russian Israelis and particularly their children (either born in Israel or arrived as babies) spoke the Hebrew language and identified as Israelis. In Canada, however, some continue to preserve Israeli identity while others leave it behind and converge on their Russian identity and

their integration into Canadian society. This is why some Russian Israelis find themselves part of the Israeli community while some become part of the Jewish Russian community and still others become part of the non-Jewish Russian community. These Russian Israelis who migrated from Israel and could be defined as generation 1.5 were part of this study.

Geographically, *the Bathurst corridor*, as it is named by Jews and Israelis, is where most Canadian Jews and Israeli immigrants reside, that is, alongside Bathurst Street. Specifically, the area of Bathurst and Steeles in north Toronto which populated with rental apartment buildings is popular among Russian Jewish (both those who emigrated from Russia and Israel) and Israeli immigrants, particularly among the new-comers for whom it is a transitional place, and among the old timers who cannot afford to purchase a house. Many Israelis also reside in Vaughan (a city north of Toronto) where the Jewish and Israeli community has been growing rapidly in recent years. In this geographic location, in addition to Diasporic Jewish community businesses, many Israeli businesses, such as food establishments and travel agencies, add to the ethnic landscape. However, Jewish schools and synagogues, which the Israeli community benefit from, are supported by the Jewish community establishment.

The settings for my data collection consisted mainly of non-institutional community settings such as homes, cafés, and restaurants. With reference to non-institutionalized community settings, I should emphasize that peer social networks play a very important role in socialization processes of adolescents, although these may prove

difficult to define. In addition, some institutional community settings such as schools, synagogues, and libraries were also part of the study.

While my research was site-based and setting-specific, it is important to bear in mind that the phenomena referenced by my participants have not been, as anticipated, confined to this defined site and these defined settings. As geographical and national boundaries have become more blurry, concepts such as *transnationality* and *deterritorialitiy* have emerged to explain related phenomena. Drawing on concepts such as *transnationalism* and *contact zone* in my ethnographic research required a refinement of the concept of *site*. As LeCompte (2002) reflects,

> The question then becomes, "What happens when ethnography no longer is grounded in real geography?" For the future, ethnographers will need to examine ways to study diasporic cultures which are located in many sites and which take place on many levels—while remaining true to the ethnographer's mandate to search for patterns amidst the irregular and dramatic occurrences that punctuate daily life. It may also have to focus on phenomena which are not explicitly site-based (p. 288).

Indeed, as Marcus (1995) observes, there is another mode of ethnographic research which "moves out from the single-sites and local situations of conventional ethnographic research designs to examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space" (p. 96). More importantly, "This mobile ethnography takes unexpected trajectories in tracing a cultural formation across and within multiple sites" (p. 96). Thus, in this study, I use the notion of *translocality* (Appadurai, 1995, 1996; Brickell & Datta,

2011) to capture the migration and transnational experiences and narratives located in multi-site/multi-space of generation 1.5 Israelis and the relationships of/between these sites. That is, I see their "stories of migration and movement as inherently spatial, linking different places at different times through a series of corporeal and subjective journeys" (Brickell & Datta, 2011, p. 6). For example, one locale that was featured in the narratives of the participants was the notion of "the home-(land) and its connections to different geographic scales. Home as a concept is primarily understood both as a physical location of dwelling as well as a space of belonging and identity" (p. 6).

3.3.3 Participants

I employed purposeful snowball sampling to locate Generation 1.5 Israeli-born immigrants. As Merriam (1998) explains, "Purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (p. 61). I used my connections as a secondary school teacher and as a member of the Israeli community to recruit potential participants. Some of the participants were recruited directly by me; others, through a third party. For example, one day I went to a synagogue where most of the members were English speaking Canadian Jews. When I heard two young adults speaking Hebrew, I approached them and introduced myself both as an Israeli and a researcher. This is how I recruited Adam and Tom.

The cohort of generation 1.5 Israeli immigrants who took part in this research comprised young adults 18 to 37 years of age who were between the ages of 11 and 16 at the time of their immigration to Canada. Twelve generation 1.5 Israelis participated in the

present study, 7 males and 5 females. Seven of the participants attended public schools, and five attended Jewish/parochial schools. All of the participants are university educated (except one who returned to Israel) and some of them have professional degrees. The demographic in this study was diverse, reflecting the heterogeneity of Israeli society as a country of immigration. This diversity, inter alia, includes (a) differences in ethnic background, that is, Ashkenazi (European origin), Sephardic (also termed Mizrahi; Middle Eastern and Oriental origin), and Russian (former Soviet Union; refers to the immigration waves of the 1970s and 1990s); (b) differences in religious affiliation, that is, Orthodox (strictly observant), traditional (maintaining some religious practice), and secular (non-practicing and/or non-religious); and (c) differences in socio-economic status (SES), that is, lower, middle, and upper class.

As noted in Chapter 1, for the purpose of this dissertation, I consider generation 1.5 as those Israeli immigrants who were born (or arrived as babies) and were raised in Israel and have experienced some formal schooling both in Israel and in Canada. For that reason, the participants constituted also Russian Israelis who came to Israel as babies. Although I am aware of the complexity of this group, I chose to include them in the study. This, I believe, contributed to the authenticity of the research and the naturalistic aspect of it. In other words, if potential informants corresponded to my definition of generation 1.5 immigrants they were invited to participate in the study.

Table 1 provides an overview of the social and demographic characteristics of the participants. In order to ensure confidentiality, all the participants are identified by pseudonyms. They all were offered to choose their pseudonym name which some did.

Moreover, since the Israeli community in Toronto is relatively small, and even more so the number of generation 1.5 Israelis, I felt obligated ethically to change other details in order to ensure added protection for the participants of this study. I made sure that these details had no pertinence and did not affect in any way the interpretation and the analysis of the data. For example, I used general descriptions of professions of both participants and their parents. For the same reason, I did not specify the ethnic origin of the participants by country but rather used the general referents *Ashkenazi, Sephardic*, and *Russian.*

Table 1: Generation 1.5 Israeli Immigrant Youth Profiles

Name	Sex	Age	Year of migration	Age at migration	Ethnic background	Religious background	School in Canada
1. Sima	F	19	2005	15	Sephardic	Secular	Public
2. Nili	F	18	2004	13	Russian	Secular	Jewish
3. Leora	F	22	2003	14	Russian	Secular	Jewish
4. Karen	F	21	2001	11	Ashkenazi	Secular	Public
5. Dana	F	24	1998	13	Sephardic	Orthodox	Jewish to Public
6. Tom	M	22	2004	16	Russian	Traditional	Public
7. Adam	M	19	2004	13	Russian	Traditional	Public
8. Roni	M	18	2003	11	Ashkenazi	Secular	Jewish
9. Michael	M	34	1988	15	Russian/ American	Secular	Jewish
10. Guy	M	30	1988	11	Russian	Secular	Public
11. Oren	M	34	1987	13	Ashkenazi	Secular	Jewish
12. Ben	M	37	1989	16	Russian	Secular	Public

3.4 Data Collection

3.4.1 Interviews

In this study, I used interviews as a primary data collection strategy to gain access to Israeli youths' perceptions and attitudes toward both their language and immigration experiences. As Fetterman (1998) points out, "The interview is the ethnographer's most important data gathering technique. Interviews explain and put into a larger context what the ethnographer sees and experiences" (p. 47). I conducted in-depth interviews with 12 generation 1.5 Israelis in Toronto. Each interview consisted of a set of two interviews approximately one and one and a half hours in duration respectively. However, some interviews exceeded the designated time and number of interviews. In some cases, I conducted three or four sessions with the same interviewee. Also, two interviewees took part only in the first set of the interview, unable to commit to the second part of the interview for personal reasons: one participant returned to Israel and the other had to take care of ill parents. The interviews were conducted in different locations and times according to the participants' preferences. The locations where the interviews were conducted are: the interviewer's home, the interviewee's home, the interviewee's workplace, the public library, the café, and the school. Some of the interviews were conducted during the afternoon and some during the evening both in the middle of the week and on the weekend.

Interviews were of the semi-structured, sequenced variety, that is, the same set of questions was used for all the participants, in the same order (Schecter & Bayley, 2002). This said, I reserved the right to exercise some discretion with regard to adapting the

protocol to accommodate the immediate needs of the interview; and some questions varied according to the responses provided by the participants. The language of the interview (either English or Hebrew) was the choice of the interviewees; interestingly, all of the participants chose to speak in Hebrew. Borrowed English words were used both by the participants and the researcher, and in some cases code-switching was more evident. After transcribing the interviews (in Hebrew), I translated them into English. However, the use of English is presented in *italics* in the direct quotations of the participants throughout this dissertation.

I structured the interview protocol (see appendix A) in a way that stimulated the respondents to tell their personal stories of identity construction and socialization experiences as well as to share their feelings and attitudes towards different reference groups. The first section sought to document personal and familial information with regards to immigration to Canada—information such as number of siblings and year of immigration. While I was gathering key information I intended also to put the interviewee at ease and create rapport. Next, I introduced a general question to the interviewees about their immigration to Canada before moving into the topic-specific questions. I hoped that this question "Can you tell me about your immigration to Canada?" would trigger significant memories, emotions, thoughts, and reflections associated with their immigration and socialization experiences (Norquay, personal communication). The rest of the questions were divided into the following categories: Language/s; Schooling; Peer Group and Social Activities; and (Trans)National and Cultural Identification.

During the interviews, I followed K. Anderson and Jack's (1991) advice to the effect that "we must remember that the researcher is an active participant in qualitative research" (p. 19). I also attempted to immerse myself "in the interview, to try to understand the person's story from [his/her] vantage point" (p. 19). Furthermore, I considered other challenges in the process of the interviews. For example, difficulties in the process of communication in the interview may apply to both the speaker and the listener (Rosh White, 1998) as both play a role in this act of narrative: one to articulate, the other to interpret. Rosh White explains that "communication about experience is constituted by shared symbols and is embedded in cultural practices. It is a social transaction" (p. 173). As an insider—a member of the Israeli community—I share reference points and cultural symbols with my informants. However, I am also an outsider—an adult who does not belong to or share in many aspects of youth culture. The meaning of the narrative thus emerges through mutual efforts of both speaker and listener—the interviewee and the interviewer—to negotiate this meaning.

3.4.2 Participant Observations

As Fetterman (1998) reminds us, "Participant observation is immersion in a culture" (p. 45). In this ethnographic project, my immersion in the transnational Israeli community was on two levels, more specifically, my role in the participant observations was both of an insider—sharing the culture of generation 1.5 Israelis—and outsider, an ethnographer, moving back and forth between participant and observer. The new role I took on as a participant observer in my own culture group was both challenging and rewarding. As a member of this culture, access was more available to me to research

generation 1.5 Israeli immigrant youth. Yet, it required, what I would call *mental work*, to be consciously alert and constantly attentive to both roles of a researcher and group member. More importantly, I made sure not to allow ethnographic opportunities to escape. For example, I was sitting in a café when two adolescents entered the place. As I heard them speak in Hebrew, I approached them and engaged in small talk. Through this phatic communication, I was able to gather information: I learned that they were recent immigrants to Canada, and they were looking for a social place where they could mingle with other age group peers. Specifically, they asked for a place that they could play sports (not in a league) the way they used to do in Israel. I have to admit, though, that the new role of ethnographer affected my membership participation in the community. For example, while in some public and social events I participated as a community member, in others I participated merely for the purpose of collecting data for this study.

The purpose of the observations was to observe the focal participants and other Israeli immigrant youth to study their culture and the context of their daily lives. As noted above, it was through participant observation that I was able to recruit some respondents for this study. I observed them in various settings. The observations took place in and outside of homes. In homes, I observed them interacting with family members, and noted how they spent their time. I used field notes to record these observations and document regularities.

I also created opportunities for participant observation with the focal participants beyond the interview sessions. This said, I did not engage in an equal amount of participant observation across all the focal participants. In addition, I observed other

generation 1.5 Israelis (different age groups) for brief periods. The observations of key informants took place in different locations, specifically, restaurants, synagogues, home, and workplaces.

3.4.3 Documents and Other Sources

While my main data collection strategies were interviews and observations, documents provided important supplementary data (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). To broaden my knowledge of the generation 1.5 Israeli group, I collected and studied various texts to complement other data: personal documents such as emails, and popular culture documents, such as news reports and TV programs. Following the interview sessions, I kept contact with most of the participants on different levels. We used the telephone for short and long conversations; as well I used email. At times I initiated the contact and at times the participants did. We used these communication devices to schedule interviews but also to exchange information. I also followed the weekly Israeli newspaper *Shalom Toronto* published in Hebrew (with an English section). I searched for information about the transnational Israeli community in general and generation 1.5 in particular. I also followed the *Canadian Jewish News*. Similarly, on a regular basis, I searched the internet for information about Israeli emigrants in general and generation 1.5 Israelis in particular. I created a file with a collection of information: articles of newspapers from Israel, articles from Diasporic Jewish communities (mostly in the United States and Canada), studies by Jewish/Israeli institutions about Israeli emigrants, websites of and for Israelis abroad and demographic survey (e.g., UJA, Toronto). This data collection strategy allowed me to uncover the in/visibility of the transnational Israeli community in general

and generation 1.5 group in particular with reference/in relation to the Diasporic Jewish Community.

3.5 Data Analysis

To prepare qualitative data for analyses, recordings of interviews were transcribed. Transcriptions of interviews and other data, more specifically, observational notes, field notes, and documents were organized into categories that recorded regularities and patterns related to the research questions (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). I established coding categories by examining the data for patterns and topics (Bogdan & Biklen). Data relating to the same case were grouped to yield profiles of different immigrant youth's experiences and observations. In addition, comparisons were made across individual participants. One comparison involved a process of comparing the experiences of generation 1.5 Israeli immigrants who attended public schools with those who attended private Jewish schools.

An important dimension of my approach involved a constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), an inductive approach that, in the words of Heath and Street (2008), "cuts to the past and to the future of the topic or area under study" (p. 32) by focusing on behaviors that can be documented, compared and analyzed through various theories. In this regard, a multi-directional approach was especially crucial. Since I am not aware of any published research focusing on generation 1.5 Israeli immigrant youth in Canada (or in any other place), my findings lacked the availability of a direct comparator. One key research strategy was therefore to compare my study's findings with those from research studies of other immigrant youth groups, such as Chinese and

Latino, where there is a rich pool of both diachronic and synchronic analyses. Another important dimension of my constant comparative perspective involved life course approach which "aims to understand human development within a changing sociohistorical context" (Martin, Schoon, & Ross, 2008, p. 180). Researchers following such an approach may elect to follow the same group in different periods of their life (e.g., Anisef, Axelrod, Baichman-Anisef, James, & Turrittin, 2000; Lahelma, 2002). For example, Anisef et al. (2000) undertook a longitudinal, multi-phased and multi-modal research process which began its first phase in 1973, and followed one Ontario secondary school graduating class into their adult lives. Drawing on life course theory, the researchers argued "that in order to understand how social change has transformed the transitions made by adolescents in Canada as they move into adulthood, we must examine and learn from the experiences of previous generations" (p. 16). Accordingly, Anisef et al. (2000) emphasized that "the changing passages to adulthood can be better understood by looking at the experience of different cohorts" (p. viii). It should be noted that the "different cohorts" in their study refer to the same group of participants in different life stages, i.e., age categories.

With regard to the in-depth interviews, I should note that while I used retrospective interviews to reconstruct informants' pasts, asking participants to recall personal historical information, I took into consideration Fetterman's (1998) caution that "this type of interview does not elicit the most accurate data" because "people forget or filter past events" (p. 40). In response, however, I offer Biklen's (2004) observation that "memory is intrinsic to ethnographic work because memory is part of the human

experience" (p. 728). I took into consideration that what we remember plays an important role in our constructions of identity. Following Norquay's (1998) emphasis on the importance of capturing the "said and the unsaid, the remembered and the forgotten" (p. 181) in personal stories, I was sure to be attentive also to the unsaid, for example, lack of reference to Canadian society and Canadians was noticeable. I also paid attention to the use and frequency of responses such as "I don't remember" and the contexts (the question) in which these were said. I took into consideration instances when participants initiated or offered information which was not solicited. Similarly, I considered the velocity of speech (Portelli, 1981) as well as the changing of tone of voice (low/high pitch), including laughter in the interpretations of informants' narratives. For example, Oren, a 34-year-old professional, who immigrated to Canada at the age of 13, frequently used the phrase "I don't remember" or "I really don't remember" in response to questions about his immigration experience and integration. Interestingly, such phrases were usually combined with a lower pitch and offered little information. In contrast, however, when Oren used higher pitch he offered much more and richer information.

3.6 Limitations of the Study

In contemplating the limitations of this study: clearly, my interpretations of the data could be biased—influenced by my insider status as a member of the studied cultural group. It is also possible that the participants answered my questions in the interviews in a way that they thought I expected.

In addition, the participants' self-reports were used as a method to collect data on the influence of parents, teachers, and peers. Clearly, individuals in these alternative roles

were not provided an opportunity to respond to informants' perspectives. More studies could be carried out to triangulate the findings of this study by exploring other perspectives such as those of parents, teachers, and peers.

Originally, I had considered using the additional data collection strategy of conducting focus group interviews. However, given the delicacy of some of my respondents' circumstances, I decided to limit data collection to individual interviews for the sake of confidentiality.

Clearly, the results of this study may not be generalizable because they issued from a relatively small sample. However, as I was interested in in-depth examination of lived experience of individual immigrants, I was able to gain better analytic insights drawing on qualitative research methodology than I would have using a broader approach with a larger sample.

I should also note that although the question of gender was addressed in this study, it could be further elaborated. Future research might explore gender differences among immigrant youth more specifically, and the role that this dimension plays in their trajectories of socialization and identity construction.

CHAPTER 4

UPROOTED IDENTITIES: CONTEXTUALIZING THE MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

The phenomenon of emigration from Israel is not new; nonetheless, it has been an oversensitive subject within Israeli society discourse. The underpinning of the Zionist ideology on which the Jewish state was established has placed an onus on Jews around the world to immigrate to the historic Jewish homeland in order to establish a modern Jewish state in Israel. While the state struggles to bring in Jews from around the world, Israelis leave—an act of antithesis to the Zionist ideology of settlement in the Jewish land. Thus, the government and society have traditionally disapproved of Israelis who leave the country to live elsewhere.

Following this public discourse in Israeli society of disapproval of emigration from Israel, Israeli emigrants in the past felt guilt or shame because of the social pressure. However, recently the Israeli discourse about migration has changed for various reasons: one reason is a change in the national ideology. Looking at the history of the kibbutzim can tell us somewhat about the history of the country. The Israeli state was established on a socialist ideology, and the popularity of the kibbutzim exemplifies this phenomenon. However, over the years the kibbutzim have evolved from collectivist-socialist societies to more individualist-capitalist ones. The same has happened in the general Israeli society. In tandem, people are less ashamed to leave Israel and less so to declare their reasons.

This chapter contextualizes the migration experience of Israeli immigrant youth. First, I describe the reasons for immigration as well as the facilitative role social networking for the Israeli immigrant youth and their families. Second, I discuss the psycho-social consequences of immigration, in particular, attitudes of Israeli immigrant youth to the life changes thought about by their immigration odyssey and ways of coping with the ruptures in their lives. Finally, I illustrate some transformations in Israeli immigrant youths' identifications with regards to cultural artifacts.

4.1 Socio-political Context: Migrating Identities

4.1.1 Reasons for Migration

The push-pull theory (Lee, 1966) is helpful in highlighting reasons for migration by examining push-factors in the sending country, such as unemployment, low standard of living, and security uncertainty, and pull-factors in the receiving country, such as better economic opportunities, higher standard of living, and safe environment. Usually, there is an assortment of reasons for migration. These reasons most likely affect the settlement process and the quality of integration in the new country. My respondents' accounts portray the common reasons given for Israeli emigration. The first reason for leaving Israel is the security situation. Since its inception, the state of Israel has been fighting to defend its existence. The security situation is complicated for several reasons. On the one hand, a mandatory service in the military for three years where security conditions are constantly tested brings on the risk of death. On the other hand, terrorist attacks on civilians in urban centers expose Israelis to the risk of death. These constant conditions take its toll on society: stress, tension, fear of death, mandatory military

service and continuous service in the military reserve. The second reason for leaving Israel is to live closer to family members (immediate or distant relatives) who have emigrated. The third reason is to improve one's standard of life—to live a "better life." The fourth reason for leaving Israel has to do with career and professional development, which generally involves taking up an academic or professional opportunity.

Sima, 20 years old, immigrated with her parents, Israeli-born to emigrants from Arab countries, and her younger sister to Toronto in 2005, when she was 15 years old. Although her parents originally planned to immigrate to the United States, they changed their plan following the terror attack on September 11, 2001, as they thought being accepted into the United States may be more difficult. Sima pointed out only one main reason for her family's migration: "primarily the security situation in Israel which deteriorated dramatically, that's all." Sima does not have male siblings; and so fear of military service was not an issue. Rather the security atmosphere in general and the terrorist attacks in particular motivated her family's move.

Michael, 34 years old, is an only child who immigrated with his parents to Canada in 1988, when he was 15 years old. Both his parents were immigrants to Israel: his father emigrated from South America when he was a teenager, and his mother emigrated from Russia when she was in her thirties.

> My father preferred to go to a warmer country, he wanted to go to South America, but my mother decided that the family will come here. In principle, I think the reason was that my mother did not want me to go into the army, and she also wanted to be closer to her brother who lives here.

Michael's being an only child may explain why his mother wanted him to avoid military service. The choice of Canada as the destination of migration was additionally motivated

by Michael's mother's wish for family reunification with her brother. Although Michael's mother has a sister in Israel, she "has had always better relationships with the brother than with the sister."

Similarly, Leora's story also revealed family and security as reasons for migration. Leora, 22 years old, immigrated to Toronto with her parents and her younger brother in 2003, when she was 14 years old. She and her parents emigrated from the USSR when she was a year old. While her maternal family immigrated to the United States, her father chose to immigrate to Israel. Her father was an ardent Zionist and he did not want to leave Israel; however, her mother wanted to leave in order to be closer to her parents and brothers who live in the United States, but also because of the security situation in Israel. According to Leora's account, her mother manipulated her Zionist father into leaving Israel by using the security situation as an excuse to emigrate. Although the original plan was to immigrate to the United States for the sake of family unification, Leora's parents chose to immigrate to Toronto. As a result of a visit to both the United States and Canada, Leora's father found Canada to be more attractive. Canada is still closer to the United States than Israel, according to Leora's mother.

> The main reason was because of my mother. Her parents and brothers live in the U.S. and she missed them very much. My mother got married at the age of 18, my parents got married and I was born a year later. My father wanted to immigrate to Israel immediately after the wedding, and my mother said, "in a little while, in a little while," and then, like, he forced her, and then we moved to Israel when I was about a year and a half. When we lived in Israel, my mother did not see her parents and brothers, and she missed them very much and wanted to be in a place closer to them. They moved directly from Russia to the U.S. . . . What she did—she tried to say that because of the security situation [in Israel] she is afraid when, like, "my children walk in the street." At that time there were many terrorist attacks, there were very many terrorist attacks, and my mother, paranoid, was afraid when we were outside and went for a walk that we would not come back

> home. In my opinion, I am pretty sure, this was not the major reason, kind of a secondary reason, and she used it as an excuse. . . . So we decided to immigrate to the U.S., but my parents did not like the U.S., so they decided on Canada. My mother simply wanted to be close to her family. . . . This [the U.S.] was the original plan, but they visited [the U.S.], and my father did not like it at all: "Everything is dirty here, noisy, it is really disgusting." We have distant relatives here, one uncle, so they came to visit him here when they were in the U.S., and when they came to visit him here, they were like, "Wow, how green, how quiet, what civilized people! Well, the U.S., Canada, what does it matter? So Canada is better." So that is how it happened.

The security situation in Israel was also a reason for Roni's family decision to emigrate. Roni, 18 years old, immigrated to Canada with his native Israeli parents and his younger siblings (two brothers and one sister) in 2003, when he was 11 years old. Roni's family has some relatives in Canada; however, they were not the reason for migrating to Canada. The original plan of Roni's parents was to move to Canada for three years; however, Roni's account may explain the decision to stay in Canada.

> Y: Do you know what your family's reason was to immigrate to Canada?
> R: My father is a professional and he always wanted to specialize somewhere in the U.S. or Canada, and my mother didn't like the security situation, and this, this was exactly in the middle of the *intifada*, so she decided that the time had come [to leave]. As a matter of fact, we moved at first for 3 years.
> Y: I see. So what I hear from you actually are two reasons: one is security and one is professional.
> R: But it was mainly professional.

Although Roni noted two reasons for his family's migration—the security situation and professional development—he emphasized following my verification that the reason was primarily professional. This is also the reason why his parents chose Canada, particularly, for a professional program his father wanted to participate in. Interestingly, Roni's clarification and his emphasis on his family's leaving for professional rather than security reasons may be explained by the Israeli public discourse of emigration which used to

present Israeli emigrants in a negative light, as anti-Zionist. Yet, in the last two decades, this discourse has changed. On the one hand, the Israeli government has been developing relationships with transnational Israeli communities around the world; and on the other hand, Israeli emigrants have been more open and direct about their migration. Thus, as my interviewees told their stories, they appeared open and comfortable about pointing to reasons such as the security one, which is a sensitive issue within Israeli society. Roni, however, may retain some lingering discomfort about abandoning comrades at a time when their survival continues to be threatened.

Nili's account may also be influenced by the Israeli public discourse on security. Nili, 18 years old, immigrated to Canada with her parents and two brothers in the summer of 2004, when she was 13 years old, while the older brother remained in Israel to serve his military duty. Nili thought that the reasons for her family's immigration to Canada were the security situation in Israel and the desire for quality of life improvement, including opportunity for the children to advance educationally. Nili never heard her parents talking about this topic, as they always avoided it; yet, she noted, "I think, according to what I saw, we had a very good life in Israel, and there was no reason for us to move." It is not clear though what Nili meant by "a very good life." Was she referring to the socio-economic status of her family in Israel or to her own socio-psychological state? Nili also felt that "obviously this is for academic and security [reasons]." It may well be that Nili was confused about the reasons her parents chose to leave Israel and simply assumed security and life opportunities as likely reasons since these issues

dominated discourse in Israeli society at the time. Interestingly, Nili and her youngest brother returned to Israel recently and are planning to join the military.

Tom, 22 years old, and his brother Adam, 19 years old, immigrated to Canada in the summer of 2004 with their parents and their younger sister. Tom was 16 and Adam was 14 at the time of their immigration. Their parents who were born in Russia immigrated to Israel as children. Noteworthy are Tom's and Adam's accounts (in separate interviews) for the reasons for their family's immigration. Although both of them observed their parents' desire for a better life, Tom's emphasis was on pull factors while Adam's also included push factors.

> There is no specific reason. But it is because, since the time my father got married to my mother, he always tried to convince her to move here . . . to migrate to Canada. He looked for [it]. He didn't like the situation in Israel, because he was himself an immigrant [to Israel], he never liked the way the country is governed, he didn't like how things run in the military, and he didn't feel at home. And at the time Canada had a very good rating, like, as a country, number one in the world to live in. He always wanted [to immigrate], he has acquaintances, we have friends who live here. They always told him that it is better to live here than in Israel. So he had decided he wanted to move since the time he got married, but my mother didn't want to because my grandmother, her mother and family and everybody is there, so she didn't want to leave. . . . After 20 years of persuasion [laughs], they started the process [of immigration]. (Adam)

> I would say in general a desire for a different life, another *lifestyle*, a different style. My parents looked for a quieter place with economic opportunities of course, but mainly for us, so it will be easier for us both from an academic point of view and for life in general, and also for themselves—they had wanted it for a long time, they wanted to come here to live, they believed that the way of life here is more peaceful, more relaxed, with opportunities both economically and socially, and everything, so it was kind of a dream that they wanted to try to come here and live here. (Tom)

4.1.2 Social Networking

A popular practice among immigrants is their use of social networking to facilitate their migration process in the receiving countries. The existence of social networks such as family and friends may be a major reason for choosing an immigration location. All of the respondents told of friends or family members they knew in Toronto before their migration. Social networking was used for various reasons: to help to find a place to live, to find a job, to be a broker with the new society, for example, helping with local practices such as banking, to be a source of information, to help psychologically with adjustment issues.

Oren, 34 years old, immigrated to Canada with his parents and his two younger brothers in December of 1987, when he was 13 years old. His parents who were born in Europe immigrated to Israel as babies. Although Oren did not specify the reason for his family's migration, he did comment on the big social network his family has in Toronto, notably, his mother's "many uncles and cousins." Although Oren did not cite specific functions that the relatives performed with regard to finances or employment opportunities, it is clear that Oren's relatives did play an important role as a social resource to facilitate the family's settlement in Toronto as they met with them daily at the beginning. Oren, now a professional who works with immigrants, observes sensibly: "If someone comes and he already has a social network here or if someone has a job and family, it would be easier for him."

For Michael's family, the reason for choosing Toronto had to do with his uncle who helped the family with the residential arrangements. To ease the process of

Michael's family finding a place to rent, his uncle gave them his apartment while he rented another apartment for himself. This enabled Michael's family to withhold the provision of guarantors and proof of income stability, allowances not always available to new immigrants.

> Y: Where did you live when you arrived in Canada?
> M: We lived in my uncle's rented apartment; we moved to live with him.
> Y: Was it an apartment building?
> M: Rental building. He lived in that apartment, and then he rented another apartment and we stayed in his [first] apartment.

Tom's and Adam's parents' friends (two Israeli families) who have been living in Toronto for many years, also helped them. Their parents came to Canada two weeks before the children in order to arrange a place to live. Their parents' friends picked them up from the airport and hosted them in their house. When the children arrived, the family moved to their own apartment. Although most Israelis live in North Toronto, their parents' friends suggested that the family live closer to where they live in midtown "if you want a good area, Jewish area" where the public schooling is good. However, Tom and Adam's parents could not afford to buy a house in this area.

Nili's and Leora's families also used the help of relatives to ease their settlement in Toronto. When their family arrived in Toronto, their relatives helped their families with necessities such as finding an apartment, and furniture. Both families settled in an area in the northern part of the city. These relatives also connected the families with JIAS, a Jewish organization that supports immigrant Jews. Leora recalled that when her family arrived in Toronto and moved into the apartment "there were mattresses, these

distant relatives brought mattresses, and brought food to help during the initial weeks." As Nili explained:

> N: There were relatives whom they [my parents] knew more or less, distant relatives from the paternal side of the family, so they showed us more or less how to start life here. You could say that they helped us even more with our difficulties, with accounting, how to manage, how to run the house, banks, schools, hospitals, and all of these things, you know, that every new immigrant has difficulty with at first.
> Y: And where did you live when you arrived in Canada?
> N: In the [apartment] buildings; they're called the immigrants' buildings [smiling].
> Y: In which area?
> N: Bathurst and Steeles. . . . There are many Israelis there, and also many Russians; the majority are from Israel.

Roni also has relatives in Canada. However, his upper middle class family did not need support in areas such as work and housing, since they already had a house in Toronto which they had bought before their immigration, and they were financially and professionally established. Nevertheless, Roni's relatives played a familial and social role in easing his family's accommodation to life in their new world.

4.2 Psycho-social Context: Identities in Life Transitions

4.2.1 Identities Uprooted

The previous section reported on the immigration experience of Israeli immigrant youth families in relation to socio-political and economic factors. Clearly, the participants' accounts indicate planning and preparations before the immigration, such as reinforcing social networking.

This section reports on Israeli youth's experience of immigration as a psycho-social phenomenon. In this section, I discuss the implications of the passive role of children in the crucial decision to migrate. Children generally do not have a say in the

decision to migrate; nor do they take part in the preparations for this extended process which may affect both the quality and the pace of their adaptation to their new environment. In addition, mixed emotions toward the migration may develop: on the one hand, feelings of uprootedness and disconnection and, on the other hand, a sense of embarking on a new adventure. One theme that emerged in the course of the interviews had to do with an evolving or dynamic understanding of the significance of the migration: at first, some respondents regarded coming to Canada as a trip, a temporary event, not realizing that the relocation was intended to be permanent. Respondents locate the beginning of their migration experiences in Israel, the home country, or country of origin. They described arrangements and preparations of their parents, immigrant adults, for an incredible life transition (C. Suárez-Orozco & M. M. Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Most of the time, the children took little part in the decision making, that is, their parents exercised their authoritative power in this important matter. Sima recalled the time in Israel before her family moved to Canada:

> Planning went on for a few years; my parents wanted to migrate to the U.S. and then they decided to change to Canada so time passed. So during this time I, simply, all the time was trying to persuade them [to let me stay in Israel]: "I can live with Grandmother, I can live with this [person]," maybe they can arrange a place for me to live here [in Israel], things like that. . . . They knew a hundred percent that I wanted to stay in Israel. They said, "No, you are coming with us." What could I do?!

For Leora, the immigration experience was also highly traumatic. From the moment she learned about it until today she has been overwhelmed with negative emotions toward her immigration enterprise. Like Sima, she was absent from the decision making; nonetheless, while Sima attempted to confront her parents verbally in offering an

alternative plan for herself, Leora was less confrontational and mostly repressed her emotions as a strategy to delay the inevitable.

> Y: What do you remember from your immigration to Canada?
> L: I remember that it was very difficult for me, I didn't want to accept it, I was very angry at my parents, and I told them so many times that I didn't want to talk to them, and they destroyed my life.
> Y: When you were here already or still in Israel?
> L: When we left, when I was still in Israel, I tried to repress it and I behaved as if we are not leaving until the last moment, and then on the last day, when we had to go to the airport, I started to cry and yell and I said to them that never in my life will I forgive them, and that they destroyed my life, and then they really had to drag me into the car.
> Y: But you had not arrived here yet. How did you know what it would be like?
> L: Just the fact that I had to leave my home, my life.

Throughout our conversations, Leora remained "emotional" in relation to her immigration to Canada. She expressed anger at her mother for taking her away from her country and had not yet come to terms with the reason for her family's migration.

> My mother simply wanted to be closer to her family, I love my mother very much, but in my view this is quite a selfish reason to take your family away from Israel because you miss your family, right? . . . Ninety percent of the [extended] family is in Israel. This was difficult, this is not fair.

And when I asked Leora if she still felt that "it is not fair," she replied, "yes, certainly, of course. I will never think that she [my mother] did the right thing, because in my view, this was not the right thing."

In her account, Nili also expressed the notion of passive participation of the child in the process of migration.

> I never thought this would happen, because you live in Israel, you think that you will never leave Israel, and suddenly you move to another country, this is like being born again, as simple as that. . . . To be born again is to come without your permission, without asking you, without appealing to you, nothing, saying to you, "Pack your suitcases, we are moving to another country," which is a different mentality, different customs, everything different, different holidays. Everything

> is different. And then, like, you have to make new friends, to learn the language, and to get used to the weather which we are not used to, because we like the heat, we got used to the heat and not to the cold, and also the people here are very cold, so yes, so in this way it was very difficult.

Dana underscored the element of migration at a critical age of adolescence, and also described the feeling of being uprooted. Because of her Orthodox and Zionist upbringing in Israel, she expressed negative feelings towards the act of "descending" from Israel. Leaving Israel represents an antithesis to the Zionist ideology of settlement in the Jewish state, and for Orthodox Jews, there is a commandment to dwell in the land of Israel. This ideology explains why Dana responded differently than her younger brother, 12 years old, who invited his 30 classmates for a good-bye party.

> I think I arrived at a very critical age where you already have plans for yourself. . . . I think this is the most critical age when you form your personality, your identity, your connection to a specific country, so this is very, very difficult when you are not there anymore. This was the idea of all the summer camps, the trips around the country. . . . And also my associations with this departure. . . . It was a sense of mourning, I even did not tell my friends out of shame, I told my closest friends only few days before I left. . . . Sometimes I ask myself if maybe this was my personality. I think I had a feeling that people will not understand me, and will think that it is a kind of a sin that you descend from Israel. And also my friends gave me a Star of David so I will not forget who I am, and such other nonsense, and this made an impression on me [smiling], and when I arrived here, I felt as if this is kind of a mission. I was not myself, an immigrant who simply has to look at the new place. I felt that this is temporary, that I will go back [to Israel]. . . . I think it was the age and the education, because the education influences you—you arrive after you did the youth movements and you were going to be a counselor and suddenly all your ambitions are not relevant anymore in the new place, *nothing to strive for*. . . . My younger brother, on the other hand, all 30 students of his class came to say good-bye to him.

Michael described his profound misunderstanding of the significance of his family's migration to Canada. Because of Michael's lack of preparation from his parents about the family's impending migration, he captured the relocation as traveling.

M: I thought about it, I thought "What am I doing here? Why am I not in Israel? I had better times," and this is what I was thinking then, of what I am doing here.
Y: In the first year?
M: Yes, in the first year, when we just arrived here, I thought at first that we will be here at the most a year or two and then we will go back.
Y: Why did you think so?
M: As a 15-year-old adolescent, I thought this is an adventure, we are having an adventure."
Y: But your parents didn't say that they are immigrating to Canada?
M: I didn't digest it [the idea] as immigration; they asked me, "So, shall we go buy tickets to Canada?" I said "fine." I didn't realize it will be for many years that we will be here, so it was "OK, we are going, let's see what there is there."
Y: Is this what they said or is this what you thought?
M: This is what I thought; the word immigration didn't come to my head at the age of 15. I had in my head more of an adventure, a new experience.
Y: And then you arrived here?
M: And then it is reality.

Only when Tom began his schooling in the new land, Canada, did he realize that his immigration was a reality—with all its consequences. Although Tom knew that for many years his father wanted to immigrate to Canada, he still did not fully seize the reality of the translocation when it was upon him.

> This is also a transition which you don't really internalize until you are really here. I didn't digest [the idea] that I am in Canada. I was sure that this was a *mini-vacation*, a short vacation. The moment starting to go to school when you start to feel everyday life, then you actually digest that you are in another country, in another society, even in a different culture from yours, a different mentality.

Nili conveyed mixed emotions towards her immigration. On the one hand, she expressed excitement about new experiences:

> I found it cool at first; I got excited about the first snow, about the school building, like physical education, to see such classes which are really different from Israel, like what you see in American movies, since Canada is actually part of North America. And that's it, it was simply cool.

On the other hand, for Nili, immigration to Canada was "very, very [difficult]. The first year was very difficult for me." In her narrative, she oscillated continually between these

two opposites. For example, although she described the language difficulty, she also attempted to present it in a more positive light related to the excitement of a new language.

> When I arrived in Canada it was very, very difficult. I didn't know what people were saying to me. This was a situation of *hi* and *bye*, this is what I knew how to say. And then, over the months I became more interested in knowing another language, and this excited me: "Wow, I have already begun to speak another language. . . . " And it was very difficult to get used to the language, but in the end I made it.

Similarly, Oren expressed mixed feelings about his migration to Canada. On the one hand, he experienced "an excitement of something new," but on the other hand, he experienced the shocking consequences of not being able to keep up his academic performance.

> I remember that this was the first time I was in an airplane. And the thing is that my mother has family here. What I remember, every day we met someone else I knew, because many of them visited Israel a lot. But I remember snow [smiling], this was in December. . . . It was something; it was more the excitement of something new. . . . After that in Rambam [raising voice] school, the first year everybody misses Israel, it was difficult. . . . I wouldn't call it a crisis, but, like, a difficult time. It was Grade 9 . . . Grade 9 was the most difficult one. This was the year of adaptation. One day I even told my parents to go back to Israel or something like that, this was only in Grade 9. At the end of Grade 9, when I also saw the grades, I was in shock: "What are these grades?" So I told my parents, "What if we go back to Israel?" I asked them if the intention is to be here a year or more than a year. I don't remember what the answer was [smiling], because the fact is that we have stayed.

When Adam arrived in Canada at the beginning of July, he was excited about a new place, a new language. He appreciated the improved standard of living. However, when he began his school, he met a substantial challenge that involved his struggle with a new language. His strong trust in his parents was an important tool that he relied on in overcoming these hurdles.

> Yes, in fact, I remember that the beginning was sort of exciting, because after all I was in a new country, and for some reason I got excited, I don't remember why, maybe because of English, maybe because of the standard of living, I am not sure why, but I got excited. But on the other hand, when I started school, it was very, very, very [emphasizing] difficult. . . . There were sometimes moments that I thought, "What do I need, what do I need this here? In Israel, what did I miss?!" You see, but there were moments when I said, "I am sure my parents know what they are doing, I trust them; whatever will be, will be." I tried to concentrate on the positives more than the negatives; this is, like, what pushed me, more or less.

Guy remembered his excitement of seeing events and objects that he became familiar with in Israel like the G.I. Joe doll represented in English. As Guy explains,

> The experiences of migration, I don't know, I haven't thought about it. I'll tell you the truth, when I arrived here, I was 11 years old. It was very exciting to go to a new place. I remember when I left the airport, I remember it until today, you see snow outside, everything is white, it was at the peak of winter here. . . . And it was, it was very exciting to be here, it was very exciting to see all of this, it was exciting to go to Toys R Us the first time and to see all the toys, and to see "G.I. Joe: A Real American Hero" in English, and things like that.

As Guy admits, the excitement he experienced at first faded over the years. Notably, throughout the interview, Guy actually reported on the diminishment of the excitement and the increasing "routine"ness of the difficulties of his experience.

4.2.2 Identities in (E)motion

In comparison with the previous text, which presented responses of Israeli immigrant youth to a major life transition, immigration to Canada, this section considers psycho-social consequences of moving to a new milieu on Israeli immigrant youth. How did immigration affect Israeli youth socially and psychologically? What was the psycho-social price tag for migration? In this section, I consider immigrant youths' ways of dealing with new emotions as a consequence of their migration and the effects of these coping strategies on their identities. Also affecting immigrant youths' identity

development are the daily demands and life style choices that they face. Inevitably, then, the accounts in this section exemplify changes in patterns of behavior and attitudes.

On a visual level, Israeli immigrant youth move from a country of warm weather and long summers, where children spend much of their leisure time outdoors, to a country of cold climate and long winters, where children spend most of their time inside the home. In this regard, some of the respondents emphasized the notion of being an "outdoor" child in Israel and the transformation they went through in Canada to being an "indoor" child. This factor, coupled with the language barrier, contributed additionally to immigrant youth finding themselves isolated, without a social circle.

Guy describes how he gained weight after he arrived in Canada. He recounts that he did not eat in the first month, and then his parents bought him a lot of "commercialized food," junk food, pizza, and Kentucky fried chicken. As a consequence of his weight gain, he did not feel good about himself, a factor that dissuaded him from going out and contributed to his becoming an "indoor" boy.

> Y: How did you spend your leisure time?
> G: In my childhood or now?
> Y: When you arrived in Canada.
> G: In front of the TV. It's not that I was going out a lot. First of all it is a new atmosphere; it's the snow, things like that. I was an "outdoor" boy, but when I came here I didn't have many friends, with time I had friends in junior high school, so I was spending time with them here and there. You know most of the time inside, video games, TV, let's say here I became an "indoor" boy. If in Israel I was an "outdoor" boy spending all my time outside, reading a lot of books, and things like that, I was a "book worm" in Israel, I arrived here and I went to the other extreme. I was at home all the time, I gained weight, and I simply became an "indoor" boy. I didn't want to go outside. . . . Yes, a more internal boy. Also I was not sure about myself, which is not really related to the immigration; it's related more to the weight gain than the immigration. I am sure this [immigration] also had a part [in it].
> Y: You gained weight, you say, when you arrived in Canada?

G: Yes, I gained a lot of weight.
Y: So it bothered you?
G: Yes, I think, I suppose it bothered me.
Y: And when did it stop bothering you?
G: What day is it today?
Y: Today is Wednesday [smiling].
G: Then it still bothers me.
Y: You are not fat.
G: OK but I am not skinny.

In addition to eating more and staying home, as a consequence of this major life transition, immigration to Canada, Guy used writing as a strategy to cope with his emotions. For Guy, the use of writing as a therapeutic instrument for expressing emotions enabled him to release stress and pain. In the following excerpt, we see how Guy used fantasy to ease the adaptation process.

> G: Ah, what I forgot, what I forgot, I think it is actually very important. Around the age of 14 and 15, I wrote a series of books, an exact copy of Hasamba [children's book series], much simpler, and with action. Later it became more swearing and more sex—adolescence. And I also wrote a book before that called *They Didn't Ask Me*. The book told about someone—it is a book in three parts—who was uprooted from Israel and arrives in Toronto and his life in Toronto until returns to Israel.
> Y: How did you come to write about it? This is very interesting.
> G: Because I wanted, I wanted to write it.
> Y: Did you write what you were feeling?
> G: Of course, and also what my friends felt and sensed.
> Y: It means that at that time you were feeling you wanted to return to Israel?
> G: Yes, I told you, until the age of 18 everyone wants to return to Israel.

Other participants also reported similar changes in their lifestyles using the terms *indoor* and *outdoor*. Sima also reports finding herself inside the house most of the time in Canada. She recalls watching TV a lot, specifically Israeli TV, using the internet, and also developing new hobbies in order to keep herself busy in the house.

> Y: How did you spend your leisure time in Israel and in Canada? Did you have hobbies?

S: Israel outside, Canada inside the house most of the time, also if I had friends. In Israel my school was near my home, and I had many friends whom I knew from primary school and they lived close to me, and we would go on foot. And here because I was very dependent on vehicles and also because the place is very cold, and everything is very far, and I don't know anything here, which places of entertainment—in general there are not places of entertainment, something interesting—so I had a problem with going out. So let's say I was maybe going to sleep over at a friend's house, or I was going to someone's home or people were coming to my house, but not more than that, this is what was here. In Israel I was outside all the time. Friday evening we would go to the mall, we have a mall with a lot a lot of grass. We would goin to Café Aroma or something like that, and then we would walk around with my friend's dog . . . just such fun. In Israel it is also not that cold.
Y: Hobbies, what you like music, sport.
S: In general I can tell you what I like, but I don't know if it is relevant. The truth is that here in fact because here I was in the house more, I had to keep myself busy of course, so I began to make these cute stickers which are put on windows and mirrors, I used to make a lot of those. I began to knit, I began a million things. I also began to cook. These are all things which simply once I was already in the house I had to keep myself busy somehow. I doubt if in Israel I would have begun cooking if I had stayed. I would have kept myself busy with other things.

Like Guy, Sima also gained weight. In fact, she represented herself as "fat" during our interview, a viewpoint with which I certainly do not agree. Notwithstanding, Sima cited depression, excessive eating, and weight gain as direct consequences of immigration. In Sima's words,

S: Here, I gained weight while in Israel I was very skinny. There is a lot of junk food here. I was eating out of depression. Here you will find 20 or 40 percent fat. At some point, it creates also mental laziness: "I am too tired to move." . . .
Y: Why did you start to eat here more?
S: Because of depression, and also because I have a tendency [to gain weight]. I was skinny after a diet as I was a little chubby, but now I am fat. . . . I gained a lot, a lot. As a consequence, it gave me a sort of powerlessness.

In his interview, Adam pointed out that not much has changed since his arrival in Canada. Nonetheless, he acknowledged watching a lot of TV at first, although now he spends more time on schooling.

> In Israel I would come back from school, I would play on the computer, I would always play with friends, a lot of soccer, basketball, mainly sport. And here it was more computer, more TV, you come back from school it is already dark, this is the change.

For Tom, the social vacuum created as a consequence of his immigration to Canada affected his emotional well-being. Notwithstanding his stress, like Adam, he invested in his school work and language learning.

> And this also affected the everyday mood. Sometimes I would get into a kind of depression; it is not fun to come back home from school. The mentality is very different. In Israel you finish school, and there is something after school: friends, telephone [talk]. Here it was not like that. I used to return home, at home sitting hours and hours and translating all the material really, it was a really difficult challenge.

Adam also reported that lack of English proficiency made it difficult for his brother Tom and him to interact socially; that is, the two brothers with "no language, no friends" experienced loneliness in the social arena.

> Friends—that was difficult, was difficult [emphasizing]. How can you communicate, how can you be a friend of someone if you cannot communicate with him? Also again, as I said, in terms of mentality, different mentality, the way you see things, it is not the same. In the first year, I was mainly with my brother; we were wandering around, we were quite lonely.

How long does it take immigrant youth to adapt in the new country? According to participants' accounts, the answer varies. Common across all respondents is the centrality of developing proficiency in the societal language: As immigrant youth improved their English fluency, they were capable of increasingly interacting socially and building social networks. In this regard, it is important to note that this process is not necessarily linear but can be spiral, hence, number of years may not be an indicator for adaptation. Guy's example is informative. Temporarily, Guy descended into excessive drinking; yet he was

still able to work responsibly. What caused his psychological doldrums? Was it leaving college? Was it missing Israel? Was it a process of self searching common to youth?

> G: After that I went to college . . . after that I left it; I didn't do anything for a year. I worked, I drank, I enjoyed life.
> Y: What did you drink?
> G: Water.
> Y: No, really, what did you drink?
> G: Water with a mixture of alcohol, so that was cool. . . .
> Y: And may I ask why you drank?
> G: I didn't have anything to do. I worked and I drank.
> Y: Like all young people. But you didn't drink beyond?
> G: No, it was not related to Israel. I missed Israel.
> Y: With no connection to Israel.
> G: No, simply, you know, like all young people, I tried to find myself. I went to live downtown like everyone else; I became a do-nothing like everyone else. I didn't like it, it was not for me, too much showing off in that they are not doing anything, and it was boring.
> Y: And how did you manage financially?
> G: I worked [fast and confident voice]. I worked a lot. I worked 40 hours a week. I was a night manager at Shoppers Drug Mart at the age of 19. So it was fun.

4.3 Socio-cultural Context: Transculturating Identities

Notwithstanding the tension between secular and religious discourse, Israel, a developed country, is highly westernized culturally. Generally, Israeli youth are exposed to European and North American cultural artifacts—across music, sport, fashion, and film. In this section, I illustrate some transformations in Israeli youths' identifications with regards to cultural artifacts involving the performance arts.

4.3.1 Fashion and Style

Although Israeli fashion is Westernized, it is more in keeping with European trends; thus, when Israeli youth immigrate to Canada they transform their dress code to accommodate the Canadian fashion style. For some, this change was more drastic while for others it was minimal. When I asked "What did you wear usually to school [in

Canada]?" many respondents reported a change in their dress code. As the following accounts will show, female participants who were more fashion conscious than male participants were influenced by European fashion. Thusly, all the female participants transformed their fashion in order to adapt to tastes in Canadian culture. On the other hand, most of the male participants reported a minimal change. Oren, for example, indicated that he "was not different than others." Roni, who was aware of the Israeli style, indicated that he always preferred to dress like an ordinary Canadian. As he stated,

> I was not so big with tight shirts, *tight shirts* or tight pants. Many times Israelis go with shirts that are smaller or the sleeve is higher or the pants are tight, this is a style, more European.

However, Adam changed his fashion sense following what he observed his peers wearing in Canadian schools, although, as Adam explains, the change was not drastic.

> Y: What did you use to wear to school?
> A: *Casual*, what I wear now, t-shirt, it depends, in the summer I used to wear *t-shirt* and *jeans, short jeans* or you know *anything else*, something like that. In the winter I used to wear a coat, I used to wear a *sweater* under it, nothing special, like all the [Canadians].
> Y: Did you dress like the Canadians?
> A: Over the years [smiling].
> Y: What does that mean?
> A: If you look at the Israeli style it is more a European style, tighter [clothes], tighter jeans, more chains, and different kinds of *accessories*.
> Y: This way you used to come [to school] at the beginning?
> A: At the beginning, yes, because I still had the Israeli mentality. With time, I didn't feel I belonged. I don't know if it is that I didn't feel I belonged; I think it is, like, *unconscious*, you soon start [to say], "No, Mommy, I don't want this, I want this." Then when you go shopping alone, you already don't need to ask your mother, and [you say to yourself], "This I like better, this more, and this looks better on me."

Clearly, Nili recognized the difference between the European style prevalent in Israel and the North American style she observed in Canada.

> N: [It was hard] to adapt, people suddenly make a face when they see you. It is the mode of dress, Israelis, their attire is really elegant, if these are jeans, they invest in themselves, and hair, and make-up, and here everyone is so simple, ordinary, they don't really care about the *look*, it is more like, "I am for myself," and each one is in their own bubble. . . . At the beginning, this was in the summer, jeans, regular t-shirts a bit more elegant, cute buttoned shirts, and that's it.

Clearly, the adaptation to Canadian fashion was not easy for Nili and occurred gradually.

> Y: Did you feel that fashion here is different than in Israel?
> N: Sure, sure, there is no comparison to Israeli fashion. We are very advanced in Israel in terms of *brands*, like brand names, and here to see them, how they simply get up in the morning, and put on whatever they see, without even washing their face properly, it was a little strange for us.
> Y: Have you changed your fashion style?
> N: This year, I can say that this year I also don't care anymore [smiling].
> Y: What do you mean this year?
> N: This year, this year. Then, I used to take care of myself all the time, take care of my beauty all the time, not only me, also many other people I know, Israelis like me, but the Canadians are still simple, casual, they don't really care about the *look.*

Similarly, Leora remembers a strange feeling in her first year in Grade 9, as the clothes she brought from Israel were discordant with what she observed here: "Wow, this was also a big shock, what they wear here." She recalls:

> On the first day, I saw one girl with what they call sweatpants, and I thought "What is this? She got up with her pajamas and came to school?" And then, I saw that all the girls sit in the classroom like that, and it was very strange to me how they were dressed, and I brought my clothes from Israel and it was very different.

Although Leora admitted she was aware that Canadian girls also wore jeans, she underscored that in her school, girls wore sweatpants most of the time, while she wore jeans every day as she did not have other pants. Also t-shirts were different, as they were printed and colorful while the Canadians in her school preferred basic colors. These differences brought to the fore her Israeli identity in negotiation with Canadian cultural mores. That is, Leora saw her Israeliness represented through her clothes. She associated

changing her clothes with changing her identity; and, at first, she did not want to change, as she reports:

> And I also did not want to change, I wanted to remain "Ho, I am Israeli, I must remain Israeli, I must remain the way I am." It did not bother me; I think I actually quite liked it that my clothes are a little different so they will appreciate that I am not one of them, ugh, something like that.

However, over the years Leora's style has changed for various reasons, although she still prefers Israeli fashion. It took her at least a year or two to change her style, and concomitantly transform her identity. As she conveys,

> And over the years I began to dress more and more like them. And now they will not recognize that I am not dressed like a Canadian. . . . Over the years, it has changed, because I had to buy clothes here, and also because there is nothing you can do, because peer pressure actually forces you to start dressing like everybody. So, now I wear these *leggings* like them and long shirts. . . . Because it is very comfortable [laughing], because I am fed up, I think I haven't worn jeans for years now. I only wear these *leggings* and long shirts, and that's it, because it is comfortable, I cannot go with jeans because it is not comfortable. This [the leggings] is like pajamas, I don't care [laughing] that they are like pajamas, but *sweatpants* I did not wear at all because it is strange, no? Because they are training pants, they are for sport, or [I wear] dresses if I go out somewhere. But otherwise it is only *tights*.

In addition to the above, it should be noted though that Leora experienced another and more extreme transformation during her senior years in high school: she became part of a Gothic subculture and adopted its unique dress mode of all black (the consequences will be developed in Chapter 6).

Sima, in comparison, did not follow the dominant Israeli fashion—European style. Rather, she wore a big earring on her nose and dressed slovenly. When she immigrated to Canada, she carried on with her idiosyncratic style for a while. However, when I met her in her first year of university (fourth year in Canada), she was dressed

casually, in unmarked Canadian style, without the nose earring. Clearly, Sima's style changed since she immigrated to Canada, a transformation process encouraged in part by other Israeli expatriates.

> I don't dress well, period. My taste is so terrible that even in Israel it raised people's eyebrows. It is not that there is the style of Israel and the style of Canada; there is so-called "my style." I used to wear baggy pants, wide, torn pants, because I am short and because I was too lazy to cut the hems of pants that were torn at the bottom. The older people usually would call it [dressing like] a worthless person. And also here I raised eyebrows. I used to go with torn shirts where you see the shoulders. . . .
> Y: And how did they relate to it?
> S: Raising eyebrows, not talking about it too much. Only the Israelis, an Israeli girl, also one Israeli boy who did not stop criticizing me "why don't you dress well? Aren't you embarrassed?" [imitating]. He used to say, for example, "You need to fix your hair better, it's too much like that, dress normal, put this, do that," but this was annoying and not constructive criticism. And there was an Israeli girl who tried to change me. It was not a tomboy style but it was less feminine. It was tacky and a slovenly way of dressing.

For Dana, the change was drastic as it accompanied an identity transformation from religious to secular which involved a different dress code. Dana represented her new secular identity by wearing pants, for example, a mode which is not acceptable for females in Jewish Orthodox culture. Moreover, with her new secular identity, Dana experienced a good dose of North American youth subculture when she transferred to a public school in her last two years of high school. Dana explained,

> Yes, this is what I did in high school when I began *to reinvent my identity*, become someone not religious. *I went with baggy pants*, I had short hair which I colored in red. All that I was missing was a guitar. Yes, I joined a *trend. It is a subculture, the punk rock kind of culture.*

However, when she graduated and moved on to university she gave up this punk style because, as she explained, "No, in the university everyone returns [to mainstream]; it is not in the university."

4.3.2 Music

Israelis who live in Israel listen to all kinds of music. Israeli radio plays music in both Hebrew and English among other varieties such as Greek, French, and Turkish. Israeli music itself is influenced by many other musical traditions, for example, Arabic melodies and American rap music. On the radio, TV, or the internet we can hear many different musical genres in different linguistic varieties. I was interested in knowing whether following the migration Israeli immigrant youth changed their musical preferences.

Adam admits that he does not have much knowledge about music. In Israel Adam used to listen to Israeli rap. Here he listens to songs on the radio—rap, hip hop, and a little bit of rock. Most songs are in English. Only sometimes does he listen to songs in Hebrew—when his brother Tom plays a song in Hebrew. According to Adam, "Tom is more connected; his heart is still there [in Israel]." In comparing himself to his brother Tom, Adam indicates that he is less "connected" than his brother; and his change of musical preference from Hebrew to English songs confirms his reported dissociation from Israeli culture.

Dana who had a religious upbringing in Israel was not exposed to foreign music; it was forbidden. Part of Dana's identity transformation in Canada from a religious to a secular female involved a change in musical preferences. Dana explains,

> D: When I arrived in Canada, I felt I had a real culture gap, not in my junior-middle [Jewish] school, but in the [Jewish] secondary school. It was mainly *pop culture, Britney Spears*, and then when I went to *public school*, I connected to all the rock *types*.
> Y: And this is a music you liked?

D: Yes, also because I liked it, and also because I had to choose between all the people there, and when I connected to them, I began to connect with the music.
Y: This means it was part of your learning process?
D: *It is a subculture,* such a culture among students, or you listen to hip hop or you listen to rock, everybody is divided by the music. and then we went to such parties, indie rock, new bands which just come out.

Sima has always listened to Israeli music, and she still does. Although Sima has not changed the language of the songs she listens to, she did change the music style. As she states,

> In Israel I used to listen more to rock, kind of young, stupid, metal, Israeli music only. I don't like English music, it's incongruous. I used to listen more to very angry and jumpy music, metal and such. But now it is more calm and quiet, but again, it is still very Israeli. And I still must listen to Israeli music; again this is a very significant part; I listen to Galgalatz [radio channel] or others in order to get a bit more.

In contrast to Sima, Roni has always listened mostly to music in English, in Israel as well as in Canada. However, like Sima, his music taste has changed. As he pointed out, before he moved to Canada he did not have "well-developed taste in music," and now he likes "rap, pop, rock and reggae, and also *classical music.*"

Oren has not changed his music preferences. In Israel he used to listen both to Israeli and English music, and he still does in Canada. As Oren points out, with his immigration to Canada obviously English songs were available to him through Canadian media; however, Hebrew songs were accessible to him. Oren compares the present time to the time of his migration in the end of the 1980s when the internet was not yet available. Then, in order to continue to listen to Hebrew songs, Oren, like other Israeli immigrants, had to obtain tape cassettes or discs in different ways such as buying these materials during visits to Israel, or getting parcels from Israel, or when visitors from

Israel came to Canada. Today, with the internet Oren has a choice of music with a click of a button.

> Because then it was not like today—you go to the internet and you download songs. So here the radio was English, then when we visited Israel or someone came here he would bring maybe 20 tape cassettes or discs, what was available at the time, and it was not accessible as it is today. Today, music in Hebrew, I sit here and I can listen to Galgalatz [radio channel], no problem.

In Israel, Tom used to listen mostly to music in Hebrew. Now he likes all kinds of music. When he immigrated to Canada he began slowly to listen to music in English. He explains that as he "began to listen more to the radio here in Canada," he became exposed more to songs in English. As Tom reports, the internet is an important tool for him in accessing Israeli music. Interestingly, for Tom, listening to English songs is a random activity while listening to Hebrew songs represents a deliberate activity that Tom links with cultural identification. Israeli music for Tom is a transnational practice through which he reproduces his Israeli identity. Tom noted about Hebrew music,

> Yes, mainly in the computer and discs we brought with us from Israel. I did not have much time, but if there was something popular or something I liked which my friends emailed to me, I would listen to it, or I would download from the internet. The songs I would listen to in English were more from the radio, what was popular at the time, so this was random, but the songs in Hebrew were something I knew or I brought with me or something they emailed to me.

Similarly, Guy cultivated his transnational identity through Israeli music. He used to listen to the Toronto Israeli radio on Sundays when his father was listening to it although he did not care for many of the Mizrahi [Middle Eastern] songs. In his first five years in Toronto he listened mostly to Yehoram Gaon [popular Israeli singer]. Later on, he was introduced by a friend to other types of Israeli music, pop and rock, which he liked even

better; hence he began to connect more to Israeli music and to listen a lot to Hebrew songs.

4.3.3. Sports

There was no specific elicitation in the interview protocol about sports. Nonetheless, the topic of sports came up during the interviews with all male participants directly or indirectly. Sports is definitely a cultural representation. Israeli sports are represented by soccer and basketball, popular games also in Europe, in comparison with American and Canadian sports culture which is represented by hockey, baseball, and basketball. Yet, not everyone identifies with sports. The accounts presented in this section illustrate the role of sport in the transculturation of five male participants.

When Guy immigrated to Canada, he was not familiar with hockey and baseball which are not played in Israel. As Guy explained, he did not connect to "this Canadian mentality of children who only care about baseball and hockey." Transculturation for Guy meant entering into relationships with other males of his age who had strong interests in hockey and baseball. Because Guy did not share these interests, he "was considered an outsider." Guy, however, pointed out that he used to play tennis, an individual sport. In reflecting on this choice in the interview, Guy recognized his choice of an individual sport versus team sport as a consequence of the adaptation difficulties he encountered.

Oren has been playing soccer, the popular Israeli sport, the entire time he has been in Canada. In the Jewish secondary school he attended in Toronto where he was part of the soccer team, he was introduced to floor hockey. While this is not ice hockey, it is still

hockey and therefore considered Canadian. According to Oren, there is still a league with players in the Jewish Canadian Center. Oren has kept up his participation in athletic activities: "Today I do a lot of sports, twice or three times a week; one time it's soccer, one time it's floor hockey."

Over the years in Canada, Tom and his brother Adam have not developed interests in the main North American sports. Nevertheless, Tom reported on going ice skating with his brother, a new Canadian experience for them both. Tom regrets not having participated in any sports activity during his secondary school years because, as he reflected, this may have facilitated his socialization. Adam, on the other hand, was introduced to the Gym during his secondary school years. He used to go to the gym often accompanied by a friend. Adam found the Gym a good place to unwind and rid himself of the stresses of adaptation. With time, he developed this hobby of working out into a professional interest that he decided to pursue in his postsecondary studies.

Roni continues to play basketball and to ride his bicycle, both popular sports in Israel. Following his immigration to Canada, he took up snowboarding, a winter sport that he associated with Canada. In addition, Roni likes to watch sports on TV, more specifically, basketball and football, sports that are popular in Canada. Football, that is, North American football, is not a sport played in Israel. For Roni, as for the other males who developed a proclivity for North American sports, sports such as football and snowboarding were acquired in the "contact zones" in which they moved in their New World country. We turn now to an examination of the primary "contact zone" in which Israeli immigrant youth underwent their language socialization.

CHAPTER 5

NEGOTIATING THE TRANSNATIONAL CONTEXT:

IDENTITIES IN BETWEEN

5.1 The Diasporic Jewish Community as Contact Zone

As noted in Chapter 1, Israeli immigrants to Canada tend to live within the margins of the Diasporic Jewish community. What is the significance, if any, of associated practices for the integration of Israelis into Canadian society? For many Israelis, to integrate into Canadian society means to integrate into the Jewish community. That is, from an emic perspective the scale of success of their integration is measured by their successful integration into the Jewish community. Moreover, as participants in this study report, Israelis tend to position the Jewish community as representative of Canadian society at large (see next section), while reference to the societal dominant culture is almost non existent or more subtle. In other words, the Diasporic Jewish community constitutes a contact zone where Israeli and Canadian cultures come into contact. Recognizing the role of the Jewish community as a contact zone may explain, at least in part, the complex and ambivalent relationships and asymmetrical power relations between the Diasporic Jewish community and the transnational Israeli community (see also Chapter 1). Important to emphasize, however, is that the Jewish community is considered a minority group in relation to the general Canadian society as reflected in the Canadian census, making the Israeli community a minority within a minority. This

section, then, illustrates what it means for Israeli immigrant youth to socialize into Canadian society, and, more specifically, into the Jewish community.

When I asked Guy about his immigration experiences and his adaptation to Canada, he noted,

> My adaptation to Canada was very difficult, not to Canada, more to the Jewish community in Canada. I was disconnected from this community, and I was also disconnected from the Israeli community.

Although the question was in reference to Canada in general, Guy's response was specifically in reference to the Jewish community (and the Israeli community, as will be discussed later). Noticeable throughout Guy's narratives is that the Jewish community has had a strong role in his lived experiences in Canada. There were many times during the interviews that Canadian society was absent from respondents' narratives. Indeed, where I referred in my questions to Canadians, Guy responded as if I was asking about Jewish Canadians.

> Y: Did you try to be Canadian?
> G: I don't think we tried to learn to be Canadians. We were ourselves. Again, this is the teenage years. I don't think that we knew who we were. As well, I think that the Canadian Jews themselves didn't accept us really. We were not integrated with them. It doesn't mean everybody. There are Israelis who integrated very well. If you go through the Canadian framework, the Canadian framework is very simple, the Jewish framework. The framework is like this: *camps* in the summer, if you go to *camps* in the summer, you build the framework there. From the *camps* in the summer you go *Hebrew school or after school*, but the moment you are in such a framework, then you integrate yourself in the Canadian community, the Jewish community. But, then, we didn't do it, so we were completely disconnected from it, so we really didn't want to, we didn't care.

While Guy's response refers to the Jewish community, he positions himself as subordinate without agency to negotiate his integration, and the Jewish community as an institution with the power to do so: "Canadian Jews didn't accept us." Additionally,

Guy's response illustrates the socialization strategies Israelis take in order to integrate into the Diasporic Jewish community, namely Jewish schooling and summer camps. It should be noted, however, that statistically Jewish Canadian students who attend Jewish schools and summer camps represent a relatively small percentage in relation to the Jewish population. Nevertheless, these themes seem to embody a dominant discourse within the Jewish community, which Guy recognized. Guy's response also suggests that there is confusion on his part regarding what his identity in Canada is. As one can see, his identity appears to be two dimensional, namely that there are just two choices of identity, Israeli or Jewish, with no reference to Canadian or hybrid options. As Guy highlighted in his narrative, because his trajectory did not include Jewish schooling and camps, it took him more than a decade to develop a sense of belonging (still ambivalent though) to the Jewish community.

Confirming Guy's view with regard to socialization into the Jewish community, Roni describes the role of a Jewish school in the development of Jewish identity and the process of socialization of Israeli youth into the Jewish community. However, in contrast to Guy, Roni did go through this path of Jewish schooling and summer camps which he associates directly with facilitating his integration into the Jewish community.

> R: But I think here [in a Jewish school] is a *very good environment.*
> Y: Does it mean that Israeli youth who arrive here would feel more comfortable here? Should Jewish school be considered?
> R: I think it is indeed important, because otherwise they lose very much of their identity. If they want to keep it—not everyone thinks it is important, but if they want to keep a Jewish identity, to be in contact with Jewish people all the time, it is important for them to attend Jewish school. If they want their circle of friends to be mainly Jewish, then they must attend either Jewish school or Jewish summer camp; otherwise they will not have many good friends who are Jewish.

Indeed, for Roni the process of integration has been successful. Yet, it is important to highlight the nonlinear direction of the integration trajectories of Israeli immigrant youth. While Jewish schooling is one determinant, it is not always sufficient unto itself to facilitate the socialization of Israeli immigrant youth. The other participants who attended Jewish schools and did not attend summer camps did not integrate into the Jewish community to the extent that Roni did. For example, Leora who attended Jewish school did not perceive any socialization benefits but rather social hardship. For that reason she wished to leave the Jewish school and move to public school, an option she never realized because her parents did not allow it. We know that there are Israeli children and youth who begin their Canadian schooling in Jewish schools but end up in public schools because they did not adapt, Dana, for example. No doubt, Roni's economic capital that afforded him the opportunity to attend sleepover summer camps played a key role in his socialization success as these venues, with their many social activities (sports, dancing, drama) are important socializing arenas.

Adam's account is an example of a negative socialization experience within the context of the ambivalent relationships between the Diasporic Jewish and Israeli communities, where Israelis' attempts to integrate are rejected by the hegemonic Jewish community or its representatives. When I asked Adam if the idea of attending a Jewish school came up, he explained,

> Yes, as a matter of fact there was the idea. At first they wanted, this is funny, because my parents went to check one Jewish school, and my parents said that they are not the richest in the world, something that I remember, like my parents explained to them that now we are in the Diaspora, it is much more difficult to maintain their identity, so they said to them, "If you wanted your children to stay in a Jewish environment, why did you come here at all?" And they said it as a

> kind of an insult. Like, my parents came to ask for help, and this is how I feel, and that's it, and this is what happened with the Jewish school.

So Adam and his two siblings attended public school when they arrived in Toronto; however, after several years, his parents were able to send the youngest sibling to a Jewish secondary school. To exemplify the relationships between Israelis and Canadian Jews, Adam used his sister's experience in her Jewish school.

> According to what I heard, they don't really like each other. My sister told me that in the school let's say, because she is embarrassed sometimes to tell that she is Israeli, she would not speak Hebrew, she doesn't want them to know that she is Israeli; this is not because she is embarrassed—there is a stigma about the Israelis that they are like this and that, and she said, "I am not like that, if I would tell them that I am Israeli, they would look at me right away like that, probably I am like them, like the other Israelis." . . . There is a stereotype about Israelis that they are rude and like that, and she didn't want this stigma.

Adam empathizes with his sister, and understands that because she came at the age of 9 "she sees things differently, maybe less connected to Israel."

The synagogue is another important contact zone where the Jewish community provides a social space for Israelis to socialize into the community. The synagogue plays an important role within the Diasporic Jewish community as a religious as well as a communal center (in comparison with Israel where its main role is to foster religious practice). Therefore, for Israelis like Tom, Adam, Leora, Karen and Michael, attending a synagogue created a contact zone with the Diasporic Jewish community. Shortly after immigration to Toronto, Tom's family began attending a small synagogue near their home. According to Tom, being involved in the Jewish community means "going to the synagogue, and creating social relationships." Tom recalled,

> At first we went to a small synagogue and we had a feeling of belonging. We still miss it. With time we began to observe the Sabbath. I was a reader of the Torah,

and I felt that it would be more appropriate to observe the Sabbath. In Canada, a synagogue is also a matter of community.

The small synagogue Tom and his family attended fostered intimate and close relationships with other attendees. In addition, Tom's knowledge of Hebrew was appreciated in the synagogue; hence he became the Torah reader. Having moved to another neighborhood, Tom and his family now attend a bigger synagogue. They still miss the old one; however, in the new neighborhood Tom takes advantage of different events, in particular events oriented toward young adults.

5.1.1 Diasporic Jewish Community: Societal Dominant Culture Representation

In the above section, I noted that the socialization of Israelis to Canadian society usually occurs within the Diasporic Jewish community. In this section, as well as the subsequent two, I address the question: why? It is worth noting here that the positioning of Israeli immigrant youth echo that of Israeli immigrant adults. This section describes the representation of the Diasporic Jewish community as dominant Canadian culture.

In his secondary public school, there was no interaction between Tom and other Canadian-Jewish students, although, as he pointed out, they were represented in large number in the school. Tom positioned the Canadian-Jewish students with the other White Canadians; he did not distinguish between these two groups although he was aware of their ethnic and religious differences. As he stated:

Y: When you say Canadians, what do you mean?
T: Not immigrants.
Y: There are Canadian-Canadians and there are Canadian Jews.
T: As far as I am concerned, there was no difference, there was no difference.

Tom was able to distinguish between Canadian Jews and non-Jews through religious artifacts such as a man's *kippa* [head cover]. For Tom, recognizing Orthodox Jews was straightforward; yet to recognize secular Jews or Jews from other religious denominations was more difficult as they did not have visible signifiers. Thus, narrowing the definition of a Canadian Jew was important for Tom in order to be able to respond properly to the interview questions. Nonetheless, when taking the religious parameter out of the equation, Tom did not position his co-ethnic Canadian Jewish peers as Jews.

> Y: So except for the religious issue, how do you relate to Jewish Canadians?
> T: When you say Jewish Canadians, do you mean *observant* or not?
> Y: In general. A nice question though. Who in your view represents Jewish Canadians? This is also a question.
> T: I will tell you why, because I came from a secondary school in which there was a very deep-rooted and very established and affluent Jewish population, and they were not religious [Orthodox]; well I know they are Jewish, but if I would come from the outside, I would say they are completely Canadians. . . .

Similarly, Adam positioned the Canadian Jewish students as "Canadian-Canadians" representing the dominant society. Adam elaborated on the commonalities between Jewish-Canadians and "Canadian-Canadians" in his school in terms of social practices.

> The difference between Jewish Canadians and Christian Canadians—there is no real difference. Jewish Canadians, they still have the mentality of Canadians, they love baseball, they don't like soccer; the difference between them is the actual fact that they are Jewish. If you compare Jewish Canadian to Israeli, I see it the same as [comparing] Canadian-Canadian to Israeli; if you look also at school between Canadian-Canadian and Jewish Canadian, maybe there is a difference in smallest things between them, but they still behave the same: laugh at the same jokes, love the same sport, probably hang around the same place after school. There is no difference between them except the single fact that they are Jewish.

Jewish Canadians were represented as "Canadian-Canadians" by Adam and Tom and other participants. According to Adam, Jewish Canadians are differentiated from

Canadian-Canadians only by their (census) ethnicity. Weinreich (2009) suggests that "those people of a particular ethnicity (and common heritage) tend to share in the cultural values and beliefs that make them distinctive from those of another ethnicity who share other values and beliefs, thus the terms 'ethnic identity' and 'cultural identity' in practice tend to merge" (p. 125). However, Adam's and Tom's accounts do not validate this shared cultural values and beliefs hypothesis. On the contrary, they exemplify the common cultural values of Canadian-Canadians and Jewish Canadians who do not share their ethnicity. This is why, in reference to Canadian society, Dana stated: "When I think about the Canadian society mainly what comes to my head is the Jewish community in Toronto," which she did not feel connected to although she was concerned about the importance of being part of it.

5.1.2 Diasporic Jewish Community: Class Representation

Tom described Canadian Jewish peers in his secondary public school as "a very deep-rooted and very established and affluent Jewish population." The Jewish community in Toronto is perceived by Israeli immigrants as a wealthy community, although in reality there are poor Jewish members. The representation of the Jewish community as wealthy creates disparity between the two communities—an unsafe social space of asymmetrical power relations—where Israeli immigrant youth feel generally ill equipped with linguistic, economic, and symbolic resources as compared with Canadian-born Jews. As I show in Chapter 6, and as noted above, the ethnic commonality does not seem to solidify relationships between these two groups. In their accounts, the

participants describe their perceptions of Jewish Canadians as being of high social economic status (SES).

Adam did not connect with and feel a sense of belonging with the Canadian Jewish students in the public school he attended. He explained:

> A: Like, Canadians [students], we did not talk eye to eye.
> Y: No?
> A: I did not connect with them at all.
> Y: Not Canadian Jews and not Canadian-Canadians?
> A: In particular Jews I did not connect with, because I did not feel I belong.
> Y: Can you elaborate more?
> A: They were all wearing, for example, brand names, and were coming with such big vehicles. . . . It is not that it bothered [me], it is not that I was jealous, but I was looking from the side, and, it really hurt me to see, like, the way my people behave, they turned up their noses a little bit, I did not feel comfortable with this. . . .

Interestingly, Adam felt less comfortable with Canadian Jews than with "Canadian-Canadians." As suggested by Adam during the interview, behavioral differences between the Jewish Canadians in his school and himself were also a cause for social distance and feelings of not belonging which may allude in part to class differences (feeling of socio-psychological insecurity as a result of economic insecurity). Yet, although Adam felt that he did not belong to this group, he, nevertheless, referred to them as "my people."

Similarly, Ben did not interact with Jewish Canadians in his secondary public school although, as he pointed out, they were represented in large numbers. When I probed for the reason, he explained,

> We tried, it did not work. There was nothing in common. We had no money, they had. The clothes they were wearing, they were wearing *Roots*, we were wearing simple brands. They had new cars, we had junk.

Nili, who attended Jewish school, had to use public transportation (bus) to get to school. She had to take two different buses, which she resented, especially in the winter or when the bus was crowded. I asked her if she noticed the children who come by car, whose parents drove them to school. Nili commented,

> It looked a bit strange at first, because in Israel there are not such things. I thought they were spoiled and such, but after I realized the distances here are so great, then it was like "right, right, it is reasonable," you could say that I even was a little bit jealous. Yes, because to see them with their fancy cars, and their parents, these rich people, excuse me, all the time taking care of them [children], and they are not independent at all, all the time they depended on their parents, and all the time the parents were like servants running around them, so I said to myself, "Wow, I also want to be like that," because we are actually not like that, it is not the same, it is not the same background, it made me a bit jealous.

Nili, like Adam, noted stereotypical class markers such as "fancy cars," and in addition pointed to child rearing or parenting style as another key class difference.

Dana reported having some relationships with Jewish Canadian peers in her public school; however, she emphasized that these relationships were not based in any way on an ethnic or religious commonality: "It's not that I befriended them as Jews but as people." She explained: "Mainly we connected around music or things like that, our friendship had nothing to do with our Jewishness . . . they are not Jews like someone let's say who is in a Jewish school, because this is something else." Dana was up front about another factor that influenced her relationships with Jewish Canadians in the public school she attended:

> There are Jews and there are Jews. There are these ones who are Jews but they are not *JAPs* [Jewish American Princess], and they don't come from a very rich environment, I am sure you understand what I am talking about [smiling], it is a very specific style, either you are part of it or not, and most of the time, you don't want to be part of it, and if you are not part of it, it is really does not suit you.

Stereotyping most Jews as *JAPs* and wealthy, Dana withdrew from this Jewish group. The gap between her and Jews of higher class constituted an unsafe social space for Dana. The same stereotype of *JAPs* was also expressed by both Leora who attended Jewish school and Karen who attend public school: they did not get along with the kind of girls whom they referred to as *JAPs*.

Thus, SES contributed to asymmetrical power relations between Israeli immigrant youth and Jewish Canadians. This type of relationships between the subordinate and the superordinate is also reflected in *Lost in Translation* by Eva Hoffman (1989). In this memoire, Hoffman describes her lived experiences following her migration to Canada as an adolescent with her holocaust survivor Jewish parents. Like the Israelis in this study, marginalized by her subordinate immigrant status and her relatively low SES, Hoffman had to negotiate her identity in an unsafe social space where she came into contact with the superordinate culture:

> I decided to stop wanting . . . I can't afford to want . . . I'm becoming immune to envy. If I were to give vent to envying, there would be no end to that either. I would have to envy everybody, every moment of the day. But with my new detachment, I can gaze at what my friends have as if they lived in a different world. In this spatial warp in which I have situated myself, it doesn't make any difference that they live in big houses with large yards and swimming pools, and cars and many skirts and blouses and pairs of shoes. This way, I can be nice to my friends. . . . I can do so, because I've made myself untouchable (pp. 136–137).

5.1.3 Diasporic Jewish Community: Jewishness Representation

Another representation of the Jewish community perceived by the participants was with reference to the Jewish Diaspora. Israelis in Israel tend to self-identify in terms of their Israeli nationality and Hebrew language while Jewish identity is marginalized. Conversely, Diasporic Jews generally would self-identify in terms of Jewishness representing religious (of different denominations) and/or ethnic identifications. Although statistically there are more Jews who are secular and assimilated into Canadian society, the dominant discourse is of Jewish religiosity which is sustained through the synagogue (as both a religious and communal center) and/or of the ethnicity which is sustained through community membership and participation in communal organizations as well as the linkage to the promised land and the state of Israel. Thus, Israeli immigrants who come into contact with the Diasporic Jewish community learn to negotiate Jewishness beyond their Israeliness as well as to attach new meanings to their Jewish identification. Notably, there are dialectical relations between religious and ethnic categories of Jewishness. It should also be noted that the religious representations within the Jewish community is not like in Israel where the Orthodox rabbinate rules (although in recent years other denominations have been challenging the Israeli society status quo). In Canada, like in other Diasporic Jewish communities, Jews can choose from a variety of religious denominations. However, Israeli youth usually are not familiar with these distinctions, and largely my respondents did not refer to them. How, then, do participants interpret Jewishness in Canada with reference to the Diasporic Jewish community?

In Sima's public school there was a significant number of Jewish students. Following a question about differences between Israelis and Jewish Canadians, Sima explained:

> S: [Canadian] Jews are a very monotonic people, when you say Canadian Jews it is not simply Jews; there are lots of Jews here who are Orthodox, you know, the Jews I saw they're dresses, they're hats. It is not simply Jews, it is Jews in the *extreme*, no offence, I don't connect to it. . . . This is anyhow the people I saw. I don't know a Canadian Jew who is not like that.
> Y: What about the public school you attended? Weren't there Canadian Jews?
> S: Actually, wait, Wow, I don't know for some reason I repressed them just now, I think, no, no, forget all of what I said, I don't know why I disregarded these people. I don't know, for some reason I probably did not consider them as Jews. . . . I really forgot about them completely, I don't know how this happened, because they were with me in class, and I remember them saying [imitating female accent], "So my mother said to me that because it is Friday, I cannot go out, so I went out on Saturday night." I am completely in shock.

Interestingly, when Sima looked at the Jewish community she actually saw the Orthodox congregation; that is, in her view, the Orthodox Jew is a representation of the authentic Diasporic Jew. Although she encountered secular Jewish Canadians in her public school, Sima disregarded them because "the Canadian Jew is involved so much with the Christians," and so "their Canadianness took away from them their Jewishness." For Sima, when identification and performance features were not prominent, the boundaries between Jewish and non-Jewish seemed unclear; hence she did not refer to secular Jewish Canadians as Jews. Worthy of note, however, is that Sima herself is secular; and it is reasonable to assume that she was aware of the notion of the non-religious Jew. One explanation for this seeming disjuncture may have to do with the meaning of Jewishness and Jewish identity Sima was familiar with. In Israel, where the mainstream discourse is secular and at times even anti-religious, Sima practiced her Israeli identity while Jewish

identity was represented by others who professed religious identification. On the other hand, in the Jewish Diaspora, the mainstream discourse is about Jewish identity with broader meanings, including religiosity and ethnicity, entailed. It seems that Sima, based on her Israeli experience, identified Jewish identity with religiosity in terms of Jewish Orthodoxy. As Sima explained, "This is the only thing that came to my mind, all those with the dresses, and every thing, kippa [Jewish head covering], we had some with beards like that in school."

Leora, on the other hand, defined the Diasporic Jews more broadly; yet she also, like Sima, referred to the notion of religious Jew in terms of the Orthodox Jew. She perceived the Jewish community in terms of their religiosity as dichotomous—*either/or*. She explained:

> This is something I noticed from a religious perspective: Many Canadian Jews are either-or, either they are very Orthodox or they do nothing. And this is very strange, because in Israel I feel that there are many in the middle, so-called traditional, this is what I am, but here it is not like that. For example, if you don't look religious, then you are not *religious* at all; in Israel you can see more diversity with religion.

While Leora referred to the Canadian Jews as "either/or," she considered the Jews in Israel as diverse in terms of religion. It seems that like Sima she looked for external symbols of Jewish affiliation to identify religious Jews.

As noted earlier, there are Jewish Canadians who identify only with their Jewish ethnicity; hence they were positioned by participants like Tom and Adam and others as representatives of the societal Canadian culture. While Tom categorized his non-observant Jewish Canadian peers only by their Jewish ethnicity, he categorized other Jews by their religiosity and, like Sima and Leora, he referenced the Orthodox

denomination. Tom said: "in this area where I live now, it is different; there are more people so-called religious whether it is *light* [moderate] or not *light* or all the definitions." Tom, however, like Leora, was able to observe the religious diversity more as a continuum rather than a dichotomy but only within the framework of Jewish Orthodoxy. Likewise, Adam also positioned the non-observant Jewish Canadians as Canadian-Canadians to be categorized only by their ethnicity. However, when I asked Adam about more observant Jewish Canadians, he explained: "Then, they maybe have more affinity to Israel, maybe they know a little more Hebrew, and study more Torah [Bible], this makes the comparison to Canadian-Canadian, it is not the same anymore. They are in-between."

The above accounts show how the Diasporic Jewish community as a contact zone enables new venues of identity negotiation for immigrant Israeli adolescents in terms of new meanings of Jewishness in general and religious and ethnic characteristics in particular. In this manner, meanings of Jewish and religious identity in the Israeli state discourse interact with the Diasporic meanings of Jewish identity. In other words, participants negotiate new meanings of Jewishness as they are introduced to diverse Jewish religious denominations and practices. In this socialization process, the Israeli immigrant youth learn about the dialectic relations between religious and ethnic categories of Jewishness as part of their identity transformation.

5.2 The Transnational Israeli Community as Contact Zone

As noted above, the Diasporic Jewish community is heterogeneous, representing multiple meanings of Jewishness and what it means to be a Jew in the Diaspora. While Israeli immigrant youth undergo socialization processes within the context of the

Diasporic Jewish community in Canada, they also are socialized within the context of their own transnational Israeli community. The Israeli immigrant landscape reveals a diverse community with complex transnational practices with ties linking to the homeland, Israel, and the new country, Canada, where the Diasporic Jewish community plays an important role. In this section I describe the contact zones where Israeli immigrant youth (re)produce transnational identities as part of the processes of their socialization.

Notwithstanding the ambivalent relationships between Israeli immigrants and Canadian Jews, Israelis in Toronto have always used the services offered by the well established and well organized Diasporic Jewish community through its different institutions and organizations (mostly synagogues and schools). There are few communal enterprises, more in the area of folk culture, which are established and run independently by members of the Israeli community. Examples included the Israeli radio station, several folk dancing programs, and the Hebrew newspaper *Shalom Toronto*. Other enterprises, although they tend to be represented as Israeli, are in fact run and supported by the United Jewish Appeal (UJA). In recent years, the UJA has been supporting communal Israeli interests, for example, Kachol-Lavan (supplementary school for Hebrew and Israel studies), the Tzofim (Israeli scouts) and other programs for adults, youth, and children, and also making efforts to integrate Israelis into the mainstream Jewish community. Respondents' accounts demonstrate the role of such programs in serving as contact zones where Israeli youth experienced their socialization into the Israeli and the Jewish communities as well as their re-socialization to their homeland, Israel. They also reveal

the complexity of the re-integration of Israeli newcomers into their own Israeli community (see next section).

The Tzofim (Israeli scouts) program in Toronto, originally named Tzabar (a name of subdivision of the Tzofim), was established in the early 1990s by a group of Israeli immigrant parents with the support of the Jewish community (more specifically by the UJA). In those years, the program in its infancy could not offer ongoing programming in a consistent manner to the Israeli youth. Guy and Oren who migrated in the late 1980s were among the first Israeli youth to take part in the Tzabar program which was disrupted by recurrent closings and openings. As Oren recalled,

> Also in Grade 10 I went to, what was the name, not Tzofim, Tzabar, yes. I was also in Tzabar . . . in Grade 9, there was a session one time and another time there was not. In Grade 10, it began to be more serious . . . every time it was in another place, I remember.

For that reason, Guy and Oren could not take advantage of the social and linguistic benefits that such a program might have offered to young immigrants. Although Guy did not attend Jewish school or summer camps, he made an attempt to participate in the Israeli program:

> G: I participated in Tzabar.
> Y: You were in Tzabar?
> G: One year, and then I left, in Grade 8. It's maybe, really, also the return [use of Hebrew], maybe started a little in Tzabar. So Grade 8, and then I returned to it for about half a year later, in Grade 11 or 12, but I didn't get along.
> Y: Why did you leave in Grade 8?
> G: They closed for Passover, and then did not come back for a few years. It would have constructed a different framework for me. I liked Tzabar very much. It was right [for me].

While Guy participated in Tzabar for a short time, he had overall positive associations. He regrets that he could not continue in this program. The first time Guy joined the

program he enjoyed it; however, his return after several years did not produce for him the same benefits. As he recalls: "I did not get along." Nevertheless, Guy acknowledges that this program "was right" for him. He feels that "it would have constructed a different framework" for him. By this, Guy signals that continued participation in the program would have brought different experiences that would have facilitated his identity and social development.

In the early 2000s, the program, now named the Tzofim, was reconstituted under the seemingly more robust organizational leadership of the UJA with partnership of emissaries from Israel and members of the Israeli community. It has run generally without disruption since then. The program is designed for Hebrew language speakers, generally Israeli immigrant children and youth and children of Israeli immigrants (first and second generation). Sima and Karen, who both joined the Tzofim, recounted different socialization experiences.

For the first three years, before joining the Tzofim, Karen had no contact with either the Israeli community or the Jewish community. The Tzofim was a very important socializing agent in her acculturation and integration both into the Israeli and Jewish communities. It contributed to her social life, and offered her a social and linguistic safe space. She recalled:

> It saved me because suddenly I met Israelis. I met a lot of Israelis. All of a sudden, from the first session we planned to go out together, and it was like "wow." We did things that were a bit more important, I think. We were counseling the younger children, and we were doing things in the community. We were traveling to different places in the United States for seminars. Suddenly we were part of something a bit more important. It was very nice, really like a family. So it was really something that saved me because all of a sudden it was OK that we are here, like I was still not happy but it was fine.

> It was like part of Israel, the social part was really missing, and I don't know how I would have survived if I had not had it. It could be that life would have been much less fulfilling; and again to go back to the issue of Hebrew, it was simply really fun, it was kind of family-like.

Karen's participation in the Tzofim's different programs also instilled more self-confidence. Although at first she did not have any connection with the Jewish community, the Tzofim became a contact zone between the Israeli and the Jewish community: "It opened me also to the Jewish community here." Karen explained that as members of the Tzofim they participated in communal events and they were helping with different events which were directed at both the Jewish and Israeli communities. Interestingly, as Karen narrated, people from the Jewish community used to come to talk to them about the Jewish community, and the importance of the community. And also people from Israel also used to come to talk to them about Israel, the military, a volunteering program in Israel and other topics.

Karen appreciated the fact that the Tzofim was structured as a contact zone that offered experiences that facilitated socialization into both communities. She considers the Tzofim to be part of both the Jewish and the Israeli community.

> The community here, I like it very much. I know that at first according to my knowledge, they were not open to Israelis, the Jewish community here; I understood that only in the last six years [they opened up]; but I like it that they opened up, that they agreed to open things like the Tzofim and Kachol-Lavan, and things for Israelis because I think it is important.

Through her experiences in the Tzofim and her contact with the Jewish community, Karen learned that the Tzofim and Kachol-Lavan, represented generally as independent entities of the Israeli community, which are designed for Israelis and Hebrew speakers, are in fact supported by the larger Jewish community. Karen noted that "permission was

needed from the Jewish community," and emphasized that "The Tzofim and Kachol-Lavan are sponsored by the UJA, because you always see their logo."

Conversely, Sima's experience in the Tzofim was not successful. Shortly after Sima migrated to Toronto, she joined the Tzofim with much enthusiasm; however, her socially unsuccessful experience made her leave the Tzofim after a short time. Alternatively, like few other Israelis, Sima joined another youth program supported by the UJA and run by Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (JIAS). The youth program designed for Jewish immigrants was joined mainly by Russian Israelis. After a while Sima found that "there are normal Israeli people" there. One of the reasons Sima gave for her successful integration into the JIAS program was because "in JIAS it is less compelling, but the Tzofim is more a kind of an organization, it is kind of scary, it sounds more threatening; in JIAS whoever comes, comes and whoever not comes, not." This youth program, like the Tzofim, also offered opportunities to socialize into both communities, as the youth took part in various community events and volunteer work in both communities.

The fact that many participants in the JIAS youth program were Russian Jews and Russian Israelis, where the Russian language was often the language of communication, did not prevent Sima from taking part in the activities of the program. Although there were only two non-Russian Israelis in the program at that time, this did not bother her:

> But it doesn't matter, it's not like they speak Russian all the time. It doesn't worry me, like, "Oh my, they speak Russian and I cannot speak with them." Like they speak Russian, it's funny to hear, that's all.

Apparently, the sociability factor seemed to be more important for Sima than the language factor. In other words, the social safe space that JIAS provided for Sima's social interactions superseded the linguistic safe space the Tzofim provided for her. This program enabled Sima to extend her social networking because peers in the program introduced other Israelis from outside of the programs.

As Guy's and Sima's accounts indicate, they did not get along in the Tzofim and had to leave the program. Both reported consequently limited and more selective social interactions with other Israelis. Similarly, Dana found the Israeli social space not always safe. Alternatively, the multicultural design of the Canadian society has afforded these immigrant youth many interactional options. Israeli immigrant youth could look for a safe social space outside of their ethnic group. Dana who did not find comfort with her expatriate Israeli peers nor with her co-ethnic Jewish peers, explained, "And I went to the University of Toronto so I would not have to hang around with Israelis, especially, I did not want to hang around with Jews." It is not clear, however, if this is what Dana wished for to happen or this was the reality she confronted in the university.

5.2.1 Israeliness: "What Does it Mean to Be Israeli?"

In order to understand the socialization experiences and the diverse trajectories of the participants in this study, it is important to illuminate, at least in part, the meanings of Israeli and Israeliness which they translocated to their new homes in Canada. Popular (etic) discourse represents Israeli identity as involving two core categories: Israeli nationality and the Hebrew language. In contrast, a closer look reveals a complex conception with multiple constellations of meanings. During the past two decades, Israeli

society has been changing radically as a result of global and local processes. According to Kimmerling (2001), "seven different cultures and countercultures, without an accepted hierarchy among them" (p. 2) shape Israeli society today:

> The seven cultures, which are each presently in different stages of crystallization, are the previously hegemonic secular Ashkenazi upper middle class, the national religious, the traditionalist Mizrahim (Orientals), the Orthodox religious, the Arabs, the new Russian immigrants, and the Ethiopians. . . . This process is being complemented by another trend, the subdivision of Israeli identity, nationalism, and collective memory into many versions, with only a soft common core. The result has been not only a process of reshaping collective identity but also a continuous conflict over the meaning of what might be called Israeliness. (p. 2)

Today, as it was since the establishment of the state of Israel, Israeli society is still fragmented by ethnic, class, and religious divisions along Sephardic (or Mizrahi) / Ashkenazi (including Russians and Ethiopians) and religious / secular lines. Although, in addition to their national identity, many Israelis may self-identify as Jewish, the dominant public discourse in Israel is secular and, at times, anti-religious. For some secular Israelis, Jewish identity may be absent or silent, and for others it may be embedded within their national identity; for them, Jewish identity may privilege historic, ethnic, and/or cultural (usually religious symbols without the religious rituals) dimensions. On the other side of the spectrum, there are the ultra Orthodox Israelis who self-identify with their Jewish identity and not with their Israeli nationality.

With respect to their Israeli identity, participants in this study represent the diverse Israeli society in terms of their ethnic, class, and religious composition. For Roni, who is secular, Jewish identity does not comprise religious identification. He noted: "I don't really have religious beliefs so all my Jewish identity is mainly Israeli, my Jewishness is Israel and holidays." As noted above, the holidays celebrated by secular Jews are celebrated not as religious rituals but only as cultural practices. Acknowledging the secular representation of Israeliness and the tensions between secular and religious groups, Adam pointed out that "Israelis are more anti religion." Adam was raised in a more traditional home in Israel where Jewish religious allegiance was not foreign; nonetheless, he considered himself secular or non-observant when he was living in Israel. Following his immigration to Canada, he adopted more religious practices such as observing the Sabbath. This may explain his and other participants' perceptions of Jewish identity as embedded in the Israeli identity. He explained: "When you say Israeli, I see in [my] head Israeli who is Jewish. Israel is the Jewish people, for me Jewish Israeli or Jewish is the same, when I see Israeli for me is Jewish." Tom, who like Adam began to observe the Sabbath in Canada, also acknowledged his transition from non-religious Israeliness,

> As I see it, among many Israelis religion is not so central. Let's say an Israeli group [of friends] that I know, as far as they are concerned, there is no problem tomorrow eating meat in a non-kosher restaurant at the university. I will not get into such things, for me there is a line.

Dana, in comparison, who grew up in a religious home in Israel which did not represent the Israeli mainstream, adapted over the years to a more secular lifestyle in Canada. In her explanation, she complicated the notion of Israeliness, as she commented,

> I am Israeli, but I would say that the school [in Israel] I attended was like, a very, very specific culture in Israel which is very not *mainstream*, so I would not say that this is so *mainstream Israeli*, this is like you would be a Mormon [smiling] and you would say you are Canadian, because this is not exactly Canada, this is a certain part of Canada. . . . I think the difference is that when I came to Toronto I felt Jewish, I did not feel Israeli; I am all of a sudden a Jew in the Diaspora who descended from Israel. . . . I would not say I can call myself Israeli in terms of mentality; I am not part of the mainstream . . . I did not grow up with the same things; I did not serve in the military. I don't know, it is the feeling, let's say if I sat with Israeli group of friends, and they talked about a program they watched [on TV] when they were younger, *I have no idea,* things like that. . . . Also to talk about Israel in terms of one thing, that there is there something very homogenous, there are many identities, what does it mean to be Israeli?

Although she stated, "I don't feel too religious, I tend more toward the atheistic," Sima still considers Israeli culture as entailing Jewish allegiance.

Noteworthy, however, is Sima's (Sima is Sephardic) account of the positioning of the Israeli community in Canada as Ashkenazi. This may also explain in part the patterns of her social practices:

> It is simply the type of people. I don't know, I have Israeli [female] friends, but I cannot include myself that I belong too much to the Israeli community here, because the Israeli community here is very Ashkenazi, the Israeli community here is not very diverse, I'll tell you the truth . . . and I am used more to Sephardic customs.

In positioning the Israeli community as "very Ashkenazi," Sima is dichotomizing Israelis of Sephardic and Ashkenazi backgrounds; and by stereotyping the Israeli community as "Ashkenazi" she rationalizes why she does not feel that she belongs to this community.

5.2.2 Language Identification: "To Forget the Language is to Forget Myself"

Sima expresses very strong identification with the Hebrew language. Her use of Hebrew is a marker of her Israeli identity. This is why she is against Hebrew language loss which she notes among Israeli children. She explained her attitude towards Hebrew:

> This is part of my definition as Israeli: First of all, to forget the language is to forget myself, to forget part of me, it is an inability to communicate with my country, and this is first of all how I see it. Simply, it is very sad for me to see people [Israelis] with such a Canadian accent, "mommy" with an accent [imitating], then they start to mumble and inject a word here and a word there, but then when you speak with them, their face is like a wall, they don't understand you, this is simply sad for me.

Sima emphasized the importance of Hebrew both practically and ideologically:

> I prefer Hebrew; first of all because it is more comfortable [speaking], second because it is part of my identity as an Israeli, part of my past, part of my present, and maybe, I really hope, part of my future. . . . I just think to myself, to return to Israel with no Hebrew?!

Hebrew connects Sima to her homeland Israel as part of both her past which includes her memories of living in Israel and her future which includes her hopes of returning to live there again. Being five years in Canada, Hebrew is still where Sima would find a safe space for her linguistic practices and social interactions. As she noted,

> I spend more time with Israelis, it is more comfortable, you know, more Hebrew, it is nicer; I have a stronger connection with Israelis. . . . I feel more comfortable speaking with Israelis, and we have a common language, common culture.

For Tom as well, the Hebrew language is an important marker of Israeli identity.

> To be Israeli is first of all, for me, to speak Hebrew, and to be knowledgeable and have some connection with modern Israeli society. . . . I count myself as Israeli if I speak the language, understand the society, the culture, this is what being Israeli entails, in my view.

Speaking Hebrew is how Tom practices his Israeliness. As he is also speaking about the Israeli society and culture it is reasonable to infer that the Hebrew language plays a role beyond its pragmatic use; it is a connection strategy which Tom uses to maintain ties with Israeli society and culture.

During her first three years in Canada, while learning the English language, Karen did not speak Hebrew outside of her home because of perceived lack of opportunities. In the school she attended, absence of Israeli students prevented her from engaging in social interactions in Hebrew: "At the beginning I spoke English because I did not have Israeli friends." However, when Karen moved to secondary public school the linguistic landscape changed dramatically as she was suddenly surrounded by a myriad of Israelis. She recalled:

> When I began to connect more with Israelis in secondary school, I began all of a sudden to long for the language and the people. . . . And then, again, I was with Israelis after three years of not being with Israelis, so it was like "wow, I missed it." . . . So, at first it was only English, and slowly, slowly I met more and more Israelis and it started to be more and more Hebrew.

The ability to practice Hebrew and to interact with Israelis again was an important factor in Karen's socialization. As she explained,

> I began reading more newspapers, teaching children Hebrew, and participating in the Tzofim where all the activities were in Hebrew, so I got into it again. All of a sudden it became important again.

As Karen conveyed, the language she has used has affected her connection with people; also, the use of Hebrew created a psycho-social safe space. She continued,

> I felt that like with English I have less connection with people. I always felt that the Hebrew language has more depth, maybe because you can connect with the language; maybe also when you meet an Israeli, you connect with them right away, you both have this language, so it could be because of that.

Similarly, Adam also described a strong psycho-social connection between his Hebrew language use and his interlocutors, underscoring the important role of Israelis:

> Generally I feel more comfortable speaking Hebrew; I'm not sure if it is because my Hebrew is better or because Hebrew you speak with Israelis whom I feel more comfortable speaking with; because with whom do I speak Hebrew? Only with

> Israelis, so I'm not sure if it is because I feel more comfortable with these particular people because they are Hebrew speakers or because they are Israelis. If a Canadian spoke Hebrew with me because he knows Hebrew, I'm not sure I would feel more comfortable [than speaking English].

Similarly, Dana pointed out the important role of her Hebrew language use as a connector to other Israelis and associated emotional-social benefits.

> For me it is something that I feel good with, I feel good speaking [Hebrew], because I always looked for someone [who speaks Hebrew], it is part of me in a certain way, this language, Hebrew. I really miss it if I am with someone, let's say Jewish or just people who don't speak Hebrew, and this part of me cannot be expressed in a certain way, like something is missing.

I asked Dana a hypothetical question, about whether given her life changes, i.e., becoming more secular, she could see herself in the mainstream of Israeli society in case she would return to Israel. She responded,

> Only because of the language? No. As a person, I speak Hebrew, but I'm Canadian in terms of my views, my values, the way I speak; no one in Israel speaks with such a low voice, soft, like polite, most people, also people who are shy; this is simply a personality of Canadians, this is not a personality of a typical Israeli, right?!

With reference to Israeli society, Dana underscores the pragmatic role served by the Hebrew language. She also distinguished herself linguistically from other Israelis, stereotyping the language register used in Israel.

Guy's narrative about his Hebrew language trajectory also demonstrates the dynamics of change in language identity; that is, language identity is in flux and changes across time and place. As Guy, who immigrated at the age of 11, recalls, in the first three years in Canada, while working on improving his English proficiency, he was losing gradually his Hebrew competence for lack of language use opportunities. This situation may have been exacerbated by the fact that his parents spoke Russian in the home. His

love of reading and his renewed connection with Israel motivated him to invest in Hebrew language maintenance and development. When I asked Guy how he felt when he spoke Hebrew, he replied:

> It depends where. I felt very good in that I speak [Hebrew], I felt good with the fact that I speak Hebrew. I wanted to preserve the language, it was very important for me in terms of reading; again it all comes back to it. And it was very annoying to speak Hebrew around Israelis who had just arrived [from Israel] with their noses turned up, who correct you every five minutes, because you don't want people to correct you when you are 14, 15, 16 years old. . . . Anyway, this is how I felt—maybe I am wrong, but nonetheless it was annoying. But except for this I felt very comfortable with the language.

After several years in Canada, in the middle of his adolescent years, Hebrew did not provide a linguistic safe space for Guy in his interactions with co-expatriate Israelis, more specifically those who had just arrived in Canada. He did not appreciate when other Israelis were correcting his mistakes in Hebrew such as "if you would say words which not existed or words [female suffix], words [masculine suffix], you see like this one now, or things like that." Interestingly, Guy's tolerance increased with reference to the same phenomenon of correction of his Hebrew language mistakes by Israelis in Israel. When I asked Guy about the correction of his Hebrew mistakes in Israel, he replied,

> Yes, but it was fun correcting me in Israel because it is Israelis. They were not doing it, you know, with bad intention, it was done simply because "hey, you said it incorrectly, you want to learn Hebrew." . . . But I did not pay attention to it in Israel. My Hebrew improved because I go to Israel so much. I have to speak Hebrew there. Look, I love this language, it is a fascinating language.

Clearly, Guy's different responses to the same linguistic phenomenon of correction were affected by social and psychological factors related to his and other Israelis' positionings within the transnational contexts. Guy loved to travel to Israel; he has always felt comfortable in Israel. On the other hand, as Guy reported, socializing with Israelis in

Canada was more difficult because they tended to be clique members (often ethnic- and class-based). The core of his social circle of friends, whom he met during his initial years in Canada and with whom he has created a social safe space, has been Russian Israelis who share the same ethnic background.

5.3 Israeliness, Canadianness, and Jewishness: Narratives of Transformation

In the previous sections, I attempted to illustrate the complexity and ambiguity of the notions of Israeliness and Jewishness for immigrant youth. However, locating the narratives of socialization experiences and transformations in identification practices of Israeli immigrant youth in the Canadian geography and society, it is important to scrutinize the emic meanings of Canadianness within its multicultural context. Through their inter-cultural contact in the Canadian multicultural contact zone, Israeli immigrant youth have acknowledged the complex and ambiguous meaning of Canadianness and learned how to negotiate this new identity.

Roni problematized the meaning of being Canadian, questioning "who is Canadian?" He contested the meaning of Canadian identity as a society and peoplehood:

> First of all, it is difficult to tell who is Canadian; all Canadian society is a mixture of many people; you say "Canadian," and I don't know whether to think about someone from China or Pakistan or someone who is Native Indian from Canada; I don't know [smiling], the Canadian identity is not very strong.

Tom also problematized the meaning of "Canadian" or "Canadianness." He questioned it on two levels: national (citizenship) and cultural:

> This is very difficult to define, Canadian citizen, well, you can be a Canadian citizen and live in another country all your life. I would say I am Canadian, yes, but it would be very difficult for me to state the meaning of Canadian. What does it mean? That I play hockey? I don't. That I'm a Blue Jays fan? I'm not. That I

> celebrate *Thanksgiving*? I don't. You understand, on Canada Day I don't put up a flag, but when they play the anthem, I do stand, and I know the words.

As Tom's account exemplifies, he has knowledge of Canadian practices on both national and cultural levels (e.g., sports, anthem). While he does not practice the cultural part of Canadianness described in the above excerpt he does indeed ascribe to Canadian nationality. Dana also questioned "what does it mean anyway to be Canadian?" As part of our conversation about belonging and connection to a place, she explained:

> I think when you look for belonging in a place like Canada, it is not a simple thing at all, because it is not clear to what exactly you try to connect yourself; there are simply all kinds of groups, all kinds of people, it is like that in many places around the world. There is of course such a thing—*national identity*—and then there is what really happens in reality; and of course there are all kinds of groups you can connect to. The question here is how you actually know these people, how you begin to connect with them, if you don't have the same understanding of what you have to do. . . . There is a lot of flexibility in what is called Canadian identity, there is a lot of flexibility; you don't have to be here or to continue something specific; I will always have a Canadian passport, and I will always use it when I will travel.

Dana recognized the Canadian passport as a marker of Canadian identity. However, she complicated the meaning of Canadianness and Canadian identity further. While recognizing the national aspect of Canadian identity, she realized it is not fixed. Acknowledging the nation as an imagined community (B. Anderson, 1983), Dana was interested, nonetheless, in "what really happens in reality" taking into account the Canadian diversity. Dana's recognition of the "flexibility in what is called Canadian identity" affects how she negotiates her Canadian identity and locality.

In the following sections, I provide accounts of Israeli immigrant youth to demonstrate the transformations of their self-identifications and representations. Following their immigration to Canada, these Israeli youth embarked on new experiences

in their host country where they renegotiated the meaning of home in a new locality. In addition to negotiating Canadianness, and renegotiating Israeliness away from Israel, Israeli immigrant youth also renegotiate their Jewishness as they come in contact with the Diasporic Jewish community.

5.3.1 Self-Identification and Multiple Frames of Reference

In the context of their translocations, it is the tension between the "old" and the "new," the "here" and "there" which seems to be a key in the migrant life experience. How do immigrants refer to their localities and what strategies do they use to give meanings to their experiences and their identities? As research shows, transmigrants tend to use a "dual frame of reference" (C. Suárez-Orozco & M. M. Suárez-Orozco, 2001) or bifocality (Vertovec, 2004) to refer to their old and new countries, to negotiate the meanings of their experiences and to construct their identities. Participants' accounts illustrate how Israeli immigrant youth "retain 'a dual frame of reference' through which they constantly compare their situation in their 'home' society to their situation in the 'host' society abroad" (Vertovec, 2004, p. 974). In response to the question about identity and self-identification, all of the participants referred to their country of origin, Israel, and their host country, Canada. That is, Israeli and Canadian identities were defined in reference to a place. For example, when I asked Oren how he would self-define, he replied,

> I don't know, Israeli and Canadian. . . . Why Israeli? Still, I was born there, I lived there until the age of 13, my way of life is still Israeli, my family is Israeli, my wife is from Israel, with the children we speak only Hebrew, with my wife's family and her friends it is actually Israel, and we travel once or twice a year [to Israel]. And Canadian, after all I still have been living here more than half of my life, I studied here, I was educated here. . . . Yes, I feel Canadian, but on the other

> hand, as I travel a lot not only to Israel, landing in Israel is always the most fun, in Israel there is always a feeling as if this is home. For me, it is simply the place where I grew up. And also other Israelis who travel around the world say that always when they land in Israel it is a different feeling, they feel like this is home.

Oren articulated his identity in relation to both Israel and Canada, that is, to his dual nationality. He reformulated his Israeli identity both as birthright and transnational. Oren continues to negotiate Israeliness through transnational practices such as speaking Hebrew and visits to Israel. For Oren, however, notion of birthright seems to be fixed, something that cannot be taken away. Adam underscored this same point clearly using the following metaphor: "I was born in my mother's womb; she will always be my mother. I will always be Israeli."

However, in addition to Israeliness and Canadianness as a place-based frame of reference, Israeli immigrant youth referred also to Jewishness. Almost all the participants referred, in tandem with their Israeli and Canadian identities, to their Jewish identity and described how this identity has transformed in meaning and role since they came to Canada. That is, the Jewish identity they embraced in Israel has been changing and acquiring new meanings in the contact zone of the Diasporic Jewish community. Boyarin and Boyarin (as cited in Clifford, 1994) argue that

> Jewishness disrupts the very categories of identity because it is not national, not genealogical, not religious, but all of these in dialectical tension with one another. (p. 323)

Many of the participants have reformulated their Jewish identity in different ways. Notwithstanding the multiple meanings of Jewishness the participants have been negotiating, almost all of them referred to it as a key marker of their identity: that is, their

Jewish identity came to the fore as a category of its own, an independent frame of reference, while when in Israel it was embedded with the Israeli identity, at times silent or absent. Thus, the Israeli immigrant youth in this study used more than a dual frame of reference; they used Canadianness, Israeliness, and Jewishness as frames of reference.

For Adam, the Israeli identity always encompassed Jewish identity. However, since his migration to Canada it seems that these two identities are in contestation; that is, in Israel the Jewish identity was embedded within the Israeli identity. However, in Canada the Jewish identity is coming to the fore and stands by itself as a key marker. This is also because the meaning of Jewishness has been changing as Adam has become more religious. So, the religious aspect of Jewishness has become more dominant. When I asked Adam how he would define himself, he responded:

> Israeli Jewish. Israeli Canadian I would say because I live in Canada, so I have a little Canadian identity, not hundred percent. I would say Israeli Canadian Jewish because I am really all three of them. I am first of all Jewish, this is the most important. I was born in Israel so *that makes me Israeli*, I am Israeli. We moved to Canada, and we have been here already for some time, that makes me Canadian. . . . Also I have become more religious now. I would say that I am a little more Jewish than Israeli. That's how I feel now. This is also how we were educated. I am first of all Jewish, it doesn't matter where I will go, I will always be Jewish, I feel that I am more Jewish than Israeli. I am not saying there a big difference, but this little difference I give to Jewish. . . . Yes, Jewish. If you could say Jewish Israeli, it sounds better, to combine the two. The Jewish is the dominant one of the two.

Adam referred to his Canadian and Israeli identities in terms of nationality and citizenship which are connected to a place. However, in addition to describing his Jewish identity in terms of religion, he also referred to it as deterritorial, place-unbounded.

Similarly, although Leora self-identified as Jewish, Israeli, and Canadian, she highlighted her Jewish identity as a key marker. She reconstructed her Jewish identity as

she became more involved with religious practices in Canada such as buying kosher food, celebrating Jewish holidays, and participating in religious classes. Leora explained,

> I would say *first of all I am Jewish*, and then I would say that *I am Israeli, I was living in Canada the past eight years.* This is what I always say. It doesn't matter where you live, you will always stay Jewish; this is part of who you are, part of your personality, your life. And Israeli because all my first memories are from Israel, I grew up there, I was a child there, I went to school there, I spent most of my life there, most of my experiences, therefore I consider myself Israeli. . . . And I also must mention Canada, it is not that I ignore Canada, I am thankful for living here, I have lived here eight years. I am grateful that they accepted me, there is equality here for all.

Like Adam, Leora referred to Jewish identity as borderless in contrast to her Israeli and Canadian identities.

Roni's self-identification is also a combination of Israeliness, Jewishness, and Canadianness; however, his Jewish identity is not religion-based. He explained, "I don't have really religious views so all my Jewish identity is mainly Israeli, my Jewishness is Israel and holidays." When I asked him how he would define himself, he responded:

> I would say, I don't know if in this order, but Jewish, Israeli, and Canadian. I don't know really how to arrange it, because in terms of *personal interest*, Canadian culture interests me much more, Canadian *pop culture* interests me much more. But on the other hand, I identify more with being Jewish although I don't have such a strong religious identity, I think it is more a historical identity. I am not a Canadian citizen; I am an Israeli citizen, so it is important to say that it [Israeli] is part of my identity, so it is kind of a mix of the three.

Like Leora and Adam, Roni articulates a combination of Israeli, Canadian, and Jewish aspects in his self-identification. Notwithstanding his connection with the Canadian culture, he identifies more as Jewish even though, as he explained, "I don't have so strong religious identity."

5.3.2. Relational Identities

In this section, self-representations display further the interrelations of identity, space, and place. According to S. Hall (1996a), as identities "are constantly in the process of change and transformation," always in the process of becoming, they "are therefore constituted within, not outside representation." Moreover, "identities are constructed through, not outside, difference;" that is, "through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not" (p. 4). That is, identities are relational. In this study, the participants represent their Jewish, Canadian and Israeli identities as relational. The accounts in this section illustrate place as a frame of reference followed by the interlocutor as a frame of reference.

Dana emphasized the idea that immigrants relate to more than one place. She exemplified how she would always position herself in oppositional relation to her location. She explained,

> And, for example, if people [abroad] would ask me where I am from, I would not say I am from Israel, I would say I am from Canada. But if people would ask me here where I am from, I would say I am from Israel. You understand, there are these two sides. Here you have to be from another place, because most of the people I know, they are not from Canada, they are simply from another place. . . . And there are those, let's say, I have a very good friend, she is from Romania, and when they ask her where she is from, she says she is from *north Toronto*. This is really funny. Sometimes I would look at her, "What, aren't you from Romania?! What does it matter what neighborhood you live in?!" This is not what they are asking. It really depends on your perspective, after all.

Dana's narrative about her friend illuminates her stance on identity transformation. It seems that for Dana, by her Romanian friend taking an assimilative stance and relating only to Canada as home, she is moving away from an immigrant identity. On the other

hand, Dana seems to acknowledge her immigrant status within the multicultural Canadian society, and thus positions herself as an Other, from another place.

When I asked Karen about her self-identification, she talked about her Israeli and Jewish identifications; yet, Canadian identification was absent from the discussion. Subsequently, after I asked her explicitly about how Canada figured in her identification, she emphasized that "I feel very Canadian" and provided an explanation which elucidates her relational identification. That is, place played a role in how Karen represented herself: In relation to Israelis in Israel she is Canadian while to Canadians she is Israeli. She explained,

> When I am in Israel, I feel very Canadian, and when I am here I feel very Israeli. I don't know why it is like that. . . . And I am also very proud here that I am Israeli, and when I am in Israel I am very proud in that I am Canadian; it is strange. . . . If we had had this conversation in Israel, I think it was among the first things I would have said to you [that I am Canadian].

Similarly, Roni positioned himself differently according to his location. For example, in the private space, the home, Roni and his family practiced Israeliness. As he stated: "in terms of the family I don't feel Canadian at all, as a family we are definitely Israelis." Yet, when Roni is outside of the home, he negotiates his Jewish identity:

> R: And also when I am outside of [Jewish] school, I feel very Jewish. . . .
> Y: You said, "outside of school I feel very Jewish," and inside the school?
> R: You feel it less, because everyone is Jewish, it is obvious.

Roni feels more Jewish when he is outside of school. Within the Jewish school everybody is Jewish; but when he is outside of school the Jewish identity comes to the fore as he positions it in oppositional tension with what he is not, non-Jewish.

Likewise, Leora and Oren consider the notion of difference in representing their Jewishness—the dichotomy of Jewish/non-Jewish. As noted earlier, for many Israelis in Israel, where the majority of the population is Jewish, Jewish identity is embedded within Israeli identity. Oren explained,

> Here it is different; here you have to do things to feel Jewish. In Israel though it is automatic. In Israel, because everybody is Jewish they feel [Jewish], even if they don't observe the holidays. Here I go to the synagogue on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur [high holidays]; in Israel, the truth is, we did not do that. . . . Here you have to take active steps to do it [to feel Jewish].

Leora observed that the process of transformation in her Jewish practices also happened to her mother. She noted:

> I live in a place which is not surrounded by Jews, which is not a Jewish state . . . because when you are in Israel, you don't appreciate it so much. In my opinion, this is also what happened to my mother, because [in Israel] you are surrounded by everything you know, so who cares, but when you are here, you try to emphasize it, you try to show the world that, yes, you are Jewish.

Like Oren, Leora differentiated the Jewish milieu in Israel from the non-Jewish milieu in Canada. Both she and her mother used Jewish practices as a strategy to reconstruct their Jewishness and mark their difference in their new society.

Interlocutor was another frame of reference Israeli immigrant youth used to represent their identities. Sima self-identified strongly as Israeli; however, her self-representation changed in accordance with the interlocutor:

> Y: How would you describe yourself in terms of your identity? What would you say you are today?
> S: Israeli . . . only Israeli unless I am talking to Persians [friends], then I am Israeli Jewish. . . .
> Y: If you are talking to a non-Jewish immigrant?
> S: Israeli Jewish.
> Y: And if you are talking to a Jewish Canadian?
> S: Israeli. Let me show off that I know Hebrew and they do not.

Y: And with a Canadian?
S: With just a Canadian, it depends, with just a Canadian it is not that relevant.

Like the excerpts above, Sima positioned her Jewishness in opposition to her non-Jewish interlocutors. Interesting, however, was Sima's positionality as Israeli in relation to Jewish Canadians where her frame of reference was not their ethnic commonality, but rather a national origin difference. This may point to the group membership alignment of Israelis within the Diasporic Jewish community or a more general precept—people like to position themselves in oppositional tension.

Likewise, representing herself as both Israeli and Jewish, Karen positioned herself in relation to different interlocutors:

Y: Can you explain what it means—Jewish, Israeli?
K: If a Jewish person would ask me, I would say I am Israeli, but if a non-Jewish person would ask me, then maybe I would say first of all Jewish.
Y: This is interesting, what you are saying, like it is relational. It depends who is standing in front of you.
K: Yes, what makes me different from you?! I am Israeli; I am Jewish.
Y: So if a Canadian Jew would ask you, then what would you say?
K: Israeli. I would not even say Jewish.
Y: And if a non-Jewish Canadian would ask you?
K: Jewish.
Y: And if it was a non-Jewish immigrant what would you say?
K: Again, [if] he was not Jewish, then I would say Jewish. Maybe I would say Israeli because they would understand from it that I am Jewish because this is usually what it is.

It should be noted though that when I probed about how she used to represent herself in high school to non-Jewish immigrants, she replied: "Sometimes I am afraid of anti-Semitism, not that Israel is better [to say]." Therefore she used to identify as Israeli rather than Jewish. Similarly, Tom also mentioned the issue of anti-Semitism specifically within the context of his Canadian high school. He did not like when teachers asked students to

specify their ethnic identification where he would have to specify that he was from Israel. He was concerned that this information might affect the teacher's attitude.

5.3.3 Trans-Locality as Identity Practice

The notion of place (real or imagined) is what Israeli immigrant youth represented as significant in the negotiation of their transnational identities. "The transnational perspective on migration," as Haller and Landolt (2005) remind us, "explores the relationship between this transformation among spaces, places, and identities to reconsider the immigrant experience" (p. 1183). In contrast to the nature of deterritorialization in processes of globalization, transnational processes are grounded in space and place as they refer to two or more nation-states. Nevertheless, the globalized and mobilized nature of contemporary locations suggests

> that many such locations create complex conditions for the production and reproduction of locality, in which ties of marriage, work, business, and leisure weave together various circulating populations with various kinds of "locals" to create localities that belong in one sense to particular nation-states but are, from another point of view, what we might call *translocalities*" (Appadurai, 2003, p. 339).

Translocality is about local-local relations. It consists of multiple localities beyond the national as it captures not just exchanges "across sites of departures and destinations, but also the negotiation of wider range of spaces and place in between" (Brickell & Datta, 2011, p. 4). For example, Oren's marriage to an Israeli woman has strengthened his ties to Israel and Israeliness both in Canada and Israel: he has increased the number of visits

to Israel; he speaks Hebrew with his wife and children; and although his circle of friends before his marriage was mainly Israeli, he emphasized its density and intensity. Another example is Guy's account about one of his work projects. He described how he was sitting at his home in Canada working on a project located in Israel using the internet while at the same time giving instructions to his coworkers in Israel. Furthermore, the participants cited their daily (or almost daily) review of Israeli news in Hebrew through the internet as a strategy to localize or to translocalize themselves with the Israeli nation-state. Guy very proudly highlighted that he knew what was going on in Israel better than many Israelis in Israel. Evidently, the internet constitutes a translocal space where Israeli immigrant youth can negotiate their identities. Other telecommunication devices, in addition to the internet, such as the telephone are used daily to connect with Israelis to speaking to family and friends or to read and watch the news (see also Chapter 7).

In this study, I use the notion of *translocality* (Appadurai, 1995, 1996; Brickell & Datta, 2011) to capture the multi-site/multi-space transnational experiences and narratives of generation 1.5 Israelis and the relationships of/between these sites. I see their "stories of migration and movement as inherently spatial, linking different places at different times through a series of corporeal and subjective journeys" (Brickell & Datta, 2011, p. 6). For example, one locale that was featured in the narratives of the participants was the notion of "the home-(land) and its connections to different geographic scales. Home as a concept is primarily understood both as a physical location of dwelling as well as a space of belonging and identity" (p. 6).

However, the relation to and production of locality and translocality is not uncomplicated. According to Appadurai (1995), the "task of producing locality (as a structure of feeling, a property of life and an ideology of situated community) is increasingly a struggle" (p. 213). In their accounts, Roni and Dana, complicating the notion of locality, conveyed their relations to their translocality, and the sense of detachment to a particular locality. For Dana, as conveyed throughout her narrative, the immigration experience was not easy. Uprooted from her homeland, she has not been able to reroot in Canada, to relate to a new locality. During the interview, Dana told about her move to the United States for one year to work in a special program. When I asked her about her plans after the year in the United States, she talked about her alternative plan of moving to Israel or another province in Canada to pursue a masters' degree, if she will be able to afford it. In describing her potential future locations, Dana expressed clearly her detachment from a sense of home.

> I think, I came to the conclusion at one point that I am not looking so much anymore to connect to a particular place, to a country I immigrated to, for example; that it suits me—because it became to be part of my personality through this whole process [of immigration]—it suits me very much to move from place to place, to try out new cultures and learn again, somehow to undergo this process again [smiling], and then to move to another place, and never to feel that I have to belong to a particular place. You understand, this is my conclusion, and I think it is actually not a bad idea.

For Dana, a sense of belonging is manifested through attachment to a place which she was unable to produce. However, her position of detachment emerged not before her attempts to seek a sense of "home." As I attempted to validate her comment by asking "that's how you feel?" she responded:

> Yes, in the end, after I went back to Israel, I said, "well, maybe here I will feel at home," you know, during that year I was there; and again, it was the same, again I did not really feel I belonged.

Likewise, Roni who apparently has integrated well in the Diasporic Jewish community, does not necessarily envision himself settling in Toronto. He explained:

> For example, I don't know where I will live; I don't feel connected to Toronto. I don't know where I will live; I don't have the kind of *hometown* where I'd want to live. I see myself everywhere.

Although enjoying better social and economic conditions than Dana, Roni similarly did not develop an attachment to Toronto as home. Both developed a sense of detachment from their home and host country; and in their identity negotiating they did not refer to the particularity of a place on the local level but rather to the universality of it on the global level.

Other participants, however, using a dual frame of reference (noted earlier) in their identity construction, complicated the notion of trans/locality as follows: "In a world of diaspora, transnational culture flows, and mass movements of populations . . . familiar lines between 'here' and 'there,' center and periphery, colony and metropole become blurred" (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p. 10). The blurry boundaries of "here" and "there" may bring about confusion such as described in Guy's excerpt below. In this excerpt, Guy expresses his difficulty of "being" in more than one place. The simultaneousness of "here" and "there" was not easy for Guy to absorb and it created a feeling of confusion. When I asked Guy how he would define himself, he conveyed,

> I am a Jew, a Jew, very proud of the fact that I am a Jew, and I am very proud of the fact that I am a hypocrite Zionist who lives in the Diaspora. I am very proud of Israel. I cannot say that I am Israeli, because I am not Israeli, that I speak Hebrew, it can be like any other person who speaks Hebrew who comes from

> another country. I am very proud of Israel, Israel is a big part of my life, so I am Zionist in this way. Honestly, if you really want to know in one word—confused. I am confused. I am confused like many people, because I am here and I am there, and it is frustrating. . . . So I am very much connected to Israel. . . . To be Israeli means to live in the state of Israel. . . . It is confusing because I am also Canadian, also Jewish, also "Israeli" in quotation marks, also Zionist and enthusiastic but a hypocrite Zionist. . . . I love this country [Canada], this is why I don't want to return to Israel, but I also want to live in Israel. You understand, it is very confusing, it is difficult. I want to dance at two weddings, and it is impossible to dance at two weddings.

Apparently, what makes it hard for Guy is his perception that it is an either-or proposition: It seems that negotiating in in-between spaces—contact zone (Pratt, 1991), "third space" (Bhabha, 1994), or "translocality" (Appadurai, 1995)—where two or more places/spaces come in contact has been problematic for Guy. His confusion also was revealed in self-contradictory statements. For example, throughout the interviews, Guy emphasized his special love for the Hebrew language; however, in the above excerpt he disregarded it as an identity marker. Another example is Guy's contention about his identification as Israeli where he identified with Israel but not with Israeliness. This seems to be the result of his experience with Israelis on the one hand and his attempts to integrate into Jewish Canadian society on the other. Furthermore, it seems that Guy had less of a conflict or dilemma with the Jewish identity, but more with the Israeli and Canadian identities which he dichotomized. A question to be asked is: Is Guy truly confused, or is he expressing a sense of hybridity, or multiplicity of identity?

Adam also used a dual frame of reference to express trans/locality. In the excerpt below, he depicted his negotiation with the "here" and "there" and his sense of marginality in both cultures, in Canada and Israel.

> I am comfortable and I am not comfortable, but I am more comfortable, there is more positive than negative. . . . Let's put everything on the table. I am not Canadian, I will never in my life be Canadian, I will not necessarily feel Canadian, like a hundred percent, and I am in Canada, and it is a bit of a problem. . . . It is from the smallest things to bigger ones, if it is the accent, and if it is the language, and if it is friends. . . . Even small things, like the culture, the mental cold, not cold outside but the inner cold; I don't know, I miss the Israeli warmth, the Israeli friends, the country itself, friends, cousins, family, grandfather, grandmother, whoever. I feel like an ugly duckling, he feels he doesn't belong, but on the other hand, it is good for him with his family, because his mother is giving him food, and he is alive and well, thank God; he lacks, but still everything is good and not good, you know what I mean. And on the other hand, what do I lack here? You understand; I study now; I am trying to see the positive things here, the positives and negatives in both places. I study now, thank God, you know, I am pursuing a university degree. On the other hand, I don't need to serve in the military, to waste three years of my life. . . . I am between two worlds, half here and half there. I feel that here there is more positive than negative, and I say if I've already come and I've traveled this difficult road, I've gone through all the difficulties, now I would pick the fruits.

Adam used the metaphor of the "ugly duckling" to express his dual frame of reference. On the one hand, he pointed out the things he lacked and what he missed in Israel, and on the other hand, he acknowledged the benefits he gained in Canada. This is one reason he does not want to go back to live in Israel. The other reason Adam pointed out during the interview was that he left Israel as a child, and realizing that things have changed he expressed his worry about finding a job. Adam realized that he will not go back to find his land of birth at the same point as when he left. He has changed and the country he left behind has changed as well. Adam's account is consistent with the observations of C. Suárez-Orozco and M. M. Suárez-Orozco (2001) who write,

> An immigrant enters a new culture and no matter how hard she tries, will never completely belong; her accent will not be quite right, and her experiences will always be filtered through the dual frame of reference. Nor will she "belong" in

her old country; her new experiences change her, altering the filters through which she views the world (p. 93).

The accounts in this section illustrate identities as multiple, relational, and multi-sited. They highlight the significant role of place in the negotiation of transnational identities of Israeli immigrant youth. Nevertheless, the issue of the nature of simultaneity of "here" and "there" remains elusive.

CHAPTER 6

SCHOOLING AS CONTACT ZONE

Schools play a crucial role in the socialization processes of immigrant youth (Harklau, 2003; James, 2005), representing the dominant society. As C. Suárez-Orozco et al. (2008) assert, "Relationships are critical to the process, and it is in schools that immigrant youth forge new friendships, create and solidify social networks, and begin to acquire the academic, linguistic, and cultural knowledge that will sustain them throughout their journey" (p. 3). In Canadian urban centers, schools more often than not constitute zones for intercultural contact. Schools are also primary places where immigrant students come into contact with the dominant language. Thus, in addition to their delegated academic function, schools play an important role in the social engagement and language socialization of immigrant children and youth.

As students, Israeli immigrant youth come from a developed country with an organized educational system where education is mandatory by law and free. Yet, immigration to Canada introduces a new educational challenge for these youth where they have to adapt to new academic, curricular, social, and linguistic conditions. Many of the participants felt discouraged upon arriving in Canadian schools. Most reported that in Israel they were good students and used to get good marks but when they entered the Canadian schools their marks dropped, a cause for considerable frustration. At the beginning, there were language difficulties which hindered their academic progress and affected their socio-psychological states. Some of the students noted that in Israel they

were considered good in Math but during the years in Canada they lost this advantage. However, many of them put much effort into learning the English language and improving their marks. In this chapter, I present the trajectories of Israeli immigrant youth in Canadian schools—including their experiences in/with both public and private/Jewish school systems. As will become evident, participants' accounts show processes of transformation of both their student and social identities, as well as the language socialization processes, brought about by their interactions in this contact zone.

6.1 From Homeland to Newland Schooling

Among many areas for adaptation, immigrant youth need to adapt to a new and usually different school system. In Israel, the school week lasts six days. The school week in Canada is five days. In Canada, Israeli immigrant students are offered two educational systems—public/secular and private/parochial. The Jewish school system offers longer school days, Jewish studies, and follows the Jewish calendar school year (acknowledging Jewish holidays). In the Jewish schools, students cope with a double curriculum which leads to longer school hours and more homework. In the public school, the school day is shorter and there is, arguably, less homework. In both venues, Israeli immigrant youth must adapt to a social arena where students from different cultures meet and interact.

Roni immigrated to Canada in early summer of 2003. In Israel, he attended a secular public school. After spending time in summer day camp, Roni entered Grade 6 in Riverdale Jewish day school, and continued his secondary education in Rambam Jewish

school. Roni describes some differences between his Israeli schooling and his Jewish Canadian schooling.

> Homework, there was hardly homework. In school in Canada there was much more work. In Israel, a regular day was going to school, finishing at 1 o'clock, coming home, eating schnitzel, watching cartoons on TV, cartoons until 6 o'clock, dinner with mom and dad, and then maybe if I had homework, I would do it, but usually there was no homework. . . . In Canada, the day was much longer. The day started a little later, as school starts later, but the day is much longer, and this was very difficult at first, especially at the beginning, when school ended at 4:30 p.m.—Jewish school means *double curriculum*—and then we would go pick up my sister, we would arrive home only at 5:30 p.m., so there was a lot of time in the car, and a lot of time in school, so it was much more difficult. I don't think the two-day *weekend* helped make it easier, maybe a little, but not a real difference, and there was a lot of homework, so when we came home we had to do homework. Especially, in Israel I did not have school problems, but I arrived here and everything was in English so immediately it was more difficult. . . . For example, in subjects such as history, science, and English it was much more difficult; in mathematics it wasnot so difficult, because in Israel math is more advanced. Except for this everything was much more difficult, and it took time to progress. . . . I remember math in Grade 2, *multiplication* and *long division,* and when I arrived here, Grade 6, they were still learning how to multiply and how to do division, *long division.* It seemed very easy for me because I had already beein doing it for four years; except for this the rest of the subjects were much more difficult.

Roni needed to adjust to various aspects of the Canadian-Jewish school system. First, he had to adjust to a longer school day because of the double curriculum in the Jewish school in contrast to the short school day in Israel. Second, he had to get used to the long drive to school and back. Third, because of the double curriculum, which in effect meant more subject areas, he had more homework to do. Last, although Math was somewhat easy at first for Roni given his advanced level, he found other subjects difficult because of his lack of English proficiency. When I asked Roni how he felt about these difficulties, he responded, "I felt that I had to do it both because my parents wanted it and to prove to

myself that I can do it." Thus, Roni's response to his struggles was a drive and motivation to satisfy his parents' expectations and challenge his own ability.

In Israel, Oren attended a secular public school. After arriving in Toronto, he entered Grade 8 in public school for half a year as he arrived in the winter break, and from there he moved to Jewish secondary school. Oren does not remember much about his elementary public school although he notes that the academic level was not difficult. He remembers doing "works for Mother's Day all the time."

> Rambam School was much more serious, of course. At Northside School I even don't remember what the grades were, if it bothered me at all. At Rambam, my grades dropped, but again Rambam is a school which throws so many subjects at once.

At Rambam School, where Oren spent his high school years, he had difficulty coping with the double curriculum, Jewish and general studies, which meant he had to stay on top of 11 subjects. One of the reasons Oren noted for his grades dropping (besides the language barrier) was the curricular load.

> I remember, it was difficult, but I don't know if it was difficult only because of the language or also the academic material itself. Like, the Canadians too had difficulty with some of the material, but what is certain is that in Israel I had very high grades; at Rambam, they were not so high, even maybe among the lowest in my grade, but at York University they jumped to high again. So from the point of view of grades, no, at the beginning I was very disappointed, no, it was a very difficult thing, because in Israel I was used to, really, except math where I was not so strong, in the rest of the subjects I always had high grades. Suddenly at Rambam, they simply dropped sharply, it was a very difficult thing, I remember it. Someone who was used to getting high grades, suddenly to get, I don't remember anymore what my grades were in Rambam, but in comparison to the others [students] quite low or lower, so it was difficult to accept. But at York they came back. It shows that maybe Rambam is simply strong from an academic point of view. No, also last year in Rambam, I remember, I took one *night school* class and there again I gota very high grade. And then I understood that what is outside of Rambam is supposed to be easy. But in the university they really were very

> high. So I don't know if it is the English or Rambam loads so much on the students.

For Oren, the drop of his grades in Canada proved difficult psychologically. Although the drop in his grades bothered him, he did not invest extra effort in improving his marks.

> I continued to study, no, what could I do? No, I did not have tutoring or something like that. The truth, I did not invest, I never invested so much, but I did like everybody.

Nevertheless, losing his identity as a successful student (as he was in Israel) and becoming a low achiever in high school made Oren's adaptation to his new world condition more difficult.

Conversely, Adam compared his educational experiences with the Israeli and Canadian systems not on a personal level but more on a structural and organizational level. While he remembered fondly his schooling in Israel, and he was very open about his social difficulties, his view now is that in Canada he was introduced to a system that he has learned to appreciate. When Adam described his schooling experiences in Israel, he represented himself as a low achiever. Conversely, while describing his educational experiences in Canada, he underscored his changed attitude toward academic success and higher education aspirations.

> From an academic point of view, I think that the level in Israel is higher, but I like the learning method, at least in the school where I was in Canada, I don't know why exactly. OK maybe yes, in Canada there are some four courses every semester, you can concentrate on four courses only . . . yes, so this was also easier, so you could concentrate on specific courses rather than 13 or 11 courses. And also in Israel I used to wake up earlier, there were sometimes early classes, here there is no such thing, here they start at 9 a.m. Yes, also the respect for teachers, let say, here we don't call the teacher by his/her name. . . . Also in the morning there is the anthem which I respect very much. Here I think there is more respect for teachers and respect for the state. They concentrate on fewer courses which I like; they start later which I like [smiling]. From a social point of view, in

> Israel it was more fun; of course, people whom you grew up with from Kindergarten, you know them well, you know their parents, you know where they live, you know everything. On the other hand, taking me here, in Grade 9 I just started to know people, so it is later, so socially I had it better of course, but academically I think it is better here.

Sima referred to schooling both as an academic and social arena. She remembered that "in Israel school was fun, because there it was I and my friends, and I succeeded there." In describing her schooling experiences in Israel, Sima represented herself as a high achiever who had been a strong student in Math and Sciences (in comparison with the humanities subjects). She recalled getting high grades in these subjects. Noting the language difficulty and the lower grades she received at the beginning in Canada, Sima described her schooling experiences in Canada as "a nightmare, it was, school, 'I don't want to, leave me alone, let me sleep.'" However, although it took Sima a longer time to overcome her social difficulties, she managed to restore her academic success relatively quickly.

Tom entered Grade 11 in a public school located in an affluent neighborhood in Toronto. He studied two and a half years before pursuing his postsecondary education. His self representation as a student has changed:

> The first year was very, very difficult, particularly the adaptation, that is to say language difficulties. . . . I took it hard, all the more so because I was a good student in Israel, and I really enjoyed studying, and when one gets from a higher place, as I call it, to a low place, it not only causes you to be in shock, but also lowers your self-confidence. . . . And again, I also had a kind of habit of comparing where I was in relation to others, because I really had high expectations, because I have never been in a situation of not being a good student, because I was always at the top. I was not excellent, but I always knew, I participated in class, I always talked, and suddenly, you come to a different situation, I was listening more, was expressing opinions less, was not raising my hand, was not participating.

In the excerpt, Tom described his transformation of his student persona from a talkative and engaged student to a silent and passive one. The language difficulty he endured upon immigrating to Canada lowered his confidence in his ability when he compared himself to other students. However, as emotionally, socially, and academically stressful as Tom's early schooling experiences were, he continues to enjoy learning and to work hard to overcome hurdles. He offers in evidence of his strong drive to succeed his pursuit of post secondary education.

6.2 Teachers as Brokers

The role of schools in multicultural Canadian society goes beyond that of agents of knowledge. Generally, schools are the main socializing institutions for children after the home; hence teachers are agents who are in the frontline of the socialization process since they come into direct contact with students. In the context of immigrant students, schools are the main socialization agents to the new society. Hence, immigrant students are dependent on their teachers for both academic and socio-psychological support in adapting to their new circumstances. In this regard, there are teachers who play a positive role in the socialization processes of immigrant students—by scaffolding student progress, mediating learning, and providing positive examples of host country reception—but there are also teachers who play a negative role that inhibits and impedes students' progress.

In their accounts of their experiences with teachers, participants in this project emphasized teachers' roles as mediators of the dominant culture represented in the school. In general, respondents liked teachers who provided them a sense of acceptance,

whose classrooms represented a "safe house" (Pratt, 1991) for interaction in the contact zone. Interestingly, although some of the participants attended public school and some attended parochial Jewish school, both cohorts reported both positive and negative experiences in their interactions with teachers. Yet the experiences of the public school students are additionally informative because these respondents were part of a larger cohort of immigrants from many countries. The responses of these participants shed additional light on immigrant student needs and on their strategizing of learning.

6.2.1 Teachers as Enabling Forces

Sima underscored her ESL teacher as a person who created a safe space, a place where she felt secure because the teacher was accepting of her and created a warm atmosphere. On the other hand, Sima referred to several other teachers as cold and impatient. On the whole, Sima recognized that the public school she attended made a good effort to accommodate immigrant students.

(1) S: My favorite teacher was my *ESL* teacher. . . . She was simply so-called skilled in being nice to us, and she was great.
Y: Who is "us"?
S: The *immigrant*s, immigrants, it was only *ESL* and the people who had difficulty in English. . . . In simple terms, she was nice, patient, she was slower, it did not matter what I said "OK, OK," yes, this was her, simply a warmer atmosphere, that's all.
Y: And did she behave nicely like that to other immigrants too?
S: To everyone, to everyone. It's not that every teacher has to behave [like that]. . . .
Y: So it's not because she taught *ESL* that she was very nice, but simply because she was that type of person?
S: Yes, she was a very nice person, but I think she was extra nice for us, because you could see she made more of an effort.

(2) Y: I am interested in knowing how the teachers treated the immigrant students or the school in general.

> S: My school was very, its arms were quite open to immigrants, they have various accommodations, you get extra time and so on, my *ESL* teacher was, first of all, amazing, really she was a figure who really encouraged me during all this time period, also after I finished [the course] with her, she was a very important part of my life, in school at least.

Adam also was impressed by his ESL teacher—not for what she was teaching which, as he said, "every teacher can teach it, but the way she was teaching it." Adam appreciated his teacher because she was a type of person you could talk to; he appreciated her tough love, being decent and strict at the same time.

> My favorite teacher was my ESL teacher, I've forgotten her name. I know what she looks like, I am not good with names, Ms. Wong, she was from Indonesia, I think, she taught us English and also history, she teaches ESL, history, and I was in her class. She was telling everything like a story, it was fun to listen to her, to listen to what she was saying, she also had a sense of humor, but she was very *strict*, very, very *strict*, and I liked this combination. . . . No, because it is important, in my view, that you will have a little of this and a little of that, you cannot be too good, you cannot be too bad, and she was also very philosophical, she taught us a lot about life. . . . And she also had a great influence on me, she always pushed, also on parents' night when my parents went to meet her, she was my teacher and my brother's . . . and she always educated us, like, not to give up, like, there is no such thing as *impossible*, there is no such thing as impossible, it is always possible.

Leora remembers her ESL teacher, and the support she gave her, fondly.

> In the first year, she helped me very much, she was nice and supportive. I could not even read words with four letters, and she was never angry, and she really helped, not only in English. She always said, "If you have problems and you want to talk about things, you can come." And I went to her, and she helped, she was really like a counselor.

Roni recalls "two very good teachers" from his junior high school who helped him a lot in his first two years. The first teacher taught him in his first year in Canada, in Grade 6; and the other teacher taught him in Grades 7 and 8. In particular, he remembers his Grade 6 teacher: "Always, if I had problems—he taught English, math, and *social*

studies—so he always helped me, if I needed help with work, so he was very nice." Roni explained that his teacher made an effort to help him: "It was *definitely special attention.*" However, it is not clear if this teacher made more effort to help Roni because he was an immigrant or because "This also was his first year in the school." Roni also appreciated the work of his Grade 7 and 8 teacher who taught him Hebrew, history, and Bible because "he taught the subjects, but he also tried to teach how to study, he did good work." In his first two years in Canada Roni was in an ESL class. While Roni appreciates the ESL program he participated in in school, it might not have been sufficient for him, as he explained, "The ESL was very good, except this, I don't know, I should have also taken maybe private ESL lessons beyond the school in order to improve it [English]." When Roni moved to high school, he was already in regular classes but received extra time for completing tests. When I asked Roni if he got any other support from the school (except for the extra time), he observed,

> Ah, I actually did. In Grade 9 they gave me the opportunity, instead of learning French, to enroll in the ESL Learning Strategies course with Ms. Davis. There is ESL where you learn English, but this one was kind of similar to a Learning Strategies course. Primarily it was a class where you could do homework from other classes or if you needed help you could get help, and this was very good.

Notably, Guy did not mention his ESL teacher as his favorite.

> Y: Did you have a favorite teacher in particular, whom you got along with, both in elementary and high school?
> G: I am trying to think [silence]. There were but I don't remember the names, ah yes, I had in junior high, Mr. Brown, the history teacher, Mr. Brown, he was cute, kind of chubby, he talked about current events and politics and Israel, he was cute, he was cute, I liked him.
> Y: What attracted you to him? What did you like about him?
> G: All the time jokes, he was Jewish, all the time jokes, and talking about Israel, and politics. . . . In junior high, yes, there were different times, different times.

> Yes, we were reading news. Each student would bring a newspaper article. I always chose an article about Israel.

In his account, Guy described commonalities and similarities between him and his history teacher, Mr. Brown, aspects that put him at ease. Bringing Israel into the classroom through current events discussion created a familiar, hence, safe, space for Guy in this contact zone. The fact that Mr. Brown was chubby probably also played a role in Guy feeling comfortable in the classroom because Guy was also chubby according to his self representation during the interview. Like Guy, Oren also appreciated that his history teacher was entertaining and made learning enjoyable: "He liked to draw on the board. He was entertaining, it was his thing. Everybody loved him; it was fun in his class."

6.2.2 Teachers as Constraining Forces

In this section, participants tell of their school experiences where they lacked teachers' support, and even more so, where they were constrained by teachers' attitudes and actions. While Sima benefited from support from some of her teachers in her public school, especially her ESL teacher, she also experienced unsupportive relationships with and discouraging attitudes from teachers. Sima noted two issues concerning the teachers' behavior: one relates to pedagogic approaches towards students in general; the other, to stances towards immigrant students in particular.

> Others [teachers] were already fed up with me, like "come on already, learn English." I had another teacher, who was simply cold, an *ESL* teacher, that's all. . . . There are the impatient teachers who don't have patience for immigrants, there are teachers who don't know what they are doing [how to teach].

Similarly, Roni complained about the English (not ESL) teachers in his parochial school who did not have patience to sit with him and go over his papers. He noted that although

he went for extra help, he did not receive much help. He described unreasonable demands from his English teachers who expected the quality of his work to match the standard held out for native speakers of English.

> I definitely feel that at Rambam the English teachers did not have an understanding that English was not my mother tongue, and every time I came to talk to them, they said to me they don't care, and they expect that if I want to get a good grade, it [the work] has to be good enough, compared with the Canadians—not good for you, it should be very good. It was very difficult. . . . No, they had no patience for a student with a grade of 80. They had patience for someone if they were interested to see what he wrote, but my work didn't interest them. . . . So they were too harsh with this [marking], but I think that in public school I would not have had this problem.

Thus, to avoid the harsh marking of his English teachers in his parochial school, in order to raise his marks, Roni enrolled in an English night course in a public school where he got 92 percent.

Nili described her parochial school as an institution that was generally supportive of immigrants; however, like Roni, she reported that she did not receive the same level of support from her English teachers. It may be that English teachers, that is, regular teachers of English language and literature, were not sensitive enough to the learning needs of non-native speakers of English and did not understand their role as including this expertise (see also Cummins, 1994).

> English class specifically, because I never participated a lot, so the teachers turned their back a little, because they thought that maybe I was not doing enough for the subject, but except for this, I don't think there was any problem.

Dana shared the following example from her junior-middle parochial school to show the her teacher's misrecognition of her special circumstances, and his inability to take into consideration her psycho-social state as an immigrant, non native speaking student.

> I had one teacher—I could not stand him. He taught me mathematics. One time he yelled at me that I don't speak loud enough—because I did not speak English, so I did not want to speak out loud, and I spoke really quietly, and I had to write to write lines: "I promise to speak louder." [smiling] Yes, *bad pedagogy, what can I tell you?*

Guy recalled the time he was in a special English class, an ESL class, designed for immigrants. After two years, he asked to leave the ESL class, but the school insisted that he stay. In the third year, he insisted, and he did move to a regular English class, where he received good grades. Guy explained his rationale for insisting on being moved to a regular class: he wanted to be like all the other children, the Canadians, in the school. Dana's experience in her Grade 8 class in public school illustrates the deficiency approach taken sometimes at schools with regard to English language learners.

> At Eastside School in fact there were Jews, but the school was of poor quality, and the teachers there—we talked about this, that teachers think you are stupid [smiling] because you don't understand the language, right? So, I had a thing like that. I was a very good student in Israel, and then I arrived here, and I wanted to participate and I listened, what I understood I did, and what I did not understood I did not do. One day she [the teacher] said that there is a test on states in geography, and I studied at home, I really studied hard all the *states* of the U.S., we don't learn it in Israel, we learn more about Europe. So, I studied it, I also studied how to spell it. The day after, I arrived in class, and then she passed by me, and she gave everybody the test, and she said to me, "*You can work on your worksheets*" [imitates the teacher's accent]. So I was in shock: "What is this? What am I doing here?" And then, I went to her and said, "Listen, I studied for this test, I want to write this test, what is this?" And then she gave me a special test where I had to draw lines, I don't know, it was for *ESL students*, something like that.

Respondents reported on various types of negative experiences with teachers. In the following excerpt, Adam shares an anecdote about a teacher who was especially insensitive to students from his own ethnic background.

Y: How did the school and the teachers treat immigrant students?

> A: A very good question, really. We had an English teacher, for example, who taught English for *university preparation, Grade eleven and twelve*, which is not considered an easy course, and he himself was from Asian origin, he was Chinese, I think, or Korean, I don't know, I would say Chinese, but he was born here, he grew up here. And he was always so bitter, I don't know *how to describe him*, I would say he looked bitter, he was always discriminating, or saying he did not like students, which is very funny, particularly immigrants, but more specifically Asians, like, sometimes you could see that, that he didn't have sympathy towards them. . . . I don't remember specific incidents, but I will give you an example. Let's say someone Canadian makes a joke, the teacher will láugh with him, and after the class he will talk to this student. But let's say someone Asian who has difficulty and comes to talk to the teacher, it's not that the teacher won't help him, he will help him, but he will show him less sympathy, or if he comes to ask for help, the teacher will tell him, "Listen, you have to do it by yourself," or things like that. He was not sympathetic.

This prejudicial attitude on the part of the teacher, as Adam pointed out, was towards Asian immigrants, not Asian Canadians. When I asked Adam if this teacher treated other immigrants in the same manner, he replied, "also, but less." Adam also recalled that this teacher treated him quite well for the reason that his brother, who was a good student, took the course with this teacher before, and he knew him, so the teacher thought that he would be like his brother. The intra-group prejudice described by Adam was also experienced by other respondents. One respondent who went to secondary parochial school told of moving from one class to another because he did not get along with his Israeli teacher. He thought that she felt entitled to mistreat him because he was Israeli. (I have received other accounts of this phenomenon from individuals outside of my respondent cohort. One member of the Israeli community whose children attended secondary parochial school recalled that her daughter and her Israeli classmate used to complain about mistreatment on the part of their Israeli teacher toward them and about the favoritism shown toward Canadian-born students.)

Adam provided another account of an immigrant teacher who mistreated immigrant students. This example has unmistakable racial overtones.

> And there were other teachers such as this computers teacher who did not care if you understood or not. She was Romanian, and she spoke with an accent and everything. She was anti, she had favoritism, she liked certain people, and people she did not like *happened to be immigrants*, and those she liked were usually Canadians who study well.

As a student Guy was sensitive to the relationships and the attitudes of teachers to the immigrant students. As he recalled:

> G: Again, personally, I think they were giving more attention to those who were white.
> Y: You felt it?
> G: Yes.
> Y: Were you considered white?
> G: Yes, non-visible minority. [smiling] . . . There were cases here and there, as a white you got better treatment, and it also depended on who was the teacher.

6.3 Interactions with Peers

6.3.1 Co-expatriate (Israeli) Peers

Most Israeli immigrant youth emphasized the importance of contact with other Israeli peers particularly in the initial years. Although some expanded their social networking with other immigrants over the years, Israelis remained the centerpoint of their social networking. Here, however, it is important to note that respondents' accounts were highly intricate, revealing the relative salience of variables such as SES, ethnic origin (Sephardic/Ashkenazi/Russian), and religious practice (secular / Orthodox / traditional)—in addition to Israeli expatriate status. The Hebrew language and Israeli culture, however, were constructs that sealed the bond among Israeli immigrants. Especially at first when Israeli immigrant youth arrived and their level of English was

relatively low, Hebrew was the only language they could properly express themselves in; thus, communication with other Israelis was crucial. Furthermore, culture commonalities assured a certain comfort level. Here, Pratt's (1991) contact zone theory proves responsive to the accounts of respondents who described schools as the primary place where Israeli immigrant youth as a subordinated group came in contact with the representatives of the dominant groups in the Canadian context. To reduce the stresses of interaction in the contact zone, Israelis sought to set up a safe space, in Pratt's (1991) words, *safe houses*, consisting of co-expatriates. Combining contact zone theory with a transnational perspective: interactions of Israeli immigrant youth with their co-expatriates in safe places facilitated their transnational practices by providing a venue where they could test their hypotheses about their new world experiences.

Nili entered Grade 8 in a parochial Jewish School when she arrived in Canada. Her ESL class was the place where she met other immigrants, mostly from Israel.

> Y: So at the beginning whom were you friends with?
> N: With Israeli friends who were in my ESL class.
> Y: And why is that?
> N: Because we had a common denominator as we say. We all cried that we miss Israel, we all made fun of Canadians who behave strangely, and they are so cold and reserved and square as they say, we all had the same background in English, none of us knew the language properly, and that is, simply the fact that we had so much in common, like twins as we say.

Guy, on the other hand, entered junior middle public school when he arrived in Canada. His first year in school was very difficult. As he explained, he does not have "good memories" from this school.

> I had a terrible year, my adaptation year, my adjustment to Canada was terrible, I did not adjust, I did not make [friends], I did not have, I really could not bear my

> first year [slower tone]. The year after I moved to Yorkville School and everything got all right [back to his normal tone].

"Everything got all right" for Guy in the other school when he met other Israeli immigrants. Making friends, more specifically Israeli friends, was key for Guy's psycho-social adaptation to Canadian society. As he explained, he found his "niche" which eased the processes of his cultural and language socialization.

> G: Yes, the second year I adapted immediately in the school. I found my *niche*, my friends.
> Y: And what made you adapt better in this school?
> G: There were more Israelis.
> Y: Your connection with Israelis was significant?
> G: I had two or three Israelis in my class.

For Sima, her Israeli ethnic group is still the basis for her social life, even though she expanded her circle of friends over the years to include members of other ethnic groups. She emphasized: "Yes, this is first, if I did not have Israeli friends I would go crazy more or less." Likewise, Oren, who attended Jewish high school, expressed the importance of Israelis in the process of his socialization. He remembers that

> from Grade 10 it has changed, I don't remember why, well I know, two new [Israeli] students arrived at Rambam who have been my good friends until today, probably this thing also helped.

Indeed, among various factors at play in the socialization of immigrant youth, clearly, development of fluency in the societal language facilitates the process of adaptation. As Oren improved his English, he was able to diversify his social interactions.

> Not necessarily Israelis, not only Israelis, also suddenly with a big group of Canadians. I think it is the language, and then different kinds of groups started to join together so I also joined a group in which we got along great; the truth is, I was with them till Grade 12.

It should be noted that Oren differentiates the quality of his relationships with his Jewish Canadian peers in school from his relationships with co-expatriate Israelis. Oren's friendships with the Jewish Canadian students could not have been a substitute for his friendships with the Israelis because "Without the Israelis for sure it was difficult, because still my best friends till today are actually these Israelis."

It should be noted that, while for Oren and Guy interaction with Israeli males was key, the presence of female Israelis did not play a substantive role in their social adaptation. Conversely, the arrival of male Israelis in Grade 10 contributed to the quality of Oren's social life.

> In Grade 9 there were kind of two, but no, there were two girls whom I was not really in contact with. Grade 10, the group of friends, whom I am with until now, we consolidated, so for sure it also helped, not so much for grades but more in the social thing.

Similarly, in his first school, as Guy recalled, "there was one Israeli girl, we didn't get along." Only after he moved to another school where he met male Israelis did he find himself at ease socially. Like Oren, he too was able to develop friendships that endure until this day.

6.3.2 Co-ethnic (Jewish Canadians) Peers

A large majority of the Jewish community in Toronto reside along the north-south Bathurst corridor, which includes the cities of Toronto, Thornhill, and Richmond Hill. Because Israelis tend to live within or in proximity to the Jewish community, many of their children attend the same public schools, while some attend the same Jewish schools. While one might hypothesize that the commonality of Jewish ethnicity would bring these two groups, Jewish Canadians and Israeli immigrants, closer together, surprisingly, all

participants except one expressed disconnection from their Jewish Canadian peers. Indeed, a common ethnicity appeared to play no facilitative role in the social interactions between Jewish Canadian students and Israeli immigrant students. On the contrary, socio-cultural and linguistic factors were determining variables for the Israelis in their choice of social interactants. As noted earlier, for Israeli immigrants in the GTA, the Diasporic Jewish community represents the dominant Canadian society. Tom, who attended public school, did not differentiate between Jewish and non-Jewish Canadian students:

> Y: When you say Canadians, whom do you mean?
> T: Not immigrants.
> Y: There are Canadian-Canadians and there are Jewish Canadians.
> T: As far as I am concerned, there was no difference, there was no difference. As a matter of fact, in our school there was a very high percentage of Jews. The non-Jewish Canadians were relatively small.

While I was conducting the interviews, where I noticed that Jewish Canadians as a reference group were absent from discussion of social circles and peer interactions, I raised the issue as a follow-up query to make sure I was not missing key nuances. Consistently, I learned in the cases of Adam, Sima, and Tom that Israelis did not develop social relationships with Jewish Canadians in or outside of school. Here is Adam's response to my query:

> Y: One minute, we did not talk about the Jews.
> A: With the Jews, in the first two years I was almost completely not [interacting], and in the last two years I was in relationships of *hi and bye*. . . . [thinking] The closer friends, I mean, were not Jewish Canadians.

Likewise, Sima's response to my question about whether her circle of friends expanded beyond Israelis over the years:

> Y: Also Jews?
> S: Also Jews.

Y: Because you did not mention them, this is why I am asking.
S: Jewish Canadians, I simply do not connect with them. There is something annoying in their behavior. Also, I did not see [them]. I do not have a problem with them, but for some reason it simply did not happen.

In comparing their relationships with Jewish and non-Jewish Canadians, both Adam and Sima reported developing key relationships with non-Jews, mostly immigrant youth. Adam emphasized "specifically with the non-Jew"; and Sima described a wide range of non-Canadians whom she befriended, including Persian and Korean immigrant youth.

Similarly, in his school Tom positioned himself as an immigrant while the Jewish Canadians were positioned as Canadians. "They are already here," Tom noted, as he explained why he saw them as part of the dominant society.

Y: Let's go back for a moment to the Jewish Canadians in your school. How did you relate to them? How did you feel about them?
T: Respect, no more.
Y: You did not talk about them at all.
T: We did not connect.
Y: Why?
T: Because they were with their groups.
Y: Is this the only reason?
T: Again, it is not that I connected to a certain group of people and not with others. In a certain way, I see myself as an *immigrant,* and they are already here.
Y: You saw yourself as an immigrant?
T: I [did] and also they [did] [emphasizing]. Also they, *oh, the Israeli guy*, they saw me this way, this is what I felt, that they saw me this way, this was my feeling.
Y: How was it manifested?
T: Kind of being nice *oh, he is from Israel, sometimes questions here and there.*
Y: Were connections developed at all?
T: No, not significant at all.

In comparison with Tom, Adam, and Sima, who attended public school where Jewish Canadians are one ethnic group among others, Roni, Oren, Michael, Leora, and

Nili attended Jewish school and therefore had the opportunity to interact with only one ethnic group, i.e., Jewish students. Nevertheless, none of them, except Roni, developed meaningful relationships with Jewish Canadians outside of school. Leora chose to instantiate her marginalization in school through her association with goth sub-culture outside of school. The other respondents gravitated toward immigrants from other ethnic groups, as we see below.

6.3.3 Other (Ethnic) Immigrant Peers

Opportunities to interact with immigrant peers from other ethnic groups were not readily available to Israelis who attended Jewish schools. Thus, this section addresses the social networking of Israelis who attended the public school system up to Grade 12. The discussion includes also Israelis from Jewish schools as they moved on to university where they came into contact with diverse ethnic groups.

Although Sima considered Israelis to be the core of her social circle, she extended her circle of friends in high school beyond her ethnic Israeli group. Today, she considers her friends to represent a "diverse" group: "I have Persians, I have Koreans, Russian-Russians no. It is mainly Persians, Koreans, and Israelis, also Israeli-Russians." Like Sima, Adam also had the opportunity to socialize with immigrants from other ethnic groups whom he met in his ESL classes. As he noted, "In the initial years because I was in ESL class I was hanging out with immigrants from ESL, and later with other immigrants." Dana, too, felt comfortable around other non-English native speaking immigrants. For Dana, the commonality of being immigrant was more significant than sharing an ethnicity (Jewish). As she explained:

> My best friend now is not Jewish, she is from Hungary, and she came here around the age of 15. She did not experience the crisis I experienced, but nonetheless I can connect with her because she has this experience of what it is to be an immigrant more than someone Jewish who is here and does not understand what it is.

Tom who had difficulty socializing, among all groups, he felt more comfortable with immigrants, "in general, because there is the same language, double meaning, with Canadians, they notice that you are different." Tom, as an immigrant, felt comfortable around other immigrants, and Tom, as an English learner, felt comfortable around other English learners. Although Tom did not develop friendships with other immigrants, he felt more comfortable around them in terms of language use.

6.3.4 Canadian (Native) Peers

When discussing the various peer groups of which she related to or found anything in common, Sima stated clearly that "The Canadian group is not even part of the equation." Similarly, when I asked Karen if she sees any differences between Israelis and Canadian-Canadians, she could not respond claiming she does not have any relationships with them.

> K: I don't have too much of a relationship, to tell you the truth.
> Y: You did not develop some perception: "I see them this way"?
> K: No.
> Y: At the university didn't you encounter non-Jewish Canadians?
> K: No, I know it is strange.
> Y: I am not talking only about friends now, I am talking in general.
> K: Not too many I encountered really.

Presumably, all of the participants had some kind of relationships with Canadian-Canadians inside and outside of school. However, one consistency in my findings is that

in all cases these relationships were not significant; hence, they were not "part of the equation" as concerns Israeli immigrant youths' socialization experiences.

6.4 Schooling: Strategizing Interactions in the Contact Zone

Immigration to Canada ensured that in addition to being purveyors of academic knowledge, schools served as zones of contact where processes of socialization would enable Israeli immigrant youth to acquire a new language and culture. Culture, language and power play an important role in social actors' interactions in the contact zone where processes of identity construction are (trans)formed (Norton Peirce, 1995). In this study, I was interested in how actors moved back and forth between cultures through language, the nature of the inter-cultural contact they encountered, or privileged, and the role language played in the identification processes and trajectories of these youth as they alternately placed themselves (or found themselves placed) in dangerous places and retreated to more reassuring ones.

A closer look at the nature of school interactions shed light on the dynamics of schools as contact zones where cultures meet, sometimes clash, and sometimes meld. In the following accounts, participants describe different types of interactions available to them in schools, as well as the strategies they used to maneuver in this crucial contact zone.

6.4.1 Silence: "English Almost Never"

For many of Israeli adolescent youth, the initial time in Canadian schools was characterized by their own silences (cf. Pon, Goldstein, & Schecter, 2003). Indeed, respondents found silence preferable to speaking broken English with a strong "accent,"

the representation of an immigrant who is a minority and subordinated within an English-speaking dominant society. Although Canada is a multicultural society, the official language in schools is English; and new immigrants need to use English to conduct their academic and social activities.

Israelis come with different levels of English language proficiency. However, effective use of the societal language is not always in direct relationship with proficiency level, as respondents reported personal traits such as self confidence and anxiety carrying considerable weight. For example, when Tom entered Grade 11 in public school, he was placed in ESL level C which meant that he had a good knowledge of English. Nonetheless, it was extremely difficult for him to communicate orally in English.

> The first year was very, very difficult, adaptation in particular, which means language difficulties, of course my English was not good as it is today. I was very shy, I did not speak much, in fact I don't remember I spoke at all in the first year. I am also a very sensitive person I can say, I took it very hard. . . . Also socially it was not easy. I didn't make friends, because I was reserved and introverted, because I had this mental block about speaking, *language barrier*, because always in the *back of my mind*, in the subconscious my English is not good, I don't know how to speak, and it also affected my everyday mood, sometimes I was getting into such a depression. . . . I think in retrospect I had an *expectation* of myself, I had a very, very high expectation of myself that I, with mistakes, cannot speak, to make a fool of myself, I don't put myself in this position, therefore I had really a block on my mouth, my mouth was closed, I did not speak.

For Tom, the constraints were not primarily academic as Tom represented himself as being a good student who loved to learn and was motivated to succeed. For Tom, characterological traits, including high self expectations, stalled the pace of his English language oral development and drove him to silence. Tom was aware of his particular language behaviors as he compared these to other behaviors he observed in his school:

> I saw for example in my later years in *high school* new people who behaved differently than I behaved, they spoke, also my brother spoke freely with mistakes, for him the most important thing was to express himself in the most basic way possible.

When I asked Tom's brother, Adam, about use of English at school at the beginning, he replied, "In the first year I did not speak, I tried as less as possible to speak English." Yet, comparative analysis of Tom's and Adam's schooling experiences shows that although both siblings practiced silence at the beginning, for Adam, this period was shorter. Adam represented himself as open, friendly, and daring which may explain his risk taking in speaking English with errors.

Dana, like Tom, found it difficult to use English in oral interaction at first. Similarly, she experienced social hurdles, and put the onus on her personal traits:

> I will tell you, this was simply a terrible year in every aspect, I'd never been in a situation like that. I did not speak, the way I learned English was through reading. I did not speak, I was simply very shy, I'm such a perfectionist, and I cannot just start talking and that's it.

Dana contrasted her own experience in responding to the language challenge with that of her sister:

> I have a younger sister, I don't know if you met her, she is very spontaneous, and the moment she arrived at the age of ten, she simply started to speak [English], and it doesn't matter that everything that came out her mouth was nonsense. But my youngest sister, who is a year younger than her, was exactly like me. She was silent the whole year until she absorbed the language.

Although she represented herself as a good student, an achiever, Sima admitted to having difficulty in English. As she explained, she always found it hard to learn English, both in Israel and later in Canada. Her self identification as a poor English learner may be

one reason for Sima's avoidance of speaking in English, even at times when she had the language ability.

> Let's say, English almost never, it doesn't matter, until almost a year ago you would catch me speaking only in Hebrew. All the time, only Hebrew, people were talking to us in English, I was answering in Hebrew, and they [my friends] were translating.

Interestingly, Sima's relationships with her Israeli peers were linguistically ambivalent: On the one hand, she used them as mediators, but on the other hand, she avoided speaking English in their presence.

> It's not that I couldn't, there were times when I couldn't, at least at first, but it was more an embarrassment, because I felt bad, not really bad, but it was embarrassing to speak in front of them [Israelis] in English, because in fact I also have a very strong Hebrew accent in my English. . . . Now it bothers me less, but at first it was like that, beside Canadians I speak English, but the moment there is an Israeli [imitating stuttering], I start to stutter, I don't know what stops me, but it is a feeling of choking, such an embarrassment, discomfort, the word discomfort is better for speaking in English. . . . Look, I always think that every Israeli speaks English better than me.

Guy also remembered how shy and quiet he was at first. He spoke about his memories slowly, as if recapturing his feelings:

> When I was younger, I did not have the *self-confidence* that I have now. . . . But then I did not have it. I was very shy; I was very, very shy. So in Canada in English I hardly expressed myself [speaking slowly]. I was very quiet, I did not have the desire [emphasizing], and I did not have the ability [slowly again].

6.4.2 Invisibility: "No One Saw Me"

In this section, I illustrate respondents' perceptions of their invisibility as newly arrived immigrants. This invisibility may be initiated by either the subject or another social actor. For example, Guy described himself as one who was available for

interaction but did not attract others' attentions or interest. He was thus deprived of opportunities for interactions.

> Y: Have you ever felt that children in your class looked at you as different, as foreign?
> G: I don't think anyone saw me, so I cannot answer this question [smiling].
> Y: No one?
> G: I don't think I attracted so much attention or they saw me, so I don't think that, I was just another ordinary student, another ordinary person, another number in high school. I was not someone, something.
> Y: What you are saying is very interesting. Can you elaborate a little?
> G: I was normal in high school, just like everybody else.
> Y: And also in primary [school]?
> G: Yes. You know, I was not weird, and I was not too weird, and I was not popular at all, not at all. I was somewhere in the middle, just going in, going out from school.

Tom described his engagement with his peers similarly, that is, he was denied opportunities for social interaction.

> Y: I understand that your school was *multicultural*. With which group did you feel closest, more comfortable?
> T: There was no such group.
> Y: . . . With whom did you have the opportunity to communicate the most, with which group?
> T: I did not communicate much. There were days I did not communicate with anyone.
> Y: . . . And were the Jewish Canadians nice?
> T: What is nice? They did not know me, maybe they were smiling in the hallway.

However, for Sima invisibility was a conscious choice. She did not make herself available for interaction.

> What I was doing usually, I had the first two hours, an hour recess, and the last two hours. I told you what I was doing usually, or the teachers were saying to us, "go, work by yourself," or I was usually, I was not talking much. During recess which is usually the time to wander around in secondary school, and to see what is going on there, I was going home, returning home, changing my books, staying there an hour, and going back to the second class, so this way I did not allow myself the opportunity to look for them. I will tell you the truth, and I did not want to look for them.

Michael's ambivalent account contains aspects of both Guy's and Tom's, on the one hand, and Sima's, on the other. Like Guy and Tom, he would have welcomed interactions with peers, but like Sima, he also avoided opportunities for interactions by literally removing his physical presence from the school.

> I did not feel I belonged, I did not feel it interested me. I also skipped school, I used to go to the doctor to get doctor's notes. . . . I did not feel the atmosphere of "come, come with us, let's go out," I did not have the opportunity of someone approaching me, or inviting me.

6.4.3 Clashes: "I Used to Fight a Lot"

One of the key characteristics of the *contact zone* as defined by Pratt (1991) is the clash between cultures in the context of asymmetrical power relations. These types of interactions reported by Israeli immigrant youth in Canadian schools constituted clashes in the negotiation of power relations between subordinated immigrant and superordinate Canadian groups (e.g., White Canadians or non immigrant Jews). Participants in this study used different strategies to confront what they perceived as disrespectful or condescending behavior on the part of dominant Canadians. Guy, for example, used quarrels as a discursive genre in his first year. As Guy reports, his first year was very difficult as he was in a state of shock linguistically, culturally, and socially: he didn't have the patience to interact socially with Canadian youth, to develop a "Canadian mentality."

> Y: Can you recall incidents that because of them you say "It was difficult for me there"?
> G: Yes, I used to fight with everybody there. I used to fight a lot. . . .
> Y: You didn't like that they made fun of a kippa [Jewish male head covering]?
> G: No, not at all. What is this?!
> Y: And was it the first fight you had?

G: No, there were more fights. No, I didn't adjust, I didn't adapt, I couldn't stand them, and they couldn't stand me. I don't know, I didn't connect to this Canadian mentality of kids who only cared about baseball and hockey. So, it didn't really interest me. Well, you know, you come as an outsider already, and you don't want to integrate into their games, so you are considered an outsider. So I used to fight with them, and you don't mind fighting with them, *good times* [smiling].
Y: Interesting, for a person with low self-confidence [as he mentioned earlier] to get into fights. How do you explain it?
G: I don't think *"I was acting out"* as we say. I think if someone said something . . . in this I didn't have a problem.
Y: Do you remember incidents, examples of things that caused a fight?
G: Stupid things. I remember I used to fight. I remember fights.

Guy remembers his first year in junior-middle school as being characterized by fights. While he may offer various specific reasons for these clashes, a common thread throughout his accounts is cultural dissimilarity. An informative example has to do with a fight with another boy over a kippa, a Jewish head covering. Although Guy represented himself as a non-religious person, and did not wear a kippa, in this confrontation he perceived the slight as an anti-Semitic gesture and got into a fight to defend his ethnicity. Guy's lack of interest in the area of sport, particularly, in baseball and hockey, sports which are considered representative of Canadian society, also proved a source conflict with Canadian-born students.

Adam went into his first year in Canadian schools determined to *"keep it on low."* However, as is evident in the following excerpt, personal traits and cultural differences between himself and other youth resulted in confrontational encounters.

I am the type who does not let myself, you know, put myself too high and not too low. This is something I have learned in *high school*; let's say people are trying to start with you, trying to bother you. Sometimes Canadians, they like to talk a lot, let's say if an Israeli is coming to punch you, you know you are going to get punched, but if a Canadian is coming to talk to you, you need to learn how to shut his mouth, sorry, but it is really like that. You have to defend yourself. I am relatively short, quite a small guy in comparison to others, and people see it and

> sometimes like you know, "Hey, we can bother him," right? . . . So the moment they're trying to bother me they see, "oh, you want to fight, no problem, we'll fight." [smiling] . . . Another example, we're finishing math class, it's Grade 12, I think, and we're waiting near the door. . . . And then, a Jewish Canadian actually [emphasizing] is passing by me pushing me just like that, smiling. I'm pushing him back, and I'm saying, "tell me, do you want to fight?" . . . Look, if you don't react, tomorrow he'll do this to you and another day he'll do that to you. Of course I reacted. I was not physical, I don't remember exactly if I pushed him back or something. I remember saying to him "relax," something like that. Sometimes you have to change your personality; even if I am nice now, sometimes I have to be a little nasty for people to understand not to mess with me. I told him, "Do you want to fight? I have no problem, we'll take it outside." Even though I didn't mean to, and he is kind of *"no, I am just kidding"* like "I'm joking," of course he wasn't joking. I'm trying to avoid physical arguments but sometimes it comes to you, and *you only can avoid it so much.*

Leora also reacted confrontationally to what she perceived as mainstream Canadian culture. The Jewish school she attended did not have a uniform; nonetheless, there was an unspoken dress code. The social space Leora found available to her was her contact with a marginalized group which was in opposition to the mainstream school culture.

> But this is really complex. In the first year, Grade 9, as I told you, it was very difficult for me, I did not speak, I did not have friends, I did not know the language. . . . And something happened at the beginning of Grade 11, I really changed. I became a *rebel,* a rebel. I met some girlfriends; they were a very, very small group in the school. They were wearing black clothes, and black makeup . . . gothic, *gothic, punk whatever,* and I also started to get into it slowly, slowly, you wouldn't believe it, right? [laughing]. So in Grade 11, 12, and first year of university, I was a real *rebel*, and I was coloring my hair pink, orange, purple the whole head, and they really did not treat me nicely in school. Wow, Mrs. Dale [attendance and discipline officer], what she did to me: *detention, suspension,* "if you do not color back your hair black, tomorrow you will not enter the school, we will expel you from school." The principal came to me, *"You are disgrace for the school, what is this? You look like a clown."* And what they said to me only made me stand stronger. . . . As I am a very sensitive person, I was crying all the time when they said it to me; however, I did not give in, and I continued to come with black shirts, and skulls, and I was very gothic. I bought such big earphones, and I was listening to metal music very loud, and I was entering the classroom late on purpose with the earphones and the music so I

> would disturb the class with my metal music. [laughing] . . . And the Canadian girlfriends introduced me to people from outside of school, many non-Jewish, it was the first time I had non-Jewish friends, and I went to concerts and parties. . . . It was quite a fun time but *overwhelming*, kind of weird, but okay. [thinking] It was maybe a rebellion against my parents who did something I was very angry about, took me out from home, from Israel, that this was my punishment. . . . I had a lot of anger which probably accumulated from my first year here, and from the grief over leaving Israel.

I would note here that at first pass, I considered the above excerpt to relate to the section on style (Chapter 4) as it originated with questions about fashion and clothes. However, on further consideration, Leora's account of how she became attracted to Goth sub-culture, including its idiosyncratic dress code, can be read as a narrative about the kind and depth of alienation that caused her to be, in her own words, "a rebel." Of course, such alienation is characteristic of many youth who are not immigrants as well. Informative here, however, is that Leora associated her rebellious adolescence with her immigration odyssey. She herself drew the link.

Guy, Adam, and Leora, through accounts of their interactions, highlighted the asymmetrical relations of power that obtain between minority youth and the dominant culture represented by the school. In this context, these interactions both provoke and signify resistance which is acted out through the use of confrontation strategies (Foucault, 1982).

6.4.4 Finding a Niche: "They Spoke like Me"

Israeli immigrant youth also described strategies they used in order to get into a comfort space within the contact zone. One was the use of Hebrew with other Israelis who shared the same language. This strategy, besides facilitating communication, also served to create solidarity among members of a marginalized group. The second strategy

was the use of English with other ethnic immigrants with similar levels of English proficiency.

Within school, the ethnic peer group plays a crucial role in creating a "safe house" (Pratt, 1991) for other immigrant students. While this may be the case also for non-immigrant students, it is crucial that immigrant students bond together to form safe spaces as this factor alone may facilitate or hinder the adjustment and adaptation of the immigrant student in the new society. All participants except one expressed their urgent need to interact with other Israelis particularly in their initial years when they could not communicate well in English and were unfamiliar with the Canadian culture. For example, Guy (see also section 6.3.1) adjusted better at his second school because of the presence of "more Israelis there": he talked about finding his "niche," his life friends. Clearly, the presence of other Israelis facilitated Guy's adjustment to the new culture; and on the contrary, the absence of Israelis in his first school made adjustment very difficult for him. Indeed, the presence of other Israeli peers in his school environment created a safe space for Guy. (This small group of close friends has been together for 18 years.) As well, while Guy invested linguistically in the development of his English language skills, he had also the opportunity to practice and maintain his language of origin. In school and outside, he used both languages, Hebrew and English, practicing a bilingual strategy that has been shown to promote cognitive development (Bialystok, 2005; Cummins, 1979).

Oren, who attended Jewish secondary school, found Grade 10 easier than Grade 9 for various reasons (see also section 6.3.1). Improved English language proficiency facilitated Oren's socialization on the communication level; and his contact with other

Israeli youth facilitated his socialization in reinforcing horizontal relationships and creating a comfort space. Interestingly, in addition to Israeli peers who shared a common language and culture, Oren also mentioned the arrival of a new student from Quebec (not an Israeli). It seems that although Oren and the student from Quebec came from different places, they found that sharing their experiences of "being new" in their contact zone created a safe space that facilitated their adaptation.

> In my view, first of all my English probably improved, also more Israelis arrived in the grade, and also the one whom we were with on vacation [recently], who is not Israeli, he also arrived at that time, he arrived from Quebec, so also this thing.

Because of the multicultural nature of many urban schools in Canada, Adam, Tom, Dana, and Sima, who attended public schools, also came into contact with other ethnic immigrant youth who shared their contact zone. They reported these contacts as positive—contributive to building of safe spaces within contested spaces. This space of horizontal relationships between the Israelis and other immigrants was homogenized by their immigration experience and commonalities in their linguistic repertoires. Yet while Adam reported positive experiences with peers who were members of other immigrants groups, he expressed ambivalence toward Canadian-born Jewish youth.

> A: I don't know if I felt better with Canadians than with Jewish Canadians, but I felt more comfortable with people who spoke like me, like their English was not *perfect at the time,* and they were with me maybe in certain classes, because we are after all *ESL*, *ESL*, and then there is *ESL science*, and I am also in *ESL science*.
> Y: So with other immigrants you felt more comfortable.
> A: Exactly, with other immigrants I felt more comfortable than with the rest of the population.

As Adam explained, he met friends from other ethnic groups in ESL classes. Even though over time he moved into regular English classes, Adam continued to seek out the company of other immigrant students.

> Yes, I would say in the last two years the people I contacted from a friends point of view were mostly immigrants, not ESL . . . because I was not in ESL anymore, I was in regular English. . . . But most of the people I was hanging out with were immigrants. What is this, immigrants? They spoke English better than me, but after all they are immigrants, they are not Canadians.

Adam's account demonstrates the importance of a shared immigrant experience (see also Doran, 2004) for Israeli immigrant youth. This factor seemed to weigh more heavily than a similar linguistic proficiency in the societal language or a common ethnicity.

Sima, too, reported feeling more comfortable speaking English with other immigrants because, as she explained, "it does not matter, because usually I speak with immigrants, and I do not speak with Canadians, so we have mistakes." Shared experience, both as immigrants and English language learners, with her immigrant peers created a comfortable space for Sima to practice her English. However, Sima reported a problem in speaking in English with Israelis or in their presence. She felt embarrassed as she felt their English proficiency was much stronger than hers.

In summary, respondents' accounts in this chapter shed light on the inter-cultural interactions practiced and the types of strategies employed to permit them to maneuver between unsafe and safe spaces in the process of their socialization. We see that as schools presented challenges, as agents of homogenization they also provided opportunities for students' adaptations to mainstream culture. Israeli immigrant youth

understood schools, accurately, as places where they would feel both safe and unsafe; and they directed their attention, astutely, to negotiating these tensions.

CHAPTER 7

LANGUAGE (RE)SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES

Language socialization in the context of migration involves, in most cases, more than one language: the dominant language of the receiving country and the ethnic language of the sending country. Often the linguistic repertoire immigrants bring with them constitutes more than one language. The two primary arenas where socialization of immigrant children and youth occurs are the school and the home. Teachers—experts representing the dominant societal culture and language—socialize the novice immigrants through the target language, the medium of instruction, for the purpose of using that language in the new society. On the other hand, in the home, the immigrant children and youth, at least upon arrival, continue to be socialized through their first language, usually by their parents, also experts. As language socialization research indicates, peers and siblings also play important roles in the socialization of the immigrants (Luo & Wiseman, 2000).

Before sharing participants' accounts, it is important to provide some historic and linguistic background. Israel is a country of immigrants, a young state established by Jewish immigrants, that continually absorbs new citizens. The settlement in Israel of so many Jewish immigrants from all over the world has resulted in contact of a variety of languages and cultures. Consequently, most native Israelis, who are only second or third generation, have been exposed to other languages and cultures in addition to the dominant language, Hebrew. Generally, third generation Israelis use only Hebrew in the

home. Thus, the linguistic milieu in some homes in Israel would constitute only Hebrew while in others it would constitute other languages.

Similarly, the linguistic landscapes of the participants' homes in Israel were diverse: for some respondents Hebrew was the only language spoken at home; for others, the home language environment involved other languages, primarily Russian. The amount of Russian spoken in these homes was related to the socio-historical context. During the seventies a group of Russian Jews immigrated to Israel. The rationale for their migration was primarily ideologically based: they were Zionists. At that time in Israel the assimilationist approach toward immigrants was dominant. Thus, these migrants learned Hebrew quickly and integrated into Israeli society. On the other hand, migration from Russia during the nineties was, arguably, more for economic reasons. Also, at that time the assimilationist approach was not prevalent. These migrants sought to preserve their ethnic language and also transmit that language to their children. To support this goal of cultural and linguistic maintenance, they used television programs, newspapers, magazines and other cultural activities, artifacts that migrants of the seventies did not have access to. The migrants of the seventies spoke Russian among themselves but Hebrew with their children. The migrants of the nineties spoke Russian among themselves and also with the children.

In this chapter, I illustrate the dynamic processes of language socialization which Israeli immigrant youth have experienced in Canada. Here I demonstrate that language socialization: (a) is a process of learning through which identities are formed and transformed across time and space; (b) occurs and is tested in discursive socio-cultural

and linguistic spaces located in a contact zone; (c) constitutes discursive relations of power among the socializing and the socialized; and (d) involves transnational practices. The first part of this chapter discusses practices concerning Hebrew language socialization, and the second part discusses practices concerning English language socialization.

7.1 Homeland Language: Maintenance and Shift

In this section I demonstrate how Israeli immigrant youth negotiate their language behavior and shift their language use on a continuum between English and Hebrew as well as discuss factors which play a role in these linguistic behaviors. I begin by focusing on the language environment in the homes of the Israeli immigrant youth as manifested over time. Since this language environment may shift, I also examine what factors may play a role in these dynamics.

7.1.1 Parents as Socializing Agents

For Oren, a third generation Israeli-born youth, Hebrew was the only language spoken in the home in Israel, and was continuously used in the home in Canada. In describing his Hebrew proficiency, Oren proudly stated: "Hebrew, really for one, and I tell you what people say, for one who left Israel at the age of 13, I think it is quite high." One of the questions I sought to explore was how Oren and his family maintained the Hebrew language, in other words, if there was a strategy of language use in the home.

> Y: Do you remember any conversations with your parents about the Hebrew language issue?
> O: No, it never came up. They always have spoken to us in Hebrew. And it seemed that they let the environment teach us English.
> Y: Were there times that you tried to speak in English, for example?

> O: No, no, not in our home. The truth is, I remember, we had neighbors who spoke English with their children, and after that they forgot Hebrew. With us, it never happened. It was quite clear, at home we speak Hebrew.

When I asked Oren whether his parents encouraged him to speak in Hebrew, he replied, "I don't know if they encouraged, they simply spoke Hebrew." Oren explained further how he succeeded in maintaining the Hebrew language beyond his language use in the home:

> I have no idea how it was maintained. First of all, at home we spoke only Hebrew; Rambam School, I don't remember how many hours, but there was Hebrew literature, Bible [subjects taught in Hebrew], I don't remember what else there was, and many of my friends were Israelis.

Oren outlined three factors that facilitated his Hebrew language maintenance. Undoubtedly, Hebrew use both in the home and with friends assisted Oren to maintain his spoken Hebrew. In addition, attending Jewish secondary school assisted him to maintaining his literacy skills as well as the spoken language he used in the classroom and with Israeli peers. As Oren's circle of friends is still mainly Israeli, he continues to use Hebrew both inside and outside of the home. And, since he married his Israeli wife his Israeli social circle has expanded and more opportunities for Hebrew language use have become available.

Over the years, however, more English was introduced in the home through the youngest brother who immigrated to Canada around the age of 4 or 5, that is, preschool age: "With the little one there is more English, but he also speaks Hebrew, his Hebrew is not, not bad really." Thus, it seems that age of immigration has been a factor affecting language use in Oren's home. Today Oren, the eldest among three brothers, continues to use Hebrew in his home. As he stated, "With my parents only Hebrew, with Rona [wife]

only Hebrew, and with my children only Hebrew, with my middle brother only Hebrew, with the youngest one a little English." Yet, when Oren described the language environment in his parents' home, he consistently mentioned the use of English in the presence of his youngest brother.

Similarly, Roni's home language has been always Hebrew, both in Israel and in Canada. His parents, both professionals with very good English proficiency, insisted nonetheless on speaking only Hebrew in the home to the children. Roni explained his parents' insistence on and persistence in the use of Hebrew as follows: "They knew that if they spoke with them [the siblings] in English, they would forget Hebrew." The following two excerpts illustrate Roni's parents' strategies of Hebrew language maintenance.

(1) Y: I try to see a picture of what happened in the home, because each home is different.
R: When they [the siblings] would say something to them in English, they [the parents] would not respond.
Y: The parents would not respond?
R: It happened maybe three or four times; then they [the parents] told them "OK, speak in Hebrew."

(2) Y: Do you remember conversations at home with regard to the language?
R: Yes, the parents explained that the only way to preserve Hebrew is if at home we speak Hebrew.
Y: So they explained it to you, to all the children in a direct way.
R: Yes. It was not a choice; we are speaking Hebrew, that's it.

The first excerpt shows how the parents manipulated their language policy implicitly as they would not respond to the children when they addressed them in English. In the second excerpt, the parents explained to the children explicitly that the language policy in their home involved the use of Hebrew and that linguistic maintenance of the ethnic

language was a priority. One reason Roni's parents stressed for maintaining the Hebrew language was to be able to communicate with family members in Israel, particularly the grandparents.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Roni's parents to maintain the Hebrew language in the home, the dominant language, English, infiltrated through the younger siblings. As Roni remarked, "Sometimes they speak among themselves in English," and "sometimes I speak with them in English," but "with the parents we speak only in Hebrew." It is worth noting Roni's descriptions of language interactions in the home between himself and his siblings. Roni and his younger siblings use both English and Hebrew to speak to one another.

> Y: And what language do the younger siblings speak?
> R: Half, half. Half in Hebrew and half in English.
> Y: Half and half. It is interesting to know in what areas or in which topics they speak Hebrew and in which English?
> R: For example, if they talk about what was in school, or if they went to a movie or watched something on TV, then they speak in English; but if it is about our vacation in Israel or something about the family it is always in Hebrew.
> Y: And is it the same with you or is it always Hebrew with you?
> R: With them I speak English only if it is something on TV or something that I simply do not know in Hebrew in that context.
> Y: Is everything in Hebrew or in English?
> R: Yes. . . . Usually it flows. If it flows in Hebrew there are always a few words in English.

Roni's description of language use among siblings in the above excerpt suggests that, in addition to being a milieu where code switching is common, Roni's home is also a diglossic environment where English and Hebrew are designated for certain topics (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967).

In Adam and Tom's home there is no language policy explicitly enforcing Hebrew only. The home is a multilingual environment: Russian is used between the parents mostly, but they use other languages as well. Notwithstanding the multiple languages spoken by the parents, the children spoke only Hebrew. And when the younger sister introduced English into the home the environment did not shift to one of linguistic conflict.

> Y: So the parents do not insist on only Hebrew in the home?
> A: No, it does not bother them at all, in my view, because our English as children is better in terms of absorption, we absorbed much faster, so for them, if we speak English with the parents, they say "we will learn better." Yes, they say "speak with me, I have no problem. . . . " It's more a thing of "do what you want; you speak Hebrew, it will be good; you speak English, it will be good."

Clearly, there is no language policy enforcement in Adam's home. Yet, the parents recognize the importance of maintaining the Hebrew language not just as cultural capital but also as linguistic capital: that is, language knowledge itself is deemed to be of worth. Adam expanded on the languages his parents knew, emphasising the high proficiency of his mother in these languages. In practice, however, according to Adam the parents feel more comfortable speaking in Hebrew. As Adam conveyed, the linguistic landscape of his home is affected also by the speakers' ages; the younger the age, the more English is used:

> Today we speak at home, it depends who. My sister speaks English and Hebrew, really mixed, sometimes she speaks Hebrew, and sometimes she speaks English. My brother and I speak mostly Hebrew; sometimes it happens that we have a conversation in English. Our parents speak with us only Hebrew.

Leora grew up in a bilingual home in Israel. The family immigrated to Israel in the early 1990s, when Leora was a year and a half old. While they were learning the

societal language, Hebrew, the parents were speaking to Leora and her younger brother who was born in Israel in Russian. However, over the years, the linguistic dynamics in the home shifted as the children became increasingly proficient in Hebrew. As Leora recalls:

> My brother and I [spoke] Hebrew, and my mother and father spoke either Hebrew or Russian. . . . When we were born, they spoke [Russian with us], and then when we began to go to kindergarten, and they noticed that we speak only Hebrew, they stopped, and began to speak to us only in Hebrew. . . . I can communicate [in Russian], a very basic level. My brother doesn't know a word. My mother knew more Hebrew when he was born.

When the family immigrated to Canada, the English language was added to their linguistic repertoire; and their home was transformed from a bilingual to a trilingual space. However, their linguistic trajectories were unique to each one of them. Again, the children acquired the societal language relatively quickly, while the parents lagged behind. Over the years, the English language infiltrated the home. Leora remarked that although her brother's English is the most fluent since he was the youngest to immigrate to Canada (8 years old), nevertheless, he did not lose his Hebrew. He still retains Hebrew because he attends Jewish school, and the family speak Hebrew in the home. Actually, Hebrew is the only language both Leora and her brother use in order to communicate with the parents on substantive issues. Leora portrayed the linguistic landscape of her current home environment:

> [It is a] combination of Hebrew, English, and Russian. My brother and I Hebrew and English, and my parents Hebrew, English, and Russian; but no, English not really because they do not understand so much English, even today it's very basic. Still Hebrew and Russian as it was in Israel. With me they speak in Hebrew, and sometimes they would speak with me in Russian, but I respond to them in Hebrew . . . this is so funny, most of us speak half and half. We speak half a sentence in one language and half in a second language, or we insert a word

> which comes up first into the sentence in the different language, this is really funny.

Here, as in the case of other participants, the language interactions, particularly between the siblings, suggest diglossic conditions in the home where topic influences language choice. As Leora observed,

> I noticed that when we speak, my brother and I and also my parents, for example, about Jewish topics such as holidays or "I heard from the rabbi this or that," then we speak in Hebrew, because it is related, but when we speak about daily things, my brother and I speak English because this is his fluent language, and with our parents we speak Hebrew.

Like other participants, Leora does not identify with her parents' sub-ordinate language (Russian), which in Canada has become sub-sub-ordinate. As she explained:

> I have a problem. I cannot stand this language [Russian]. I do not know why, I have something against it. I absorbed the language, right, but I do not like to speak the language, first of all, because I am not sure of myself because I stumble and I cannot find the words. No, I do not like how it sounds, it is not a nice language in my view, this language is not nice at all. And third, why use it when there are other languages that are necessary to use? It is more necessary for me to improve my English, and to get back my fluency in Hebrew, because in Israel I had fluent Hebrew, in grammar I always got a hundred percent. Now it is not so anymore.

So, for both ideological and practical reasons, Hebrew serves a double function in Leora's home—as the principal language of communication and as an agent of family cohesion.

7.1.2 Children as Socializing Agents

Traditionally, in language socialization research the "experts," or socializing agents, are adults such as parents or caregivers. Yet, as Schecter and Bayley (2002) show in their study on Mexican-descent families in the United States, the issue of "who is socializing whom" (p. 173) in Western industrialized societies is more complex than

meets the eye. This section supports Schecter and Bayley's (2002, 2004) findings that young people, conventionally thought of as "novices" in educational research, often serve as agents of socialization. Sima and Guy took on the role of socializing family members into the use of Hebrew in their homes. Sima's home language in Israel and in Canada has been Hebrew. However, in Canada, maintaining the Hebrew language has been interrupted by the infiltration of English through the younger sister. Describing the language situation in her home, it seems that Sima is the active agent of the Hebrew maintenance while her parents have played a more passive role. Sima expressed a strong stance on Hebrew language use and its maintenance.

> S: In Israel we spoke only Hebrew at home.
> Y: And here at home now?
> S: Hebrew, Hebrew, and I even demand Hebrew. You will not find me once speaking in English, and I demand of my sister, "Speak only Hebrew." I am very extreme in this matter.
> Y: Now I understand that your sister arrived here at a younger age. So, does she start to speak English at home?
> S: She pushes words in English, and I tell her every time, I simply demand, "I don't hear you until you speak Hebrew," because this is very important to me. My problem is that I saw the effects on children whose parents insist on Hebrew at home and children whose parents do not.
> Y: Did you see it here in Canada?
> S: Yes. You see two children who arrived here at the same time. I know someone [a girl] who arrived here at the age of 3 and someone [a girl] who arrived here two years ago, and now she is in Grade 7. The girl who came at 3, her parents insisted on Hebrew, her parents insisted on speaking Hebrew, she speaks excellent Hebrew, almost without mistakes—always there are [some mistakes], it is also small children. And the one who arrived here two years ago forgot Hebrew. You see that this [speaking] has effects.

Sima is aware of the fact that if she had come to Canada at a younger age her Hebrew proficiency might have suffered. Regardless, Sima highlights ideological reasons for maintaining the Hebrew language.

> This is also part of me, what can I do? Will I forget my Hebrew? I will go to Israel, and what will I have? "Yes, sir" [imitating English accent], people anyway [laughing] don't speak English [in Israel].

In addition, Sima has practical reasons for maintaining the Hebrew language. It is easier and less stressful for her and her parents to use Hebrew; and proficiency in Hebrew allows her to communicate easily with family members in Israel. Because Hebrew is so important for Sima, she is the one who carries the "Hebrew flag" at home: indeed even when her younger sister switches sometimes to English, Sima forces her to switch back to Hebrew—otherwise she will not respond. Although her parents speak in Hebrew with her and her sister, they do not insist that the younger sibling speak in Hebrew. According to Sima, "They know that I take care of it [laughing]." When I asked Sima if her family members had discussions at home with regard to language use, she replied:

> Of course, these are not discussions, it is more a type of small fights with my sister in particular, because my parents, again, they will not start to speak English, because it is the most natural thing for them to speak Hebrew, and the same with me, I will not start to speak in English. Sometimes it is like mini-mini-arguments with my sister: "Listen, you have to start to speak Hebrew, [if you don't] afterward it will make your life much more difficult. Let's say you would like to speak with your grandmother." My grandmother does not speak English, nor does my grandfather or any of the older people in the family, so it creates not a good situation, that's all.

Noteworthy is Sima's normative attitude toward and passion for the Hebrew language: While she was still in Israel "it became a habit" to correct others' linguistic mistakes. Moreover, her strong identification with the Hebrew language represents her attachment to her country.

> This is part of my definition as Israeli: First of all, to forget the language is to forget myself, to forget part of me, it's inability to communicate with my country, and this comes first, as I see it.

In contrast to her strong convictions about Hebrew language maintenance, Sima conveys throughout the interview her difficulty in learning English and the psycho-social implications of English as the societal variety. This dichotomy suggests an interpretive possibility: the home for Sima is a linguistic safe space while outside the home is an unsafe space where socio-cultural and linguistic interactions are negotiated in conditions of asymmetrical power relations. It seems, moreover, that it is important for Sima to keep the home as a safe space; the more she struggles outside of the home, the harder she works to keep the home a space where she feels secure and uncontested linguistically. Thus, the infiltration of English into the home represents a threat to her safe space.

Guy, it seems, never had a homogenous linguistic space. His parents who were emigrants from Russia continued in Israel to use their native language at home even after they acquired the Hebrew language. Consequently, growing up in Israel, Guy was socialized into two languages: Russian, his parents' language, and Hebrew, the societally dominant language. Yet, Hebrew has become his principal language, the one he is attached to and knows the best. When Guy moved to Canada with his parents and his older brother, he came into contact with the dominant language, English, primarily through school. Although all members of his family learned English outside of the home, the parents continued to use Russian and Hebrew in the home. Guy worked hard to maintain his knowledge of Hebrew, and considers the Hebrew language to be the key marker of his Israeli identity. When I asked him how he practices his Israeliness, his response was "through Hebrew."

Because of the primacy of two languages, Guy's home was a linguistic contact zone particularly with reference to spoken language. Guy did not identify with Russian, his parents' native language, as it represented the sub-ordinate both in Canada and Israel; rather he insisted on speaking Hebrew, which, although a sub-ordinate variety in Canada, represented for him the super-ordinate variety in Israel. This divergence created language conflicts, and complicated power relationships at home. While his parents were empowered by their authority role, Guy felt empowered through the use of the Hebrew language. The following excerpts illustrate Guy's association of Hebrew with a sense of empowerment.

(1) Y: Can you describe the languages they spoke in your home?
G: Mostly Russian. They screamed in Russian or in Hebrew, but mostly Russian, and Hebrew, Russian and Hebrew.
Y: Your parents spoke with you in what language? Russian?
G: Russian and Hebrew. They would speak with me in Russian and I would respond in Hebrew on purpose, so they would learn my language.
Y: In Israel or also in Canada?
G: Both in Israel and in Canada.

(2) Y: What is interesting, according to what I hear from you, is that in your case your parents didn't need to force you to speak Hebrew?
G: I needed to force them.
Y: But you said that they spoke Hebrew at home?
G: They spoke Hebrew when they had to. They spoke mostly Russian. My mother, a great and nice woman, but she has this Russian thing, "I am Russian, I will speak Russian" [imitates a Russian accent]. But they didn't have to push me.

(3) Y: At home the dominant language was Hebrew?
G: Yes.
Y: Do you remember conversations that you had with your parents around the topic of language or the use of language?
G: Really not.
Y: Didn't you have conversations or arguments about what language to speak?
G: No, simply, they would speak in Russian, and I would respond in Hebrew, no, I would make fun of their language, that didn't interest me, and I don't care about

it. Now I'm a little—too bad, languages are important, but I wanted to change [them].

Beyond empowerment, the use of Hebrew gave Guy a sense of belonging. Being an immigrant in Canada, the use of Hebrew bonded him to a group, a community of expatriate Israelis. While Guy expressed a disdainful attitude toward the Russian language, imitating the Russian accent (see excerpt 2) that he associated with his parents' communication, he nevertheless felt that home afforded him a linguistic safe space, or in Pratt's (1991) words, a *safe house*, for his maintenance of Hebrew. Guy remembers his older brother and his father buying the Israeli newspaper every week; he remembers reading it as well. He also recalls that his father used to listen to the local Israeli radio channel every Sunday, as did he.

In contrast, Michael was ready to pay a price in terms of his loss of his first language to build linguistic capital by acquiring the societal language, English. He realized that in order to make friends he had to be able to communicate in English. The social shock that Michael experienced in immigrating to Canada, in addition to the cultural shock, was impetus for his assimilative approach toward English language socialization. Even at the beginning, soon after arriving in Canada, Michael began his attempts to infuse English into the home. As he reveals, initially he tried to force his family to speak in English, but "this did not work."

M: I thought that to improve the language, we have to speak the local language. To make new friends one needs to speak the language [English]. This is not like in Israel where everybody speaks Hebrew.
Y: Interesting. Then your parents did not want to speak with you in English?
M: No, this was very frustrating.
Y: This was frustrating for you. And today, what do you speak at home?
M: Hebrew. Nothing has changed.

Y: Do you still try to speak with them in English?
M: No, I gave up in 1988.
Y: Ah, so you tried for a short period of time.
M: Yes, maybe a month.
Y: So they never had to force you to speak Hebrew?
M: As I said, I tried to force them to speak English but it was more comfortable to speak Hebrew between us.

Nonetheless, it remains of interest that for both ideological and practical reasons, Michael was willing to give up his linguistic safe space of the home to invest in the acquisition of resources in the form of the societal language.

7.1.3 Hebrew Literacy: Maintenance and Shift

One of the questions I sought to explore in this dissertation concerned patterns of Hebrew literacy acquisition, maintenance and shift among Israeli immigrant youth across time. Here I was interested in both patterns of language use and skills and how practices related to processes of identification in the process of socialization. Clearly, the interviews were informative regarding the interdependence between dominant language socialization and home language socialization. It is worth noting again that some of the participants attended Jewish school where they continued to use Hebrew literacy on a regular basis while others who attended public school did not have this same opportunity. In higher education, generally all encounter English only. Yet, as the interviews revealed, a Jewish education proved not to be a reliable indicator for continued Hebrew maintenance (see Leora's case in next section). Furthermore, the development and maintenance of Hebrew literacy skills among Israeli immigrant youth appears more dependent on patterns of language use than on length of residence in either Israel or Canada.

7.1.3.1 Reading Hebrew

In this section I examine the Hebrew reading practices of Israeli immigrant youth to explore development and maintenance of reading skills across time. All of the participants use the internet to read Israeli news in Hebrew, although the frequency with which they do so may vary. Interestingly, in this digital era many of the participants reported reading books—fiction and nonfiction—both in Hebrew and English. Indeed, many reported a longstanding practice of reading fiction both in Israel and in Canada. Sima, for example, who attended public school in Canada where Hebrew literacy skills were not reinforced, still feels more comfortable in her fifth year in Canada reading in Hebrew than in English. Although Sima performs well academically, academic literacy through the medium of English is not an area of confidence for her. As Sima highlighted, her preference to read in Hebrew is related to her reading level in English:

> S: Books I read in Hebrew unless I am forced to read in English for papers and such.
> Y: In what language do you prefer to read?
> S: I prefer Hebrew. English is all the *synonyms* and all the sh*t, sorry, and all this nonsense which I don't understand at all.

Indeed, Sima continues to read fiction in Hebrew, and thus, as she described, "Every time when I am in Israel, I collect a small archive of books, every time I buy another one or two."

Roni's continuous reading in Hebrew is credited with maintaining his strong reading skills: "In reading comprehension I am very good because I still continue to read in Hebrew." Roni, who attended Jewish school, has used Hebrew literacy continuously since immigrating although the level at which he could perform was lower than what he

would have achieved in Israel. Nonetheless, Roni is proud of his reading accomplishments in Hebrew, and points to his parents as role models who conveyed a positive attitude towards Hebrew reading. After seven years of Canadian schooling, Roni's Hebrew reading skills are still higher than his English reading skills in speed and comprehension, a result he attributes to his parents' socialization approach.

> Y: Ah. You read at home in Hebrew. What do you read?
> R: Regular books, not children's books, 500 pages, very good books. . . . There are books that I read in English, but I much prefer to read in Hebrew.
> Y: And why is that?
> R: I don't know, I think when I started to read books in Hebrew, the time I started really to read was just around the time we moved [here], then I could not read English because I was not strong enough in English, so I continued to read only in Hebrew; and also books my parents read in Hebrew, so always when they give me books it is in Hebrew.
> Y: So it is easier for you to read books in Hebrew than in English?
> R: Yes, also much faster.

Tom, who has always loved books, also continues to read Hebrew books in Canada. Although he reads fiction books in English, he still prefers to read in Hebrew.

> I liked very much to read in Israel, I was reading a lot, regular books, all kinds of books, even the encyclopedia I liked to read, I am the type who likes to read. English I did not like to read. When we arrived here, fortunately, in the area where we lived there was a library with Hebrew books, so I took Hebrew books also from there. . . . Books for pleasure I was reading mainly in Hebrew, but I also began to read in English, and I still make sure to read both in English and in Hebrew. This is quite interesting, though, if you gave me the same material in Hebrew and in English, I would prefer to read it in Hebrew; if I do a search online, for example, on Wikipedia, if there is the same information in Hebrew and in English, most likely I would read Hebrew first, because I also read faster in Hebrew.

After six years in Canada where he excelled in high school and university, Hebrew is still easier for Tom than English even in negotiating new academic material. Tom explains,

> It is simply faster to read in Hebrew, the *processing* of the language is much easier for me in Hebrew. I did not read so much at an academic level in Hebrew, I

> did not have the opportunity, but it takes me less time to digest the material. In English I also read well, although I read more slowly than in Hebrew, but I have to concentrate more when I read.

There are other reasons, too, for Tom's preference for reading in Hebrew:

> Because it is more enjoyable. I can admit that even now when I read a novel in English I will not get *one hundred percent*, really, really of what is written. In Hebrew it is always like that, more enjoyable and faster for me to read in Hebrew, but I do not have any problem reading in English, but my preference is to read in Hebrew, clear and simple.

Clearly, Tom, like Roni and Sima, was able to maintain his Hebrew literacy skills because of his consistent investment in reading.

Leora's trajectory of Hebrew reading took a different direction. Unlike Tom and Sima who attended public school, Leora spent four years in a Jewish high school where she had the opportunity to practice Hebrew reading. In addition, in the first two years Leora borrowed fiction books in Hebrew from the public library. Surprising, though, is that Leora's reading ability in Hebrew has nonetheless flagged given her years in Jewish education. Although she still loves reading in Hebrew, the extensive change in her schooling occasioned by her transition to university where she was immersed in English only affected the quantity and quality of her Hebrew reading. She explained:

> I prefer to read in Hebrew, but unfortunately, it is easier for me to read in English, because I got used to it in school. I am already there [university] four years, every week there are 50 pages to read for each course, then there are five courses so it is 500 pages a week. Even if I don't do it all, out of choice my brain got used to it so much, so it is easier for me.

Leora volunteered another reason that may explain her decreased Hebrew reading. After two initial miserable years, when she rebelled and joined the gothic sub-culture as part of

her socialization to the Canadian society, she disconnected herself from anything Hebrew or Israeli.

Like Tom, Leora is a book lover who takes pride in her reading. Over the years, as her reading skills in English developed, Leora augmented the number of books she was reading in English—fiction and nonfiction. Nonetheless, Leora's passion for Hebrew reading is still present although the skills have abated due to lack of practice. Leora remembers fondly the enjoyment she derived from reading in Hebrew:

> But I also like to read in Hebrew; during the four years at Rambam I was reading, and when we came here—there are many books in Hebrew [in the public library]—I was reading many books in Hebrew. I like very much to read in Hebrew . . . today fiction in Hebrew only sometimes, but I want and I have to, it is clear that I lost it a little, but I think other people lost it more than me. I remember being a student in Israel, language and grammar were my best marks, I got a hundred percent in everything always. I read, I devoured books. My mother raised me since Grade 1, reading four books a week, must go to the library once a week to take four books, it's the rule, we must, so I got used to it. And how I devoured books, really, really fast, I liked to read fiction and I read well. I remember when we had dictations in class, I never had mistakes, I was so proud of myself. But now, when I read a book in Hebrew, I read quite fast but it's slower than what it would have been if I'd stayed there.

Notwithstanding losing fluency in Hebrew reading (in favor of English) as noted above, there is also an indication of a recursive process or a reversal of language shift (Fishman, 1991) with regards to Leora's Hebrew reading. Since her visit to Israel last summer, 2010, she has became more conscientious about Hebrew reading and has begun to read in Hebrew on the internet, and through fiction books: "Subsequent to the trip I began to read *Michael Sheli* [My Michael], and I want to read more books in Hebrew." On her next trip to Israel in summer 2011, Leora intends to stock up on books in Hebrew with the intention of reversing the process of language loss that she has experienced.

For Guy, a book lover like Tom and Leora, reading books was a practice that connected him to Hebrew language and literacy. In his first three years in Canada, when, according to Guy, he was "disconnected from Israel," he continued to read in Hebrew—four books to be exact (the only books he had at that time). Guy explained:

> I think, the only thing which reconnected me—this is the reason I have so much affection for these books—was the books of Hasamba [a children's series], the only thing I was reading until 1993, when the author of Hasamba passed away; then once a year they would send me a book from Israel, or someone traveling to Israel would bring me a book of Hasamba which I didn't read yet. Then, slowly, slowly it reconnected me.

After that, when Guy visited Israel five years later, he developed a renewed relationship with Israel and Israeliness, a relationship in which Hebrew was a central component. Before what he describes as the Internet era, he was reading the Israeli newspaper every week.

When Dana immigrated to Canada, she found that the public library in her neighborhood, although limited, was a good resource of Hebrew language material. At a time when Dana could not yet read in English, she was able to keep up her love for books through reading in a language she understood. Today, however, although Dana reads the news in Hebrew on the internet, she prefers to read fiction books in English, because she believes her proficiency in English is superior, and because the variety of books available in English is larger.

> Now, mainly I read in English, there was time that I was reading more books in Hebrew which I found in the public library, whatever I found. . . . For sure I have a preference for English because there is more variety. I don't look for this connection anymore; then it was very important for me, I wanted very much to maintain the language and to continue reading in Hebrew, and now it's interesting me less, because I know that it's part of me, and I know that it's not going to

> disappear from me, I don't need to read books for that. . . . Now I think it suits me more to read in English, I also read it faster.

In this quote, Dana conveys clearly that she no longer looks to Hebrew texts for a "connection" to an identity associated with Israel or Israeliness. She reads in English because her ability to read in English has surpassed her Hebrew language competencies. This may also symbolically allude to her wish to integrate into the dominant society through the English language.

7.1.3.2 Hebrew Writing

Results showed no difference between participants who were in Canada longer and those who arrived more recently. Interestingly, the younger participants who have been in Canada for less time reported a significant decline in use of and skills in Hebrew writing. Only Sima, who was in her fifth year in Canada, still felt more comfortable in Hebrew than in English; however, the other participants who have been here six or seven years felt more comfortable writing in English, particularly in composing on the computer. Indeed, participants who have been for a longer time in Canada reported on almost no use of Hebrew writing whatsoever.

One reason for decline of writing skills in Hebrew is the discontinuity of its use. Over the years, as Israeli immigrant youth strive to succeed academically in school, they develop their English writing skills, while at the same time the Hebrew language recedes as it is not necessary for academic engagement. Adam, who attended a public high school, did not have the opportunity to continue to develop his writing skills in Hebrew.

> I think in English I write better because in school they taught me and I was writing *essays* and practiced writing on a weekly basis. And Hebrew, I never wrote an essay in my life. I can write . . . but it doesn't mean that my level of

> writing in English is good, but it is simply better than Hebrew. . . . I would prefer for sure [to write in English]. Also on the computer I write much faster in English, in Hebrew I am not [as fast].

Involved in his use of English for academic purposes (Collier, 1987; Cummins, 1991) are Adam's computer typing skills. Similarly, Roni, who attended a private Jewish school, also described his level of written English as higher than his writing proficiency in Hebrew.

> Y: And you said that your English was basic. And how do you feel in English today?
> R: Very good, I don't have any problem in English; my writing ability in English is higher than in Hebrew. Also I feel fluent in both languages . . . but in terms of writing, I don't have the writing ability [in Hebrew] to change the *sentence structure* or all the *transitions*, I don't have what I can do in English. In English it is fine. Last year I got 82 percent, and I took English in the summer and I got 92 percent [laughing].

While Roni uses email a lot, "almost always in English," in his contact with friends in Canada, he writes to family and friends in Hebrew: Roni's frequent visits to Israel facilitate his maintaining close contact with family and friends there and provide a rationale for email communications in Hebrew.

Tom, who immigrated at the age of 16 and attended public school in Ontario, still uses Hebrew on a regular basis in speaking and reading; however, he has begun shifting to English in the area of writing, which he does using the computer. As he stated: "Even when I write to Israelis, although I try not to, I have to admit, I write in English." Yet, as Tom elaborated, his code alternation in writing depends also on the receptiveness of recipients:

> Both Hebrew and English, actually, many times I find myself responding to them in English and if I find that there is not a problem with it on their part, then I simply continue, but again, also Hebrew alternately.

Oren has not had much opportunity to use Hebrew writing since his graduation from Jewish school. To contact people in Israel he uses mostly the telephone where he uses the Hebrew language. However, he also uses email to keep in touch with peers such as his cousin and several friends. Here he writes in English. As he explains:

> Y: In what language do you email to those in Israel?
> O: No, only English because I simply know to write in Hebrew. I just don't know, don't recognize the keyboard very well, so I don't have patience.
> Y: Ah. Don't you have the letters in Hebrew?
> O: No, but I had it before, and I decided to leave it.
> Y: So do you have any opportunity to write in Hebrew?
> O: In Hebrew in handwriting sometimes to Rona [wife] or if I have to write to her, something like that, the truth is, in handwriting not much.

Guy communicates in Hebrew with people in Israel, but unlike the other participants, he uses transliteration; that is, he writes Hebrew words using the English alphabet.

> In English, not because I want to but because I cannot, I don't have *keyboard* in Hebrew, now I bought a new *keyboard* so I will do it soon. But it is English Hebrew: it means, I write the words in English, but it is Hebrew.

Leora's writing skills in Hebrew atrophied because of lack of opportunity to use the written code. Although she spent four years at a private Jewish high school, in the subsequent four years in university she was immersed in English only schooling; and English quickly supplanted her writing skills in Hebrew.

> In English it is easier and faster, because all these years in the university we need to write *essays*, all kind of *summaries* all day every day, *notes,* so in English it is faster; and since Rambam I did not have any reason to write in Hebrew at all, so for this reason too I forgot.

Like Guy and Oren, Leora also does not use the computer for Hebrew writing as she does not have a Hebrew program or a Hebrew keyboard. However, since her visit to

Israel last summer, in 2010, Leora has put a renewed effort into the practice of Hebrew writing.

> L: But lately, since my trip to Israel in the summer, much has changed. I told you, I really connected, and I began to write a little in Hebrew, so now it's good.
> Y: What do you write?
> L: Just about my day, like a kind of diary.
> Y: And why don't you do it in English?
> L: Because I want to practice Hebrew. In the summer, I remember, when I was at my aunt's [in Israel], I randomly wrote on a paper, and my hands are not used to it—you try to write a letter, and it is strange.

7.1.4 Transnational Practices as Investment in Language Maintenance

In today's globalized societies, both the development and affordability of telecommunications, transportation, and technology make relationships with those residing in the country of origin increasingly accessible. Thus, the use of technologies such as telephone, television, video, computer, internet, and CD's, as well as affordable transportation, facilitate language contact and therefore the maintenance of the ethnic language and culture abroad. Guy reminds us, however, that this was not the case when he immigrated to Canada in the late 1980s. In his early years in the new country, people had to work harder in order to maintain their ethnic culture and language for lack of accessible supports. As Guy remembers:

> And what was funny, there was a video store here; it is still here, the video store. In those days, there was no [Israeli TV] channel. You know, for those who live here today, it is easy. We underwent the difficult years. We were smuggling Bisli and Bamba [Israeli snacks] in the suitcases. Whoever traveled to Israel [was told], "Don't forget to bring Bisli, because I will get you if you do not bring it." Then, it was difficult. Movies, we were renting the same movies from the video store. This maniac used to record movies in Hebrew, distribute them illegally, and still demand two dollars if you were [returning them] late. Chutzpah [what nerve]. This is what I was doing, that is what I was watching.

Today, however, Guy doesn't need to depend on Israeli snacks hidden in suitcases or to watch an Israeli movie over and over again. The local supermarkets, particularly in the Jewish and Israeli enclaves of Toronto, are filled with Jewish and Israeli products. Indeed, transnational opportunities abound for the Israeli community in the greater Toronto area. Examples: long distance telephone plans are in fierce competition which reduces the costs; more airlines offer flights to Israel, competing with El Al, the national airline; the Israeli television channel which combines programs broadcasted from Israel as well as local programs is easily accessed at a nominal cost. And the internet, in particular, contributes largely to the transnational opportunities for Israeli immigrants because of its affordability and accessibility.

This said, Guy's case is instructive because it represents not simply an example of language maintenance but also of language development. That is, the video movies Guy was watching in his early years in Canada were used to continue to develop his Hebrew language. Certainly, movies and discs, in addition to books, allowed Guy to not only maintain but develop his Hebrew language skills alongside English in the days before the internet era.

Roni's Hebrew language use patterns are similarly pro-active: he watches Israeli movies, although he does not watch Israeli television or access Israeli programs on the internet. His family seems to observe a particular family practice of watching Israeli movies together. This practice may be viewed as an extension of the parents' strategies regarding Hebrew language maintenance. In Roni's words:

> In Hebrew I almost do not watch, only when I visit in Israel, but we watch at least one Israeli movie every month at home, we buy the DVD in the airport or the

> grandparents bring a movie [when they come to visit us], many movies we watch, many movies, so movies, yes, because there are very good movies.

All the participants use the telephone, where they communicate in Hebrew, to contact family and friends in Israel as well as for business. All use the internet to stay connected with Israel and things Israeli. The following section will expand upon two transnational practices among Israeli immigrant youth that play a vital role in their Hebrew language and Israeli culture maintenance. The first is travel to Israel; the second, the use of the internet.

7.1.4.1 Homeland Visits as a Transnational Practice

Transportation affordability has made transnational ties with Israel more accessible. Return trips visiting the homeland play a role in the construction of transnational identity and in first language maintenance (see Christou & King, 2006; Giampapa, 2004; Louie, 2006). As the accounts of the participants illustrate, trips to Israel have been significant to varied degrees in the (re)construction of their cultural identities and with regard to the Hebrew language maintenance.

Oren traveled back to Israel for the first time two years following his immigration to Canada. Since then, until he got married, he used to visit Israel every two or three years in the summer. The continuous visits enabled him to keep ongoing contact with family as well as a few friends. He recalled his first trip back to Israel:

> Really, I felt great. Also the family, also the friends I left. There was really a lot of running around. I did things that every Israeli does in the summer; in the summer is always the ocean, the swimming pool, trips, parties.

After his marriage to an Israeli woman who followed him to Canada, the visits to Israel became more frequent, once or twice a year, as he accompanied his wife who travels to

Israel to visit her family. Clearly, Oren's trips enable him to maintain the Hebrew language and facilitate his Israeli identification.

Guy's first trip back to Israel was after five years of his immigration to Canada. The return to Israel was a turning point in Guy's connection with Israel, which has been crucial for his cultural and linguistic identity development.

> And I think that the stage at which I began to get more interested [in Israel] was at the age of 16, when I went back to Israel for the first time after five years. I was there about six weeks, I really loved to be there. You know, well, Canadian, you know, I bought shirts with Hebrew [print], I went to Arad festival [of music]. I really got the experience of Israel. I traveled around, and it was cool and great. And it was the first time after such a long time.

Guy really enjoyed the trip: He saw his family, and connected with Israel. Interestingly, although Guy was highly positive about the connection with Israel, nevertheless, he represented himself as a Canadian who visited Israel, an indication of his adaptation to Canadian culture. Since his first trip, Guy makes an attempt "every year to return to Israel." In recent years, because of his work, he may travel to Israel more than once a year. Undoubtedly, the frequent trips facilitate his Hebrew language maintenance. As he explained:

> But most of the time, you know, when I go to Israel, no one thinks I am from abroad. There is always the accent, [people] don't know exactly what it is, because there is in Israel also the ingathering of the exiles [immigration of Jews to Israel from all over the world]. . . . My Hebrew has improved because I go to Israel so much. I must speak Hebrew there all the time.

Leora traveled back to Israel for the first time after seven years, in the summer of 2010. The trip was highly significant for her: "It was a trip which gave me back my personality." In the case of Leora the trip brought about both a renewed practice of Israeliness and psychological closure. It seems that Leora's identification with Israeliness

has been suppressed in the years of exile before her return trip to Israel. Apparently, the process of adaptation to Canada for Leora necessitated a relinquishment of her Israeliness; she could not maintain multiple identities, as they were in conflict. As she explained:

> Yes, I disconnected myself [from Israel], not because I wanted to, but in some way it was my fault. I think it was a process that when I arrived here I was very depressed, and I was very angry, and it was terrible, and it was the most difficult thing in the world, and I wanted to go back [to Israel]; and then somehow I understood that I will never go back, and all the anger just burst out, the good girl who suffers and suffers burst, and then like I became rebellious and I rebelled against everything, and when it subsided, I understood that that's it, I am here in Canada; I became Canadian, I became more like the people around me, and then I adapted and got used to it, and everything subsided. And then, the first time I traveled to Israel after seven years; when I arrived, everything was "wow," everything Canada suppressed from you, and everything you suppressed yourself, here is this thing that seven years ago you thought you would die if you left it, and then you got used to being without it, like Israel, and now you are here again, and now it is possible to combine the two things. And since I returned to Israel in the summer, I have allowed myself to remember that I am Israeli without it making me lose my senses, and be depressed; because in the past, if I brought to mind that I'm Israeli, it would come from a sad and angry place: "Ah, yes, I'm Israeli, but I'm not there," it had to be either-or, or everything or nothing. And now, it's much more subdued; yes, I'm Israeli, and I can watch Israeli programs, and read a book in Hebrew, and speak Hebrew, but it doesn't mean that I have to feel bad, and depressed, and angry because I am not there.

Definitely, the trip to Israel renewed Leora's connection with Israel: it was the trigger which brought Leora back to "the love of speaking Hebrew, of writing in Hebrew, Israeli identification", "reading a book in Hebrew," and using the internet to contact family and friends and to connect with Israel. Leora explained how she increased her use of Hebrew in speaking following the trip:

> For example, with Sima, before the trip I would speak to her in English, today I speak to her only in Hebrew. But then, it was like, if she'd speak with me in Hebrew I'd respond to her in Hebrew, but if I was initiating, I'd initiate in English.

As Leora enthusiastically shared in the interview, she will be traveling again to Israel in the summer of 2011. It seems that for Leora the visit to the homeland worked as recursive socialization, or as a process of identity formation "following a 'spiral' (rather than linear) path" (C. Suárez-Orozco & M. M. Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p. 119).

Conversely, Sima's trip to Israel following her immigration was an experience that facilitated her socialization and adaptation to Canadian life. Sima immigrated to Canada against her will. As a teenager, she had to follow her parents who didn't allow her to stay in Israel notwithstanding her attempts to persuade them to let her stay with close relatives. In Canada, Sima kept an ongoing connection with Israel through both the internet and imagining a return to Israel.

> I had kind of a fantasy, about my friends in Israel, Israel is a perfect place, I'm going back there. I was sinking into daydreams, how I'm going back to Israel, how everything is going to be wonderful, and I really embellished it enormously. . . . I used to come back from school to the computer and speak with my friends in Israel, and watch Israeli TV, it was something I was doing 24/7. I used to turn the TV on and do my homework, I had to have a bit of this Israeli taste. The fact that there were not many Israelis didn't bother me so much at the beginning, I didn't miss it really because I drew this energy, my Israeliness, from another source.

And then, after a year, in the summer, Sima traveled back to Israel the first time. Yet, the country Sima left was not the same country she returned to, as people and other conditions had changed. Thus, Sima's encounter with Israel was a "reality check" for her, particularly in response to her imagined experience. Sima described her trip:

> I went back to Israel in the summer after the first year [in Canada], and as I told you, I constructed to myself a perfect world of Israel, that I will go back, and it will be good. The problem was that my mentality also has changed very much in light of what happened before [in Canada], you know, with them, people simply depressed me. And then, I can use this metaphor, I arrived [in Israel] like a little

> dog which you just now ran over [giggling], I was very miserable; and all my friends who had expectations, "Sima is coming home," then it was like pfff [making a sound of shattering], a shattering of dreams. I came back to Canada: "I'm in Canada, I have to cope with it"; it was like a slap in the face. . . . And the whole issue of going back to Israel was a slap in the face, like "wake up," in terms understanding that I cannot live on fantasies anymore. What went through my mind all the time: "You don't have anywhere to return to anymore; if you built yourself a little fantasy, this fantasy was shattered." This was a bubble: "I don't need to invest in Canada because in Israel it will be better," and it was quite shattering, because after all I was in Israel almost a month. . . . We tried to reconstruct things we used to do in the past, but we couldn't because of the war [second Lebanon war]; during this time, we felt obligated, compelled. I'm talking with my friends, and I'm not really talking with them, at some point we grew tired of each other.

Consequently, as Sima realized that perfect Israel was not a viable concept, she changed her attitude toward life in Canada and began to invest in her own socialization in her new world country.

> So after I came back [to Canada], it also took me time slowly, slowly, to adjust again, to take myself into my own hands, to try harder to learn English, it was kind of an adjustment, a wake-up call, in Israel it was not so perfect.

This more positive attitude toward Canada allowed Sima to invest in social relationships and friendships which she had avoided before.

> Something loosened up in me after I had already became accustomed to [Canada], because I don't look at Canada as such a monster, "oh, oh, it is destroying my life" or something like that, I take it more lightly, you can say, or take it with more so-called open-mindedness, it gives me the opportunity to go out and have fun.

A year and a half later, Sima traveled back to Israel where she was able to consolidate relationships with friends. This time, she was more calm and relaxed. She discovered that she could bring together the two worlds, Israel and Canada, dismissing the idea of either/ or. That is, Sima realized that she could live productively with a sense of displacement, developing a sense of translocation situated in between "remembering and renewal." As

Kinzel (2010) observes: "Translocations are never simply changes of place, but changes of memory, re-creations of memories in which the constructed meanings of identity narratives become encoded" (p. 118). Concomitantly, as Sima was able to socialize successfully in and to Canada, she was able to forge a connection with a real (and not the fantasized) Israel.

7.1.4.2 Digital Media Use as a Transnational Practice

In this digital era, new technologies used by immigrants play a role in their language maintenance (Fitzgerald & Debski, 2006; Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009). For example, the data in Fitzgerald and Debski's study conducted in Australia showed "that the Internet has increased the *quantity* of contacts with ethnic language material" (p.97). As Lam and Rosario-Ramos suggest, "Language maintenance for these young people goes beyond the preservation of culture and identity among minority groups in a society to the construction of new identities as transnational friends and family members and global information seekers" (p. 187). Similarly, the accounts of participants in this study highlight the important role the digital media play in their transnational lives.

Guy embraced the technology of the internet immediately when it became available. He still remembers the days when the information transferred between Canada and Israel was limited; hence more effort was needed in order to keep in contact with family and friends in Israel as well as access news and other types of information. But today, as a result of cyberspace, all this has changed.

> The internet has also changed [what it is] to be an Israeli here. . . . [Then] to listen to the radio from Israel, Reshet Bet [channel 2], really who wants to listen to Reshet Bet? Who listens to Reshet Bet in Israel? But then it was amazing. Today people take it as obvious, then it was the best you could get, you were excited to

> tell your friends, to call Israel and tell them, "I am also listening to Reshet Bet now," bragging about it, like this is something. No, it has changed everything and is still changing everything, simply people don't care anymore where they live, this is a small world, 12 hours it takes me to arrive in Israel, it is like driving to New York. . . . The world is so small.

Guy proudly showed me on his computer an example of the news from Israel that he reads in Hebrew. According to Guy, he checks the news from Israel ten times a day: "I know what is happening in Israel better than Israelis . . . when I go to Israel and I speak with Israelis, they are like, 'What? Did it really happen?'" Until 1997, he kept up with events through "newspapers, once a week, my brother or my father was buying it. And afterward, that's it, it's the internet." In addition, Guy uses the internet to maintain contact with family, friends, and colleagues through emails and MSN. He showed me a list of friends on MSN. He also pointed to the fact that the internet has influenced his working practices: "Recently, I administered a project in Israel through the internet . . . it has changed the world completely for Israelis in general, really; it changed everything."

The internet regulates most of Sima's interactions as well: "This is my life, the internet." Many hours of the day, when Sima is not in school or at work, she uses the internet to watch Israeli programs, follow the news, and communicate with family and friend. As she explains:

> First of all, I have some friends whom I insisted on "go, buy a microphone and a camera," and now we create conversations, because it is more comfortable; when you write, it doesn't flow, and there are such annoying spelling mistakes.

After four years in Canada, Sima continues to write in Hebrew in her communication with Israelis who reside both in Israel and in Canada.

> Only in Hebrew . . . the truth is, I know many people [in Canada], let's say on Facebook, Israelis I know speak fluent Hebrew, and they write to me in English,

> and I simply respond to them in Hebrew. It doesn't matter what, you won't find me in a situation where I write in English, and this is even if they try to force me to write in English.

In the first two years, when Leora did not yet have access to a computer, she used to write letters to Israel in Hebrew. With the purchase of a computer and the installation of internet, she began to use Skype, MSN, an ICQ to connect with family and friends in Israel. As mentioned earlier, following a trip to Israel after seven years, Leora renewed contacts with people in Israel and expanded the use of the internet as a transnational tool or medium to practice Israeliness.

> And only since I came back form Israel have I used it for the purpose of Israeliness: Israeli music, all my time for TV is assigned to Israeli programs on the internet, Israeli music from the internet. Israeliness and Israeli culture are a daily part of my life. . . . I also watch a lot of Israeli TV now. I watch online. All the Israeli programs—you can watch them on the internet. . . . And I also read the Hebrew newspapers on the internet: *Yediot*, *Haaretz*, things like that.

Dana still prefers to read in English because of the variety of books she has to choose from. Yet, she elects to receive news from Israel on the internet in Hebrew, even though it is also available in English. As she states, "I read newspapers in Hebrew, *Haaretz* in particular, on the internet."

Tom, who is in his last year of university, does not watch much television. He enjoys following certain programs on the internet and listening to the radio in Hebrew through the internet. Tom also uses the internet to read the news in Hebrew because he, too, likes to know what's going on in Israel. As for exchanging emails with individuals in Israel, Tom code switches, mixing English with Hebrew.

7.2 New World Language: Learning and Use

7.2.1 Investment in Dominant Language Learning

This section illustrates the agency of Israeli immigrant youth as demonstrated through their investments in their own English language learning, in so doing, taking an active role in their language socialization. The participants used a variety of strategies to invest in the learning of the English language inside and outside of school.

In the home, Leora used the television in order to develop her English language speaking skills and to improve her listening skills. At first, she watched only the music channel. However, Leora's mother "forced" her and her brother to watch the news in order to improve their English language skills.

Watching television was also one way in which Adam invested in learning English. When I asked Adam about his television watching habits then and now, he explained:

> Today I watch TV much less. Then, I watched mainly as I was learning the language, because I did not know English; I was watching programs even though I did not understand.

Adam also used the dictionary profusely, forcing himself to translate every word he did not understand in English.

> We'd sit, my brother and I, I remember, we'd sit until 1 o'clock at night translating; let's say the science teacher gave you a page and a half to read and you'd sit an hour and a half trying to translate every word and it's hard.

Adam's older brother, Tom, similarly reports arduously translating all the unfamiliar terms he encountered in English school work.

> I used to return home, at home, sitting hours and hours and translating all the material really, it was a really difficult challenge.

Dana recalls that she did not really speak English in the first year. However, she was motivated to learn the language, and listened carefully and attentively during class.

> They were taking three of us out to ESL classes. I listened very much in these classes because I wanted very much to learn the language.

Since Dana was reluctant to speak in English, she invested additionally in her reading skills. She loved reading books, and allotted much time at home to developing her reading comprehension skills in English by expanding her vocabulary.

> The way I've learned English is through reading. . . . I mainly learned in the home. I simply read a lot of books, I read books which were too difficult. I had the dictionary, I had a marker, *highlight*, and I just went over word by word by word until I understood the language, this was really important for me, because in Israel I read a lot.

Dana recalls being put off by the age-inappropriate children's books offered to her by her teacher. She wanted to be able to read books in English at the level she was reading in Hebrew.

Dana also learned English through "reversal learning" during the Hebrew and Jewish studies classes. In other words, the translation from Hebrew to English that the teacher used to teach Hebrew to Anglophone students, Dana used in reverse to learn English.

> I learned English in Hebrew classes [smiling], let's say when she [the teacher] was reading the words in English, and we were writing them in Hebrew, I was listening to the English to know how to translate it [smiling].

Guy, who recalls his English learning to be relatively non-problematic, still acknowledges some problem with verbs. A book lover, he aspired to read books in

English as he used to in Hebrew. Thus motivated, he invested in speaking English in school.

> This was interesting, because I very much liked [to read], it bothered me that I could not read books such as Hardy Boys and Nancy Drew which I was reading in Hebrew. Then, when I came here I could not read them, I saw the book cover, I recognized the characters, and I couldn't read them, so it bothered me very much. Then when I began to learn English, it really fascinated me, because that's how I began reading again, because it always interested me. So, no, I actually liked to speak in English.

The strategy that Tom used to improve his reading in English was to search for tips which could assist him to develop his reading skills, particularly in fiction books. He remarked,

> But as I advanced toward graduating from high school, I began to understand the importance of reading books in English. I will not forget it; there was an Israeli girl in the school a year older than me who arrived in Canada at a younger age, her English was already good. I asked her for a tip, "I think I need to improve my English, I don't really enjoy reading in English." She said to me, "Read books, this is the best way to learn the language, just read." Then, I began slowly, slowly to read: of course at first light books; I was reading *text books*, it's not that I was connected to the language. I was reading a lot in English for school as mandatory, but not for *pleasure* as leisure, the books I was reading in school enriched my language and my writing skill. But books for pleasure I was reading mainly in Hebrew; but I also began to read in English, and even now I make sure to read in both English and Hebrew.

In her last year in high school, almost all the Israeli students Sima met had graduated. Those who remained in school with her in Grade 13 were Persian, Russian, and other immigrant youth who spoke either English or languages other than Hebrew. Since Sima liked her new friends, she forced herself to speak in English. As she recalls,

> I forced myself simply to start speaking better, to try harder; I will tell you the truth, at first it was just terrible, because I was hardly speaking English at all. But slowly, slowly I practiced, and forced myself to speak, that's all.

7.2.2 Proficiency Development: Oral Communication and Literacy Skills

Interestingly, in the case of Tom and Leora, their academic language of English has developed better than their conversational language. For example, Tom pointed out that he still misses the referential value of some slang words or daily expressions. He explained this as a result of being exposed to Standard English in the course of academic engagement. The question arises: why did these students' conversational language not develop at a faster rate than their academic, given that research shows that usually interactional communication skills develop first and the academic language lags behind (Cummins, 2003). The explanation in the case of Tom is probably a deficiency in his social life, since he lacked social interactions with peers and friends. Tom's account of his difficulties in speaking English shows the inter-relations between social identity and linguistic experiences, practices, and language learning (Norton Peirce, 1995).

> But on the other hand, I can testify to many, many incidents where I get stuck in English, even today at a quite advanced stage, where I consider myself *fluent*, I consider myself a fluent speaker, not *native*, but fluent in the English language. Sometimes there are situations where I get stuck, it is quite funny, slang for example, because most of my time here in the last six years I was exposed to standard English, textbooks, listening to a professor or a teacher, slang did not become stronger with me. Well, I do understand slang, I also don't really watch so much things which would expose me to slang, many times there is a situation in which an expression in English is used, but I don't know this expression, so either I avoid using it or I explain myself in simpler language. So there are incidents where I get stuck, where my speech doesn't flow.

On the other hand, Tom was very proud of his writing ability in English. His confidence in this area is illustrated in the following quote.

> In writing [getting stuck] is very little. For some reason I am good at writing, I probably was blessed, I have the *skills* to write well, although it is not yet a hundred percent. If you take my language and the language of a native English speaker and you compare the writing, there is a chance that you will see who is

> the *native* speaker and who is not, but I am not ashamed of it, and I try always of course to improve, but I think my writing is quite good.

Similarly, Leora pointed out that the cognitive academic dimensions of her English language proficiency were stronger than her spoken English. Describing her level of proficiency in Hebrew and English, Leora remarked that in Hebrew the oral language is still maintained while her levels of reading and writing have decreased; however, in English her writing level is higher than her spoken language. Because her oral English was not fully developed, Leora finds herself sometimes searching for words.

> I think the academic aspect of English which is writing and reading really developed with me; I am a studious person, as they say in Israel. Not so much in the last two years of university, but in high school and in the first years of university, I was doing homework all the time, I was reading and writing, all the time *essays*, homework, and I was not really going out. Only in the last two or three years I began to go out more and speak—to be, *to socialize,* I think because of that my reading and writing in English is better and my speech is not so good.

Leora underscored that lack of social interaction played a role in the slow development of her speaking skills in English. Apparently, for Leora classroom interactions did not suffice as a linguistic socializing agent.

The accounts of both Leora and Tom demonstrate the different trajectories that different modes of language can take. In contrast to Cummins's (2000, 2003) findings, their conversational language developed at a slower rate than their academic language. An important point to consider here is Tom's and Leora's different levels of investment in varied linguistic skills: while making major efforts to develop their academic skills, they assumed a more passive role in seeking out opportunities for social interaction. In their research on English language proficiency among adolescent immigrant students in the United States, Carhill, Suárez-Orozco, and Páez (2008) considered "individual

variables, home language environment variables, exposure to English at school and in informal social situations, as well as school quality factors on the development of academic English language proficiency." We see how Tom and Leora both attended high quality secondary schools—one private, one public. Both Tom and Leora underscored their aptitudes for schooling and the support they received at home towards schooling. Contrary to Carhill et al.'s findings, Tom and Leora lacked the exposure to English in informal social situations (a condition that improved in later years). Nonetheless, this lack of social engagement, although no doubt psychologically unsettling, did not impede Tom's and Leora's development of academic competencies, including academic literacy, in English. In fact, it may have promoted their development of cognitive academic linguistic proficiency by steering them toward use of a language mode that produced positive gains.

7.2.3 Learning English-es

In this section, I draw on a multicultural perspective to examine English language socialization as a process situated in a zone of contact. Traditionally, as defined by Pratt (1991), the *contact zone* is the social space where two cultures interact in asymmetrical power relations where the dominant in contact with the minority or the super-ordinate in contact with the sub-ordinate depicts heterogeneous and vertical, yet bidirectional, relations. The notion of *safe house*, also part of Pratt's theoretical concept of *contact zone*, usually depicts homogenous and horizontal relations. In this section, I illustrate how interactions in a zone of contact which depict multidirectional relations are relevant in the context of a multicultural Canadian society.

Some of the participants asked during the interviews: *what does it mean to be Canadian, or who is Canadian?* Their questions clearly arose from the multicultural influences they encountered in schools and in the society at large. In addition to their linguistic interactions with actors representing the Standard variety, they also interacted with actors who spoke non-Standard English, other minority youth who represented different Englishes. The process of learning English for immigrant Israeli youth comprised exposure to many Englishes—the dominant variety as well as the other Englishes of other subordinate minorities with whom they had intercultural contact. As reported earlier, Adam's interactions with other ESL students were part of his English language socialization.

> I felt more comfortable with people who spoke like me, like their English was not *perfect at the time,* and they were with me maybe in certain classes, because we are after all *ESL*.

In her account, Sima exemplified what it means to interact linguistically in a multilingual and multicultural environment. Learning English has not been easy for Sima neither in Israel nor in Canada. In Israel, when she was learning English as a foreign language: "I will tell you the truth, I have great difficulty with English, and it was torture to try to sit and study with all the tenses." In Canada, four years after her immigration, Sima still finds the English language challenging: "Also when I came here, until I got used to it. I still spoke with such mistakes which are grating to the ear. It is hard to get used to it; another language is very hard." One strategy Sima used at the beginning to facilitate her English language socialization was to engage in interactions with immigrants whose English was not more developed than hers. As she stated, "It does not

matter, because usually I speak with immigrants, and I do not speak with Canadians, so we have mistakes." Using Vygotsky's (1978) framework, Sima did not feel comfortable interacting with speakers who were outside her Zone of Proximal Development as concerned oral English proficiency. Thusly, Sima preferred to communicate with other immigrants as she was developing her own proficiency in the target language. Sima also noted that learning English in Canada today entails the idea of many Englishes, of varied dialects and registers. The following excerpt represents Sima's response to my query regarding improvement in her English skills.

> Y: Do you feel that your English has improved?
> S: It has improved dramatically compared to what it was. As long as I can speak with Indians and Koreans, I am happy. I don't want to sound [racist], but now I also simply understand people with accents and I can complete what they say.

In this manner, Sima's perspective on linguistic competence involves receptive proficiency not only toward the dominant societal variety but toward subordinate varieties as well. Her self-assigned language socialization mandate is captured in the following quote:

> I used to create long lineups in Tim Horton's—poor people—as I was trying to understand what the salesperson was saying to me.

In addition, Sima's account shows the processive aspect of language socialization. Drawing on a relational perspective, Sima's account referred to characteristics of both the social actors and the language as playing a role in interactions in the contact zone.

The experiences of Israeli immigrant youth in the social and linguistic contact zone challenge traditional notions associated with inter-cultural interactions in between super-ordinate and sub-ordinate members or groups. They complicate the meanings and

boundaries of dimensions associated with a world characterized by migration, hybridity, multiplicity, and interconnectivity. In my final chapter I theorize the dynamic processes associated with interactions in the contact zone as reported by respondents in this study, as I theorize the effects of migration, transnationalism, and globalization on immigrant youth.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the impact of migration on the lived experiences of generation 1.5 Israeli immigrant youth—focusing on language practices and identity construction within the Canadian context. I sought to explore the interplay of language and socialization practices associated with Israeli immigrant youth as they work their way into a multicultural Canadian society. As I was interested in the way the participants in this study made sense of their socialization experiences, I looked at how their personal histories affected their linguistic, cultural, social, and academic endeavors in different contact zones (e.g., home, school, peer group) within the context of their new society.

The journey of this qualitative study began with the premises that human life is a complex endeavor of lived experiences which are social in nature. Socialization processes involve learning experiences which lead to identity development. Identity development is a learning process which occurs through social interactions; hence, socialization, learning, and identity are all social practices. To elucidate the complexity of the lived experiences and identification practices of Israeli immigrant youth within the context of their migration to Canada I focused on three theoretical constructs—transnationalism, contact zone, and language socialization—intertwined with the notion of identity. While each of these constructs stood by itself, they all shared common elements, such as power relations, inter-cultural contact, and dynamic processes, that were excavated in this study.

Thus, employing qualitative research methodology had a twofold purpose: to illuminate the complexity of human life experiences and to give a voice to this understudied group of Israeli immigrant youth. In this final chapter I discuss the study's findings and offer interpretations. I then suggest some directions for future research, and I end the chapter with some summative remarks.

8.1 Discussion of Findings

In this study, I did not find a distinct difference between Israelis who attended Jewish schools and Israelis who attended public schools although the infrastructure of their racial and ethnic demographics was different. Generally, Jewish and public schools offer similar experiences to Israeli immigrant youth in Toronto. In both systems, Israelis tend to interact with other Israelis but not with Canadian Jewish youth. The Jewish school did not bring about more connections between Israelis and Canadian Jewish students. One important difference, however, that emerged from the findings is the opportunity for socialization with other immigrants in public schools, a social alternative that Israelis in Jewish schools do not have. This difference may explain the dropout of some Israeli students from Jewish schools: Dana's social difficulty in the Jewish school and her move to public school is one example. Thus, the discussion of the findings relates to both cohorts unless otherwise specified. I would also note that discussion of schooling includes postsecondary education as well.

8.1.1 Maintaining Hebrew and Learning English

The findings of this study suggest that the role of the Hebrew language remains imperative in identity (re)construction of generation 1.5 Israeli immigrant youth both in

terms of language ideology and pragmatics. The process of Hebrew language socialization exhibited nonlinear directionality, both in oral communication and literacy, and the proficiency level varied in accordance with participants' socialization experiences and linguistic practices, moving at times on a continuum between maintenance, shift, and loss in response to global and local contextual factors. Parental language attitudes, social networking with co-expatriate peers, and transnational practices were found to be significant socializing facilitators among the participants for Hebrew language maintenance and Israeli identity. In a contemporary globalized world, accessibility of linguistic spaces which have increased through electronic media, transportation and other telecommunication devices, brings about continuity in language use maintenance. All of the participants maintained a native level of oral communication and reading skills. However, the most noticeable change was found in the area of writing where the majority of the participants lost their Hebrew writing skills due to lack of practice. Apparently, opportunities to practice Hebrew writing are scarce, a factor that may explain the loss of this ability.

The process of English learning, on the other hand, was not without psycho-social and linguistic struggles and challenges for Israeli immigrant youth. The findings demonstrate the agency of Israeli immigrant youth in their own investments in English language learning and, consequently, language socialization. Self-investments in English learning were found among the participants in their study of English beyond the formal classroom setting: watching TV, frequent use of dictionary, reading fiction books, self-incentive to speak, searching for tips to develop skills. Moreover, the process of learning

English for immigrant Israeli youth comprised exposure to many *Englishes*—the Standard variety as well as varied dialects and registers, other Englishes of subordinate minorities with whom they had intercultural contact both in and outside of school. Thus, linguistic competence of English language learners involves receptive proficiency not only toward the dominant societal variety but toward subordinate varieties as well.

The findings also show the different trajectories that language modes can take when learning a new language. Research shows that interactional communication skills develop first while academic language proficiency lags behind (Cummins, 2003); however, the findings of this study suggest other possible directions. For some participants the conversational language developed at a slower rate than the academic language as a result of high exposure to Standard English in the course of academic engagement and lack of opportunity for social interactions with peers and friends. Nevertheless, contrary to Carhill et al. (2008), the lack of exposure to English in informal social situations (a condition that improved in later years) did not impede their development of academic competencies, including academic literacy, in English. In fact, it may have promoted their development of cognitive academic linguistic proficiency by steering them toward use of a language mode that produced positive gains.

Juxtaposition of Hebrew and English in the analysis of linguistic and social practices of Israeli immigrant youth in their socialization trajectories through which they constructed immigrant identities in school and beyond elucidates some differences between first and second language socialization which should be considered in research on immigrant language learners. Traditionally, the first language socialization occurs

usually within one's own cultural and linguistic context where there is continuity in the socialization process of children from home to school. In the case of immigrants, second language socialization occurs in a foreign cultural and linguistic context. There is discontinuity from home to school where immigrant children enter linguistic, cultural, and social unsafe spaces. Noteworthy is the socio-psychological effect on the Israeli immigrant youth in their new unfamiliar environment where fear and anxiety were experienced at the start. Furthermore, differences between "experts" and "novices" in first and second language may also affect the socialization experiences. Generally, experts and novices in first language socialization represent similar linguistic and cultural characteristics. On the other hand, in second language socialization, experts and immigrant novices represent more often dissimilar characteristics (e.g., culturally, racially, ethnically, and/or linguistically). This cultural or linguistic distance may affect the relationships between the expert and the novice as well as the social interactions, language attitudes and development of the novice—the immigrant language learner.

8.1.2 Translingual Socialization

The findings of this study reveal the important role of each language, i.e., Hebrew and English, and the interplay of both languages in the process of language socialization and identity trans-formation of Israeli immigrant youth. The interrelations of language, identity, and migration experience are evident in this study. What emerged from the findings is that processes of language socialization of immigrants in transnational contexts constitute contact of two (or more) languages mediated by power relations. In order to understand these linguistic experiences and power relations within the context of

contemporary transnational migration, research needs to include studies that juxtapose first and second language with their socio-cultural context. Many studies tend to focus on one language, either the first or the second language (or third). Here, I am proposing a field of study where the methodological point of departure would be the socio-cultural context involving both languages.

Furthermore, understanding socialization experiences of immigrant youth within and through two languages (or three) require moving beyond the traditional language socialization framework. When immigrants are the group under study, then language socialization research focusing on one language may not be sufficient because of the nature of the socio-cultural and linguistic experiences of immigrants which in essence involves two languages (the ethnic and the target language). Thus, in addition to first language socialization and second language socialization, I propose that the phenomenon be studied as *translingualism* (Kellman, 2003), to capture both first and second language and the interplay between them as demonstrated in this study. The concept of translingualism has the potential to illuminate the linguistic experiences of immigrants and the interrelations of and the movement between their first and second language which may be useful theoretically as well as methodologically. Kellman used the concept of *translingualism* to define "translingual authors—those who write in more than one language or in a language other than their primary one," that is, expressing themselves in multiple verbal systems (p. ix). As Pavlenko (2006) observes, translingual "writers display a unique sensitivity to intrinsic links between languages and selves and are painfully cognizant of the fact that in different languages their voices may sound

differently even when telling the 'same' stories" (p. 3). So, if a human being is "defined by language, then switching the language entails transforming the self" (Kellman, 2003, p. xiv), that is, beyond the in-betweeness of verbal systems, translingualism is also about identity transformation. Translingualism also reflects how cultures and languages interact and connect with one another (Spack, 2006), and thus, "migration is a powerful motive for translingualism" (Kellman, 2003, p. xii). Hoffman's (1989) linguistic experience as an immigrant youth in Canada, as described in her memoir, illustrates adeptly what translingualism means in practice: "When I speak Polish now, it is infiltrated, permeated, and inflected by the English in my head. Each language modifies the other, crossbreeds with it, fertilizes it. Each language makes the other relative" (p. 273).

Translingualism as a sociolinguistic phenomenon goes beyond bilingualism and multilingualism, focusing on the relationality aspect of languages, namely, the relations between languages that enable the exploration of linguistic power relations. Language socialization of immigrants is a translingual process that occurs within and through first and second language creating a contact zone between languages with asymmetrical power relations. This translingual process reflects the discursive and fluid power relations within the various spaces in which social actors come into contact and the dynamic process of learning and identification. Israeli immigrant youth constantly cross linguistic borders in their transnational and social practices, moving back and forth between Hebrew and English. Through this process of learning English and maintaining Hebrew, Israeli immigrant youth develop translingual and transcultural competence (Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages, 2007).

8.1.3 Reference Groups and Social Interactions in Schools

In addition to being purveyors of academic knowledge, schools served as zones of contact where processes of socialization would enable Israeli immigrant youth to acquire a new language and culture. Culture, language and power play an important role in social actors' interactions in the contact zone where processes of identity construction are (trans)formed. The nature of the inter-cultural contact of the Israeli immigrant youth generated different types of contact representing different patterns of socialization which were highlighted within the context of their Canadian schooling. Four patterns of social peer groups with whom Israeli immigrant youth came in contact emerged from the findings which created different linguistic and social un/safe spaces: the co-expatriate Israelis; other ethnic immigrant peers; co-ethnic Canadian Jewish peers; and native-born Canadian peers.

The behavioral patterns of the social peer groups in this study corroborate in part other studies. The findings of this study show similar behavior patterns to the findings in the longitudinal study reported by C. Suárez-Orozco et al. (2008) that in the United States "new immigrant students tend to form friendships with others like themselves—particularly those who share their immigrant background" (p. 83), that is, friends from the same country of origin and immigrants from other countries. In addition, as C. Suárez-Orozco et al. (2008) point out, the newcomer students in their study "were disconcertingly segregated" (p. 81); this was because the schools they attended did not offer diverse demographics that included native-born or middle class white Americans; hence, the new immigrant students could not form friendships with them. Conversely, in

this study, the Israeli students were not segregated, as they attended schools with significant number of native-born middle class, white Canadian students; nevertheless, this difference did not stimulate social interactions.

Notably, what emerged from the Israeli immigrant youths' narratives with respect to their minimal or non-existent interactions with the Canadian group is what I call an *invisible majority*. Using Sima's words, "The Canadian group is not even part of the equation" in the socialization process of Israeli immigrants. One explanation may be that because of the positioning of the Diasporic Jewish group/community as the dominant society by Israeli immigrants, it seems as if there is no hegemonic role for the non-Jewish Canadians to play. Another explanation is that notwithstanding differences between Canadian Jews and Israeli immigrants, the cultural distance between Canadians and Israelis is even greater than between Israeli and Canadian Jews.

Furthermore, the findings reveal different types of interactions that were available to Israeli immigrant youth in schools, and the strategies they used to maneuver in this crucial contact zone. Four interactions styles emerged from the findings: *silence, invisibility*, *clashes*, and *niche*. Participants' accounts articulate how the contact is carried out, how the inter-cultural interaction is practiced. As the findings show, strategizing interactions in new contact zones was also affected by the social actors with whom Israeli immigrant youth came into contact and the type of power relations exercised in these interactions. The strategies of silence, invisibility, and clashes were employed when the Israeli immigrant youth were positioned in asymmetrical power relations. On the other

hand, the niche which created a safe contact zone represented more symmetrical power relations between the social actors.

More importantly, the findings suggest the important role of other ethnic immigrant groups in the socialization process of Israeli immigrant youth. Participants reported contacts with other ethnic immigrant youth who shared their contact zone as positive—contributive to the building of a safe space within contested spaces. The power relations between the Israelis and the other ethnic immigrants were horizontal in nature as both groups were positioned and self-represented as sub-ordinate. This space of horizontal relationships between the Israelis and other immigrants was homogenized by commonalities in their immigration experiences and linguistic repertoires. This commonality created a social and linguistic safe space.

8.1.4 Multidirectional Contact Zone

Immigration to Canada has brought Israeli immigrant youth into a new zone of contact where the process of their socialization into a new language and culture has taken place. The findings illuminate the nature of contact zone/s and the role they play in the process of language socialization and identity trans-formation of Israeli immigrant youth in the multicultural Canadian context, more specifically, the nature of the social actors, the social interactions, and the power relations. In view of my study's findings, I propose to refine Pratt's (1991) notion of *contact zone* by suggesting that the contact zone as a dynamic social space is situated on a continuum: on the one hand it is a space of confrontation and conflict—an unsafe space (what Pratt calls a contact zone), which constitutes unequal power relations, and on the other hand, it is a comforting and

conforming space—a safe space (what Pratt calls a safe house), which constitutes more equal power relations.

Furthermore, what emerged from the findings is what I call *discursive power relations,* which articulate the changing, fluid and in flux nature of power relations in the contact zone. Accordingly, social actors exercise power differently in different spaces: they might be dominated in one contact zone but dominating in another. That is, temporality, spatiality, and relationality are all at play in the contact zone. That relation between safe/unsafe spaces is not fixed but fluid and shifting, at times ambiguous, illustrating that the power play within the contact zone is influenced by various social categories such as language, class, ethnicity, and religion. For example, the use of the Hebrew language among Israeli immigrant youth produced most often a social safe space; however, as Guy, Sima, and Dana demonstrate, the commonality of language is not always guaranteed to produce a social safe space since other categories may affect the relationships. This may be one reason why Guy as Russian befriended mostly Russian Israelis and why Dana and Sima as Sephardic befriended other ethnic immigrants. Another example: the use of the target language, English, among Israeli immigrant youth with other ethnic immigrants, English learners like themelves, most often produced a social safe space; nevertheless, Sima's narrative demonstrates the fluid and ambiguous relations of the un/safe spaces. Even though she and her Persian (Iranian) friend were arguing and fighting often about hot Middle East politics which contained at times anti-Semitic comments, Sima still maintained the relationship with her friend. It seems that, for Sima, the need of social engagement as well as the commonalities of language

proficiency and immigrant experience created a social safe space that superseded the unsafe political wrangling. That is to say, different categories (e.g. language, ethnicity, culture) which are constituted of and by temporality, spatiality, and relationality affect social practices in the contact zone.

More importantly, I argue for a broader perspective of the interactional relations in the contact zone to consider the transnational and translocal nature of the multicultural landscape seen today in many cosmopolitan societies as a result of globalization and transnational migration. Consequently, negotiating in in-between spaces—contact zone (Pratt, 1991), "third space" (Bhabha, 1994), or "translocality" (Appadurai, 1995)—where two or more places/spaces come into contact may be problematic because of the blurry boundaries and the elusive nature of the simultaneity of places/spaces. Current research on immigrants, however, still draws mainly on the binary of majority / minority. Thus, articulation of the contact zone in a multicultural context, such as in Canada, requires moving beyond the framework of bidirectional relations of superordinate—subordinate or majority—minority in studying immigrants' socialization and language learning. We would do well to consider the heterogeneity of immigrant/minority groups, to adopt a multidirectional approach in the study of contemporary immigrant and minority groups.

To describe the *multidirectionality* of power relations within the contact zone, I use the notions of *verticality* and *horizontality*: vertical relations refer to interaction between the superordinate and subordinate which tends to represent unsafe space, and horizontal relations refer to interaction between the subordinate and subordinate which tends to represent safe space. These vertical/horizontal relations refer to both inter-

personal as well as inter-group interactions. As the findings of this study illustrate, in multicultural environments, interactions in a contact zone denote multidirectional relations. That is, in addition to the co-presence of majority—minority relations, the findings also reveal the co-presence of minority—minority relations as significant to the language socialization and identity trans-formation of Israeli immigrant youth. Interesting to note, though, that the contact zone may explain the creation of ethnic enclaves within the metropolis as an attempt to ensure horizontal safe spaces. The multidirectional relationality and referentiality in a multicultural society enable immigrants more options for dialectical relations with the host society.

The multidirectionality of the contact zone is illustrated in experiences of English language learning of Israeli immigrant youth. The findings of this study corroborate Norton Peirce's (1995) theory of social identity which "assumes that power relations play a crucial role in social interactions between language learners and target language speakers" (p. 12). However, in addition to the relationships between language learners and target language speakers, my findings bring to the fore the relationships between language learners and other language learners as an important resource for target language learning. The social interactions of Israeli immigrant youth with other ethnic immigrants—all English language learners—afforded them linguistic practice which was limited with other social groups such as the Canadian Jewish and non-Jewish peers. In terms of power relations, the horizontal relationships with other ethnic immigrant learners of English suggest a way of assuming agency, of legitimizing their linguistic repertoire of English, the target language. It may also suggest that Israeli immigrant youth strategize

their linguistic investment as a mode of resistance, self-exclusion or resilience. Within a language socialization perspective, the "experts," namely the other language learners, play an important role as socialization agents in contributing to the learning of the target language (English). Using Vygotsky's (1978) framework, the language abilities of other ethnic immigrants seem to lie within the zone of proximal development of the Israeli immigrants. Their similar level of English proficiency may facilitate the language socialization process of Israeli immigrants. It may be that when the distance (in this case, more categories of difference, particularly language) between the immigrant learner and the native peer is large then the native peer would not be a successful "teacher," or socializing agent, for the immigrant learner.

8.1.5 Negotiating Identities in Contact Zones

In the process of socialization and identity negotiations, Israeli immigrant youth were engaged in a *web of contact zones* which were interconnected. A variety of contact zones were flagged throughout the study. For example, on the transnational level the internet was a contact zone mediating between Israelis in Canada and Israel; on a local societal level the school was a contact zone mediating between Israeli immigrant students and the Canadian culture and language; on the local communal level the synagogue was a contact zone mediating between Israelis and the Diasporic Jewish community. The social actors as well as the social context may vary in different contact zones, as these examples show, complicating the identification processes.

The experiences of Israeli immigrant youth who participated in my study elucidate the multiplicity and ambiguity of the meanings of Canadianness, Israeliness and

Jewishness as they played out in different contact zones. Through their inter-cultural contact in the Canadian multicultural society, Israeli immigrant youth recognize the complex meaning of Canadianness and learn how to negotiate this new identity. In their socialization process, the multicultural design of the Canadian society affords Israeli immigrant youth other interactional options in a safe social space outside of their own ethnic group. While Israeli immigrant youth undergo socialization processes within the context of multicultural Canadian society, they also socialize within the context of their own transnational Israeli community where they renegotiate their Israeliness. The Israeli immigrant landscape where generation 1.5 Israelis (re)produce their transnational identities reveals a diverse community with complex transnational practices with ties linking to the homeland, Israel.

In addition to negotiating Canadianness, and renegotiating Israeliness away from Israel, Israeli immigrant youth also renegotiate their Jewishness. Their contact with the Diasporic Jewish community enables Israeli immigrant youth new venues to negotiate the multiple meanings of Jewishness in general and religious orientations in particular. All of the participants referred to Jewishness as a key marker of their identity within their narratives of identity transformation; that is, their Jewish identity came to the fore as a category in its own, an independent frame of reference, while when in Israel it was embedded within Israeli identity. It may be argued that over time such categories as Jewishness, Canadianness, and Israeliness may no longer represent seminal distinctions for people. The experiences of the participants in this study demonstrate nonlinear but rather spiral (C. Suárez-Orozco & M. M. Suárez-Orozco, 2001) processes of socialization

and identification. In addition, the experiences of the older participants of this study indicate continuation of moving back and forth between these categories in a dialectical way.

8.1.6 Spatiality and Relationality

This study's findings demonstrate the interrelations of identity, space, and place. Constructing a sense of place (real or imagined) was significant for Israeli immigrant youth in the negotiation of their identities within global and local contexts. *Translocality* (Appadurai, 1995, 1996; Brickell & Datta, 2011), which consists of multiple localities beyond the national, captures not just exchanges "across sites of departures and destinations, but also the negotiation of wider range of spaces and place in between" (Brickell & Datta, 2011, p. 4). The findings of this study shed light on the multi-site/multi-space experiences of generation 1.5 Israelis and the relationships of/between these sites and practices, such as speaking Hebrew, homeland visits, digital media, and expatriate social networking, used by the participants to reinforce ties with Israel and Israeliness. For example, the internet which was used by Israeli immigrant youth as a strategy to trans/localize with the Israeli nation-state constitutes a translocal space where they can negotiate their identities.

Furthermore, this study suggests that in a globalized world where boundaries of "here" and "there" become blurred (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992), negotiating in in-between spaces where two or more places/spaces come in contact has been problematic. Immigrants' lived experiences entail tension between the "here" and "there" as they refer to their old and new countries in making meanings of their experiences and constructing

their identities (C. Suárez-Orozco & M. M. Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Vertovec, 2004). In response to the question about identity and self-identification, all of the participants referred to both their country of origin, Israel, and their host country, Canada, illuminating the elusive nature of simultaneity of "here" and "there." Identity construction using a dual frame of reference complicates the notion of trans/locality and the relations between "here" and "there." For example, for Guy, the difficulty of "being" in more than one place—the simultaneousness of "here" and "there"—created a feeling of *confusion*. For Adam, the dynamics of change played in both places—the shifting nature of "here" and "there"—created a sense of *marginality* (C. Suárez-Orozco & M. M. Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

In addition, the notion of *home* which can be "understood both as a physical location of dwelling as well as a space of belonging and identity" (Brickell & Datta, 2011, p. 6) was significant for Israeli immigrant youth who embarked on new experiences in their host country as they renegotiated the meaning of home in a new locality. A sense of *belonging* is manifested through attachment to a place seeking to produce a sense of "home." However, the sense of home as a space of belonging and identity was problematized by the participants in this study. Uprooted from the home country and unable to reroot in the host country, that is, to relate to a new locality, denotes detachment from a sense of home. For example, Roni and Dana developed a sense of detachment to a particular locality—their origin and host countries. This may explain why their identification did not refer to the particularity of a place on the local level but rather to the universality of it on the global level.

Additionally, this study illustrates identity negotiation through *difference* in relation to the Other as well as through *sameness*. According to S. Hall (1996a), "identities are constructed through, not outside, difference;" that is, "through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not" (p. 4). As demonstrated in this study, the notion of difference is not fixed but changing and relational and constantly constructed (S. Hall, 1996a), demarcating dichotomies of us/them and self/other. Transnational relocations of Israeli immigrant youth realigned their oppositional tensions and created new dichotomies. For example, in relation to Canadian Jews, the participants positioned themselves as Israelis, but with reference to non-Jews they positioned themselves as Jews (and not Israelis). Aditionally, recognizing their immigrant status within the multicultural Canadian society, participants also positioned themselves as the Other, from the other place.

While the difference tells us who we are and helps to define our identities, the sameness empowers us with a sense of belonging, and creates a safe space. For example, Sima, Dana, and Adam found a social niche with other ethnic immigrants like them. Interestingly, in their group membership alignment, Israeli immigrant youth positioned themselves through difference, in oppositional tension with the Diasporic Jewish community, disregarding their ethnoreligious commonality. On the other hand, in their social alignment with other ethnic immigrants, they positioned themselves through sameness sharing their commonality of immigrant experience. This suggests dialectical relations between difference and sameness. Specifically, difference was used to align intergroup relations while sameness was used to align intragroup relations.

8.2 Pedagogical Implications

8.2.1 The Role of Teachers

In the context of immigrant students, schools are the main socialization agents to the new society and the primary arena for learning English, both inside and outside of the classroom. Social interactions that Israeli immigrant youth experience with teachers, students, and other practitioners shed light on the nature of their English learning and socialization. The findings highlight the important role that teachers played in the process of language learning, academic attainment, and social engagement of Israeli immigrant youth both in public and in Jewish schools. The interactions with teachers were on two levels. On one side of the spectrum, teachers as constraining forces, who had negative attitudes and behaviors, created unsafe spaces that inhibited and impeded students' progress. Assuming a deficit approach, these teachers misrecognized the special circumstances of immigrant students and did not take into consideration their psycho-social state as immigrants and second language learners. An example of the deficiency attitude teachers took was in the area of the guidance department in school with respect to choice of courses and preparation for university. As stated in *The Ontario Curriculum, Grades 9 to 12: English as a Second Language and English Literacy Development* (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2007a), one important requirement from schools with respect to immigrant students is "to help them learn about postsecondary pathways and destinations" (p. 8). However, as Sima and Tom pointed out, there is still a mismatch between the curriculum policy and the practice in schools. As my respondents highlighted, their schools offered them "easy" courses. Sima specifically expressed her

disappointment when she found out subsequently how the courses and credits system works in Ontario in correspondence to the university requirements. Consequently, she had to take extra courses that were required for university entrance.

On the other side of the spectrum, teachers as enabling forces were supportive in creating psycho-social and linguistic safe spaces for immigrant students. These teachers—ESL teachers in particular—played a positive role in the socialization processes of immigrant students by scaffolding student progress, mediating learning, and providing positive examples of host country reception. These teachers served at times as, what I will call *life coaches*: they were supportive and helpful beyond their roles as transmitters of academic or linguistic knowledge. More specifically, ESL teachers played a crucial role in the educational trajectories of immigrant students. It is clear from the findings that ESL teachers took on other roles and responsibilities beyond their language teaching assignments to support the Israeli immigrant students, as evident in the narratives of Adam, Tom, and Sima. Such roles and responsibilities should be anchored in school policy in order to encourage teachers to pursue life coaching pedagogy with immigrant students. Reinforcing the role of a homeroom teacher may be one vehicle for this strategy.

As the findings clearly indicate the role of teachers in the process of immigrant youth's socialization is crucial. Thus, it is imperative for pre-service teacher education programs to allow teachers, in addition to academic education, also specific training oriented to developing multicultural awareness in order to acquire proper pedagogical tools to facilitate immigrant students in their transcultural educational endeavors. In other

words, teacher education programs need to address more explicitly the multicultural characteristics of Canadian schools. It is hoped that this professional development process will also address attitudes of intra-group prejudice exhibited at times by teachers who were of the same ethnic origin of some immigrant students but treated them less favorably than other students.

8.2.2. The Role of the ESL Class

My study's findings present a practical dilemma for language educators with respect to ESL classes. From an ideological perspective the elimination of ESL classes is attractive, as the absorption of immigrant students into the broader infrastructure seems a positive step in the direction of inclusive education. This school of thought is now prevalent in educational circles. As stated in the Ontario policy document *English Language Learners, ESL and ELD Programs and Services: Policies and Procedures for Ontario Elementary and Secondary Schools, Kindergarten to Grade 12* (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2007b):

> Interaction with English-speaking peers supports the English language learner's overall adjustment to the Ontario school system. Appropriate placement encourages student engagement, provides appropriate role models, enables students to build on their existing knowledge and skills, and enhances opportunities for English language acquisition (p. 21).

Notwithstandingly, this view is not supported by the findings of my study. The main resource of social interactions in English for Israeli immigrant students in public schools was other immigrant, English language learners like themselves. As Adam and

Tom conveyed, the ESL class was where they found opportunities for linguistic and social practice in their initial years in Canada. For this reason, as the findings highlight, the role of the ESL class is central in the language socialization and the educational processes of immigrant students; it functions as a sociolinguistic safe space where interactions between English learners in the classroom, which represent horizontal relationships, create comfortable spaces and decrease anxiety. The ESL class functions as a *decompression chamber* that allows immigrant students to move back and forth between safe/unsafe sociolinguistic spaces at their own pace. Clearly these class venues provide immigrant students the opportunity not only to learn English but also to negotiate who they are and what they think in relation to an unfamiliar society.

8.3 Directions for Future Research

Future research would expand exploration of language socialization processes of immigrant youth with the goal to facilitate their academic success, socio-cultural adaptation, and linguistic development. With respect to the notions of *expert* and *novice*, their traditional meanings which were problematized in this study by indicating their discursive, more fluid, and context-based meanings, complicate the question of "who is socializing who?" Future research should continue to address this question in the context of globalization and transnational migration.

Further, with respect to *continuity* and *discontinuity* of first language maintenance, as the data of this study indicate, continuity of language use facilitates language maintenance and continued development of the first language while discontinuity brings about language loss. As seen in my findings, parents as literacy role

models, self investments of the participants, the use of the internet and other media, homeland visits, and expatriates social networks were factors facilitating the linguistic and cultural maintenance of Israeli immigrant youth. Further exploration of such factors, their role and their accessibility, will be beneficial for advocates of linguistic and cultural maintenance.

Another area of research for consideration is with respect to the demographic of generation 1.5 immigrant youth. The knowledge generated in this study will contribute to future comparative research of generation 1.5 in general and Israeli immigrant youth in particular. Comparative study of socialization practices between different ethnic groups within the same society or the same ethnic group in various societies implementing different immigration policies appears a productive avenue.

As this is the first study focusing on generation 1.5 Israeli immigrant youth in Toronto and, I believe, elsewhere, there are still questions to be answered. I hope further research will continue to follow this cohort to explore their life course in order to learn about the impact of their socialization experiences on their adult life in areas such as higher education, dating, career choice, permanent relationships, and parenting within the context of both Canadian society and the Diasporic Jewish community.

On a practical level, recognizing the practices and conditions that are specific to ethnic language and immigrant youth in Toronto is important in order to facilitate appropriate goals and strategies for both ethnic language maintenance and dominant language development. The contribution of this study to a better understanding of the role of language in the social and cultural identity construction of immigrant youth will

assist, I hope, both policymakers and practitioners, at the societal and community level, in their search for developing policies and strategies that will anticipate some of the challenges associated with youth immigration and, in so doing, facilitate the integration of this vital group into Canadian society.

8.4 Concluding Remarks

This study gives voice to generation 1.5 Israeli youth and to their stories of lived experiences as immigrants in Toronto. It highlights the ways in which Israeli immigrant youth transform their identities: how they negotiate their national, ethnic, religious, cultural, and social identities in new and unfamiliar spaces through dimensions of relationality, temporality and spatiality. This study reveals the co-presence of local and global contact zones and the role of place in identification processes where new meanings are negotiated. Although the stories of socialization in this study begin with the feelings of dislocation and displacement, they are not interpreted in this context but rather in the context of translocation which articulates effectively, I believe, the dialectical relations and mobility between trans/localities. The contribution of this study, however, is in the illumination of intergroup relations of minorities, that is, inter-cultural and inter-ethnic contact among members of different ethnic immigrant groups and the role this contact plays in the socialization processes and language learning of immigrant youth.

This study argues for the crucial role of transnational practices in the socialization process and identity trans-formation of immigrant youth. In addition to facilitating ethnolingustic identity maintenance, these transnational practices produce safe spaces, providing confidence in a comfortable and familiar environment and a sense of belonging

from which subjects may dare to move into unsafe spaces (the unfamiliar environment of the host country) to negotiate new identities. That is, transnational practices work as psycho-social safe space for immigrant youth and hence constitute an important strategy in their socialization into the new society. As the unfamiliar becomes more familiar, the borders between safe/unsafe spaces in the contact zone shift, and the boundaries of the global and local become more opaque.

Upon their migration to Canada, Israeli immigrant youth enter multiple contact zones where different forces play a role: Israel, Canada, the Diasporic Jewish community, and the transnational Israeli community. In each of these spaces power relations are exercised differently with different interests and goals for this youth group. Canada aims to integrate them into the Canadian society and to develop their Canadian identity. Israel aims to bring them back to Israel and to strengthen their ethnonational identity. The Diasporic Jewish community aims to integrate them into its community and to develop their Diasporic identity. And the Israeli community aims for this youth group to keep ties with Israel and to develop their trans-national/local identity. Clearly, for Israeli immigrant youth, identity transformation is a trajectory signifying moving in between transnational and Diasporic identification.

In the metaphor of the "ugly duckling" that several participants used independent of one another, we see recognition of the promise that Canadian society holds for these youth. They are weighing both the hardship and the vision of a promising life ahead. Consequent to the present study exploration of how Israeli immigrant youth mobilize their identities in multiple contact zones, between transnational and Diasporic spaces, one

unknown remains when looking ahead. Will these youth remain transnational, will they become part of the Jewish Diaspora, or will they constitute the new Israeli Diaspora? Or, are some Israeli immigrant youth destined to remain forever an ugly duckling in a frigid, new land? As I conclude my contribution to this narrative, I must also humbly acknowledge that these larger questions are far from being resolved.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Protocol

[Invite interviewee to use either language (English or Hebrew). Say you will take your cue from them.]

A. General Information

1) Your name.

2) How old are you now?

3) Current address and phone no.

4) Where were you born? And where were your parents and siblings born?

5) When did you/your family come to Canada? Who came?

6) Where did you emigrate from? Did you emigrate directly from Israel?

7) How old were you at time of immigration to Canada (and your siblings)?

8) Do you know the reason of the immigration of your family to Canada?

Probe: Did your family have any relatives or friends in Canada prior to immigration?

9) Where did you live when you came to Canada? Where do you live now?

10) Do you work or study? How do you support yourself?

B. Opening question: Immigration Experience in Canada

1) Can you tell me about your immigration to Canada?

Probe: I'm interested in your immigration process. Are there experiences that stand out in your mind in terms of: a) cultural adaptation issues; b) issues with language; c) early friendships; d) realignment of family relationships?

2) What was the most difficult experience that you can recall?

3) What was the most satisfying experience that you can recall?

C. Language/s

1) What language/s do you speak (proficiency in speaking, reading, writing, listening)? When and where did you learn the language/s (e.g. did you learn English in Israel)?

2) Can you describe the language/s spoken in your home? What language/s do your parents speak? And what language/s did your parents speak with you, your siblings?

3) What language/s did you speak with your parents, siblings? What language do you speak with them now?

4) Do you remember any discussions that you might have had with your parents around the topic of language use? For example, did they insist on speaking Hebrew with you?

5) What language/s did you use in school (except English) inside and outside of class? *Probe:* Can you give me example/s when you used these languages?

6) (for students who attended public school) Did your school offer Hebrew courses? Did you take this course? How did you feel?

7) What language/s did you use with your peers (inside and outside of school)? Can you give me example/s when you used the language/s? How did you feel?

8) Did you have (close) friends from Israel? What language did you speak with them? Can you give me example/s of when you used the language/s?

9) What language do you use with your family/friends/school/work/internet today?

10) Do you like to read? Do you read any books/magazines/internet in Hebrew? In what language do you prefer to read (then and now)?

11) Do you watch TV/listen to radio? Do you watch or listen to any program in Hebrew? In what language do you prefer to watch/listen (then and now)?

12) How would you describe your fluency in Hebrew and English today?

13) In which language are you most comfortable communicating?

Probe about language use for different domains, e.g., work, religious practice.

D. Schooling

1) What school/s did you attend (in Israel and in Canada)?

Probe: secular/religious, secondary/elementary, urban/rural

2) What was your school/s like in Israel/in Canada?

3) How did you feel about school in general?

4) How did you get to school (carpool, bus)?

5) What did you usually wear to school?

6) What subject in school was always the easiest/difficult for you?

7) What was your favourite/least favourite subject in school and why?

8) Who was your favourite teacher/s and why were they special?

9) How would you describe yourself as a student? Did you get good grades?

10) Did you participate in extra curricular programs in school? What school activities and sports did you participate in?

11) Were you ever given any special awards for your studies or school activities?

12) How many years of education have you completed?

13) Were there immigrant students in your school? How did the school/teachers treat the immigrant students?

E. Peer Group and Social Activities

1) How did you spend your free time in Israel/in Canada? What were your hobbies?

2) What shows did you watch on T.V.? Do you watch the same shows today?

3) What kind of music did you like to listen to? Do you listen to the same music today?

4) Which books/magazines/newspapers did you like to read? Do you read the same texts today?

5) Did you use the Internet, if yes, when and for how long? Who did you communicate with and what language did you use (orally/in writing)? How do you use the internet today?

6) Did you identify yourself with a particular group or trend within youth culture?

7) What did you do to make friends (when you immigrated to Canada) inside and outside of school? Did you find it easy or difficult? In what ways? Was it different experience inside of school compare to outside of school?

8) What places did you like to go to with your friends (e.g. discotheques/movies)? And today?

9) Did you and your friends have a special hang-out where you liked to spend time? Where was it and what did you do there?

10) Did you have a girl/boy friend? Was s/he Canadian? And today?

11) (If they are married) Is your wife/husband Israeli? Can you describe how you met him/her?

12) Did/does your partner impact your social life style? How?

13) Did your circle of friends change during the years (Israelis/Jewish Canadians/Gentile Canadians/other)? How would you describe your circle of friends today?

F. National and Cultural Identification

1) Did you stay in touch with your friends and relatives in Israel? How? In what ways? How you still in touch with them today?

2) How often do you visit Israel? Do you remember the first time you went back to visit after your immigration to Canada? How did you feel?

3) What did you miss the most when you left Israel? Is there anything in particular you miss having from Israel today?

4) Do you participate in activities related to Israel? When did you start?

5) Do you follow the ongoing events in Israel (e.g. political/economic/cultural/social)? How?

6) Does your family maintain any Israeli traditions/culture? Or is there any change in the cultural practices since the immigration to Canada? In what way (e.g. food/religion/language)?

7) How would you describe yourself in terms of your identity?

Probe: If someone asked you to describe your cultural identity, what would you say?

8) Do you think there are differences between Israelis and Canadian Jews? Can you expand on these differences?

9) Do you think there are differences between Israelis and Canadians? Can you expand on these differences?

10) With which of the following groups you feel you have most in common: Israeli community in Canada/Jewish Canadian community/ Israelis in Israel/ Canadian society/other immigrant groups in Canada? Can you explain why?

11) What kind of host country do you think Canada is for immigrants?

G. Open-ended

Is there anything that I've forgotten to ask about that you think is important for me to know?

APPENDIX B

Informed Consent Form

Study Name: Bilingual Socialization and Transnational Identity Construction: Israeli Immigrant Youth in Canada [tentative].

Researcher: Yonah Atari, PhD candidate, Faculty of Education, York University.

Purpose of the Research: to explore the processes by which Israeli immigrant youth adapt and integrate into Canadian society and the role of language in their socialization experiences inside and outside of schools.

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research: You will participate in the activities related to this project, including observations, interviews, and informal exchanges. There will be 2-3 interviews. Each interview will be 1-1.5 hour long.

Risks and Discomforts: We do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: The research findings may facilitate educators in assessing the effectiveness of their support system for new immigrant youth, and may be used to provide direction for updating and upgrading of such programs. The benefit to you may be the increase of your own cultural awareness. You will also receive inducement amount of $50 for your participation. If you decide to stop participating, you will still be eligible to receive the promised pay of $50 for agreeing to be in the project.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the nature of your relationship with York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. If you decide to stop participating, you will still be eligible to receive the promised pay for agreeing to be in the project. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. The data will be collected by handwritten notes and video/audio tapes. Your data will be safely stored in a locked facility and only research staff will have access to this information. The data will be archived after the study in surroundings accessible only by key or by combination code. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Questions about the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact Elizabete Petersons in the Graduate Program in Education at (416)736-2100 extension 22051 or by e-mail: epetersons@edu.yorku.ca. This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact Ms. Alison Collins-Mrakas, Manager, Research Ethics, 309 York Lanes, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail acollins@yorku.ca).

I_____, consent to participate in "Bilingual Socialization and Transnational Identity Construction: Israeli Immigrant Youth in Canada" conducted by Yonah Atari. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature_____ **Date**_____
Participant

Signature_____ **Date**_____
Principal Investigator