Reconsidering
Israel-Diaspora Relations

Edited by

Eliezer Ben-Rafael, Judit Bokser Liwerant, and Yosef Gorny

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Contents

PART 5

Configurations of World Jewry and the State of Israel

∵

Jewish Diaspora and Transnationalism: Awkward (Dance) Partners?

Judit Bokser-Liwerant

The Jewish People's singularity is developing today amid a world of diversified, new and expanded diasporas. Similarly, and possibly even more, Jews are experiencing changing models of interactions through continuous bonds of cohesion and solidarity. In increasingly mobile settings, boundary maintenance, continuity, and distinctiveness are acquiring different meanings while the singular Jewish experience provides new insights for approaching the changing profile of an ethno-national diaspora entering a new transnational dynamics. Whereas classical notions of diaspora imply mainly a return to a real or an imagined homeland, newer uses of this concept supplement or replace return with dense onward migrations and continuous linkages across borders, while attending boundary maintenance and continuity. For its part, the notion of transnationalism or, better phrased, as an analytical angle, focuses on changing forms of cross-border mobility and links, as well as their impact on the interactions between distinctiveness and integration; boundary erosion and hybridity. However, even though acquiring new projections, both concepts and realities have shaped the historic Jewish condition worldwide and specifically in Latin America. Singular to Jewish life are not only both past and present migratory movements but also the worldwide dynamics of interactions and closeness. The region has developed, as well, through a historic process of being attached to different shifting and overlapping external centers (homelands?), both real/concrete and imaginary/symbolic. These relations were colored by a path simultaneously evincing strong transnational solidarity connections, and a dependent or peripheral character of communities in the process of becoming an ethno-national diaspora.

Political concepts, values, aspirations, and organizational entities "imported" from previous Jewish experiences in other parts of the world played a fundamental role in the process of cultural and institutional formation of Jewish communities in Latin America—perhaps more so than in other regions of Jewish immigration such as Western Europe or North America. The State of Israel and the Jewish/Zionist ethos played a singular role as catalysts. Today's emigration waves from the continent—but not only population movements—point

to new models of transnational ties, and interactions; to the emergence of transnational social fields and spaces, and new expressions of a culture of circulation. Diaspora and transnationalism may thus be seen as key concepts for approaching the Jewish Contemporary condition and the Latin American Jewish profile, both past and present.

This binomial widens the research scope—pointing to crossing and transcending borders, the creation of new social formations, and the changing relations between communities and homeland(s). Approached in their mutual relation and overlapping nature, diaspora and transnationalism are largely the focus of the current debate in the social sciences. We maintain that both concepts allow us to analyze differentially the common grounds and specificities of the Jewish case, as well as other equally relevant binomials of today's Jewish life concerning complex patterns of boundary maintenance in national/transnational communal and social spaces.

Today, the redefinition, relocation, and reshaping of experiences and identities draw a multifarious scenario that both accompanies and reflects a world system that is increasingly interconnected. Certainly, massive and diversified migration flows, transnational networks, as well as social, economic, political, and cultural interconnectedness mark a new era of reordered territorial spaces and redefined ascriptions, belongings, and identities. While deterritorialization and porous borders geographically detach communities and social sectors, transnational networks, spaces, and social circles are created and bolstered (Khagram & Levitt, 2008; Vertovec, 1999). Thus, diasporas and transnational social formations—including spaces and fields—are both cause and effect of global and multicultural macro social contexts. Current migratory experiences imply the revision of the classic assimilation process, including segmented assimilation, that often involved a gradual relaxing or reshaping of the social and cultural boundaries of Jewish migrants vis-à-vis the absorbing society. This trend acquires a new dynamic in light of boundary reinforcement and even boundary creation vis-à-vis the country of origin and their Jewishness, which necessarily refers to the interplay of multiple identities (Jewish, national/country of origin, new/country/city of relocation/transnational). In a changing horizon, new meanings develop of the Jewish historical center and transnational ideational motives. Concomitantly, these changes take place in a context of pluralization of institutional options of collective life and channels of interaction. The diversified realities put into question the notion of an alleged homogeneous and unifying collective identity, instead pointing to a world of identities and a multi-centered system that keeps strong, differentiated, and modified links with Israel.

On Conceptual Trajectory and its Shifts

In his introductory essay to the book on *Diaspora and Transnationalism* co-edited with Baubock, Faist (2010) framed the relation between both concepts as "awkward dance partners." While they address similar processes and actors, and are sometimes used interchangeably, the two terms reflect different intellectual genealogies. The recovery and even resurgence of the concept of diaspora and the emergence of transnationalism as an analytical approach can be productively used to study central questions of social change. In an extremely mobile scenario, both concepts shed light on new realities while offering novel readings of past ones. Thus, the attempt to clarify the ways in which different theoretical traditions deal with the place of structures and agency in a world on the move: population movements, migratory processes, and classical or historical dispersions in light of the emergence of new diasporas. They are conceived as descriptive analytical tools, as socially constituted formations, and socio-cultural conditions.

The current literature recognizes that Diaspora and Transnationalism refer to cross-border processes, while the changing contours of the former and its profusion—due to innovative modalities of migration and dispersion—have led to new formulations that recover and redefine classical dimensions. Indeed, while older notions of diaspora concern mainly forced dispersal, today this concept covers diverse groups such as migrants, expatriates, refugees, and displaced peoples, temporary migrant workers, groups of exiles, or ethnic communities thus leading to extreme responses such as the questioning of its heuristic value (Baubock and Faist, 2010; Nonini, 2005; Brubaker, 2005). The research on diaspora, despite its potential indiscriminate use of the term, has highlighted three essential components: (a) dispersion of its members; (b) orientation toward an ethno-national center, real or imaginary, considered to be a homeland; and (c) host country maintenance of the group's ethno-cultural borders (Cohen, 2008; O'Haire, 2008; Brenner, 2008; Esman, 2009). It has gradually pointed to the dynamics both of boundary maintenance and boundary erosion, and widened the concept of return to include old-new dynamics of interactions and interconnectedness. Moreover, in its wide parameters, the national and transnational dimensions interact, shift and overlap. Transnationalism, for its part, has focused mainly on more recent migration movements. While it has emphasized hybridity over distinctiveness and border maintenance as its characteristic, it is our contention that it must be seen as an analytical angle which complements and apprehends the current transformation of diasporas while simultaneously allowing new readings of the past trajectory of the Jewish dispersion.

Interestingly, due to the "inflation" of its uses and interpretation, Schnapper (2011) even asks if in light of its diversification, diaspora has lost its scientific status. Furthermore, she raises the issues of diaspora's defining elements, and the particular models for archetypical diasporas, asking why Jews are constantly being recognized as such, and yet the prevailing analyses distance themselves from the Jewish experience.

Indeed, let us approach the potentiality of the binomial for our case. The trajectory of the modern study of the Jewish diaspora may be traced to Jewish historical studies and its specific disciplinary and ethno-national focalization that dominated the neo-positivist scientific research program of national minorities in Eastern Europe (for an extended analysis of the conceptual trajectory, see Bokser-Liwerant & Senkman [2013]).

According to this conceptualization, unlike other diasporas, the Jews were led into *galut* (exile) following the loss of their political and ethno-national center, nurturing for centuries a sense of expatriation and the dream of return (Dubnow, 1931, 1958). More modern historiographical works (Ben Tzion Dinur; Shmuel Ettinger) continued the conceptual tradition of *galut* mainly within the framework of Jewish historic studies, thus lacking a close interaction with other disciplines that could have complemented its analytical focus. According to these authors, galut, a specific term to designate a Jewish nation that was eradicated from its ancestral homeland and dispersed under the yoke of alien powers, would characterize the cyclic sequence of diverse exiles throughout history up until the advent of modernity: galut Edom, galut Ashur, galut Babel, galut Sefarad, galut Ishmael (Galchinsky, 2008; Zeitlin, 2012).

Undoubtedly, the specialized disciplinary field of Judaic Studies endowed its diasporic approaches—social, ethnic, demographic, religious, cultural and historic—with a scientific character. However, it remained within its own disciplinary frontiers and was largely empiricist. One might claim that the interdisciplinary deficit in the study of Jewish diasporas was dealt with only recently, with the proliferation of globalization and transnational studies. Not surprisingly, transnational studies, in addition to the migratory and ethnic approaches, originally focused on diasporic practices and projects, parting from the formation of new diasporas of Asians (Chinese, Hindi, Pakistani), Middle Easterners (Lebanese, Palestinians), Eastern Europeans (Baltic Germans, Hungarians, Rumanians, Russians, Byelorussians, and other ethno-national communities that had been separated from their real or imaginary homelands (Ben Rafael, 2009, 2013; Moya, 2011).

The need to comprehend our world as one created by atypical communities, has also posed new questions for Jewish diaspora studies, thus leading to new interdisciplinary propositions beyond migratory and ethnic studies. William

Safran—in his pioneer publication *Diaspora*, that influenced the spread of diasporic studies following its foundation in 1991 (Safran, 1991)—recovered the Jewish diasporic paradigm and its emphasis on the Zionist goal to return to the historic and symbolically religious center.

However, in the past decades—paradoxical as it may be—Diaspora studies have moved away from the dynamic of traditional, archetypical cases such as the Jews, the Armenians, or the Greeks, underscoring the issues raised by immigrant ethnic communities that become diasporized in their new nations while at the same time analyzing their strategies of economic adaptation, cultural resistance, and collective negotiation of identity. According to Brubaker, early formulations stressed the orientation to a real or imagined homeland as a source of value, identity, and loyalty while more recent discussions move away from homeland orientation. Following Clifford, authors have criticized the "centered" model of Safran and others, in which diasporas are by definition "oriented by continuous cultural connections to a [single] source and by a teleology of 'return.'" Based on this strict definition, as Clifford notes, many aspects of the Jewish experience itself do not qualify because [it] "...is 'not so much oriented to roots in a specific place and a desire for return as around an ability to recreate a culture in diverse locations...'de-centered, lateral connections may be as important as those formed around a teleology of origin / return" (Clifford, 1994: 305–6).

Under such an approach, the tenets of the Jewish diasporic paradigm are reassessed as a "virtual and intangible space" between the center and the dispersed periphery. Regarding what he calls "the lateral axes of diaspora," he states that they are "decentered, partially overlapping networks of communication, travel, trade, and kinship that connect the several communities of a transnational people." The cultural and existential drifting towards the "entangled tension" of the diaspora leads him to delve deeper into the meaning of "virtual homeland" and to develop the notion of diaspora as a by-product of the "cultures of circulation" (Clifford, 1994: 318). A virtual place is in circulation through the translation through generations, of memories, consciousness, culture...interactions. It is worthwhile to point out that such provocative and fruitful contribution to the Jewish diaspora shows, however, a surprising reductionism. Indebted almost exclusively to the paradigm of the Boyarin brothers and their diasporism—not only as a conceptual formulation, but as a meta theoretical and political stance—it fails to recognize the singularity of the Jewish experience *as an ethno national diaspora with a center that has evolved into a transnational diaspora*. Thus, rather than comprehending Jewishness as encompassing a national center with lateral relations and multiple exchanges (Klal Yisrael) as well as homelands that do not operate by

substitution or displacement, it questions the center's existence. Therefore, despite having opened up innovative analytical inroads, the specificity of the case is minimized.

We may thus affirm that basic conceptual and methodological dilemmas stand before us. In Diaspora Studies, the Jewish case has been attenuated and lost its centrality (Brubaker, 2005), whereas Transnational Studies tend to lose sight of boundary maintenance and the diasporic density present in contemporary migratory movements. The latter is subsumed under the critic of the "ethnic lens" (Schiller et al., 1995; Levitt & Waters, 2002). Transnational studies have typically focused on individuals, their links, and networks of social relations as the principal units of analysis (Portes, Guarnizo & Smith, 1999; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt, 1999; Pries, 2008). According to these studies, only a small percentage of individual migrants (about 10%) are transnational; that is, they maintain frequent and sustained links/contacts with their origin country.

The Jewish case, however, is necessarily grounded on the collective dimension, on the institutional underpinnings of transnationalism and its structural effects. The individual and communal levels interact through dense and stable Jewish associational and institutional channels that enhance informal ethnic threads (and also family links and networks). Networks are the key to current transnational migration flows (Massey et al., 1987; Shoham & Kaufman Strauss, 2008). At the collective level, however, associative resources re-elaborate and re-orient organized Jewish life (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988). The degree of formalization or institutionalization in our case is characterized as well by a strong collective historical experience that transcends national borders.

For its part, significant work in Social Sciences research into Contemporary Jewry tends to leave out the global dimension of Jewish life, focusing on national cases and, therefore, underscoring exceptionalism. Thus, while the historical Jewish experience overcomes methodological nationalism, and thus does not equate social processes with national or state frontiers (Beck, 2000; Amelina, Nergiz, Faist, & Schiller. 2012), it has also contributed to surmounting the limitation of methodological individualism which focuses on the migrants and their networks as the exclusive unit of analysis (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt, 1999).

Therefore, the concepts of transnational social spaces or transnational social formations developed by Transnational Studies can be re-examined and expanded in light of these considerations (Faist, 2000; Levitt & Schiller, 2004). In the Jewish case particularly, the dialectics of boundary maintenance/ boundary erosion complement the diasporic practices of *émigré* ethnic communities centered on processes of cultural hybridization, fluidity and creolization, as well as religious syncretism, rather than merely analyzing diasporic

practices as derived from the maintenance of borders between communities (Hall, 1990). Rogers Brubaker (2005) warns us about such ambivalence found in the literature on transnationalism for which the predominant orientation toward hybridism resists (and even refutes) diasporic practices that have underscored the principle of boundary-maintenance. We find it stimulating that a major theorist of diaspora and immigrant assimilation is aware of the need to maintain the perspective of boundary-maintenance as a key resource that explains interaction with society at large: "Boundaries can be maintained by deliberate resistance to assimilation through self-enforced endogamy or other forms of self-segregation . . . (boundary-maintenance) that enables one to speak of a diaspora as a distinctive "community," held together by a distinctive, active solidarity, as well as by relatively dense social relationships, that cross-cut state boundaries and link members of the diaspora in different states into a single "transnational community" (p. 6). After asserting why the paradigm of the Jewish experience would not be useful in explaining more recent general diasporic phenomena since the 1990s, he adds that "the Jewish experience is internally complex, ambivalent and by no means straightforwardly 'diasporic' in the strict sense of the term (Ibid.: 3–4). It is in light of these considerations that we need to underscore the functionality of the center as referent, mechanism, catalyzer, and space of such interactions.

Simultaneously, valuable, scholarly work in Contemporary Jewry still steps away from integrating the conceptual framework of transnationalism to account for boundary maintenance and the changing faces of ethnicity. The special issue of *Studies in Contemporary Jewry: Ethnicity and Beyond: Theories and Dilemmas of Jewish Group Demarcation* (Lederhendler, 2011) specifies certain pitfalls of the ethno-communal paradigm at a time when multiculturalism, postmodernity and the porous ethno-religious borders of former generations are currently losing the capacity to construct ongoing collective identities. According to David Hollinger, the differences between Irish-, Italian-, German-, Polish-, or Jewish-Americans will lose relevance in an expanded public agenda that increasingly respects a discourse that is "post-ethnic and post-Jewish (also 'post-Black' and 'post-Catholic') and points toward sensitivity to demographics and filters of 'ethnic' influences" (Hollinger, 2009). One may observe that until fairly recently, religion was assumed to be the primary axis of distinction among Americans; yet the singular dynamic between religion and ethnicity frequently led to the acceptance of the former as a way of expressing the latter. Individualized Jewish religiosity developed around the synagogue-congregation, and gradually became embedded in a public Jewish "civil religion," understood either as a set of civic tenets or as a Jewish ethno-national solidarity that, in the view of some observers, attained quasi-sacralized

status (Fischer & Last Stone, 2012; Woocher, 1986, 2005). The current findings of the Pew Survey (2013) add new data on these trends.

Despite the acute theoretical restating of the ethnic paradigm and the need to undertake comparative studies, it is worth noting that this volume of *Studies in Contemporary Jewry*, which showcased talented researchers, did not show that it was necessary to make any incursion into transnational studies. The sole exception is the work of historian Ewa Morawska, which theoretically conceptualizes ethnicity, following Steven Fenten, as a hybrid and an ever-changing constellation of primordial, circumstantial, symbolic, and constructed components in order to comparatively analyze the diversity of ethnic practices and identities throughout the history of specific Jewish *émigré* groups. Despite the fact that Morawska delves into the transnational bonds of these groups with their countries of origin and residence when analyzing diversity among international migrations, she abstains from using transnational diaspora categories and, instead, employs the comparative perspective of historic sociology of Jewish societies, in keeping with Todd Endelman's method, and David Mayers' focus on cultural studies, with the objective of tackling acculturation during different eras of the diaspora. Valuable achievements can be found in current sociological work aiming to develop and benefit from the transnational analytical paradigm (Ben Rafael & Sternberg, 2009; Eisenstadt, 2010). As part of the conceptual shift, an essential axis of inquiry relates to the interaction between integration, innovation, continuity and boundary maintenance *vis-à-vis* erosion.

Regarding Latin America, earlier analyses of the Jewish diaspora were made based on the exceptionality of the Jewish "case" either as a marginalized diaspora or one left out by the ostracizing logic of the social sciences. In contrast, in the transnational era, we need to approach it with new and cutting-edge knowledge that establishes thresholds that no longer consist solely of border crossings, but also of abundant crossroads that open up the horizon to the progressive drumbeat of transnationalism and globalization, which in turn promote the decentering of all disciplines (Bokser-Liwerant & Senkman, 2013).

The current transnational era and its new epistemic configurations pose ahead of us the unavoidable challenge to theorize the new dimensions in Diaspora Studies within Contemporary Judaism also for the region. Among the conceptual challenges, we need to better understand the historic *singularity* of the diaspora and the specificity of Latin American Jews, to conceive other diasporas that developed both inside and outside the nation-state since the dawn of Modernity. Let us underscore that the ethno-national diaspora as a sociocultural formation that persisted in the Modern Era was perceived, from the logic

of citizenship and national sovereignty, as an anachronistic, unacceptable realm of otherness; its members were suspected of not having been assimilated or integrated into the citizenry, and they were held responsible for *allosemitism*, which shifted into its anti-Semitic pole as a result of diasporic self-segregation (Bauman, 1998).

This dynamic characterized not only the configuration of modernity in Europe, but also that in the Latin American region where the State emerged and developed as a founding pillar of the nation. This ethno-national diasporic experience of Latin America has been basically approached from a twofold perspective: historic migratory studies, and the sociocultural-political view of otherness/belonging. However, it has seldom been seen through the lens of social formations in which collective organization accounts for a high degree of interconnectedness and world circulation. The transnational diaspora approach allows us to focus on the coexistence of diverse attachments; the notion of a multi-centered or radial system is also valid for second- and third-generation immigrants. Globalization and transnationalism unleash and account for continuous and intense interactions between communal and social, global and local, national and transnational levels, thus distancing an ideal conception or type from a reality that picks up the imperatives of a nationalist and privatizing theoretical and practical tradition. The need to think globally and conduct empirical research reveal that transnational Jewish identification is woven into and through national territories.

It is worth mentioning that following this conceptual shift, new Latin American migratory studies have concentrated more on new diasporas of Mexicans, Caribbeans, and Central Americans rather than on ethno-national diasporas. Transnationalism, as an analytical angle to which different schools of thought gravitate, has emphasized the reality of the mobile, circular migrant, or transmigrant; that is, the labor force of peripheral countries to the metropolis. Simultaneously, the study of Contemporary Latin American Jewry requires us to cross disciplinary confines in order to traverse the national borders where Jewish diasporas dwell, and in this way better grasp the global character of the Jewish condition, while also comprehending the current dynamics of transnationalism in Latin American countries and abroad. This strategy would enable us to register phenomena such as dual nationality, dual citizenship, transformations of ancient ethno-national diasporas, de-diasporization and re-diasporization of Latin American Jews who transmigrate and circulate, pluri- and multiculturalism as well as the construction and reconstruction of collective identities, among others (Bokser-Liwerant, Della Pergola & Senkman, 2010; Ben Rafael & Sternberg, 2009).

Singularity and Diversity in a Transnational World

The Diaspora/Transnationalism binomial offers us an analytical entry into Latin American Jewry in their conformation as communities, their current mobility and the shaping of their collective identity linked to the changing place and role of concrete and ideational home(s).

In unique ways, migration processes defined Latin America's relations—contested and ambivalent—to an outside Western referent: its Multiple Modernities. The cultural program of Modernity, that entailed "promissory notes" which sought to define in new terms the meaning of human agency and its role in building social and political orders, acted permanently as a critical orientation *vis-à-vis* the center(s) (Eisenstadt, 2000; Wittrock, 2000). Its principles of freedom, equality, and individual autonomy as a substratum for association and community belonging; reflexivity as the basis for tolerance and pluralism and the centrality of public spaces for citizenship-building confronted Latin Americans with common and distinctive ways of becoming modern. Thus, the subsequent and alternative Western centers acted as a project to follow (and to contest). The analytical lens of Multiple Modernities thus allows a better understanding of the ambivalences and conflicts that accompanied the region's historical paths (Eisenstadt, 2000). Shifting centers and global foci of identity: Spain and Portugal in the foundational encounter defined by asymmetry; France and England, later, as the imperial balance of power changed; the United States, and the still current tensions and ambivalences. Through the peripheral connection of Latin American's countries to these external centers—rightly conceptualized as a "global immersion" which provided the parameters of institutional building and reflection (Roniger, 2009)—a sustained transnational dynamics developed. Their being part of the West but differing from it led to global awareness and reflexivity in Latin American cultures. Territorial, national, cultural, socio-economic, and political diversity underlay the region's internal variation and consequently affected the profile of Jewish life in each of more than twenty countries. In multi-ethnic societies such as Argentina and Uruguay, where immigration changed the profile of the population, minorities faced a *de facto* tolerance that counterbalanced the primordial, territorial, and religiously homogeneous profile that the state aspired to achieve. In countries such as Mexico, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia, where immigration did not change the original ethnic profile, the weight of ethnic differences radicalized the aspirations and national narratives of a unified nation (Avni, 1988).

Paralleling this process, the development of Latin American Jewish life in the region was strongly defined by its connection to external centers of Jewish

life. Indeed, transnational conditions marked the experience of Latin American Jews from the very beginning. The founding immigration and colonization waves, as well as their later development, were signed by a constant process of being attached to different shifting and overlapping external Jewish centers, both real and imaginary, concrete and symbolic. Latin American Jews shaped their communal life, built their associational and institutional profile and their collective consciousness as part of a broader feeling of peoplehood, and a sense of collective belonging that expressed itself as well through global political interactions. A sustained yet changing transnational condition shows the singular dynamics of contemporary Jewish history in the region. These relations were complex and simultaneously marked strong transnational solidarity connections, and a dependent or peripheral character of new communities in the making (Senkman, 2008; Bokser-Liwerant, 2007, 2008). This twofold characteristic went through successive redefinitions and changing formulations. Transnationalism meant for Jewish life in the region a collective life oriented not only by external referents but also by divergent expectations regarding the models to be developed on unequal terms of exchange (Shenkolevsky, 1988; Bokser-Liwerant, 1991). In the interwar period, Jews from Eastern Europe succeeded in establishing transnational relations between the center and its periphery that powerfully influenced the construction of a new ethno transnational, Yiddish-speaking diaspora in Buenos Aires and Mexico. They gave birth to Jewish *kehilot* in the region as replicas of original experiences overseas.

With diverse degrees of intensity, regions and countries of origin were the defining organizational criteria. While the Sephardic world in Latin America developed communities on the basis of different countries of origin, reflecting the fragmented character of this complex ethnic group that was textured by different sub-groups, Eastern European Jews as hegemonic community-builders established the old/new communal structures. Contrary to what happened in the United States, the collective overshadowed the individual. In the United States the process of nation building implied the incorporation of separate components into a collective higher order, while the right to self-fulfillment saw normative support as part of the national ethos. Tolerant of diversity, American society promoted individual gratification (Sarna, 2004).

Building communal structures both reflected and shaped collective Jewish life. Founded by secularists, but seeking to answer communal and religious needs, communities were forged in the cast of European modern Diaspora nationalism emphasizing its inner ideological struggles, organized political parties and social and cultural movements (Bokser, 1991). The dominant pattern was a continuous trend toward secularization and politicization inspired

by a plural transnational cultural baggage. Varying ideological, cultural and political currents flowed energetically in the Jewish street: from Communist to Zionist; from Yiddishist to Bundist; from liberal to assimilationist and from there to orthodoxy; also from highly structured organizational options to non-affiliated and individual definitions. This gave way to an imported and original rich "Jewish street." As in the Old Home, both prophecy and politics inter-twined (Frankel, 1981). The communal domain, while prompting continuity, became the basic framework for the permanent struggle between world visions, convictions, strategies and instrumental needs Jews found in commu-nal endeavors spaces to be Jewish and to differentially integrate into their societies—to transmit, create, redefine, "imagine" continuity and develop new traits. Innovation accompanied the diverse degrees of integration across the continent. Community frameworks transcended the borders of local ethnic patterns of association in order to encompass both the will for integration in the host country and, simultaneously, the transnational bonds among the entire Jewish people, including both those scattered across the diaspora and those concentrated in Israel.

Indeed, world Jewish developments had a direct influence, and gradually turned the Zionist idea and the State of Israel into central axes for communal life and identity. Links and interactions brought into the forefront both the feeling and objective reality of a renewed transnational shared mission and commitment to a new ideological, political, and cultural-spiritual center. It represented a new chapter in solidarity efforts that also expressed the inherent tension between a project to renew Jewish national life in a Jewish Homeland and the idea of fostering Jewish life in the new circumstances of the Diaspora. Historically, Zionism sought to address a wide range of problems that deeply marked these inner tensions. Its global goals of generating an overall *aggiorna-mento* in Judaism led to the coexistence of both the denial of a Diaspora condi-tion and the aspiration for renewal of Jewish life as a whole (Almog, 1982; Vital, 1980). Nowhere have Jews created a communal public space with a proto-state structure so diversified as in Latin America.

The links between the center and Jewish communities grew distant from a one-fold uncontested dynamics. The dominant interpretation of those links in terms of bonds that connected one-directionally a periphery to a center was initially manifest within the organized Zionist movement. While an overall disenchantment with the Diaspora condition was among the main causes for the emergence of Zionism in Europe, in the new communities Zionism com-mitted itself both ideologically and institutionally to guarantee a new Jewish life. As any ideology in the process of being absorbed by other cultural and symbolic frames of reference, Zionism acquired novel sociological meanings

without necessarily redefining or rephrasing its contents. Its organizational functionality was altered and, beyond its recognized goals, it fulfilled diverse new needs One has to underscore that Latin American distinctiveness and specificity were never fully understood by the center: the region was alternately seen as an undefined and not a clearly visible part of the West, or as part of a peripheral region (Bokser, 1991). Historically, Latin American Jews were viewed as a substitute for vanishing European Jewry and were therefore identified as a source for *aliyah*: a shared perception of a *sui generis* ethno-national Diaspora, temporary in its time span, called on to play a central role in the changing Jewish dispersion, and as a bridge between a vanishing old world and the new one to be built. Zionist sectors invigorated the center with both the "national home" and "refuge" qualities that simultaneously nourished and reinforced their own Diaspora profile.

The Zionist idea and the state of Israel were functional to the goal of Jewish continuity in a new society seen both as home and exile. The discrepancies around the changing boundaries of Jewish dispersion coexisted with specific strategies aimed to recreate, to lead, and even to strengthen life in the Diaspora, even without being explicitly recognized. For Zionism, hegemony building meant institutional insertion into central communal instances that acted as channels for the development of links with the global Jewish world.

Seen from an overall historical perspective, the one-center model went through different changes that affected the dependent and even periphery perception of Latin American communities amidst the transnational scenario of Zionist interactions towards increased interdependency. With its own singularity it expressed the worldwide changes affecting the Jewish reality starting in the late sixties, as a result of the Six Day War. Through solidarity with Israel, world Jewish communities expressed an implicit message regarding the legitimacy of their own existence. Solidarity meant responsibility and, consequently, the latter sought to legitimize the Diaspora's separate existence. The Jewish State, unwittingly, legitimized the Diaspora by attaching great importance to its support. The centrality of the State of Israel was evidently instrumental in legitimizing the Diaspora's sense of solidarity and concurrently the energy invested in reinforcing its member communities (Lederhendler, 2000).

Expectations of *aliyah* were maintained, while diversifying dimensions and mechanisms of interaction moved away from the classical Zionist structures. For Latin American Jews, besides its condition of a sovereign and creative cultural center, Israel has historically been a vital space for those who are in need. Necessity and ideology have thus interacted in particularly interesting ways, as expressed through migration waves and selected places of destination. Regional and national trends point to dependency of *aliyah* (and Jewish

migration in general) on the unfolding of specific local circumstances, varying recurring economic crises, political unrest, and returns to normalcy; in some cases, these factors tend to form repeated cycles (Della Pergola, 2009). Some sub-regional similarities also emerge. Chile and Brazil share a pattern dominated by one central political event in the early 1970s, as was Cuba in the early 1960s. Argentina and Uruguay appear somewhat similar in the sequence of some of their disrupting changes throughout the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. Venezuela and Colombia share a pattern of more recent destabilization. Occasional economic crises underlie the Mexican experience of the 1980s and 1990s. These data quite clearly throw light on the underlying hierarchy of general political and socioeconomic circumstances in the countries of origin *vis-à-vis* the changing socioeconomic and security circumstances in Israel. The situation in the country of origin was by far the most powerful determinant of *aliyah*, although one cannot neglect the intervention of successful absorption in the country of destination as a further explanatory factor (Della Pergola, 1998). Jewish migration and Israel's population growth were hence tributaries, in some measure, of the general crises and of their interferences with the orderly life of Jewish communities on the Latin American continent.

As the demographer stresses, the fact that Jewish migrants preferred Israel over other available alternatives indicates that "cultural and symbolic" factors continued to play an important role among the determinants of existential choices concerning the preferred place of residence. But the fact that Israel is ranked significantly above every Latin American society, according to the Human Development Index, is certainly compatible with making that choice consonant with the routine preference of most international migrants to move from poorer to better environments. More than 100,000 Jews have made *aliyah*, and the different moments and profiles indicate the weight of their ideational motive.

For Argentine Jews, Israel became a central spot. However, when asked today about their country of preference in case of emigration, 27% declare Spain, only 24% opt for Israel, followed by 14% who cite the U.S. The emigration preferences of Mexican Jews show a reduction in Israel's importance, even though 84% have visited it at least once (CCIM, 2006). Among Jews in Caracas in 1998–99—before the significant change of political regime of the last years—who were asked about their moves facing a crisis, 14% stated they would go to Israel, the same percent would prefer the U.S., 9% would chose another country, and a further 63% would remain in Venezuela (Della Pergola, 2003). Data on Jews living in Mexico and Argentina show that both age (generation) and country of origin influence the place of Israel in people's lives and

their attachment to it (Cohen & Kelman, 2009; Sasson, Kadushin & Saxe, 2010). Mexico has exceptionally high rates of visits to Israel while lower rates characterize Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela.

A survey by the Comité Central Israelita de México (2006) shows that while 97% of the older members (individuals aged 70 and over, for instance) of the Mexican Jewish community expresses that Israel is of the uttermost importance, only 77% of the young population (18–19 years old) make the same statement. These percentages are far higher if we compare them with opinions expressed by members of other Latin American communities. In Argentina, the percentage of those maintaining that Israel is of the uttermost importance diminishes to 57%. Erdei (2011) points to the age cohort effect when referring to self-definition by younger and older Jews to Judaism.

We may further look into this variation through the angle of educational trips to Israel, an indicator that reveals the unique convergence of modern nationalism and postmodern transnationalism in the Jewish world and the region or, in other terms, the changing role of the Center or national homeland to guarantee the continuity of the Diaspora. Seen from the perspective of interactions and circulation, trips oscillate between links and bonds to the nation-State and diaspora-building (Kelner, 2010). However, the latter must be seen through a regional lens that focuses on the process of becoming an ethno-transnational diaspora. Ethnic diasporas—that Tololyan refers to as "exemplary communities of the transnational moment"—are today engaged in a renewed geography of dispersion.

These trips and their function—based on a logic of interdependence, disjuncture, and convergences—are closely related to the institutional density, the social capital, and the communal legacy of the diverse communities (Cohen, 2012, 2014). Accordingly, Israel plays a central role. And, yet, some general snapshots of Jewish life point to strong internal divergences. For example, day attendance school in Mexico reaches 90%; Brazil 50% and Argentina 45%. Affiliation rates differ from 85% in Mexico and between 45–50% in Brazil and Argentina. Out-marriage rates are 10% in Mexico while in both Brazil and Argentina reach 50%. These parameters reflect and shape the scope and inner differentiation of the trips to Israel: total attendance in the Mexican case reaches 70% *vis-à-vis* 45% and 50% in Brazil and Argentina.

Jewish educational ecology and communal institutional density act as central variables. Thus, in a diversified context such as Latin America, it is worth asking about the differential rates and types of visit to Israel. While Mexican youth has visited Israel in the framework of the school system, it also has a subsequent stronger presence in long-term programs and therefore a minimal one in Taglit (Bokser-Liwerant, 2013b). Concomitantly, it explains the success

in Argentina and Brazil of Taglit—in larger Jewish communities, with lower levels of Jewish education and similar intermarriage. Jewish education still explains why in spite of lower affiliation rates there is a strong cultural component. Families of participants are engaged with and related to the Jewish community. While in Argentina 86% feel very connected to Israel, in Brazil this percentage reaches 20% (Shain, Hecht & Saxe, 2012; Cohen, 2014).

The Masa program lasts from five to twelve months, and includes Youth Movements, Experiential, Academic, Specialization and Orthodox programs. Its target population is young adults. Teen Trips are from five to six weeks long, and are designed for ninth-graders. Taglit lasts ten days, and its participants are young adults of 18–26 years. The March of the Living lasts 15 days, it is designed for high-school students and young adults (Bokser-Liwerant, 2013b).

TABLE 19.1 *Latin American-Israel Trips, 2009–2010*

	MASA	TAGLIT	MOTL	TEEN	TOTAL
Brazil	224	428	158	400*	**1210**
Argentina	294	967	200	600*	**2061**
Mexico	261	29	272	350*	**912**
TOTAL	**779**	**1424**	**630**	**1350**	

Source: Table elaborated by the author based on data provided by the Jewish Agency (2014).
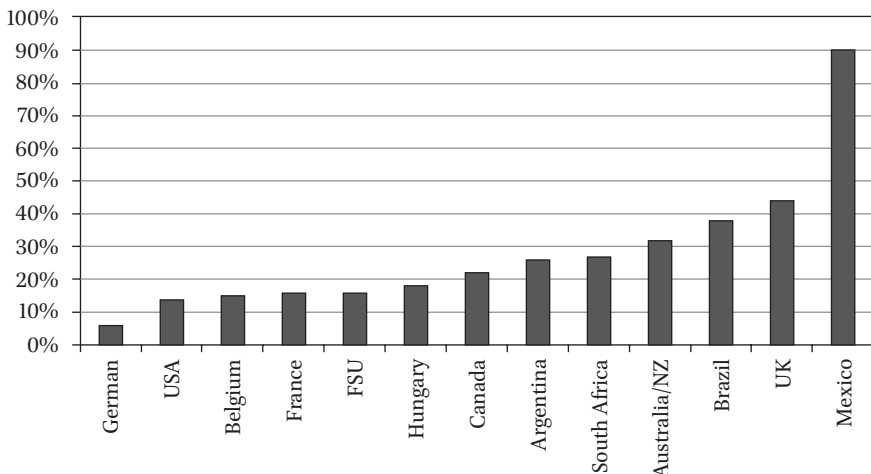
GRAPH 19.1 *Market penetration of Israel Experience by Region*
SOURCE: ERICK COHEN, (FORTHCOMING 2014).

TABLE 19.2 *Taglit/Birthright*

|	2010	2011	2012
Brazil	428	757	716
Argentina	967	996	1,105
Mexico	29	25	–
Other countries			
Latin American participants	1,515	1,837	1,887
	(5.4%)	(5.4%)	(4.9%)
Total participants	27,862	33,624	38,091

Source: Table elaborated by the author (Bokser-Liwerant, 2013b)

Let us underscore that from an integrative perspective of Jewish dispersion and cultural interaction, education has played a central role in the shaping of Latin American Jewish life. It has constituted the main field for displaying Jewish collective identity while negotiating the challenges of incorporation into diverse societies. Historically it reflected the gamut of secularized political and ideological currents that shaped Jewish communities, with a central place given to the Zionist idea and the State of Israel. The latter's role in Jewish education has been central. While continuously attached to the Center, historical, political and ideological currents that historically differentiated schools in Latin America have today been replaced by communitarian and religious criteria, in consonance with world Jewish trends. The educational system has been changing both expressing general religious and cultural developments while acting as an arena where they are shaped.

The increase in the number of students attending religious schools reflects both the demographic changes in the composition of the community, the arrival of educators coming from intensively orthodox communities from South America, as well as the world trend in education. A strong organizational structure of seventeen day-schools has developed; one school for each 2,500 Jews in Mexico City. The student population has grown 16.5% in the past eight years as compared to 6% Jewish population growth prior. Educational policies, as expressed in a significant system of scholarships, brought those families back to the Jewish schools, which they had previously abandoned. Close to 25% of the student population benefits from scholarships, while more that 40% does so in the haredi schools. The latter, serving 26% of the student population, show the highest population growth: 55% in the last eight years

(CCIM, 2006). The Ashkenazi schools show the greatest percentage of decrease, 28%, and the Maguen David (Halebi) schools show the highest growth rate, with 46% of the total student population. Of this group, 40% attend haredi schools (Vaad Hajinuj, Universidad Hebraica, 2013). A comparative look at Argentina shows that in the last decade a total of sixteen schools closed while only six were able to pass through national institutional restructuring. The 34 day-schools and six supplementary schools now serve a population of 17,864 students. While this figure shows a systematic recovery of population compared to previous years (only 17,075 in 2002, against 19,274 in 1999), it points to a total coverage of 43 percent of Jewish school-age children. The highest rate of population growth is also taking place at the ten religious schools. Therefore, in both cases it is necessary to underscore the changing profile of education (AMIA—Vaad Hajinuj, 2013).

While acknowledging the fact that an increase of religious education is a product of the incidence of social policies on communal cultural profiles—as expressed in the massive support offered through scholarship by religious schools—it must also be noted that this process reflects an increase in religiosity and observance which constitutes part of the meaningful current changes in Jewish life today.
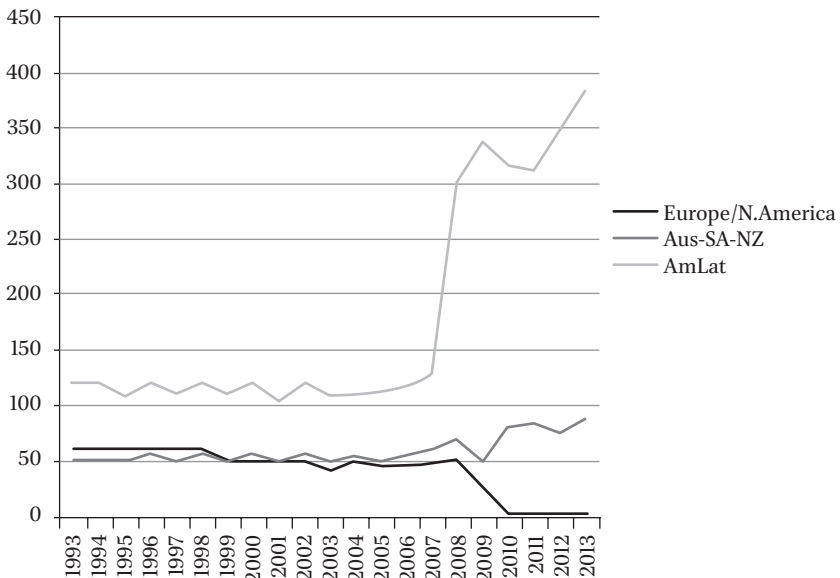
GRAPH 2   *Majon Le Madrijim—All regions*
           SOURCE: SERGIO EDELSTEIN (CEO OF THE MAJON LEMADRIJM) (2013)

Different approaches are also expressed in various spiritual-national–cultural representations of the Center; connectedness develops along a diversified world of identities and it is implied by the existential and cognitive dimensions of the educational trips. Israel is thus underscored as a territorial and symbolic referent, while strong and durable diasporic life develops. Moreover, in light of the fluctuating place of national homeland/diaspora as identificational moments, it is also interesting to see the widening of the framework in which the March of the Living is conveyed as an expression of the convergent/divergent place of the Shoah in public discourse and social practices. The Shoah has become an increasingly relevant axis of identification, and points to a global trend in the Jewish and non-Jewish worlds, which may be interpreted as a reevaluation of the Diaspora as a fundamental value and element in the formation of Jewish history and memory. *Vis-à-vis* the identification with Israel as the main center, one may ponder whether current narratives in which the present is subdued to the moment of destruction express—mainly for post-Zionist sectors—an "unexplainable uneasiness" with State power while being more consonant with patterns of postmodern times.

Going Global: Faces of an Ethno-Transnational Diaspora

Historically, Latin American Jewry constituted a hub of immigration, but in the past few decades the direction of migration flows has changed, originating from Latin America to other destinations. It has become an exit region for wide social sectors. In parallel to processes of growing pluralism—political, institutional and cultural—and the ensuing affirmation of civic commonalities, recurrent economic crises, political instability, high levels of public violence and lack of security have acted as main processes that lead to exit. While during the 1970s, violence and authoritarianism were determinant factors of regional and international emigration and political exile, especially in South America, a decade later re-democratization was a pull factor for Jewish exiles and some others to return to their homelands. But in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the intertwined complex of economic crises and security problems again pushed Jews into a global international migration pattern. Thus, migration crises have interacted with world opportunities to move and benefit from professional options and entrepreneurial expansion in increasingly interconnected markets.

Growing mobility, international migrations, and the diversification of internal and transnational displacements involve the renewed expansion of spaces and places. At the same time, the increased speed and density of interactions

evolve in changing spheres, enlarged and framed by global networks and transnational realms.

Contemporary migration encompasses steady as well as repeated and circular, bi-local, and multi-local movements. Indeed, migration today exhibits very particular characteristics, including the multidirectionality of migratory flows, which presupposes reversible trajectories; frequency of movement; volume of migrants; and living across borders, which suggests a simultaneity of involvements "here" and "there" (Levit & Schiller, 2004). Multiple relocations and sustained interactions facilitate the exchange of economic, human, and social resources, just as they multiply the available cultural narratives, practices, and symbols within identifiable ethnic communities. These patterns thereby create, recreate, and redefine associational structures (Schiller et al., 1995).

The concurrent past and present relevance of the concept of transnationalism is enhanced by our perception of bordered and bounded communal units as transnationally constituted spaces interacting with one another (Vetovec, 2009). However, its new forms and meanings are strengthened by the nature, scope, and intensity of the contemporary relocation processes in new geographic and social spaces. The intense migratory movements of Latin American Jews—individuals and communities—renew their dispersion thus bringing an unprecedented reality to an ethno-religious-national Diaspora in the process of becoming transnational.

During the past 40 years, more than 150,000 Jews emigrated from Latin American countries to different regions; specifically, to those that have acted as poles of attraction—Israel and the United States—and also in the region, as substantially indicated by the cases of Mexico, Panama and Costa Rica in the continent (thus maintaining or increasing the population). Such destinations are located across the United States, in cities that have become emblematic of the collective and differentiated character of these flows, such as San Diego, Los Angeles, and Miami. Additionally, relocation takes place in centers of knowledge and high technology for young professionals, scientists, and academics. Similar trends can be found in Canada, Australia, and Europe (above all in Spain and therein, Barcelona).

The United States has become the top choice of international migrants from different regions/countries, religious affiliations, and ethnicities. According to the US Census Bureau, there were 39,955,854 foreign-born people residing in the United States in 2010. Those born in Latin America and the Caribbean, estimated at 21,224,087, represented an important share of this migratory mosaic. Newcomers from the region joined veteran immigrants as well as their offspring, including the second and third generations. Although we do not have precise figures of Latin American Jews in the United States, estimates

range between 100,000/133,000 (Della Pergola 2011—core and enlarged definitions) and 156,000 (Sheskin & Dashevsky 2011). For a comprehensive analysis of the relocation and transnational dynamics of Latin American Jews in the US, see Bokser-Liwerant (2013).

Partly following and partly preceding the forming of transnational communities by other diasporas, Jewish communities in the continent transit toward unprecedented modalities of re-diasporization. In fact, we are witnessing the conjunction of two nutrients: the recovery of a historic trajectory of ethnic and ethno-national diasporas, and the pluralization of new migrant populations. Migratory flows enhance the Jewish global character, while also reinforcing the particular aspect of the Jewish experience. This implies incorporating diaspora and transnationalism as related concepts to approach the contemporary itinerary of dispersion; that is, the "new global ethnic landscape," as Appadurai (1990) calls it.

Latin American Jews move and stay, bring and host, interact and negotiate, in a context of past and present trends of an interconnected Jewish world. Their migration has widened the spectrum of encounters between individuals and groups carrying distinct communal organizing principles, historical trajectories, models and logics of the collective.

The reaffirmation and changes of collective communal practices/configurations affect the traditional Diaspora-Center relationship. Thus, the basic triadic relationship between globally dispersed yet collectively self-identified ethnic groups, the present territorial states and contexts where such groups reside, and the homeland states and environments from where their forebears arrived, is altered (Sheffer, 1986; Safran, 1991). Homeland(s) must be analyzed in light of changing territories and referents that add new spatial scopes and exchanges.

Redefining and reconnecting belongings are related to processes of *diaspora making* and *diaspora un-making* provoked by migration crises, desocialization from the country and community of origin, and re-socialization in the country and community of destination (Van Hear, 1998). Diverse scenarios are possible: de-diasporization with respect to belonging to an ethno-national Jewish Diaspora in the country of origin—and the subsequent processes of a different migrant re-grouping in the new place of destination; re-diasporization of migrant communities which maintain a thick package of old-country cultural norms and personal relations, holds intense and enduring links, as well as effective mechanisms with the country of origin, and sustains a transnational ideational nexus with home. Under these conditions a unified mental and relational space—a sort of sub-diaspora—emerges *vis-à-vis* physical dispersal and pluralization of "homelands;" de-diasporization by having

moved to Israel and developing a full sense of participation in the Israeli main-stream, or continuing to nurture a form of Diasporic identity—somewhat disconnected from the new (putative) core country—while residing in the state of Israel and the possibility of re-diasporization upon return to their countries of origin, or to a third country (Bokser-Liwerant, Della Pergola & Senkman, 2010).

In these processes of constructing homeness and perceiving exile the role of Home-Center is reframed. Thus, approaching transnationalism and diaspora as awkward dance partners, leads us to see them, in their similarities and dif-ferences, as analytical descriptive notions and angles; as socially constituted formations and social practices; as socio-cultural conditions that imply a revi-sion of the dialectics of home-identity-movement-return (Faist, 2010; Vertovec, 2009; Shohat, 2006; Clifford, 1997). In our case, the markers that define the transnational links have evolved, concurrently expressing and shaping the overlapping domains of Jewish life, its local, regional and global interactions and the plurality of collective realities.

Latin Americans Jews do not simply replicate social relations; rather, their subjective and socially expressed experiences may be quite diverse. Boundary maintenance is refracted by interactions and by the plausibility of multiple identities. Collective continuity and boundary maintenance seem to be negoti-ated over a *longue durée*, particularly within the second, third, and subsequent generations. Current literature on trans-nationalism questions whether the newer trans-national diasporas will have a multi-generational effect. Therefore, by investigating the case of Latin American Jews in their new diasporas, I pro-pose to relate to the hypothesis of longue-durée as an open-ended one. For now, I suggest that further research may reveal the coexistence of various per-mutations, including both intermingling and disentanglement, as variegated sub-groups deploy in and around concurrent ethno-cultural boundaries in common spaces, inter-generationally and communally (Bokser-Liwerant, 2012). These processes reframe bonds and links with the Center.

Diaspora, transnationalism and multiculturalism to the US shape the lives of the newcomers and the receiving communities in complex ways (Biale & Heschel, 1998). An examination of American Jewry and Latin American Jewish communities reveals contrasting models of Jewish collective life—an encoun-ter of a kehilati trajectory with the Jewish congregational model developed in the United States on the basis of denominationalism and as part of a society in which religion was constitutionally separated from state. Jewish life was based on local, regional, and national federations interwoven with the denomina-tional dimension and attuned to the American scene (Waxman 1983). The United States was long imagined and defined as a "three-religion country"

consisting of Protestants, Catholics and Jews. Religion was assumed to be the primary axis of distinction and yet the singular dynamic between religion and ethnicity led to the acceptance of the former as a way of expressing the latter. Individualized Jewish religiosity developed around the synagogue-congregation, marked by the suburban frontier experience; it was gradually embedded in a public Jewish "civil religion," understood either as a set of civic tenets or as a Jewish ethno-national solidarity that became sacralized (Fisher 2012; Woocher 1986, 2005).

Several indicators point to important differences and commonalities that shaped the migrants' individual, family, and group paths of incorporation into American Jewish communities. The notion of a diversified Jewish world is further enhanced by the contrasting data, in some cases, of Latin American Jewish communities. Overall, affiliation rates in Latin America are higher than in the United States. While the gap between Mexico City and San Diego is striking (85% and 30%, respectively), cities in Brazil and Argentina have far lower affiliation rates (45%–50%), closer to the US national average (Kotler-Berkowitz et al. 2003). Intermarriage rates rose among American Jews during the second half of the twentieth century, eventually surpassing 50% (Della Pergola, 2012; Pew, 2013). Whereas this rate (more strikingly high in the Western states) contrasts with much lower rates in Mexico and Venezuela (less than or just above 10%), it is similar to those prevailing in Argentina and Brazil (surpassing 45%).

Different scenarios may be identified in cities and communities, and condition the links with the Center. In increasingly mobile and diverse settings, Jewish life has become a magnet for Latin American Jews. Indeed, great numbers of Latin American Jews have relocated to areas with significant Jewish populations such as the Northeast-Midwest, Southern California, and Southern Florida. While the number of Jews in NY reaches almost 1.5 million, the Jewish communities in Washington, DC, Boston, and Chicago (200–300,000) only closely approach the traditionally largest Jewish community of Argentina—282,000 in 1970/182,300 in 2011, core definition (Della Pergola, 2011; 2012), 85% of whom live in Buenos Aires. San Diego's Jewish population of 89,000 is still larger than the Mexican Jewish community (estimated at 40,000). The Jewish community in Miami-Dade, combined with the neighboring Ft. Lauderdale and Palm Beach areas (Southeast Florida), represent the third most populous in the country. Examined individually, the numbers in Miami (113,300) and Broward (185,800) are smaller than those of other cities in the country. Private estimates point to 40,000 Latin American Jews residing in the state of Florida. According to the US Census, 1,097,524 Hispanic adults lived in Miami as of 2003; of these, 0.9% (about 9,000) of Hispanic adults in Miami were Jewish at the time (Sheskin 2004/05) and 600–700 Mexican

Jewish families or 2,400 Jews in San Diego (private estimates). The number of Latin American Jews is estimated at 16,000 individuals in Miami-Dade (Sheskin, 2004). Thus, for example, Greater Miami mirrors the cycles of migration crises in the region; it became a host location (particularly South Miami Beach) to the first Jewish Cuban collective migratory/exiled wave that included the majority of Cuban Jews and their leadership. The case of Cuban Jewish and Cuban out-migration initially and differentially awaiting long-term return to the home country shows some important features of a transnational Diaspora in the making (Bejarano, 1997, 2012). It is important to underscore that Cuban immigration to Miami was initially characterized by organizational autarchy as the only way to recreate older Cuban-oriented Jewish lifestyles, but gradually the community moved toward integration by adapting to the religiously centered American model, apparently without significant ruptures. Cuban Jews founded the Ashkenazi Cuban Hebrew Congregation and the Sephardic Congregation of Florida. A way of entry into the American Jewish community was sought through Zionist activities in the Latin Division at the Miami Jewish Federation. The Cuban (1960s) and Argentine (2002–04) migrant experiences show particular interactions between Jewish institutional density, local (American) organizations—their visions, interests and preferences—and the migrants' timing and networks. Institutional culture and preferences varied among international and local Jewish institutions—both of which played active roles—and Latin American Jews, for whom the encounters generated feelings of inter-group solidarity and tension, alike. In both instances, the migrants' final destination—Israel or the US—expressed ideational motives as well as pragmatic considerations. Overloaded expectations led to the following statement that was issued by communal agents: "we are not the Jewish Agency," (Interview with Juan Dierce, American Jewish Committee, October 2011, Miami).

Migration crises in the region also led to the unmaking of an ethno-national Diaspora under stress (e.g., Venezuela) and the expansion of a transnational community in new frontier areas such as Caribbean Florida and the American Southwest. Plural ways of connectedness with their communities and societies in their countries of origin, and lateral networks created by cultural match and trust, developed between the trans-local entrepreneurs from Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico.

In contrast to the Latin American Jewish community of Miami that has a multi-national composition, in San Diego, an ethno-national enclave with a transnational character took shape among Mexican Jews, leading to a possible scenario of a secondary diaspora. While in Miami a shared sense of living in community with other Latin Americans was formed, and the presence of a

critical mass enhanced new social regrouping by allowing migrants to establish and bolster formal and informal networks on the basis of common (ethnic, national, religious) origin, in San Diego a homogenous composition has prevailed regarding country of origin. Of the Jewish adults who self-define as Hispanics, the majority (29%) come from Cuba; 18%, from Argentina; 16%, from Colombia; and 15% from Venezuela. Other countries from Latin America and the Caribbean with smaller percentages include Mexico (4%), Uruguay (2.2%), Peru (1.4%), Brazil (1.3%), Dominican Republic (0.7%), Guatemala: (0.7%), Chile (0.5%), Ecuador (0.3%), Jamaica (0.3%), Nicaragua (0.3%), Panama (0.3%) and Bolivia (0.2%) (Sheskin, 2004). However, encounters between Latin American Jews and other Jewish migrant groups exemplify a Jewish world on the move and a redefinition of the global Jewish landscape. In San Diego, a significant share of Jews (19%) were born outside the United States, including sizeable groups from the FSU (3%), Israel (2%) and South Africa (2%), compared to 1% from Mexico. Thus, it reflects not only individual and group aspirations to integrate into the host society but also potential links with other Jews, who at the same time expect to retain their distinctiveness.

In Miami, it is estimated that 31% of adults in Jewish households are foreign born. In addition to the 7% who were born in South America, 5% were born respectively in Middle America (generally including Mexico, the countries of Central America, and the Caribbean), the Middle East, and Eastern Europe (non-FSU). A similar percentage (4.3%) was born in the FSU, and 3% in Western Europe (Sheskin, 2004).

In Los Angeles, moreover, the migrants national origins are more diversified, the arrival of family clusters and professionals, its "cosmopolitanism," and the metropolitan ethno-religious community's image is considered more "Jewish" than "Latin American." Of particular interest is the comparison that can be made between the migrant experience in the North East-Midwest triangle and its counterpart in Texas, because they represent individual-professional (e.g., medical students, interns, and doctors) cases, rather than collective migration patterns. We may thus further question and analyze a scenario of de-diasporization that could lead either to individual integration, or new prevailing criteria and axes of regrouping which certainly have a direct impact on boundary erosion.

Under transnational logics, one finds interesting interactions and intersections between being and belonging to American/Latin American Jewishness in diverse fields. Stable Jewish educational settings that are also socially cohesive have attracted Latin American Jews, even while characterized by greater religiosity levels than those they belonged to in the origin country. Some Jewish educational settings—with a significant ratio of Latin American migrants—

show integration and mutual influence, and the reciprocal adoption of new religious and quotidian cultural practices within bilingual environments (Bokser-Liwerant, 2013a). Suffice to underline now that as part of contemporary Jewish transnationalism, the incorporation of teachers, administrators, university professors, and Board members/Presidents into the US educational ecology coexists with the connectedness of an increasing number of Latin American Jewish educators with their countries of origin. An emergent pattern may be seen in the circulation of knowledge through these key agents who are both dispersed and closely connected to Israel as a historical center for Latin American Jewish education. The work of *shlichim* (emissaries) points to past and present transnational trends that express a strong Zionist legacy.

It is interesting to focus on the associational and organized communal settings that constitute porous containers of primordial and elective belonging. Such bordered spaces provide alternative/complementary pathways into maintaining distinctiveness while reaffirming/redefining bonds and links with the Center. Both the *Ken* (San Diego) and Hebraica/JCC (Miami) may be conceived as ethno-national/transnational autonomous magnets. They reproduced Latin American Jewish social practices—including language, food, frequent social gatherings, and a Zionist identification. The Maccabi games at the JCC in Miami represent a Jewish-Israeli arena of interaction, intersection, and differentiation between Latin American Jews, and between Venezuelans, Mexicans, Argentineans, Colombians, and Cubans, among other nationalities. Worth underscoring is the dissemination of the Hebraica/Latin American communal model worldwide, including Central and Western Europe, mainly through the Joint Distribution Committee and highly mobile individuals with key community roles. Both organizations (*Ken* and *Hebraica*/JCC) mirror transformations that run along the generational axis, socio-economic development, settlement patterns, and the particular milieus in which Latin American Jews insert themselves.

Multiple ways of belonging to American Jewish institutions and organizations allow continuity—as Jews, as Latin American Jews, as Latin Americans—while the effects of mutual influence and the transfer of older models into more or less newly constituted social spaces support an array of fresh adaptations. Nevertheless, the cultural-ideational relationship with Israel is also defined in new terms and spaces; it implies the re-signification of attachments and the coexistence of multiple centers. It has peculiar salience as a target of economic support and political advocacy. Social practices such as donations to Israel are in need of further study in order to evaluate the interaction between awareness of participation in a national enterprise and philanthropy. In Miami and San Diego old (pre-migration) and new patterns coexist. Direct

individual-family donations and financial support are channeled through American Jewish organizations with a strong pro-Israel agenda (e.g., the Jewish National Fund, Friends of Israel Defense Forces, the United Jewish Federation, NACPAC—Pro Israel National Action Committee—and SunPac-Florida Hispanic Outreach). However, migrants also sustain regular links with their original communities, partly expressed through the maintenance of affiliation to Jewish institutions (mainly among Mexican and Venezuelan families); therefore, resources intended for Israel-related and other overseas assistance continue to be transferred through Latin American institutional channels (Interview with Miriam Norten, Director of Women Division of the Jewish Federation of San Diego, July 2012, San Diego).

Political advocacy for Israel is conducted mainly in the framework of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), illustrated by the leading roles played by Latin American Jews in this organization, their wide representation in its annual events and the creation of local groups through the Latino and Latin American Jewish Institute (Siegel, 2011). Additional channels for inter-regional Jewish activism include the American Jewish Committee, which has played a mediating role between Latinos, Jewish communities in the US, and Jewish communities in the Latin American region. This has led to the mobilization of additional social capital for American Jewry, and to the organization's increased presence in Latin America.

In analyzing the strength and centrality of Israel's role for Latin American Jews in the US, we ought to take into account the hypothesis of American Jewish self-distancing from Israel and the debate it has elicited (Cohen & Kelman, 2009; Sasson, Kadushin & Saxe, 2010). An interesting debate regarding the "distancing hypothesis" has developed. While some researchers claim that there is a growing distance from Israel by the younger American Jewish cohort, with the exception of Orthodox youth, and this trend will likely lead to a general distancing of American Jews from Israel (Cohen & Kellman, 2009), others do not find a dramatic change in the attachment. According to Sasson, Kadushin & Saxe (2010), the weakened attachment among the young is not the result of a distancing pattern but a characteristic of the Jewish life-cycle. Further discussion has highlighted the increased complexity of Israel-diaspora relations and the lack of conclusive evidence regarding the above mentioned erosion, which shows the need to consider both the changing circumstances of American Jewish life and Israel's social and political scenario. Data on Jews living in Mexico and Argentina show that both age (generation) and country of origin influence the place of Israel in people's lives and their attachment to it. As seen, Mexico has exceptionally high rates of visits to Israel, while lower rates characterize Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela. Past tendencies

in the US show that just over one-third of all American Jewish adults have been to Israel (35%), almost two-thirds (63%) of American Jews say they are emotionally attached to Israel and nearly three-quarters (72%) say US and Israeli Jews share a common destiny. Ties to Israel vary by affiliation and age; the affiliated are uniformly more connected to Israel than the unaffiliated.

The cultural-ideational relation with Israel is defined in new terms and spaces; it does not necessarily imply the weakening of attachments but rather their re-signification. In addition to conceiving it as a sovereign political center and a focal point of cultural creativity, Latin American Jews perceived Israel as a vital space for those in need. Continuous migration waves from the region to Israel point to the interaction between necessity and ideology.

Both North and Latin American Jewish communities have been transformed by general social patterns with distinct implications for continued collective communal life and Israel-Diaspora relations: transitions from individualization to collective affirmation, and their subsequent reversal; from congregational to communal models, albeit simultaneously witnessing a growing role of synagogues; from secularization to rising expressions of some forms of religiosity, even as secularism continues to gain ground.

An important angle from which to analyze border crossing and cultural circulation is the broad influence on American religious practices and the fostering of cultural remittances by the Conservative religious movement. Connections between North and South play a prominent role in North American Jewish life. Religious influence constitutes a route to enter the new communities and encounters between communal and congregational models. In the 1960s the Conservative movement spread to South America providing the first congregational model that was imported from the United States (instead of Europe), thereby setting what may be considered a new phase of "old transnationalism." In a regional context of scarce religious functionaries, the *Seminario Rabinico Latinoamericano* adopted a pivotal role in the Conservative religious leadership. The Conservative movement adapted to local conditions (the communal over congregational model) that dated back to the earliest days when a low synagogue profile prevailed in mainly secular communities. This movement brought the synagogue to the forefront of communal and societal life by mobilizing thousands of otherwise non-affiliated Jews.

Latin American rabbis and their participation in the new settings in the United States contribute to the expansion of communal practices. Simultaneously, they maintain transnational practices by moving back to their region of origin to lead services, and enhancing their connection with Israel. As mobile agents of change across national borders, they recreate a congregational-communitarian-transnational matrix.

The previous transnational circuit of predominantly Conservative rabbis from Buenos Aires has now spread to Orthodoxy as well. This means that in a new transnational moment we may witness the end of a traditional Conservative-Latin American symbiosis that has strongly influenced the religious space. Reflecting global trends in the Jewish world and in Israel, Orthodox groups have gained new impetus—founding new religious congregations and supplying communities with rabbinical leadership. Approaching religious practices as a way of incorporation into the host communities, it is important to note that Latin American Jewish life is marked by a religious-secularization dynamic that may lead to diverse potential scenarios. It is worthwhile to relate these trends to the increased importance of new religious constellations brought by contemporary movements of migrant groups in the framework of current globalization processes (Eisenstadt, 2010).

Finally, we have also to refer to new forms of material and symbolic transnationalism. Large and instantaneous flows of technologically transmitted information and images have recently tended to dismantle the *delimitative function* of culture in a global world. Its role has been gradually redefined: new horizons of shared cultural goods opened, rather than concrete and symbolic national boundaries and hierarchies between the "inside" and the "outside." Jewish cultural life, too, has been undergoing the general process of dismantling and transformation of what George Yúdice (2003) defined as traditional "behavioral genres" that kept the social world "in its place" during the past years. Thus, through migration waves and beyond, by crossing borders, Latin American Jewish culture transcends the region's frames of reference, encounters the culture(s) and through diversified interactions and exchanges widens the experience of being Jewish in the twenty-first century. In transnational contexts, migration movements and diasporas involve dwelling, maintaining communities, having collective homes away from home, and building new ones. Diasporas connect and interact through circulation. Latin American Jewish communities follow multiple pathways of belonging, thereby moving and fixing old-new definitions and membership criteria in the process of becoming transnational and expanding their connections amidst Klal Yisrael. In a highly mobile and changing context, the challenge of boundary maintenance, integration, intellectual creativity and communal innovation acquire new meanings and certainly strengthen the Center's role for the enlarged lateral axes of the Diaspora.*

Bibliography

Almog, S. (1982) *Zionism and History*, Jerusalem: Magnes Press. [Hebrew]

Amelina, A., Nergiz, D. D., Faist, T. and Schiller, N. G. (2012) *Beyond Methodological Nationalism. Research Methodologies for Cross-Border Studies*, New York: Routledge.

American Jewish Committee (2011) *Living In-Between: An Analysis of Hispanic Jewry in the United States*, Latino and Latin American Institute.

AMIA- Vaad Hajinuj (2013) Profile of Jewish Education in Argentina, Buenos Aires (working document).

Appadurai, A. (1990) "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy", in *Theory, Culture and Society*, (7), 295–310.

Avni, H. (1988) "Jews in Latin America: the Contemporary Jewish Dimension," in *Judaica Latinoamericana. Estudios Historico-Sociales y Literarios*, vol. 1, Jerusalem: AMILAT, Editorial Universitaria Magnes: Universidad Hebrea, 9–12.

Bauman, Z. (1998) "Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern," in: Cheyette, B. and Marcus, L. (eds), *Modernity, Culture and the Jews*, Stanford University Press (143–156).

Beck, U. (2007) "La condition cosmopolite et le piège du nationalisme méthodologique," in Wieviorka, M. (ed.) *Les Sciences Sociales en Mutation*, Auxerre Cedex, 223–236.

Bejarano, M. (1997) "From Havana to Miami, The Cuban Jewish Community," in *Judaica Latinoamericana. Estudios Histórico-Sociales*, Jerusalem: AMILAT, vol. III, 113–130.

———. (2012) "Changing Identities in a Transnational Diaspora: Latin American Jews in Miami," Paper presented at the Conference on the Jewish Communities of Latin America, Bar-Ilan and Sao Paulo University, Sao Paulo, September 2012.

Biale, D., Galchinsky, M. and Heschel, S., (1998) *American Jews and Multiculturalism. Insider/Outsider.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Ben-Rafael, E. (2013) "*Las diásporas transnacionales:¿una nueva era o un nuevo mito?*" in *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, *58* (218), 189–224.

——— and Sternberg, Y. (eds) (2009) *Transnationalism: Diasporas and the advent of a new (dis)order*, Boston: Brill.

Bokser, J. (1991) *El Movimiento Nacional Judío. El Sionismo en México, UNAM*, Tesis Doctoral

Bokser-Liwerant, J. (2002) "Globalization and Collective Identities," in *Social Compass, 49* (2), 253–271.

———. (2007) "Jewish Life in Latin America: a challenging experience," in *Journal of the Rabbinical Assembly*, New York.

———. (2008) "Globalization and Latin American Jewish Identities: the Mexican Case in Comparative Perspective" in: Bokser-Liwerant, J., Ben-Rafael, E. and

Gorny, Y. (eds), *Jewish Identities in an Era of Globalization and Multiculturalism*, Leiden-Boston: Brill Editorial House (81–105).

———. (2009) "Latin American Jews. A Transnational Diaspora," in Ben-Rafael, E., Sternberg, Y., Bokser-Liwerant, J. and Gorny Y. (eds), *Transnationalism*, Leiden-Boston: Brill Editorial House (355–374).

———, Della Pergola, S. and Senkman, L. (2010) *Latin American Jews in a Transnational World: Redefining Experiences and Identities in Four Continents*. Research Project, Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

———. (2013a) "Latin American Jews in the United States: Community and Belonging in Times of Transnationalism," *Contemporary Jewry*, *33* (1–2), 121–143.

———. (2013b) "Expanding Frontiers and Affirming Belongings: Youth Travel to Israel: a View from Latin America," paper presented at Academic Symposium, Oranim College, July.

——— and Senkman, L. (2013) "Diasporas and Transnationalism: New Inquiries Regarding Latin American Jews Today," in *Judaica Latinoamericana*, Jerusalem: Magna Express, vol. 7, 11–71.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) "The Forms of Capital," in Richardson, J. G. (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York: Greenwood Press, 241–258.

Brenner, F. (2008) *Diaspora: Homelands in Exile*, Routledge.

Brubaker, R. (2005) "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28 (1), 1–19.

Butler, K. (2006) "The African Meta-Diaspora and multi-Layered Politics: Negotiating Diaspora Strategies in the Digital Age," Paper presented at the International Conference "Diaspora Politics," University of Nevada, Reno, 27–29 April.

Clifford, J. (1994) "Diasporas," in *Cultural Anthropology*, *9* (3), 302–338.

Cohen, E. H. (2008) *Youth Tourism to Israel: Educational Experiences of the Diaspora*, Clevedon, UK: Channel View Publications.

———. (Forthcoming 2014) *Jewish Youth Around the World 1990–2010. Social Identity and Values*, Leiden/Boston: Brill Editorial House.

Cohen, R. (2008) *Global Diasporas*, London and New York: Routledge.

Cohen, S. M. and Kelman, A. Y. (2009) *Beyond Distancing: Young Adult American Jews and their Alienation from Israel*, New York: Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies.

Coleman, J. S. (1988) "Social capital in the creation of human capital," in *American Journal of Sociology*, *94*, S95–S120.

CCIM (2006) *Socio-Demographic Study of the Mexican Community*, Comité Central Israelita de México.

Della Pergola, S. (2008) "Autonomy and Dependency: Latin American Jewry in Global Perspective," in: Bokser-Liwerant, J., Ben-Rafael, E., Gorny, Y. and Rein, R. (eds),

Identities in an Era of Globalization and Multiculturalism: Latin America in the Jewish World, Leiden and Boston: Brill (47–80).

———. (2009) "International Migration of Jews," in: Ben-Rafael, E. and Sternberg, Y. with Gorny, Y. and Bokser-Liwerant, J. (eds), *Transnationalism: Diasporas and the Advent of a New (Dis)Order*, Leiden and Boston: Brill (213–236).

———. (2011) *Jewish Population Policies: Demographic Trends and Options in Israel and in the Diaspora*, Jerusalem: The Jewish People Policy Institute.

———. (2012) *¿Cuántos somos hoy? Investigación y narrativa sobre población judía en América Latina.* En H. Avni, J. Bokser-Liwerant, S Della Pergola et al., *Pertenencia y Alteridad. Judíos en/de América Latina: Cuarenta Años de Cambio.* Madrid: Veruvert-Iberoamericana.

———. (2013) "World Jewish Population 2012," in: Dashevsky, A. and Sheskin, I. (eds), *American Jewish Yearbook 2012*, Dordrecht: Springer, 213–283.

Dubnow, S. (1931) "Diaspora," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York, 126–130.

———. (1958) *Nationalism and History. Essays in Old and New Judaism*, New York: Meridian Books.

Eisenstadt, S. N. (1995) *The Constitution of Collective Identity. Some Comparative and Analytical Indications. A Research Programme; preliminary draft.* Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

———. (2000) "Multiple Modernities," in *Daedalus*, *129* (1), 1–29.

———. (2010) "The New Religious Constellation in the Framework of Contemporary Globalization and Civilizational Transformation," in: Ben-Rafael, E. and Sternberg, Y. (eds), *World Religions and Multiculturalism*, Boston and Leiden: Brill, (21–40).

Endelman, T. M. (ed.) (1997) *Comparing Jewish Societies*, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.

Esman, M. J. (2009) *Diasporas in the Contemporary World*, Londres: Polity Press.

Erdei, E. (2011) "Demografía e Identidad: a propósito del studio de población judía en Buenos Aires," in: Avni, H., Bokser-Liwerant, J., Della Pergola, S. et al, *Pertenencia y Alteridad. Judíos en/de América Latina: cuarenta años de cambios*, Madrid: Iberoamerican Verveurt, 341–364.

Faist, T. (2000) *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. (2010) "Diaspora and Transnationalism: What Kind of Dance Partners?," in: Bauböck, R. and Faist, T., (eds), *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press (9–34).

Fischer, S. and Last Stone, S. (2012) *Jewish Identity and Identification: New Patterns, Meanings and Networks*, Jerusalem: Jewish People Policy Institute.

Frankel, J. (1981) *Prophecy and Politics: Socialism, Nationalism and the Russian Jews, 1862–1917*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

——— (ed.) (1995) *Studies in Contemporary Jewry: An Annual, X: Reshaping the Past: Jewish History and the Historians*, Oxford.

Galchinsky, M. (2008) "Concepts of Diaspora and Galut," in: Lustig, S. and Leveson, I. (eds), *Turning the Kaleidoscope. Perspective on European Jewry*, New York: Berghahn Books (63–78).

Hajinuj, V. (2005) *Education Figures*, Buenos Aires: AMIA.

Hall, S. (1990) "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in Rutherford, J. (ed.) *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence & Wishart Ltd., 222–37.

Hollinger, D. (2009) "Communalist and Dispersionist Approaches To American Jewish History in an Increasingly Post-Jewish Era," in *American Jewish History*, *95* (1), September, 1–32.

Khagram, S. and Levitt, P. (eds) (2008) *The Transnational Studies Reader*, New York: Routledge Press.

Kelner, S. (2010) *Tours that Bind: Diaspora, Pilgrimage, and Israeli Birthright Tourism*, New York and London: New York University Press.

Lederhendler, E. (ed.) (2000) *The Six Day War and World Jewry*, University Press of Maryland.

——— (2011) *Ethnicity and Beyond: Theories and Dilemmas of Jewish Group Demmarcation*, Studies in Contemporary Jewry, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Levitt, P. and Schiller. N. G. (2004) "Conceptualizing Simultaneity: a Transnational Social Perspective on Society," in *International Migration Review. 38* (145), 595–629.

Levitt, P. and Waters, M. (eds), (2002) *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Massey, D. S. (1987) "Understanding Mexican Migration to the US," in *American Journal of Sociology, 92* (6), 1372–1403.

Morawska, E. (2003) "Immigrant Transnationalism and Assimilation: A Variety of Combinations and Analytic Strategies It Suggests," in: Joppke, C. and Morawska, E. (eds), *Towards Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*, Hampshire, UK: Palgrave MacMillan (133–176).

———. (2004) "Exploring Diversity in Immigrant Assimilation and Transnationalism: Poles and Russian Jews in Philadelphia," in *International Migration Review, 38* (4), 1372–1412.

———. (2011) "Ethnicity as a Primordial-Situational-Constructed Experience: Different Times, Different Places, Different Constellations," in: Lederhendler, E. (ed.) *Ethnicity and Beyond, Theories and Dilemmas of Jewish Group Demarcation*. Studies in Contemporary Jewry, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3–25.

Moya, J. (2011) "Estudios sobre la diáspora: ¿nuevos conceptos, enfoques y realidades?," in Golubov, N. (ed.) *Diásporas. Reflexiones teóricas*, México: CISAN-UNAM, 205–225.

Myers, D. (1997) "The Blessing of Assimilation Reconsidered: An Inquiry into Jewish Cultural Studies," in: Myers, D. and Rowe, W. (eds), *From Ghetto to Emancipation: Historical and Contemporary Reconsideration of the Jewish Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (17–36).

Nonini, D. (2002) "Introduction: Transnational Migrants, Globalization Processes and Regimes of Power and Knowledge," in *Critical Asian Studies, 34* (1), 3–17.

———. (2005) "Diasporas and Globalization," in: Ember, M., Ember, C. and Skoggard, I. (eds), *Encyclopedia of Diasporas*, Boston MA: Springer Verlag.

O'Haire, D. (2008) *Diaspora*, Booksurge Publishing.

Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion and Public Life (2010) "Where International Migrants Have Gone. Migrants Destinations by Region," in *Global Religion and Migration Database 2010*, Retrieved from: <http://features.pewforum.org/religious-migration/world-maps/weighted-gone.php>.

Pew Research Center (2013) "A Portrait of Jewish Americans," in *Berman Jewish Policy Archive*, Retrieved from: <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm? PublicationID=18058>.

Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E. and Landolt, P. (1999) "The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field," in *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22* (2), 217–237.

Pries, L. (2001) "The approach of transnational social spaces. Responding to new configurations of the social and the spatial," in Pries, L. (ed.) *New Transnational Social Spaces- International Migration and Transnational Companies in the early Twenty-first Century*, London: Routledge, 3–34.

———. (2008) "Transnational societal spaces. Which units of analysis, reference and measurement," in Pries, L. (ed.) *Rethinking Transnationalism. The Meso-link of Organization*, London: Routledge, 1–20.

Roniger, L. (2009) "Latin American Modernities: Global, Transnational, Multiple, Open-Ended," in *ProtoSociology*, *26*: Modernization in Times of Globalization I, 71–99.

Safran, W. (1991)"Diasporas in modern societies: Myths of homeland and return," in *Diaspora*, *1* (1) 83–99.

Sanjeev, K. ana Levitt, P. (2008) "Constructing Transnational Studies," in *The Transnational Studies Reader*, New York: Routledge Press, 1–18.

Sarna, J. (2003) "American Jews in the New Millennium," in: Haddad, Y. Y., Smith, J. I. and Esposito, J. L. (eds), *Religion and Immigration: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Experiences in the United States*, Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira (117–127).

———. (2004) *American Judaism: A History*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

———. (2005) "Afterword: The Study of American Judaism: A Look Ahead," in Kaplan, D. E. (ed.) *American Judaism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 417–422.

Sasson, T., Kadushin, C. and Saxe, L. (2010) Trends in American Jewish Attachment to Israel: An Assessment of the "Distancing" Hypothesis. In *Contemporary Jewry, 30* (2–3), 297–319.

Schiller, N. G., Basch, L. and Blanc-Szanton, C. (1995) "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration," in *Anthropological Quarterly, 68* (1), 43–68.

Schnapper, D. (2011) "Del Estado-nación al mundo transnacional. Sobre el sentido y utilidad del concepto de Diáspora," in Golubov, N. (ed.) *Diásporas. Reflexiones teóricas*, Mexico: CISAN-UNAM, 149–179.

Senkman, L. (2008) "Klal Yisrael at the Frontiers: The Transnational Jewish Experience in Argentina," in: Bokser-Liwerant, J. et al. (eds), *Identities in an Era of Globalization and Multiculturalism*, Leiden: Brill (125–150).

Shain, M., Shecht, S. and Saxe, L. (2012) *A Study of Young Adults in Argentina. The Impact of Taglit-Birthright Israel*, Massachusetts, MA: Brandeis University.

Sheffer, G. (1986) "A New Field of Study: Modern Diasporas in International Politics," in Sheffer, G. (ed.) *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*, London: Croom Helm, 1–15.

Sheskin, I. M. (2004) *Population Study of the Greater Miami Jewish Community*, Greater Miami Jewish Federation.

——— and Dashefsky, A. (2011) *Jewish Population in the United States, 2011*, Current Jewish Population Reports. North American Jewish Data Bank, Retrieved from: <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=13458>.

Shoham, S. and Kaufman Strauss, S. (2008) "Immigrants' information needs: their role in the absorption process," in *Information Research*, 13 (4), Available at: <http://www.informationr.net/ir/13-4/paper359.html>

Siegel, D. (2011) "De Defensas y Coyunturas. Informe sobre la Actuación del American Jewish Committee en los Marcos Comunitarios Lationamericanos," in: Avni, H., Bokser-Liwerant, J., Della Pergola, S. et al., *Pertenencia y Alteridad. Judíos en/de América Latina: 40 años de cambio*, Madrid-México: Iberoamericana-Verveurt-Bonilla (485–494).

Tololyan, K. (1996) "Rethinking diaspora(s): stateless power in the transnational moment" *Diaspora, 5* (1), 3–36.

Topel, M. F. (2005) *Jerusalém and São Paulo: a nova ortodoxia judaica em cena*, Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks Editora.

Ukeles, J. B., and Miller, R. (2003) *The Jewish Community Study of San Diego*, United Jewish Federation of San Diego County.

Vaad Hajinuj (2013) *Profile of Jewish Education in Mexico*, México: Universidad Hebraica.

Van Hear, N. (1998) New Diasporas: *The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities*, Global Diaspora Series (2), Taylor and Francis Group.

Vertovec, S. (1999) "Conceiving and researching transnationalism," in *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22* (2), 447–462.

———. (2009) *Transnationalism*, London and New York: Routledge.

Waxman, C. (1983) *American Jews in Transition*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Wittrock, B. (2000) "Modernity: One, None or Many?," in *Daedalus, 129* (1), 31–60.

Woocher, J. S. (1986) *Sacred Survival: The Civil Religion of American Jews.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

———. (2005) "Sacred Survival revisited: American Jewish civil religion in the new millennium," Kaplan, D. E. (ed.) in *American Judaism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 283–297.

Yúdice, G. (2003) *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Zeitlin, I. (2012) *Jews: The Making of a Diaspora People*, Cambridge: Polity Press.